

Barclay Baron

THE GROWING GENERATION

A Study of Working Boys and Girls in our Cities

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The Growing Generation

BARKLAY BARON

**LONDON:
STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT**

THE GROWING GENERATION

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A STUDY OF
WORKING BOYS AND GIRLS IN OUR CITIES

BY
BARCLAY BARON

WORKER AT THE OXFORD AND BERMONDSEY MISSION

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EDITORIAL NOTE

THE design of this book has been prepared and the book has been edited for the Student Christian Movement by a body of people called the "Collegium."

The Collegium is an inter-denominational body composed in the main of people intimately connected with the study-circle work of several of the Social Unions of the Churches. Part of its work is the production, under special conditions, of literature on Social Questions, making each book the fruit of *corporate* prayer and thought.

This particular text-book is issued for the use of Social Study Circles. It singles out some of the main problems connected with working boys and girls. A positive position is taken up on some subjects which may be very keenly debated from different points of view. It is intended to provoke discussion and to challenge a lively attention, not to force a particular conclusion.

In order to make the work of Study Circles using the book as fruitful as possible, "Outline Programmes" have been prepared, suggesting a line of discussion for each chapter and giving advice as to further reading.

These "Outline Programmes" should be obtained by all who use the book in Circles.

L. G.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

"WE are impressed with the conviction that the period of adolescence is responsible for much waste of human material, and for the entrance upon maturity of permanently damaged and ineffective persons of both sexes. The plasticity of the physical organisation, the power it possesses of yielding rapidly towards degenerative or recuperative influences, appears to terminate at eighteen, and the records of the years preceding that age are in the great majority of cases decisive for self-improvement or the reverse. Unfortunately it is a period of which too little account is taken. With the classes under consideration education in the ordinary sense of the word is over just when in its full significance it becomes most necessary. Parental direction is almost entirely absent, and in lieu of it very little supervision is exercised in any other quarter over physical or moral development." These words, in which the Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration have summarised their conclusions,¹ may stand as the text of the pages which follow. For this is a book which deals only with adolescence, "a period of which too little account is taken," and with the class that enjoys less than any other in the community the benefits of education and "parental direction." Although the field which has been chosen is quite distinct, it is not easily susceptible

¹ See Report 1904, vol. i. p. 72.

viii THE GROWING GENERATION

of definition in words. The term "working-class" may be said to be a relic from an age when other classes were proud to maintain that they did not work. It has outlived its use as a title of reproach, but it still serves to mark a rough division in society. On the whole it is fair to say that the "working-man" is one who works with his hands, fashioning the objects of common use, arranging them, or repairing them, whether with the help of a few simple tools or of complex machinery. The common characteristic of all the many workers who are put above him is that they use their brains as much as or more than their hands. The lowest clerk in an office who writes out invoices and adds up figures relating to goods is divided by a barrier of class from the boy who actually makes them.

We must, however, go a step further and narrow the field of our present study by subdividing the working class itself. In the minds of some the "working class" implies the mass of unskilled workers rather than the highly skilled operatives in textile and other industries. The word has long been associated with poverty and certain recognised "problems": it is apt to call up visions of mean and dirty streets, with casual, uncouth figures standing at the corners. It is the boys and girls who belong to this particular conception of working-class life that this book principally considers—not because any of us believe that it is a proper or inevitable conception, but because we know that it is necessary to understand it more clearly in order to improve it more effectively.

Moreover, we are discussing only the dwellers in large towns. Labour under modern conditions has served to draw a sharp line between the types

of town and country, and to give special prominence to the former. The growth of cities has been so rapid and so enormous that it has indeed taken us by storm. We have not foreseen all that it implies, and have not realised until very late in the day that old standards and old systems of living which sufficed for the market-town, are hopelessly inadequate for the turmoil of huge industrial cities. Narrow streets have been added, mile after mile, until overcrowding has become one of the greatest dangers which threaten the happiness and usefulness of our people. Haphazard methods of education which may have suited the needs of a simpler time, have proved themselves quite ineffective as a preparation for the fierce struggle of modern business. We have allowed men and houses to grow as they would, without check or guidance, and now we are striving to bring them into some sort of order, so that they may in future develop without damage to one another and in conscious harmony. A century has seen very many brave efforts in this direction, but they have too often been the efforts of individuals in conflict with one another. It may be said that we are now reaching a new era in social reform, the characteristic of which is a more conscious union of forces, without a surrender of individual initiative and responsibility. The State is setting up the machinery which is to deal more comprehensively than ever before with the problems of industry and social morality. At the same time the usefulness of the voluntary worker is not superseded but rather increased. His or her co-operation is urgently demanded in order to set the machinery in motion, and to give life to every part of it. Legislation does not

x THE GROWING GENERATION

create itself, and when it comes into being there is no inherent magic in it. It can only make its appearance when a strong public opinion insists upon it, and it can only justify itself when there are many eager hands to carry out its provisions. Every citizen then has a twofold duty: to make up his or her mind that reform is needed, and to offer willing service when the opportunity for reform is given by Acts of Parliament. Moreover, Acts of Parliament are not enough in themselves. If they are to be made effective in spirit as well as in letter, they must be supplemented by all the intimate and friendly methods of personal work. Probably there has never been a time when the national conscience was more wakeful in social reform, and when the aims of our people were more clear or the prospects of success more hopeful. It is in view of these general facts and of the particular conviction that the happier future of a nation depends above all on the adolescents, the growing generation of to-morrow, that this little book has been undertaken.

Finally I must venture a word of personal explanation and apology. This book has been written in London, and out of a very limited experience even there. This will, no doubt, be apparent to many readers of the book in other parts of the country, perhaps especially in Scotland. I must express my sincere thanks to many critics who have seen the chapters in various stages, and above all to Miss Gardner, Malcolm Spencer, Stanley Nairne and Arnold Burrows, without whose help it would never have reached even its present measure of completeness.

B. B.

LONDON, JUNE 1911

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL NOTE	PAGE v
AUTHOR'S PREFACE	vii

CHAPTER I

PHYSIQUE	1
A.—Physical Conditions	2
(a) The child	2
(b) The adolescent	4
(i.) Physical changes	5
(ii.) Influence of work	6
(iii.) Influence of home	9
(iv.) Influence of food and sleep. Tobacco	12
B.—Methods for Promoting Physical Improvement	16
(a) Statutory methods	17
(b) Voluntary methods	19
C.—Conclusion	25
Books	28
Periodicals	29
Societies	29

CHAPTER II

THE EDUCATION OF THE ADOLESCENT	30
A.—Methods now in use	30
(a) Continuation schools	32
(b) Manual training	36
(c) Technical education	39
(i.) Evening or part-time schools	40
(ii.) Day or whole-time trade schools	41
(iii.) Domestic training for girls	43

xii THE GROWING GENERATION

	PAGE
B.—Practicable Proposals for Reform	45
(a) A part-time system	46
(b) Raising of the school age	48
(c) A possible combination	50
Books	54
Periodicals	54
Societies	54

CHAPTER III

FINDING WORK	55
A.—The Work that Offers	55
(a) Skilled trades	56
(b) Factory and mill work	57
(c) Domestic service	60
(d) Blind-alley occupations	61
(e) Street trading	64
B.—Ways of Regularising and Improving Employment	65
(a) Statutory aid : labour bureaux	65
(b) Voluntary co-operation	69
(i.) Juvenile advisory committee	69
(ii.) After-care committees	70
C.—The Promotion of Better Conditions	72
Books	76

CHAPTER IV

PLAY	78
A.—The Instinct of Play	78
(a) Its true course	78
(b) Its perversions	83
B.—Games and their Uses	87
(a) Quiet games	87
(i.) Games of chance	87
(ii.) Thinking games	89
(iii.) Games of skill	90
(b) Active games and sports	92
(i.) Games	93
(ii.) Sports	94

CONTENTS

xiii

	PAGE
(c) Military training	97
(d) Scouting	99
(e) Games for girls	100
C.—The Ideal Game	103
Books	106
Periodicals	107
Societies	107
Brigades	107

CHAPTER V

FINDING INTERESTS	108
A.—The Intellectual Awakening	108
B.—The Cultivation of True Interests	111
(a) The instincts of womanhood	112
(b) Nature and the country	116
(c) Literature and art	119
(d) The work of church and state	129
(e) Conclusion	132
Books	133
Societies	133

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL RELATIONS	134
A.—The Social Outlook of Adolescence	134
(a) The family	135
(b) Friends	139
B.—The Social Education of Adolescence	141
(a) The impetus to corporate loyalty. Clubs	141
(b) Wider responsibilities	144
C.—Boy and Girl together	147
(a) Customary relationships	147
(b) The imparting of right ideals	150
(c) The fostering of true fellowship	154
Books	157

xiv THE GROWING GENERATION

CHAPTER VII

	PAGE
RELIGION	158
A.—Religious Characteristics of Adolescence	158
(a) Spiritual awakening	159
(b) Doubt	161
(c) The moral struggle	163
B.—Religious Methods	168
(a) Public worship	168
(b) Club services	173
(c) Personal work	176
C.—The Place of Religion	179
(a) As a weapon	179
(b) As a refuge	181
(c) As the sum of living	183
Books	184
APPENDIX I.—Legislation	185
APPENDIX II.—Poor Law Commission (1908-9)	186

THE GROWING GENERATION

CHAPTER I PHYSIQUE

A.—PHYSICAL CONDITIONS—

- (a) The Child
- (b) The Adolescent
 - (i.) Physical changes
 - (ii.) Influence of work
 - (iii.) Influence of home
 - (iv.) Influence of food and sleep. Tobacco

B.—METHODS FOR PROMOTING PHYSICAL IMPROVEMENT—

- (a) Statutory methods
- (b) Voluntary methods

C.—CONCLUSION

WHILST it is possible to point to instances of saints made great by physical suffering, and to master intellects which have dwelt in bodies crippled and diseased, every one will agree that strength of constitution and limb are among the first essentials if the great majority of mankind is to be happy and useful. All the efforts of social reformers are therefore related, more or less closely, to the ideal of physical efficiency. Whatever the aim of the reformer may be, he recognises that he can have little hope of awakening the social conscience or raising the ideals of great masses of people in any direction, until the conditions under which they live and work have been made com-

2 THE GROWING GENERATION

paratively healthy. Some consideration of the physical state of any class in the community must accordingly be the first stage in a general account of its present position and its chances of progress in the future. Among all the problems which great cities have brought to light none is more urgent than the health of the adolescent children who are their growing citizens.

A.—PHYSICAL CONDITIONS

(a) *The Child*.—In order to appreciate at all justly the existing product—the boy or the girl of fourteen—it is essential to go back for a moment as far as possible, and to consider the circumstances of its origin. It seems scarcely necessary to insist that in the first year of life children, taken collectively, have to face their hardest struggle for existence. Statistics of “Infant Mortality” refer, therefore, exclusively to the first twelve months after birth, a reasonable and convenient limit, even if an arbitrary one. No one, calculating on all conceivable developments of science, expects to see the time when infant mortality shall be unknown: a certain number of failures and false starts is everywhere the rule of the natural world. The only practical question is whether and how far we can minimise the present loss of life by human means.

The efforts of a half century have proved how much can be done in lowering the general death-rate. A comparison of that rate in the first and last decades of the half century shows a decrease of nearly 20 per cent.—from 22.2 persons per 1000 in 1851 to 18.2 per 1000 in 1891-1900. In the same period the infant death-rate has fluctuated,

but the average of these two decades is precisely the same, namely, 154 per 1000. The year 1905, for instance, has 120,000 dead babies, out of 1,000,000 born in England and Wales, laid to its charge. This is not the place to enlarge on these figures, the most pathetic in the whole range of our modern statistics.

What, then, is the cause of our abnormal infant death-roll? For answer there rise up those hydra-heads against which, under the comprehensive name of the "Social Problem," we are battling—dirt, drink, disease, overcrowding, and, pre-eminent in the province now under review, the employment of married women.

Statistics of death are delusive things for they supply us with only half the facts. They show us the dead but they forget the "wounded," as one writer has aptly named them. "A heavy death-rate among infants," he says, "entails a heavy rate of inefficiency and disease among the children who grow up. The rate is indeed collected in the shape of dead babies, but its true incidence falls upon the survivors."

The hard struggle for existence in the first years of life, in which, as we have seen, so many go under, leaves its mark, then, on the children as a whole. Before they reach school-age harm has already been done, which must reveal itself in many cases in permanent defects. Out of the six million children who are attending the elementary schools of England and Wales, the latest available report (1909) shows that about 1 per cent. suffer from recognisable tuberculosis, $\frac{1}{2}$ -2 per cent. from heart disease, 3-5 per cent. from diseases of the ear, and 10 per cent. from serious defective vision, while 20-40 per cent. have bad teeth. These diseases

4 THE GROWING GENERATION

may be regarded partly as the legacy of the infant's struggle against adverse conditions, and partly as the result of the parents' continued ignorance and neglect. Besides these must be added the diseases due entirely to want of cleanliness—ringworm with its 1 per cent. of victims, and unclean heads in the extraordinary proportion of 40 per cent. of the whole number of school children. 8 per cent. suffer also from adenoids, a disability which in very few cases would be removed were it not for persistent pressure on the part of the school and other authorities. These figures, calculated as they are on the total number of elementary school children, the best with the worst, are surely striking enough: a medical census of the children of the very poor would reveal a far more alarming state of things. It is, however, in these school years—at the best the decade between four and fourteen—that children are under the most direct supervision of the State and therefore most amenable to medical treatment.

(b) *The Adolescent*.—Unlike the children we have been considering, the working girls and boys of our country have not been sufficiently organised to admit of any very comprehensive statistics of health being prepared. On the one hand some of them still stand among the school children, loosening only gradually their connection with the friendly school teacher, on the other many more are already enrolled in the ranks of adult labour. Conclusions as to their actual physical well-being must, therefore, depend on the personal observation of those who are in close touch with them in the daily life and work of the city. At the first cursory glance we see that a remarkable energy and self-confidence seems to possess them, and

that they find a great measure of enjoyment in limited resources. These are highly encouraging signs; they are the sound and lasting foundations on which all our social endeavour may be built. Yet alone they are not enough to justify the hasty "All's well" with which some superficial observers are inclined to meet us.

(i.) To begin with it is scarcely necessary to insist that the short segment of a human being's life, with which this book deals, the period of "adolescence," is not an arbitrary division. In the *physical life* it stands out most distinctly, and in the mental and spiritual spheres also it will be found to have its special character. Physically the child has already passed through marked crises. He has survived the struggle of birth; at about nine months of age he has claimed a new independence by cutting teeth and, under normal conditions, being weaned. At about three years his diet has given place to something much more like the diet of the adult. At about the age of fourteen the child is reaching a new and very vital stage of the journey. He becomes gradually conscious of new powers of body and mind; the world in his eyes seems to change, to be filled with new splendours perhaps, but also with new if scarcely comprehended dangers and with increasing difficulties, before which he seems often alone and unguided. At every step on this new road he is putting off, ever more distinctly, the child and putting on the man. Within limits the physical change must be the same for all, yet there are reasons which cause it to affect the working-class with peculiar force. At the age when, for children still at school, discipline is made more severe, for the child of

6 THE GROWING GENERATION

the working-class it ceases abruptly. Economically he emerges at one stroke from childhood and takes his place among the wage-earners of his family. The working girl at the same stage is not perhaps thrown immediately into quite such active competition with workers older than herself; yet, considering her greater need of protection, it cannot be said that she is much more fortunately placed than her brother.

(ii.) Under present conditions, then, the beginning of adolescence among working children coincides with a negative change in their mode of life—the withdrawal of the restriction and partial protection of school. There is also a positive aspect which even more profoundly affects their bodily well-being—the *beginning of work*. In the countryside the boy or girl at this point finds the days, in a sense, little altered. Instead of the interruption of the village school standing between them and the freedom of field and barn and covert, they enter upon a more continuous and monotonous occupation in these same places. They are but exchanging an irresponsible for a more serious interest in the sun and frost and rain, the burden of fruit-trees, and the brown earth in the wake of the plough. Their health is not subjected to any new trials: on the whole, in spite perhaps of bad home conditions, it not only does not suffer but often grows more robust. The life of the city child is very different. Many diverging ways are opened at once, and one or other or several of these ways in succession must be ventured upon. There are indeed a certain number of outdoor occupations, but even these from the point of view of health, are radically different from those of the country. They do not usually demand

steady and slow application but rather periods of activity, sometimes violent physical exertion, alternating with periods of enforced idleness. They mean irregularity, exposure to changes of temperature and very often particularly long hours of work. In the city the outdoor occupations are most often at the lowest end of the industrial scale: the casual messenger or errand boy, the van-boy, the scavenger, the street trader. Yet some of these jobs are not among the worst paid, and work on a van particularly appeals to very many boys and is chosen by them willingly. It offers a considerable freedom and eight shillings a week, and it leads, as we shall notice in a later chapter, to nothing more substantial. The outdoor jobs in the city are served, therefore, in great measure by the lowest class of boy, the poorest, worst fed, least capable of resistance and struggle and advancement: except in the unfortunate case of street-traders they do not enlist girl-workers at all in England, though girl-messengers are far too common in Scotland. To such poor physical material especially it is doubtful whether an irregular outdoor life can ever be of much value. After midnight sometimes or perhaps in the early hours of the Sunday morning, the heavy two-horse van, last straggler in the old day's traffic or first in the new, rumbles and lurches through the narrow streets, with its silent driver in front pulling at the reins, and with the tired scrap of a boy still dangling to a rope at the tail board, or half asleep on the top of a mountainous load.

A very large number of boys and girls will naturally pass straight into factories, especially in towns like Leicester or Bradford whose one predominant

8 THE GROWING GENERATION

industry goes some way towards absorbing the labour of the people at almost all ages. The monotony of factory work produces certain mental and moral disabilities, but it is more regular and, where it is well organised, it is often not directly unhealthy. The dangers of bad sanitation and ventilation, of noxious fumes and such positive ills as lead-poisoning, are tangible things and become more and more subject to legislation and the vigilance of factory inspectors. At the same time there are innumerable normal exactions of factory life which seem scarcely capable of complete reform: steam, dust, deafening noise, the cramped position of the worker in many operations, hours of standing and concentration of the eye and hand on rapid and unvaried movements. The full-grown man or woman in some degree becomes inured to these things, and may even develop a special immunity from the ill effects of them, but the boy or girl, who is already undergoing the physical strain of "growing up," cannot be subjected to them without suffering.

It is easy to be sentimental about the lot of those who work in factories and mines and all ugly places, to forget perhaps that overfatigue—of brain more often than of body—is not less common among those whose industry finds expression rather in their mental than in their manual labour. At the same time are we to rest content with an authoritative report such as one of H.M. Inspectors of Factories gives us?¹ He describes the conditions of a boy of fourteen in a textile district:—"The hours will be long, fifty-five per week, and

¹ Mr Wilson, *Report of Committee on Physical Deterioration*, 1904, i. p. 26.

the atmosphere he breathes very confined, perchance also dusty. Employment of this character, especially if carried on in high temperatures, rarely fosters growth or development: the stunted child elongates slightly in time, but remains very thin, loses colour; the muscles remain small, especially those of the upper limbs, the legs are inclined to become bowed, more particularly if heavy weights have to be habitually carried, the arch of the foot flattens, and the teeth rapidly decay." Of girls employed in the same trades he reports that "they exhibit the same shortness of stature, the same miserable development, and they possess the same sallow cheeks and carious teeth." Even their hair, he has noticed, at an age when other girls have a luxurious growth, dwindles to a mere "rat's tail."

(iii.) Concurrent with the effects of work on boys and girls there is the continuous *influence of home*, in some cases their best safeguard, but in very many others most unfavourable to the health of body and mind. This must be such a truism to anyone who has entered the doors of the poor in any city, that a detailed account of their home conditions seems superfluous. This part of the subject comes mainly within the special domain known as the "Housing Problem." Let us content ourselves with reviewing a very few facts relating to a part only of the problem, that of "overcrowding." The standard used in the tables which are appended to the Report of the Inter-departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration of 1904 is that overcrowding exists "where more than two persons live in one room, the whole tenement being less than five rooms." This technical definition will seem to those who live or visit in the poorest districts

10 THE GROWING GENERATION

to set a high standard, but to one who is accustomed to the freedom of open spaces it will be the opposite: to him every street of a slum seems overcrowded, dark and airless, and he reads his evidence in the faces of its inhabitants. In Sheffield, for example, there are 15,000 back to back dwellings, each consisting as a rule of three rooms and sometimes housing twelve people: in one such district of that city 234 infants die out of every 1000 born. In the Borough of Finsbury in 1903 there were 14,516 persons living in one-room tenements, and the death-rate among them was 38.9 as compared with 5.6 in tenements of four or more rooms in the same district. In Glasgow the death-rate from pulmonary tuberculosis alone in one-room tenements (1904) was 2.4 per 1000 as compared with 1.8 in two-roomed tenements and .7 in all other houses. In some quarters of Edinburgh 45 per cent. of the population live in one- or two-roomed dwellings—in the North Canongate district 76 per cent. In these one or two rooms live often seven, eight, or nine children besides the father and mother. The houses of the Staffordshire pottery-workers contain seldom more than two bedrooms, occupied in some cases by eight adults: and it should not be forgotten that these houses are often owned, according to evidence before a Royal Commission, by members of local public bodies. These instances surely are enough, even if they do represent the extreme limits of the evil. Anyone can satisfy himself by personal investigation that the overcrowding of immense bodies of working people, in forms more or less acute, is widespread.

The working-man has no nursery in his house, his babies are bred and born in a room which the

mother shares with other members of the family. In it the children play and fight their battles with childish sickness and mortal disease. They come back to it from school, or, later, from work, often overdriven, possibly not well, and take their share in a confused meeting of those of all ages, in which each must clamour at times for his or her own particular need, in which not all are patient, not all perhaps are sober. With the best mother and the best management in the world they must be overcrowded and their health cannot but suffer. As long as they keep comparatively well these conditions are supportable and even welcomed, but some of us would like to forget things we have seen—the working boy or girl tossing all night with fever in a stifling verminous room where others are sleeping, fighting for life with strange patience as the light brings a new, noisy working day.

There is no need to discuss at length the disastrous results of insufficient air and water and of bad sanitation in crowded dwellings, for they are only too patent in the life history of many of the poor. For instance, you need only climb the filthy evil-smelling stairs of a six-story tenement block by the London riverside to satisfy yourself of the extraordinary obstacles to proper decency and cleanliness. On every landing there are four sets of two room tenements, each occupied by a separate family; on each landing there is one unsanitary convenience and one sink for all washing, whether of persons or utensils. Such conditions (which are not rare) are of course in marked contrast to those which prevail in the latest "model-dwellings," where sanitary arrangements are as complete as could be desired.

12 THE GROWING GENERATION

(iv.) Finally a word must be given to *food* and *sleep*. Home, with its noise and confusion and recurring unpleasantnesses, is not an attractive place; the streets are free. The hasty supper of ill-chosen, non-nutritious food, further spoilt in the cooking, is bolted at home, and the working child goes out to seek more congenial society; or, having a little pocket money from his weekly wage, he dines out on fried fish and potatoes, eaten at the shop counter or from a newspaper parcel in the street. The close atmosphere of the workshops and homes of these children often takes away their normal appetite, but it leaves them with a craving for highly-flavoured things; they indulge their passion for pickles and the inevitable kipper. In any case boys or girls are very likely to supplement what they may get at home by buns and cocoa or by cheap sweets. The dust or the smell inseparable from some trades gives them a thirst which can scarcely be satisfied; they have constant recourse to "Kola" or yet stronger "fizzy" drinks, and in not a few cases they begin that constant dropping into the public-house which becomes such a snare after a few years' indulgence in the habit. Many observers have commented on the danger of the common habit of a boy "treating" his girl in public-houses. In the case of factory girls, excessive tea-drinking is apt to be scarcely less disastrous than the craving for alcohol.

What the public-house is to the man and woman the sweet-shop is, in a measure, to the adolescent. Perhaps brilliantly lighted, it offers cheerful gossip and an infinite variety of sticky things to eat. I remember the astonishment of a German, with whom I was walking in the east

end of London, at the number of sweet-shops and the fact that, besides tobacconists, they were the only shops open on Sundays. Their evil effects are two-fold : in the first place adulterated sweets injure the digestion and spoil the appetite for more wholesome food ; in the second the sweet-shop engenders the pernicious habit of constantly spending money.

With the evening, moreover, there comes a craving for excitement. There is not much inducement to go home to bed. The day's work may have been monotonous and very tiring, but the evening brings its compensations. Visitors fresh to the slums often wonder to see boys and girls, or both together, talking in groups at the street corners at midnight, indeed, on hot summer nights at almost any hour. They forget that from earliest infancy these children have been accustomed to keep the same hours as their parents, and that there is little to attract them home to crowded and often verminous rooms at a reasonable time to sleep. The pale sharp faces and heavy eyes, the bad teeth which too often characterise the city child, the frequent sickness and loss of appetite are sufficiently accounted for by these facts.

It is not possible to separate the physical from the moral effects of overcrowding and bad housing in the case of the adolescent, any more than it is in the case of the working-man, who is driven by the discomforts of home into an abuse of the public-house. These same discomforts drive out the children into the streets and other still more undesirable places, with consequences which cannot but militate against their health and morals.

14 THE GROWING GENERATION

The ice-cream shop is, particularly in Scotland, a place of very unenviable notoriety. An investigation into the shops of this class was recently made by the Scottish Council for Women's Trades, and their report was published in February of this year (1911). Whilst no indiscriminate and sweeping charge is brought against that whole class of shop, much evidence has been forthcoming which shows that they are very frequently a contributory cause in the downfall of many boys and girls. The following extract from the report speaks for itself:

"These shops are favourite places of resort of young people of both sexes, during the later hours of the evening and on Sundays. Where they are not carefully managed a great deal of rough horse play goes on in them, that leads to very real evils. Gambling is common in them. The consumption of alcoholic liquors after the public houses have shut is also common. Sometimes this drink is brought in by the customers themselves, and sometimes it is supplied on the quiet by the keeper of the shop. A number of young girls have in these places been exposed to criminal assault—in some of the cases reported, by the owner of the shop himself. Numbers of young prostitutes use these shops as places of resort, and through their evil influence other girls are frequently led away. Boys have been known to begin a course of vice owing to connections formed in these shops. Some of them actually afford facilities for immorality.

"All these facts have for long been the despair of respectable fathers and mothers in our city, and are well known to Mission workers and social workers, as well as to the police. It is not to be

thought of that a community should suffer such a dangerous process to go on unchecked."

Of the use of tobacco what are we to say? The controversy between smokers and non-smokers may perhaps remain till the end of time, but at all events there can be little difference of opinion as to the effect of continual cigarette smoking on very young boys. Legislation has been able to perform some service in checking what is recognised on all hands as an evil. The sale of tobacco in any form to "young persons apparently under the age of sixteen" is forbidden¹ and the complaints of small tobacconists of the serious falling off of their trade in cheap cigarettes (from which a considerable portion of their income is drawn) bear witness to the efficacy of this prohibition. Smoking among younger boys has undoubtedly been checked, though not stamped out, but the advancing adolescent and the young man are still free to indulge the habit to any extent. The working boy will produce his crumpled packet of "Woodbines" from his waistcoat pocket and light a cigarette almost unconsciously. Very commonly he will pinch out the glowing end before the cigarette is half finished, and thrust the stump back into his pocket or behind his ear, only to relight it a few minutes later. This habit of frequent small doses serves indeed only to aggravate the evil effects of smoking: the poor cigarette with its adulterated tobacco and bad paper is made even poorer when it is stained and stale with constant relighting. In the extreme cases of over smoking (and they are not rare) the boy's bodily growth is stunted, his face becomes

¹ Children Act, 1908. Cf. Appendix.

16 THE GROWING GENERATION

dusky pale and unnaturally wizened. The poison in his heart and lungs unfits him for work, and when the habit has overcome his self-control completely, its effects are scarcely less disastrous in moral than in physical directions. If a boy must smoke—and it is certainly difficult to prevent him from doing so in most cases—it is at least a step in the right direction if he can be induced to give up cigarettes altogether and take to a briar pipe. To the “serious” smoker a cigarette has a certain meanness: it does not satisfy his hunger. What it lacks in efficiency it is forced to make good in quantity and, in fact, in continually increasing quantity. Cigarette-smoking becomes very easily the insidious habit which really enslaves so many of our young men to-day. It undermines their health and their power of will to such an extent as to be a recognisable social danger, to combat which the co-operation of all workers among boys is urgently needed.

B.—EXISTING METHODS FOR PROMOTING PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT

It would be out of place here to discuss the means which are being adopted to care for the health of infants and school-children. It is noteworthy that the school years are the most fruitful field at present for the nurse and doctor, in co-operation with the teacher and the voluntary worker. The child can be watched day by day, compulsorily inspected, and, within limits, compulsorily treated. Such experiments as “School

Clinics" and Open-air Schools are already yielding encouragement for the future.¹

When we come to adolescents, we find the situation far less simple. They are engaged in such a countless variety of occupations, and are so much their own masters, that control of any kind in matters of health is very difficult. Still some efforts have been made, and these efforts fall naturally into the two divisions common to every branch of our subject, the divisions of public or statutory and personal or voluntary endeavour.

(a) *Statutory Methods*.—The widespread ravages of disease were for centuries considered as part of the unalterable course of nature, or indeed as specific "judgments of God." Accidents at work were "no one's fault" in particular. The first Public Health Act in this country only dates back to 1848. The State now recognises the employer's responsibility, and it is now no longer left open to a workman to enter a trade knowing its special risks and accepting them. The employer is compelled by Act of Parliament to minimise those risks and to compensate him for injury, or his family for his death. The State has stepped between master and man with a great and increasing volume of "Factory Legislation." Yet it must be remembered that factory legislation in England is not based on a systematic investigation of the proportionate dangers of labour in each trade, but depends frequently on the amount of pressure which particular

¹ "The school-doctor states that at his second visit three weeks after the inception of the (open-air) class in many cases, he felt momentarily doubtful whether the children were the individuals he had originally selected. . . . Many children formerly apathetic and morose, with improved health and colour became bright, energetic, and interested in their occupations" (Report of L.C.C. Day Schools Sub-Committee, 1911).

18 THE GROWING GENERATION

Trade Unions (backed usually in this matter by public opinion) can bring to bear in Parliament. Under such a haphazard system the special protection of working children, who have so little voice in agitations, has often been overlooked. The records of child labour in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries form one of the saddest chapters of our industrial history. It took Parliament twenty-five years to make up its mind to restrict the labour of a child of nine to a 69 hours' week, and even then the Act applied only to cotton mills. The practice of using "climbing boys" to sweep chimneys—that dismal life from which Tom, the "Water Baby," was delivered—was only suppressed after sixty years of desultory agitation, and by three Acts of Parliament. By about 1880 it may be said that the worst abuses of child labour were at an end, and during the past sixty years some sixteen Acts have been passed which affect the health of children working in factories or at home.¹ At the same time these Acts are not without their critics. It has been said that employers tend to dispense with the labour of boys and girls between the ages of twelve and seventeen, because of their special liability to accident and the stringency of the law with regard to them, and that such children are in consequence thrown on the casual labour market, which is far more disastrous to their prospects. Some critics even maintain that factory legislation has a tendency to encourage the parents to neglect their children, who are no longer so valuable as wage-earners. Yet on the whole few will doubt the beneficial results of Factory Acts on children's health and well-being, whilst most will agree that there still remains very much to be done in this direction.

¹ For Factory Act of 1901, see Appendix.

It would be impossible to summarise here with any approach to completeness all that has been done and is being done by public and municipal bodies for the health of town-dwellers, and not least for that of children. The Public Health Acts are being administered with ever-increasing vigilance in all large towns through the Medical Officers of Health. Improved systems of sanitation and lighting, widening of streets, and clearing of the most pestilential slum areas, the provision of parks and open spaces and of many kinds of recreation—these things vary so much in scope and usefulness in every town that they must be left to the interest of individual readers for examination.

(b) *Voluntary Methods*.—The individuals and voluntary organisations in Great Britain which are concerned with the physical development of working boys and girls are legion. In this, as in every other department of our national life, private, voluntary endeavour precedes and co-exists with all public measures in the same direction. Indeed the efficacy of statutes for the amelioration of social conditions depends a good deal on the service of voluntary workers. In some cases their place is definitely assigned to them; in others they can stand by and lend encouragement or very vital help. They can bring public opinion to bear on the working of Acts in this way or in that. They can often influence the decisions of officers and magistrates. To them is given to uphold the spirit of a measure in cases where the official discharge of it may have missed the true point for which it was framed. Whilst Acts of Parliament must be mainly preventive, voluntary efforts are often able to be more constructive.

Efforts for the physical well-being of working

20 THE GROWING GENERATION

boys and girls take several directions. There are a certain number of voluntary organisations, in addition to great hospitals, which deal with their medical treatment. By far the greater number, however, concern themselves, not with the cure, but with the more encouraging work of the prevention of disease and physical deterioration, the building up of a sound body and with it of a sound mind.

In the first place should stand the work of physical education, for it is the most direct safeguard against many common evils. This is a work which is, on the whole, much neglected. Ignorance of simple facts of physiology and hygiene is responsible for an enormous proportion of the sufferings and dangers of children in working-class households. A great deal is already being done to educate working women by the "schools for mothers," milk depôts, and by the personal work of health visitors and the distribution of literature. Among adolescents there are also many opportunities for physical education. Lectures on attractive lines, it may be with lantern slides or experiments, are sometimes given on such subjects as food, clothing and general hygiene. Temperance lectures also belong to a large extent in this place. In the case of girls a field is opened almost unlimited in its possibilities. For some time they have been taught cookery and laundry-work, and a beginning has been made in teaching them the care of children. The voluntary worker, as the girl's friendliest adviser, can surely do very much to suggest better ways of housekeeping and clothing and feeding, and through the girl can affect the comfort of her home. New methods creep in thus subtly, new little refinements of living which may

in time affect profoundly the unhealthy conditions of a crowded dwelling.

There is at least one other field of physical education which belongs peculiarly to the period of adolescence and is the most difficult and delicate of all problems to approach: the problem of personal purity. It is here that ignorance is lamentably often suffered to have its own way. This is not the place to suggest the way in which an experienced voluntary worker may think right to help boys and girls, for it is a subject which will claim some attention in a subsequent chapter.

In the second place there is the province of physical recreation, a province wide enough to tempt voluntary workers of every age and inclination. In this chapter we are considering it primarily as a means for promoting the physical qualities of muscular and constitutional strength, not in view of the moral qualities which it can scarcely fail to call out. At all events for boys in a city there is no field for recreation more obvious than a social club.

The working boys' club is a centre of energies which astonish almost every visitor who looks upon them for the first time. He sees a boy come in late, and hears him explain that he has been kept at work overtime and has only just had his tea. He watches him attack a punching-ball with his fists, immediately and with murderous ferocity, and before it has stopped swinging from the attack, he sees him with his coat off boxing with a boy a head taller than himself. He sees a certain amount of science and unlimited vigour, a display of muscular arms, a smile and a joke in answer to some staggering blow. At the end of three rounds he sees the same boy put on his

22 THE GROWING GENERATION

coat and plunge at once into a game of billiards in the next room. In every room of the building there seems to be a crowd of boys fulfilling, with variations, the same programme. Everywhere there is bustle and activity—the activity of the street intensified, the enjoyments of the street more patent and outspoken. It is obvious that to a working boy the physical recreation of his club is one of the most natural and popular things in the world.

Indoor sports are possible every evening of the week, but they are more calculated to produce fine muscles than really strong constitutions. Evening running clubs which tour the streets in all weathers, show admirable resourcefulness, but at least once a week there is a chance of something much better. On the weekly half-holiday the city comes nearest to emptying itself into the country.

In spite of all its abuses, there is something to be said from the point of view of health for the watching of football matches in the open air; there is a thousand times as much to be said for the playing of them by the boys of factory, mill and mine. As for cricket, in some respects the finest of games, it may be said to stand second to football for the working man and boy, because it demands more leisure than he is properly able to afford. Besides the two great games of winter and summer there are other forms of outdoor sport which appeal as strongly to the working as to any other class—running, walking, swimming, cycling. The mere use of the open air is half the battle; the organised enjoyment of it is the complete victory. To get this in its widest and most varied form there is no device which can

equal camps—camps of a week or a fortnight in the summer, camps may be of a week-end at any season. All that "Country Holidays" are annually to enormous numbers of school children, camps undoubtedly are to working boys and girls. Let it be noticed that girls are included here for the first time in the present discussion of methods. Strenuous indoor sports are very difficult to arrange for girls, partly because the existing games are little suited to them, and partly because the instincts of club life are, as a rule, far less common among them; but in the country, girls find innumerable recreations which are directly calculated to improve their health. Probably also the working girl appreciates the country and its activities much more for their own sake than her brother is apt to do. It should be added that though camps strictly imply tents, and though living under canvas is the most healthy and free mode of life now practised by us, camps for our present purpose should also be made to cover any place of dwelling in the country which is temporarily occupied by the poorer inhabitants of the city.

Under the term drill are included all forms of recreation which imply discipline in "squads" or lines or companies, a discipline more or less military in its nature. Gymnasium classes at their best are essentially of this kind. Such discipline as an end in itself discourages bodily freedom, but as a means it may be used to regulate that freedom and to turn it to its highest account. It is, moreover, as applicable to girls as to boys, and gymnastic classes or musical drill are among the best resources of a girls' club. In the strict form of military organisation it is aimed, perhaps

24 THE GROWING GENERATION

mainly, at other goals than the purely physical. Military drill may teach a cadet to "hold himself up," but it teaches him more particularly to obey, and, later, to command. It affects his body in the process of affecting his character.

There are enough ways of advancing national health to engage the interest and help of every citizen. Most neighbour nations have adopted the wholesale method of universal military service: the Germany of Bismarck's dream has been built up on it, a strong witness to its success. This is not the place to discuss the merits of universal service. We can only note here that its value as physical training is undoubtedly great. It is, however, a method which does not commend itself as a whole to the British mind. Our people—perhaps mainly from a natural dislike of being dragooned—much prefer field sports and games to stricter forms of exercise. This deficiency—for it is an undoubted deficiency in some ways, both from a physical and moral point of view—is being recognised, and there is a growing tendency in the direction of those ordered exercises in which the Swedes are still the masters of Europe. "Swedish Drill" is being taken up seriously in elementary schools and may have its very far-reaching effect in the future.

Scouting is the most modern form of physical training as it is by far the widest in scope. Ideally it embraces all three divisions—of indoor sport, outdoor games, and military discipline—and uses them for the supreme object of making men, complete and useful and sound in every part. In practice it is doubtful how far it is successful among elder boys, or whether it is really applicable on the same lines to girls at all. Efforts have been

made to form bodies of girl scouts, but experience has not proved them generally successful.

C.—CONCLUSION

We have no need to await conclusive evidence as to the conditions under which the working classes in our towns usually live or of the consequent state of their health. A multitude of books and official reports, and the unanimous witness of a whole army of independent observers and social workers have made it clear beyond dispute that these conditions are generally very far from satisfactory, and are in some cases almost incredibly bad. The average standard of living is below what most of us believe to be the reasonable ideal for a citizen in a modern civilised country. Air and food and rest are alike stinted, and health suffers as the inevitable consequence. In view of the conditions which now exist, we are bound to ask ourselves what is to be the future of our race and of our national life. It is now many years since we began to ask ourselves questions as to the housing and feeding and bodily training of the working people who make up the great majority of our nation, and it is time that we should look for a strong and unequivocal answer. Up to a point the answer is given. We are, at least agreed that the hardships and disasters and cruel sufferings which have been so prevalent in the past, still continue. The waste of life and energy which are inseparable from these evils cannot but keep pace with them still. Year by year the health of the people is more widely discussed, and attempts to improve it become more numerous and more thorough : yet, after all, if we consider it for a moment quite impartially, little

26 THE GROWING GENERATION

that is radical and fearless and of general application has been done. We say that consumption is preventable, but we have only just begun to think, as a nation, of preventing it. We have calculated to a fraction how much disease and death is directly due to overcrowding, want of food and sleep, and lack of knowledge in matters of hygiene: yet we still cling on the whole to the expensive and belated remedies of hospital and asylum and prison, rather than face the initial effort of making our cities habitable places for the men and women and children who are compelled to work in them. Here and there all that individuals or societies or corporations can do to strike at the roots of social degeneracy is being done, but we are still very far from a combined national effort to efface the evil. The reason is all the more pitiful because it is so very plain. It is that we are, as a nation, still only half ashamed of the crippled and diseased products of our modern city system, and only half in earnest in our attempts to prevent such results in the future.

It is easy to make the picture of physical suffering and deterioration a dark and disheartening one. It is necessary always to remember what is already being done to lighten it in many directions. In no sense is present effort vain or the future without abundant hope. Above all, the promise of better things is in the people themselves. In the first place, city life and labour has to some extent produced a new race of men and women, physically fortified to resist unnatural influences to which those who are not inured would succumb, and of children answering and adapting themselves from their earliest years to their environment. It is the old story of man triumphant still

over the conditions of his life—though the price of victory, in this case as elsewhere, is often terrible to contemplate. In the second place physiologists come forward to maintain that there subsists, through all conditions, a physical mean of the race, a standard to which the most neglected and most handicapped tend always to rise, to which they *do* rise as soon as the advantages which nature intended are restored to them. There is no more inspiring and encouraging thought for those who are working for the physical welfare of our people. Nature, thwarted and abused by the violent ways of human society, still clings obstinately to her original plan for the race—

So careful of the type she seems,
So careless of the single life.

It is not yet possible to put this physical standard for our country into figures, for no comprehensive and regular records have been kept. This can only be ascertained when some such "Anthropometric Bureau" as was strongly recommended by the Inter-departmental Committee of 1904, has been officially created. The old theory, so comforting to those who propounded it in many ages and countries, that there are two classes of society, the "upper" and the "lower," and that the "lower" is probably irremediably degenerate, can have no place among us now or in the future. We recognise no longer any inherent badness of one class as compared with another: we see only different degrees of attainment as the result of different degrees of opportunity. The working classes of our country are and must remain seriously deteriorated in physique so long as they are denied the opportunity of a healthy way of living. They

28 THE GROWING GENERATION

are weakened in body, and consequently they are very likely to be weakened in mind and in moral power. Bodily disease and mental disease are very often the common characteristics of one individual or one family, and mental disease and crime are so intimately related that we can draw no certain line between them. The health of the nation must be the key to its whole progress, and the health of the nation in the future must depend upon the health of its children to-day.

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SOCIETIES

- National League of Physical Education and Improvement.
 5 Tavistock Square, W.C.
 National Physical Recreation Society, 12 New Broadway, Ealing W.
 National Health Society, 53 Berners Street, W.
 National Housing and Town-planning Council, 18 Dulverton Road,
 Leicester.
 National Food Reform Association 178 St Stephen's House,
 Victoria Embankment, S.W.
 National Association for the Prevention of Consumption ("The
 National Crusade"), 20 Hanover Square, W.
 Women's Imperial Health Association of Great Britain, 3 Princes
 Street, Hanover Square, W.
 Women's National Health Association of Ireland. Vice-Regal
 Lodge, Dublin.
 Association of Health Workers, 53 Berners Street, W.
 Invalid Children's Aid Association, Denison House, Vauxhall
 Bridge Road, S.W.
 Mothers' Union. Church House, Westminster, S.W.

Some of the above have a number of branches throughout the kingdom. There are local Health Associations in Bradford, Cambridge, Glasgow, Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Shrewsbury, etc.

CHAPTER II

THE EDUCATION OF THE ADOLESCENT

A.—METHODS NOW IN USE—

- (a) Continuation Schools
- (b) Manual Training
- (c) Technical Education
 - (i.) Evening or part-time schools
 - (ii.) Day or whole-time trade schools
 - (iii.) Domestic training for girls

B—PRACTICABLE PROPOSALS FOR REFORM—

- (a) A part-time system
- (b) Raising of the school age
- (c) A possible combination

A.—METHODS NOW IN USE

The last census figures (1901) which are at present available showed that in England and Wales alone there were just over two million boys and girls between the ages of fourteen and seventeen, while it was estimated that the children actually at the age of fourteen numbered 700,000. Obviously some of these children continue their education at the many grammar schools, high schools, and public schools in the kingdom, but it was found that the number of children seeking places in the industrial world was over 600,000; so that six out of seven of all the boys and girls in Great Britain leave their school days behind at the age of fourteen and become wage-earners.

EDUCATION OF ADOLESCENT 31

If we wish to take into account the whole period of adolescence—from fourteen to twenty-one years of age—we find, from the census, that of less than three million persons over two and a half millions are working for wages. These figures should be borne in mind when we speak of educating adolescents. We must recognise that for an overwhelming proportion of our people the beginning of adolescence is the signal for systematic education, in the usual sense of the word, to come to an abrupt end. In order to realise the seriousness of this fact, those who have received a continuous secondary education have but to look back on their own career. For most of them it was just after the age of fourteen had been reached that they began to be really alive to the great place that learning was to play in their life. They became conscious of its pleasures and even of its goals. They entered into it with feelings not in every case enthusiastic but at least more responsible than those of a child. They will surely feel convinced that if their school days had come suddenly to an end at that age, they might have become very different and much less useful men and women.

There are still some who say, with a strange lack of imagination we must think, that the curriculum of the elementary schools fulfils the whole duty of the state to the children of its working class; that any further and higher form of education is not only unnecessary but positively harmful to its recipients. We all know the cry that “the working man must be taught to keep his place”—meaning by that the place which it was thought convenient to allot to him in the past. Putting aside any such fantastic vision as that of a large number of working-people taking

32 THE GROWING GENERATION

an Arts degree, are we not fairly agreed upon recognising sources of secondary education which shall be free and open to every comer? There are continuation schools, polytechnics, scholarships at many universities and colleges, besides the innumerable local municipal or private ventures of this character. For the mass of boys and girls of the poorer working classes, most of these are a negligible quantity. Indeed the only one of which much account can be taken is the Continuation School.

(a) *Continuation Schools*.—It may be said that ideally the Continuation School should bear the same sort of relation to the Elementary School as the University to the Secondary School. The Continuation School sets out not to teach entirely new subjects but rather to teach the old school subjects in a new way, to carry the general culture of a schoolboy or schoolgirl on to a higher level, to place it on a wider and more intelligent basis. Reading and writing and simple arithmetic are not as a rule taught from the very rudiments, as in the old-fashioned "night-school," because they are already essential parts of the pupil's equipment. Reading becomes now the instrument for acquiring wider general knowledge of history or geography or even of literature. Writing leads on to composition, the exercise of expressing thoughts clearly and stating facts correctly. Arithmetic takes the form of practical reckoning in business materials or of office book-keeping. The first drudgery of learning is a little relaxed and learning begins to have a practical relation to the work of everyday. As is natural, such classes as those for short-hand, typewriting, etc.,—the "bread and butter subjects,"—are the most

EDUCATION OF ADOLESCENT 33

popular with pupils of both sexes. In the higher classes the work of continuation schools comes into line with other secondary education.

The advantages of such a logical "continuation" of the elementary school programme are so obvious that it will be asked what proportion of the many thousands of children who leave school each year avail themselves of it. The actual number of those who register their names for evening classes of this kind is lamentably small except in some trades or in local areas where special efforts have been made. Irregularity of attendance is also a difficulty which has to be encountered. In Scotland the practical method of requiring a deposit of five shillings from each pupil, which is refunded when his attendance reaches a certain standard, is found successful. The explanation of the small numbers and of the irregularity is largely to be found in the fact that the classes are almost always and of necessity held in the evening. It is not at all to be wondered at, that boys and girls, most of whom have been employed all day at sedentary or hard physical work should be unwilling to forego their evening's leisure. More than that, many of them are really too tired in body or in mind to enter into school-work with the necessary application. These would-be scholars are in the same case as the children in elementary schools who work as "half-timers." They are already in need of rest when they begin their lesson and they grow rapidly more listless as it proceeds. In an evening class of telegraph-messengers for example, it was shown by actual experiment that the learning capacity of the pupils was depreciated 28 per cent. in the second half hour as compared with the

34 THE GROWING GENERATION

first.¹ The evening class is still the only practical form of continued education under the labour conditions which prevail in most modern trades. There are, however, cases in which progress has been made in this matter. Young apprentices at the Great Western Railway Works at Swindon who attend continuation classes on three evenings of the week are excused work in the shops before nine o'clock on the mornings immediately before or after the class. Some engineering firms have gone further by employing their apprentices from April to October in the works and sending them in the winter to a Day Trade School.

Germany has, however, taken the lead in recognising the vital importance of continued education. The system of Continuation Schools (*Fortbildungsschulen*) has been universally applied by law. In the early days of the German Continuation School, classes were held on Sundays in order not to interfere with industry. These were superseded by evening classes as in our own country but on a much wider scale. It was then recognised that both Sunday and evening schools are ineffective and harmful to the pupils. They were swept away in favour of compulsory part-time schools which are held during the day. Employers are bound to allow to their young workers so many hours a week (varying from two to six). The law is subject to local option, so that in some provinces it is much less universally compulsory than in others. In certain large manufacturing cities this form of education is not continued beyond the age of sixteen, but normally it is binding on boys up to the age of eighteen. It is applied less rigorously and less generally to girls. The schools are of

¹ Jackson, *Unemployment and Trade Unions*, p. 76.

EDUCATION OF ADOLESCENT 35

several distinct kinds: general Continuation Schools (where, besides "literary" subjects, lessons on citizenship may be given) and specialised Technical schools for boys, divided into the main heads of Trade and Commercial Schools. This very comprehensive system is the result of gradual growth. In its early stages it met with some stubborn opposition from employers of labour, just as technical education in our own country has often been discouraged by the trade unions. Now, however, the advantages of it both for master and man have become so apparent that employers in some places have built Continuation Schools at their own expense. If, further, we take into consideration the wide disciplinary powers and the Social Clubs which are attached to these schools in some states (*e.g.* Saxony), we shall probably agree that the system goes a good way towards meeting the problem of the working child's education.

With regard to more advanced secondary education in England, such as is reached by working girls and boys in exceptional cases only, the Polytechnics and Working Men's Colleges go far towards supplying the need. The "Tutorial Classes" of the Workers' Educational Association have also done much in the last few years in this cause. In some cases they have trained factory or mill hands up to a standard equal to high honours at the Universities. It is, indeed, an inspiration to help in the teaching of such students, for they are often rare and independent spirits. Such an one was the boy in the evening Latin class of a Working Men's College whose favourite English poet was Spenser, who devoured the odes of Robert Bridges in the tram because he loved their "stoyle,"

36 THE GROWING GENERATION

and who approached Cicero in class with genuine excitement. Such another was the son of a dock labourer who tackled his irregular Greek verbs night after night in a little room which he shared with his parents and the noisy younger children, went up for a scholarship at Oxford, and eventually became a master in a secondary school. Learners of this fibre must always be the exception in any class of the community.

(b) *Manual Training*.—In considering this subject we must for a moment turn to the curriculum of the elementary school. It is obvious from the outset that "book-learning" is not all that a child needs in order to become an efficient workman or a complete man. Indeed it is sometimes maintained that a prolonged course of such learning actually militates against the child's chances in the industrial world, by taking up just the years in which a trade might best be mastered. At the same time it would be quite unfair to say that manual training has no place in the elementary school system. In the form of simple hand-work it is the very essence of the Kindergarten which is provided in the Infant Department of a Council or Board School. In this form it is designed not only to teach the technical virtues of accuracy of eye and neatness of hand, but to affect the child's mind in a vital way. Its object is to call out all the child's natural delight in creating and constructing, to develop all the powers inherent in a self-active being and give them a visible expression. For this was the true goal of the educational philosophy of Froebel, to whom alone we owe the kindergarten idea. Man, the restless dreamer, the tireless thinker, is to find some appropriate action and utterance for each conception of his mind. This

EDUCATION OF ADOLESCENT 37

was Froebel's aim, but he died before he had formulated his system beyond the early stage of childhood. In the Kindergarten the child is encouraged to imitate in many materials the forms of nature which he sees about him, and to realise in all sorts of models the inventions of his fancy. The world with its mountains is made visible before his eyes in a heap of sand on the table: he creates its harbours and its commerce and its systems of locomotion.

In the elementary school at the present time manual work does not receive official recognition again until the child reaches the age of about eleven. At that point boys are allowed to take up some handicrafts or gardening, and girls to learn cookery or laundry-work. Thus some years of enthusiastic interest in manual work are being wasted in the present elementary school system. Many forms of interesting activity might be provided which would make most boys and girls lovers of handicraft for the rest of their lives. The activity must appeal to the imagination; that is, it must partake somewhat largely of play instead of being obviously applied from the industrial point of view. But even at the age of eleven these occupations are voluntary; and the opportunities are not made use of as they might be. The figures for England and Wales show that of the boys, only 36 per cent. took up any handicraft and (what is perhaps less surprising) only 5 per cent. learnt gardening; of the girls only 33 per cent. did cookery and 8 per cent. laundry work. This disappointing result is partly to be explained by the growing reluctance of boys to become manual labourers. The reports of the Labour Exchanges show often that high-class artisans are difficult to

38 THE GROWING GENERATION

obtain for certain kinds of work. Many boys will prefer clerical occupations, even though in reality more irksome and worse paid, to skilled manual work which may offer considerable opportunities, of advancement. The fact that a black coat implies a higher social standing than shirt-sleeves is one which we cannot but deplore.

The great value of the manual principle which Froebel preached from the point of view of a philosopher is already being recognised by leaders of industry on practical grounds. The Consultative Committee of the Board of Education came to the conclusion, on the evidence of many witnesses, "that it is educationally important to secure that the future clerk shall be able to use his hands as well as his pen." In other countries, perhaps notably in America, workmen are encouraged by every means to study machinery and to express their own ideas by inventions and suggestions. In this country the intelligent and inventive workman is seldom directly encouraged. His foreman looks on any suggestion of new methods coming from him as quite out of place, and his employer would seem to be content with a low standard of attainment as he offers no inducements of better position or wage to exceptionally skilled men. The aspirations and schemes which the child was able to express in lively forms in the Kindergarten are too often suppressed and atrophied in the adolescent and adult worker.

The industrial revolution, which necessarily followed the introduction of machinery, was bound to crush the handicrafts in very many cases. If, as is sometimes maintained, the curriculum of the elementary school tends in addition to

EDUCATION OF ADOLESCENT 39

emphasize the distaste for them, the matter should receive the earnest consideration of our educational experts. As there is no longer such a great field for the skilled hand worker, innumerable branches of manual labour, unskilled in various degrees, must absorb a large proportion of the boys and girls who leave elementary schools. No doubt at present a large number of boys of more than average intelligence are pinned down to entirely mechanical work for a whole lifetime merely because they have never been taught the finer uses of their hands, having drifted the moment they left school into the first job which was offered at a few shillings a week. In this matter of manual training there is certainly room for reform in the schools—both so far as the actual practice of it is concerned and in the improvement of its status in the minds of workers.

(c) *Technical Education*.—As distinct from the “head work” of the continuation classes and the general manual training in elementary schools, we must consider the means provided for teaching workers the technical methods used in particular skilled trades. A century ago such courses of instruction in separate institutes would scarcely have found any place, because the boy or girl who was bent on following a skilled trade naturally sought the channel of apprenticeship. We have to acknowledge nowadays, however, that the old system of apprenticeship has broken down. Machinery which does not demand any great skill in management, the practice of having immense factories with minute division of labour and close organisation, and the rush of modern industry have all combined to destroy it. Too

40 THE GROWING GENERATION

often one hears the bitter complaint on the lips of modern apprentices that they are learning nothing, that in their workshop they are merely exploited as cheap labourers to run errands and carry glue-pots for other men. The apprentice no longer works at the same bench with his master or other skilled hands as he did in the small workshop of a previous generation; he is one of a swarm of workmen, many of whom are older than himself, all intent on the limited, monotonous tasks which are allotted to them. It is often the business of no one in particular to see that he learns thoroughly the rudiments of his trade or to report his progress in it. Other means must be employed for teaching skilled work, and these have been provided by the Technical and Trade Schools. An obvious distinction must be made between *evening* and *day* schools of this nature, for whereas the first are intended for the use of those boys and girls who are actually at work all day, the second set out to provide a thorough course of training in preparation for the work which is to follow.

(i.) *Evening or Part-time Schools*.—Such schools offer in another form the opportunities of the old-fashioned apprenticeship. A boy or girl has worked all day in the lower branches of a particular trade, and in the evening he or she is able to master at the school the various higher branches of the same trade in which an opening may some day offer itself. Boys may learn here the various crafts connected with engineering or navigation, building or plumbing, carpentry or printing, and, if desired, such arts as photography or draughtsmanship; girls are offered classes in dressmaking and tailoring, embroidery, nursing,

EDUCATION OF ADOLESCENT 41

domestic science and various arts. As a rule, boys and girls who can show that they are genuine "learners" or "improvers" (both terms have a recognised significance) are admitted to evening classes free of charge for two or three nights a week. Others may have to pay fees amounting to 10s. a term. Besides the general objections to which all "half-time" work is open, there are special difficulties in the way of many who might benefit by evening schools. Firstly, irregularity, the bugbear of continuation schools, is scarcely to be avoided. Boys often have to work overtime in their factories during periods of pressure. Girls work very largely in "seasonal trades," that is to say, in trades which are very slack at certain times of the year. In order to avoid hardship a common practice in some trades is to employ girls at slack seasons for so many half-days or days a week. This allows them to earn something, but as an evening school is generally chosen near the place where they work and not near their home it militates against a regular attendance. In the second place, the instruction offered by evening technical schools is often beyond the grasp of the mere beginner. The very limited hours of the school will not allow of quite elementary teaching, and a gap is thus left unbridged for many would-be learners between the elementary school on the one hand, and the technical school on the other.

(ii.) *Day or Whole-time Trade Schools.*—These are far more efficient and promising institutions than the last can hope to be. The modern and complete examples are perhaps the most conspicuous evidence of the responsibility which Local Education Authorities are beginning to claim on

42 THE GROWING GENERATION

behalf of adolescent workers. In London alone there are already sixteen such schools, ten for boys and six for girls, of which the latter are probably the more successful. Trade Schools for boys differ in object and scope from those for girls, as is shown by the respective wages earned by the pupils when they go to work at the end of the course. Whereas a girl may begin at 10s. a week, a boy will only earn perhaps 8s. or even 5s. The explanation of this apparent reversal of the ordinary rule is that the Trade Schools for boys do not purpose to supersede apprenticeship (as in the case of girls), but rather to prepare the way for the higher branches of their trade. It is in practice only being gradually recognised by employers that the boy's training in a day Trade School should shorten his term of apprenticeship considerably. The boys' Trade Schools also differ from the girls' in that they take pupils under the age of fourteen, thus giving them part-time practical training whilst still at an elementary school. The school day at the Trade School is indeed usually divided into two parts—one half technical education under a highly trained workman, the other half, general education, a system which is also common at Industrial and Reformatory Schools.

Trade Schools for girls are intended principally for those who come direct from the elementary schools, though there are always a few who enter them at the age of fifteen or sixteen from secondary schools. Fees have usually to be paid by the parents at the rate of 10s. a term, except in the case of those children who win scholarships. The London County Council, for instance, offers to girls a hundred and eighty scholarships which

EDUCATION OF ADOLESCENT 43

provide free tuition and, in addition, a maintenance grant of £12 a year. The course is for two years, and girls are expected, if possible, to complete it. There are again certain drawbacks which prevent this excellent attempt from quite covering the ground of a good apprenticeship in old times. In the first place the conditions of an actual workshop cannot be completely reproduced, and secondly, there is not that necessity for constant bustle which is inevitable in modern business. The first defect can scarcely be remedied, but in the case of the second, teachers, who as a rule are personally accustomed to practical trade, do much to encourage speed. Moreover, it is a usual practice to form advisory committees of employers who inspect the work done in the school from a trade point of view and prevent anything like merely academic methods. Such a system of inspection, as carried out for instance by some Trade Guilds in Germany, may have also a far wider use in the furthering of a better understanding between workers and employers. About two-thirds of the school day (9 a.m. to 5 p.m.) is devoted to trade instruction, the rest to more general education. A new departure worth recording is the teaching of photography, a trade requiring delicate operations which seem specially suited to women.

(iii.) *Domestic Training for Girls.*—While the subject of the working girl's education is under review, it is essential to consider another aspect of it, surely even more important than her preparation for the workshop. Opinions may differ as to the whole mission of a woman's life, but no one will seek to rule out her functions as a wife and a mother, the genius of a household and

44 THE GROWING GENERATION

the trainer of young children. In an immense number of working-class households the two sides of the woman's life, the domestic and the industrial, come often into violent conflict. This is not the place to discuss the vexed question of women's labour in detail, but in any case "domestic subjects" are clearly a part of any complete system of education for a girl. Cookery and laundry-work, as has already been noted, are optional subjects in elementary schools, and it seems probable that hygiene and the care and feeding of infants will soon be made regular subjects for girls in the school programme.¹ Besides this, special centres for cookery and all domestic subjects have been established here and there, with definite courses of instruction and even scholarships. For working girls the training must above all be practical. A mother's or daughter's knowledge of the management of a house upon a limited income may be an inestimable blessing, and may make the life of a family in some cases possible where else it would hardly be so, in many cases more attractive, in all cases more efficient.

The management of infants is no less vital and proper a subject for special training than cookery, laundry-work, and general domestic hygiene. For it must be borne in mind that ignorance of elementary facts, and carelessness which becomes almost traditional are responsible not only for the death of a very large proportion of the infants which are lost to the country each year, but also for the general discomforts of home which drive the husband and the elder children to seek refuge

¹ A Bill to this effect was introduced, with general support, in the House of Commons in March 1911.

EDUCATION OF ADOLESCENT 45

in less desirable places. Working girls in many cities marry very early, even during the period we have under review in this book, and the training at school, whether the elementary or continuation school, in household management is their only opportunity for a fair start and the greatest hope for progress and the uplifting of family life in the future.

B.—PRACTICABLE PROPOSALS FOR REFORM

Much, then, has already been devised and carried out in this difficult province of training adolescent workers for the trade at which they are to earn their living. Unfortunately the methods already outlined, however admirable in themselves, are not being applied to the majority of boys and girls who issue yearly from the elementary schools of our country and take their place in its industry. Nor indeed is it possible that they should be universally applied. We cannot all be skilled men, for neither our own natural resources nor those of the State admit of it. It is scarcely practicable therefore to think of applying a highly organised universal system of technical education to present conditions. The trade unions have been in the past the strongest opponents of technical education for others than their own apprentices, because they saw clearly enough the dangers to their trade of the creation of a great body of highly-trained workmen. The skilled labour market would become overstocked, younger men would oust existing trade-union members, and their own apprentices might not survive the fierceness of competition. It is held by some economists that in the labour market the supply to some extent creates a demand, that

46 THE GROWING GENERATION

is to say, that the presence of a large number of highly-trained workmen tends to call forth new openings in their trades and to raise the general status of the trade by the improved nature of its output. How far this is true in practice is a question which we must leave in all its complexity to the economists to develop. Certainly, at least, it is unfair to the taxpayer, and still more to the skilled workmen, to expend time and money in training men for whom there is little or no sure opening in industry. At the same time there are very few citizens to-day who would not wish to promote a logical development of the people's education, or who would advocate a return to the condition of industrial serfdom which once prevailed. Even if we wished, it is too late to turn back. We go forward in hope, but what shall be the immediate road which we choose?

(a) *A Part-time System*.—In this matter of training our working children for their task two main lines of advance have been already indicated. In the first place there is the present system, substantially the same, but made more effective in working. Its advocates suggest first of all a compulsory instead of a voluntary basis for continuation schools. Elementary education is to be developed with its present objects, *i.e.* to provide the indispensable ground-work of all accurate and intelligent labour. After it the boy or girl should become a "half-timer," *i.e.* he or she should enter a trade as at present happens, but should be compelled also to attend continuation classes on stated evenings, or, at certain hours in the daytime to be allowed by employers. This continuation course should not be a mere repetition of what has been learnt at the elementary school; it should build on that

EDUCATION OF ADOLESCENT 47

foundation, but it should also provide very definite trade education and some form of manual practice. Such an arrangement, it is claimed, would ensure the proper opportunities being given to every child of bettering his position, without at the same time seriously disorganising the labour market. At the age of fourteen the child would still begin to earn wages, which is the primary consideration in poor families, without having to give up his education entirely.

It is now generally agreed that the "half-time" system in elementary schools, by which children are permitted to do wage-earning work for some hours of the day on condition that they attend school for the rest, is an evil with very few compensations. The child is severely taxed in body before the school hours are reached, and is physically incapable of benefiting to the full extent by school instruction. The only advantage of the system is the paltry wage which in very poor homes may have considerable value. Precisely the same thing is true of the "half-time" system in adolescence—the combination of hard factory or other work with evening or half-day continuation schools. The result is that neither the trade nor the education are given their proper chance at the adolescent's hands.

Besides the economic wastefulness of all half-time systems, the damage is extended to another sphere of still greater importance to the true development of men and women. The young "half-timer" is exposed during his or her wage-earning hours, not only to dangers of overwork, but possibly to very unsuitable companionship in the factory. The discipline and the moral code which

48 THE GROWING GENERATION

is urged upon them at school may be entirely negated outside. Half-time may mean much more than two occupations; it may mean the living of two incompatible lives at the same time. These risks, it is scarcely necessary to add, are enormously increased in adolescence. The boy and girl taste independence at the same time as they begin to see new possibilities in life. Surely it is the fault, not so much of the individual, as of the system, that the working aims of so many drift into purposelessness, that the ranks of the unemployable, the hooligan and the prostitute are swelled.

The problem has been stated in its two parts. (i.) The *Industrial* question, the fact that elementary education at present is but a fragment, broken just at the point where it should begin to touch the practical work of the world. The lessons which have been learnt fall into oblivion, the practical training is scarcely begun; each suffers only from the lack of some connexion which should couple them and make them a logical whole. (ii.) The *Moral* question, the fact that control over the child is removed at just the point where it is most urgently needed. The dependence of the school-child and his opportunity of benefiting by strict discipline stand in sharp contrast to the independence of the adolescent and his temptations to misuse his new powers of body and mind.

(b) *Raising of School Age*.—There remains an alternative system, more drastic in its working, which has been claiming serious attention for some time. It is a universal adoption of the system already prevailing in the whole-time Trade Schools which we have discussed, that is to say, in effect a

EDUCATION OF ADOLESCENT 49

further extension of the school age. The proposal has been under discussion for some years, but it is probable that to the average citizen it commends itself but little for the reason that he thinks of it only as a further extension of an existing defective system of elementary education. It must, however, be clear that the aims of its supporters are of another kind. They are thinking of an additional year or more of school for every child in which he or she is to be taught, besides the general subjects already in the school programme, very definite elements of practical work. The manual training of the pre-adolescent years should be increased, for the idea of "teaching through doing" is spreading beyond the Kindergarten to all stages of education. This manual training, with all its lively attendant interests in the work of the world which the child sees around him, would continue naturally and without a break until the age of fifteen when the child left school. But education should not end there. One extra year devoted to it would be a great gain in itself in many ways, but its main purpose would be defeated unless something further were done. Training, regular and consistent, must continue up to manhood, and here a combination of the methods which we have considered as alternatives seems to be the one practical way out : the part-time trade education of workers should be insisted on, as in Germany, up to the age of eighteen. We have noticed sufficiently already the drawbacks of part-time work, but we must also recognise that whole-time schooling and the consequent withholding of the boy or girl from wage-earning labour up to the age of eighteen is too much to ask, however ideal on high grounds such a plan might be. It is only necessary to follow

50 THE GROWING GENERATION

closely the fortunes of a number of working-class families in order to see this clearly.

A working man, let us say an ordinary unskilled labourer, marries and manages well for several years. The first and second child have perhaps been born, and now the extra mouths in the household begin to tell. Each fresh child, and the size of the family is often in inverse ratio to the parents' wages, means an access of privation. Possibly six or eight children have been born before one begins to earn. As soon as the eldest child, especially if it be a boy, passes the age of fourteen the family prospects are likely to brighten. He can add his six or eight shillings a week to the family exchequer. As each successive child emerges from the school and begins to work the conditions of family life grow steadily easier, until of course the new landmark is reached, the marriage of the children and consequent withdrawal of their earnings. The period of education often means bitter years of struggle to the family, years which react on the efficiency of the growing children themselves, and from this point of view alone, the raising of the school age presents great difficulty.

(c) *A possible combination.*—The practical reasons against prolonged education may then be stated under these heads:—

(i.) The hardship felt by poor parents in foregoing the wages of the children, even though the prospect of better eventual earnings be increased.

(ii.) The greatly increased drain on public resources by the creation of an immense number of new schools and staffs of teachers which the education of all adolescents would necessitate.

(iii.) The industrial difficulties which are twofold—the disorganisation of trades in which juvenile

EDUCATION OF ADOLESCENT 51

labour is not only general but is indeed the only means by which profits can be made, and, secondly, the doubtful chance of "placing" the greatly increased body of skilled workers which would be created.

Some day all these difficulties may be overcome, for another generation of men may gain the conviction that the blessings of a continuous secondary education up to the dawn of manhood, such as a limited number of our people already enjoy, must be extended to all alike and will repay every sacrifice which is demanded. That day is still very distant, and its advent depends necessarily on long preparation and deep changes in our society.

For the moment we have to give logical completeness to the educational systems already within our grasp. The programme for the worker's training which is suggested as the outcome of this chapter is briefly as follows :—

(a) Elementary education, revised further on the principle of "teaching through doing"; and extended, with modifications of the programme, up to the age of at least fifteen.

(b) General continuation schools and trade schools on a part-time basis, up to the age of eighteen. "Compulsion" is an ugly word to the British mind, but in the last resort it would be necessary at this stage as at the previous one.

(c) Some would like to supplement this further with one or two years of military service for all able-bodied young men. This forms indeed a very essential part of the worker's education in Germany and its great value for discipline and actual technical training cannot be doubted. It seems, however, more than doubtful if it will ever find its way into British life.

52 THE GROWING GENERATION

One of the essentials to progress must be a greatly increased consciousness among employers of the value of trade education. The prejudice in favour of workmen of very mediocre knowledge, which has lost its power in America and many parts of the Continent, still seems to find a stronghold in the British Isles. The superstition that highly trained workmen tend to become unmanageable, and indeed, paradoxical as this may sound, to produce too much and too rapidly, still lingers in some of our workshops. Such strange causes as these undoubtedly contribute to that falling behind of our workpeople in the race with other industrial nations, which we often view with such alarm. The old methods have gone down before the new systems of highly specialised and organised labour. It is the scientific workman who will count henceforward. Yet British employers, with some very remarkable exceptions, scarcely realise that their responsibility and their own material interest meet in the training of their young workers. They seem to expect to receive the whole benefit of the labour of their workmen, but they will not undertake to help in the care and the cost of their specialised education; they prefer still the shortsighted policy of engaging the firstcomer rather than of insuring by their own action the quality of his work. Moreover, it is the mass of unintelligent and ill-trained workers which becomes an easy prey to demagogues and agitators, not as some employers seem to fear, the highly skilled men whose minds have been awakened and interested in their work. The Juvenile Advisory Committee of a Labour Exchange tried the experiment of calling a meeting of the discontented employers in a certain trade,

EDUCATION OF ADOLESCENT 53

putting the case for the education of juvenile workers before them and leaving them to talk it over among themselves. It was not long before the conviction of their own duty and interest in the matter became clear to them, and they are already enthusiastically preparing to take organised action on their own account in the matter of the education of their own work-people.

The organisation of national education is the most serious internal problem which any country has to face. On its solution must depend a great part of the happiness as well as the ability of its people in the commonwealth of nations. The way to approach the question is to keep very clearly in view the main aims. It would be madness to make no allowance to the grave commercial interests involved. At the same time we may feel that it is worse than madness, it is a neglect amounting to criminality, to lose sight of the true rights and the high destiny of living men and women. The real greatness of a nation, we are constantly being told, depends not on the number of its soldiers or of its square miles of territory, but on the character of its people. We in this country have for centuries expended vast sums on the education of the few who may, generation by generation, be called to lead in church and state or to rule wide provinces in every corner of the world. We are now spending a large amount of thought and money on the teaching and training of the many, not only in industrial, but also in mental and religious spheres. Yet after all with the mass of our people we have but made a beginning. This is no question of the few sharing their advantages with the many as a matter of charity. It is a question of producing a

54 THE GROWING GENERATION

nation, sound and complete, in which every citizen rich or poor, shall have the opportunity of fitting himself to play a vital and honourable part.

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The Workers' Educational Association, 14 Red Lion Square, W.C.

CHAPTER III

FINDING WORK

A.—THE WORK THAT OFFERS—

- (a) Skilled Trades
- (b) Factory and Mill Work
- (c) Domestic Service
- (d) Blind-alley Occupations
- (e) Street Trading

B.—WAYS OF REGULATING AND IMPROVING EMPLOYMENT—

- (a) Statutory Aid: Labour Bureaux
- (b) Voluntary Co-operation
 - (i.) Juvenile advisory committee
 - (ii.) After-care committees.

C.—THE PROMOTION OF BETTER CONDITIONS

A.—THE WORK THAT OFFERS

SCHOOL days are over for ever, specific trade training has been received, is still being received or has never been undertaken: for the boy or girl in most working-class families there is no alternative now but work. The choice of it is not by any means always in the worker's hands. It depends very much on local labour conditions. Moreover, hard times or complete thoughtlessness may lead young workers to take the first job that offers, however ill-suited to their powers of body and mind. Once begun this particular work may claim them for a lifetime, or it may leave them empty handed in the street again after a few

56 THE GROWING GENERATION

weeks or even days. This is a matter for clear thinking if we would see disaster avoided and a life's usefulness advanced. In this matter of the choice of employment it is rarely possible to generalise, for the nature of trades and the opportunities they afford vary in different places and at different times, almost as much as do the inclinations and abilities of the workers. What is true of a manufacturing town in the North is not necessarily true of ports like Bristol or Portsmouth, and in many details of industrial organisation London stands alone. The boy or girl so far is restricted in the choice of work, and local conditions of labour must always be taken into account when considering the probability of the worker's success or failure in gaining a satisfactory livelihood. For the sake of convenience we may, however, divide the possible openings for young workpeople into certain groups.

(a) *Skilled Trades*.—The division between "skilled" and "unskilled" labour is at root an arbitrary one. It is scarcely possible in most trades to mark an actual point at which unskilled work rises at once into skilled, though such points are marked, for the sake of convenience, by trade unions and organisers of labour. It is indeed impossible to point to any operation in factory or mill or in the open field, in which skill of some order is not required, a mere knack, it may be, that is learnt in a few hours of practice, or the extraordinary delicacy and dexterity which is only acquired after years of training. From digging or cracking stones to watchmaking, all work in some sense entails skill. For practical purposes, however, the "skilled trades" have been fairly

well defined: they are the trades or branches of trades to which a worker is only admitted after some recognised training or subject to a specific test of attainment. It follows naturally from this that these are the trades in which, in the long run, the best wages are to be earned and, in most cases, employment is most permanent. Obviously then such work is to be recommended strongly to boys and girls who are beginning to seek employment. These are the trades in which labour is most highly organised by the employers and by the workers themselves. The operations of trade unions may be tyrannical in certain emergencies, but they are at all events a great source of protection to the interests of their members.

The labour of boys and girls as apprentices or bona-fide "learners" in some specific industry is, at least from the economic stand-point, the ideal, and, combined with some measure of more general continued education, it satisfies those who have the young worker's welfare most at heart.

At the same time important reservations must be made. A nation constituted entirely of skilled workers (in the ordinary use of the term) is out of the question. Hewers of wood and drawers of water there must be, men and women who do the heavy and simple labour which is necessary in order to prepare the skilled workers' material, the digging of crops or roads, the mere "minding" of animals or machines, the constant waiting on other workmen's needs or carrying of their implements. It is just this necessity for the unskilled labourer which renders vain any dream of high technical education applied universally to every child.

(b) *Factory and Mill work.*—Under this heading a vast number of trades are included, employing the

58 THE GROWING GENERATION

bulk of the workpeople in a great town. Each of these trades is further subdivided, often with extreme minuteness; a hundred different operations may be conducted under one factory roof, all applied to one material in different stages of manufacture, and each demanding a greater or less degree of skill. Many of them, however, have no claim to be included among the "skilled trades" proper. Stamping tins or packing jam is work for boys or girls, men or women without any special trade education: a few days among the long rows of those who are continually engaged on exactly the same job will suffice to make them practical hands. Very often this kind of work consists merely in feeding and tending a machine.

In the manufacturing towns regiments of boys and girls are employed in such work. It is, indeed, often the obvious, the only work offered to them. It is also just in such work that their labour is eagerly sought, for they are as fully able to accomplish it as adults, perhaps even more so, and they command lower wages. The consequent overstocking of the labour market, the crowding out of adults by children fresh from school is a very serious problem in many trades. It is maintained for instance that there are always ten times as many cotton spinners as are needed for the industry.¹ Time and again a young man of nineteen is told one morning that his services are not required, and a boy of fourteen takes his place; or the workman of forty, father of a family, with a good record of many years with one firm, is dismissed in some slack season, not to be re-engaged, for a boy, perhaps his own son, can take his place when opportunity arises.

¹ Webb, *Industrial Democracy*, p. 811.

One paramount question at once suggests itself. Is it desirable that children—whatever the conditions—should work at all in the company of adults and on the same kind of labour? It is felt with increasing force that children should not be allowed to work for wages while at the elementary schools (*i.e.* as Half-Timers) and further that no exemption from school should be allowed under the age of fourteen. This school age is still an ideal rather than a matter of practice in many, perhaps most, parts of the country. In this matter London is as a rule far in advance of the provinces. In 1901, for instance, the census showed that whereas in London of boys between the ages of ten and fifteen only 15 per cent. were employed, in Burnley 42.9 per cent., in Blackburn 41.2 per cent., in Halifax 41.6 per cent., and in Bradford 38.5 per cent. were at work. In 1907 the Board of Education returns showed that no fewer than 211,000 children in England and Wales left school under the age of fourteen. A very large number of these would be working for small wages, and, although it is not easy to see how certain trades could be carried on without their labour, it is certain not only that they compete unfairly with adult workers but that very often their own health and morals are injured. The trades which are enabled to increase their profits only by underpaying the women and children whom they employ have been rightly termed “parasitic,” for the wages which they give are quite inadequate and have to be subsidised by husband or parent of the worker. At the same time the employers of such cheap labour are not making up the balance by educating their workers: they keep them at a task as long as they are useful, and then turn them away to make

60 THE GROWING GENERATION

room for a fresh relay on similar conditions. "Parasitic" employment of this kind is economically a danger to the community, which it defrauds constantly of efficient workers. The moral danger is perhaps even more serious. Children are thrown in contact with all the undesirable elements of factory life, its nervous strain, its loose talk, and recurring temptations to many vices. No one pretends that growing children could, or, indeed should be withheld indefinitely from taking their place in the working world, but it is at least possible to prevent them entering it quite so violently and at so early an age. They may be overworked, and after a few years they must expect to be thrown out of employment, untaught and undisciplined, to shift for themselves. Such a system of child-labour can have no defence except the vicious one of a cheapness which enables one individual to trade at the expense of others.

(c) *Domestic Service*.—It is a little difficult to place domestic servants with reference to other kinds of labour. Their training is not quite of a kind which makes them "skilled" workpeople in the accepted sense, and yet they may have a particular social standing above most other members of the working-class. The number of boys and girls of the poorer working class who enter domestic service is, of course, small compared with those in the other kinds of occupations we have mentioned. Yet this is a kind of work which it is well worth while to consider, for under proper conditions it offers good and steady employment, with a considerable measure of protection and discipline.

It is scarcely necessary to point out that the lot of a domestic servant in some households is very far from an enviable one, but this is the

exception rather than the rule. It cannot be claimed that such work, either for boys or girls, is always free from special temptations and moral dangers, but there are many mothers who are extremely anxious to see their girls in service, because they believe it to be, on the whole, more guarded and suitable work than the rough and tumble life of the factory. Moreover, it is a kind of work in which voluntary helpers of working children can be of great assistance, for it is often their incentive and advice alone which is needed to get girls and boys into "situations" as servants. For boys there are several openings. In the first place they may go out as page-boys in private houses, and may gradually rise to be men-servants of various kinds in good positions. To train such boys, who must of course have some natural smartness and aptitude, the "House Boy Brigades" in London and elsewhere are doing excellent service. Positions are also open to suitable boys as club attendants and ships' stewards, in both cases with good prospects. In the case of girls friendship and advice are even more urgently needed, and there are not a few powerful agencies ready to supply it.

(d) "*Blind Alley*" *Occupations*. — There are certain occupations which have the peculiarity of attracting young workers by the comparative freedom and variety which they allow and by the fair wages which they offer, while at the same time they hold out no prospects of permanent or progressive employment. They are, in fact, well described as "blind alleys."

The most important, because the most largely staffed, of these occupations is that of the messenger. Under this heading are included the Post Office messenger who is usually a "telegraph boy,"

62 THE GROWING GENERATION

the boy employed by a press agency or similar organisation, and the ordinary errand boy of a shop. With regard to the first, it has long been recognised that the Post Office is a capital offender in encouraging a very unsatisfactory form of boy labour. The staff of Post Office messengers consists at the present time of some fifteen thousand boys, of whom four thousand are discharged every year. Such boys leave after several years of service, probably with a good character, but with poor prospects, for they have never learnt any particular trade. Parents of boys, and boys themselves, are to be found who speak bitterly of Post Office work and wish they had never been connected with it. This very unfortunate state of things has, however, been carefully investigated by a Standing Committee under the present Postmaster-General, with the result that a practical scheme has been devised to deal directly with all but a small number of the boys who leave the Post Office every year. They will in future be absorbed into the Army and Navy or into the Postal Service itself.

The lot of the uniformed boy of a messenger company or press agency is apt to be even more precarious, for in many cases the boy is chosen for his small size and smart appearance, and soon outgrows his usefulness to his employers. The boy employed by a messenger agency no doubt learns to do many odd jobs which require a certain presence of mind and even real character, but he learns no trade; if he is fortunate he may be given later some position of responsibility, such as that of porter. A press agency boy must be able to worm his way into a crowded Police Court or other meeting place and out again without delay, for he it is who keeps up communication between the

newspaper office and the reporters on the scene of action. Before very long the day must come when he is discharged in favour of a smaller boy just fresh from school.

Lastly, there is the ordinary errand boy of a shop, who wears no uniform but is not less recognisable for that. His working hours are not, as a rule, too heavy, his day's programme is varied and not too strenuous, and his wages may be five shillings a week. The fact that his dawdling nature is proverbial is evidence in itself that the work has no good moral effect on him. The errand boy is able to indulge pretty freely the light-heartedness with which nature has endowed him. He has a hundred acquaintances in his own and other trades whom he meets in the course of his rounds on foot or on his bicycle. Each casual meeting is a fresh temptation to loiter, perhaps even to sit down on his basket under a shady wall and smoke a cigarette with a friend. The pleasure of this is obvious, but it must be heavily paid for, in most cases, in later life. In Scotland the practice of employing girls as shop-messengers has its obvious dangers to those so employed.

The next most important "blind alley" occupation is that of the van-boy, the assistant who rides on the tail-board of a van or on the top of the load. His business is to help the carman or driver in loading or unloading the van, by delivering the goods at each stopping place, or by minding the horses while the carman is away. It is an attractive life for many boys, for it offers much change of scene and many long breaks in the actual work. The wages, moreover, may amount to eight shillings a week, which is actually more than boys will begin earning in many skilled trades or factories.

64 THE GROWING GENERATION

The hours are often very long, for in large cities the work of collecting and delivering goods may go on till any hour of the night. The prospects are of the most uncertain kind. It would seem natural that a van-boy should rise, in the same trade, to the position of the carman who drives a van, but in practice this is not the rule. The boy grows too big for his work and is summarily discharged. In point of fact the occupation of carman is apt to be one of the most overstocked and, consequently, undesirable. This is more noticeably the case in London than in specifically factory towns. The answer "carman" is given with wonderful frequency by men who are questioned as to their trade by societies to whom they apply for relief: it is indeed often a synonym for general casual employment. From this it is clear that the one trade for which the van-boy seems to be specially qualified is one of the least hopeful, and only accidentally claims his services. He is already spoilt and unsettled for other and better work at the age of sixteen or seventeen, at which he is superannuated.

(e) *Street Trading* is rightly regarded as at the lowest end of the scale of juvenile employment. The children engaged are of the poorest and most neglected class, for their trade but narrowly escapes the stigma of begging proper. Ill-fed and ill-clothed, they stand in the street in all weathers and offer their wares. Their health is likely to suffer severely, and they are exposed to moral dangers which are obvious enough. Under the existing Act for regulating Street Trading (1903) no child under 11 may trade in the streets at all, and no child under 14 may trade before 6 a.m. or after 9 p.m. In not a few cities the Act is supplemented

by stringent bye-laws which regulate or forbid street trading under the age of 16, whilst the Majority Report of the Poor Law Commission recommended that the prohibition should extend up to the age of 17 for boys and 18 for girls. It seems inevitable that before long some further legislative action will be taken in the matter. Yet even now arguments for the beneficial effects of street trading are to be heard. "Give the youngster a chance to learn the ways of the world" was the plea of a leading evening paper not long since when street trading regulations were mooted. "There is no finer school for sharpening his wits than business on his own account." This is so grotesquely true and its pitiful results are so well known to all who work among city children, that detailed comment is unnecessary.

The most familiar instance of street traders is, of course, that of the newspaper boy. It is scarcely necessary to say that a distinction must be made between boys who are employed by newsagents to distribute newspapers at specified addresses, and the "paper-boy" who cries his wares in the open street and depends for his earnings on his ability to sell rapidly and in quantity. The first is only one kind of errand boy, the latter is one of the most difficult street traders with whom workers among boys have to deal, and special societies have been founded for that purpose.

B.—WAYS OF REGULATING AND IMPROVING EMPLOYMENT

(a) *Statutory aid: Labour Bureaux.*—Some of the broad divisions of the employment which is available have been dealt with, and those who

66 THE GROWING GENERATION

know local conditions will be able to remedy the many gaps and imperfections necessary to such a general survey. We have next to consider the various means by which boys and girls seeking for work may be guided to a satisfactory choice. The dangers and difficulties of work (some of which have already appeared in various guises in our consideration above) are of two distinct kinds—economic and moral.

It may roughly be said that the effective means of dealing with these difficulties are also two-fold—the State organisation of Labour Exchanges, which sets out to deal with economic problems of labour, and the voluntary effort which can best look after the moral welfare of individual workers. It may also be said that, as the economic and moral dangers are often closely related to one another, the State and voluntary efforts to assist workpeople also depend for their success on one another's co-operation. The Board of Trade Labour Bureaux are as yet young in this country, and are still misrepresented and mistrusted in some quarters. Employers begin only gradually to rely upon them for the supply of their workpeople, and the workers themselves are still apt to suspect them of partiality, or to feel themselves unjustly treated if work is not forthcoming as soon as they register their names. The objects of the Exchanges are very clearly set forth in an official circular for the information of workpeople and others. They “exist not to make fresh work, but to bring together more rapidly and more certainly than at present work that wants doing and workpeople capable of doing it. They cannot guarantee to each workman a market for his labour; they can enable him to find that market by a method more businesslike and less dishearten-

ing than the method of tramping from door to door or town to town. They cannot abolish unemployment; they can diminish it by putting an end to such unemployment as is merely local in character." If these objects are of great importance to the adult worker, they are even more so to the adolescent who is just entering upon a working career. "Juvenile Departments" of the Board of Trade Exchanges are therefore gradually being instituted to meet the special need of young workers and to guide them from the outset in the choice of employment. In times past the school has in many isolated cases been an unofficial and desultory labour bureau for its scholars. Masters and mistresses have often been able to do great service for the boys and girls who leave school each year by placing them in some situation under a friendly employer. Municipalities and societies have done similar work, in some cases on a wide scale. All this sporadic effort is now being collected under the supervision of a Government Department, and it cannot be doubted that in most cases greater efficiency is the result.

In all schemes of Juvenile Labour Bureaux the school must play an important part. For many consecutive years the child has been under the watchful eye of teachers, and its character and natural aptitudes and inclinations have been very accurately registered by them. Here is unrivalled material for the Labour Exchange, material most useful as a supplement to the opinion and inclination of the parents of individual children. In Munich, where juvenile exchanges were first established on a systematic basis, the school is the very centre of operations. Every child, some time before leaving school, is required to fill in a form

68 THE GROWING GENERATION

in which he or she states personal predilections with regard to a career. In this rather formidable task the teacher is expected to give every assistance. The parent of the child is then advised of this form, and is summoned to the school where the teacher, the school doctor, and the master of the juvenile department of the Labour Exchange are prepared to discuss the matter, to examine the child, and to give advice medical and industrial. Throughout, the teacher and the parent act in friendly co-operation. The result of this system has been extraordinarily satisfactory in the majority of cases. In this country, also, the school is made the basis of inquiry and action. The form which is filled up at the Exchange contains a number of simple questions relating to the child's career at school and at work.¹

¹ The form is as follows :—

Name.		Address.		Date of Birth.	
Last Day School.	Date of leaving.	Standard.	Attending Con- tinuation Clas- ses ? What subjects ?	Was applicant a half-timer at school? If so, how long?	
Employers since leaving school.		Time with.	Left.	Wage.	Employed as.
Employment desired.		Willing to be apprenticed?	Can premium be paid?		Willing to work at a distance?

Space is left besides for Remarks and for renewals of the applicant's registration at the Labour Exchange.

(b) *Voluntary Co-operation*—(i.) *Juvenile Advisory Committees*.—The official work of the Juvenile Labour Exchange relies very much for its efficiency on the co-operation of voluntary workers. In London and twenty other towns,¹ Juvenile Advisory Committees are established and at work. They consist generally of fifteen to twenty members, one-third to one-half of whom are nominated by the Local Education Authority, the rest of the Committee consisting of representatives of employers and workpeople, and of men and women interested in the general welfare of young people.

The London Juvenile Advisory Committee, which was constituted in August 1910, serves as a good example of these bodies. This Committee is appointing Local Advisory Committees to work in connection with the juvenile section of each London Labour Exchange. The Local Committees have their own secretaries, who rank as Assistant Managers of the Labour Exchanges.

It is the duty of the Committees to obtain from the school authorities proper information as to the children who apply at the Exchanges, to interview them and their parents, and advise them both with regard to employment in general and vacancies in particular, and to arrange for the friendly oversight, from the point of view of the home, of such children as they place in work.

The London County Council, for instance, has adopted a "school-leaving form" to be filled up by the head teacher some time before the child leaves

¹ These towns are Ashton-under-Lyne, Blackburn, Bristol, Bury, Carlisle, Devonport, Dewsbury, Exeter, Halifax, Huddersfield, Ipswich, Leeds, London (with ten local Committees in addition to the Central Committee), Middlesbrough, Northampton, Norwich, Nottingham, Plymouth, Rochdale, Southampton, and Sunderland.

70 THE GROWING GENERATION

school, in which he or she states the child's general and special abilities, conduct, health, and recommends some kind of employment. Appended to this form is a report from the School Care Committee stating the child's home circumstances, the inclinations of both parent and child as to employment, and recommending a suitable person or institution to undertake the work of "after-care." Furthermore, the Juvenile Advisory Committee keeps a record of the young worker's employment, hours and wages, and whether he or she attends continuation classes. It also expects from the Care Committee at least every May and November up to the worker's eighteenth birthday, a report as to the progress made at work and the classes or clubs of any kind which are being attended. Thus the co-operation of the school in the first instance, and afterwards of the School Care Committee, with the Board of Trade Exchange is very complete.

The systems which prevail are modified to suit local conditions. The Edinburgh School Board for example established in 1908 a labour bureau of its own, with a Standing Committee and an Advisory Committee representing public bodies and trades. The bureau not only succeeded in placing children in work, but it also brought new life into the Continuation Schools of the city. It has now surrendered its function of registration to the State Labour Exchange, but retains undiminished its usefulness as an Advisory Committee.

(ii.) *After-Care Committees.*—There may also be a further link between the school and the labour exchange. It is supplied by an organisation which is intimately connected with the school, but is allowed by the local Education Authority (at all events in London) to supplement the work of the Juvenile

Advisory Committee. The work of Children's Care Committees tends more and more to extend itself beyond the supervision of the feeding of necessitous school children (under the Provision of Meals Act 1906) and their medical treatment, to the "After-care" of those who are no longer at school. A few sentences taken from the memorandum on After-care, issued by the Care Committee Association in a very large and poor London district, will show the aims and spirit of such work at its best. "The ultimate aim of the Association is to provide a friend for each child in need of friendly oversight . . . The most important part of the Care Committee's work will be to see that as each child leaves school there is some one who will keep in touch with him or her for the next four years, and consent to report upon their progress. For children in 'blind-alley' occupations the friend will need to see that evening classes or other means are used to prepare them for other work, while if boys or girls under his care should wish to change jobs or see ways to improve their prospects, they should be encouraged to communicate with him. The Association is anxious to do all in its power to assist the Board of Trade (by periodical reports to the Advisory Committee sitting at the Labour Exchange). It is expected that the cases which come before the Care Committee may be roughly classified as follows:—*Children suited for* 1. Secondary Schools (scholarships), 2. Trade School, 3. Skilled Trade, 4. Family Trade, 5. Unskilled Employment, and those with 6. No marked tendencies. *Parents' plans*—1. Where parents have satisfactory plans and can carry them out independently, 2. Where parents have unsatisfactory plans, 3. Where parents have distinct wishes with regard to child's employment but need expert

72 THE GROWING GENERATION

advice, 4. Where ignorant and poor parents have no plans except to fill the first job that offers, 5. Where the parents are entirely neglectful or indifferent." Then follow administrative proposals to deal with these children. Such a document may serve as evidence of what is already being attempted by keen voluntary workers, and at the same time may act as a hint of the immense scope of the work and as an incentive to many more who are interested to take an active part.

C.—THE PROMOTION OF BETTER CONDITIONS.

Much can no doubt be done by such agencies as we have described towards "decasualising" labour, *i.e.* making employment more regular and permanent. It is, however, not enough merely to bring the existing conditions of labour into better working order. No one will pretend that the young workers of our country are employed under ideal conditions, either for producing the best material results, or, what is of far deeper moment, for developing their own character. Education and increased mobility of labour are everywhere decreasing the economic dangers of boys' and girls' work, but they have only very limited power to do away with moral dangers.

In the first place the effect on a boy's or girl's character of constant change, of occupation is apt to be disastrous. It must be recognised that young workers are naturally fond of change, and tend to throw up sure employment on the slenderest pretext in favour of a chance which may be very uncertain. There are boys or girls who will work at a dozen totally different kinds of trades in half as many years. There are some who seem never

to stick to one job for more than a fortnight at a time. This characteristic of youth is of course not peculiar to those who work in factories or in unskilled trades, but there are, on the whole, fewer temptations to indulge it in skilled trades where the child's energies have been very definitely turned, by training, in one direction. The habit of change becomes chronic in not a few cases. It produces those who, in later life, stand in the ranks of casual labour, who hang shiftlessly about the docks or apply for work to Distress Committees. These may be the recruits alike of workhouse and "doss-house," of the reformatory and the prison.

In the second place there are the more general dangers of the young worker's freedom from moral restraint. These are aggravated by the strain of overwork, and often enough by the direct influence of older workpeople who are employed in the same premises. It would indeed be a sentimental view to think that young workpeople ever could be kept quite "unspotted from the world," but it is certainly a practicable aim to remove special difficulties and temptations from their path.

At every stage of the great task of improving the conditions under which boys and girls enter on a working career and advance in it, the services of the voluntary worker are asked. In the first place his moral support is absolutely necessary to progress, for it is sufficiently obvious that "public opinion" is only the aggregate conviction of individuals, and that public opinion alone can supply the great driving force to legislation.

It may be worth while to recapitulate the chief drawbacks to the different kinds of work which we have considered, and the directions in which public opinion is needed in order to mitigate them.

74 THE GROWING GENERATION

The young workers in skilled trades, and in factories in general, are already protected in material ways by the Factory Acts ; yet there is room for further legislation. They are being prepared for work in a limited number of cases by technical education, and given opportunities of employment through the medium of the Labour Exchanges : yet these agencies are still only applied to a certain number, and to be really effective must be widely extended. Especially the matter of continued education in various forms, is, as we have seen, one of the most urgent problems of our time. The moral and intellectual care of these workers is already engaging countless voluntary agencies of the most varied kinds, but as yet only scattered fractions of the whole body of workers can in any sense be said to be deeply influenced. Domestic service under some conditions, we have noticed, is apt to be monotonous, and lacking in leisure and freedom. This is a matter which legislation can scarcely touch, for hours of work and conditions of food and light and air in private houses cannot be regulated by outside interference, as in an office, a shop, or a factory. The improvement can only come direct from the private employer, but he or she can be strongly influenced by public opinion, and in this matter of the well-being of servants public opinion has long been active. At the same time there are still many homes in which complete thoughtlessness in details which concern the comfort of servants exists beside a high degree of sensitiveness in some other things. "Blind alley" occupations and street trading seem at first sight almost hopeless fields for reform. Yet it must be remembered how much has already been done by legislation and by

public opinion. In connection with these trades (if "trades" they really are) it is to be noticed that they are mainly concerned, not with production, but with distribution. The messenger or van-boy or newspaper seller creates nothing with his hands; he is engaged solely in distributing goods for others. In place of all these living agents of distribution swifter and more reliable mechanical means are already to some extent in use. The telephone has in many ways supplanted the messenger, the motor-van with its one or two men sometimes dispenses with the van-boy, and newspapers may be (as they are already in some foreign countries) entirely distributed through the post. In course of time it seems as if the sacrifice of human opportunity which is entailed by the employment of boys and girls in such unproductive occupations will become completely unnecessary.

There are, however, immense numbers of private citizens who have opportunity and sufficient leisure to take a share more active than that of mere conviction in bettering the young worker's position. The machinery which has been created in the Advisory Committees and the various After-care organisations which work with them, is now offering many more opportunities for direct personal service than there have been in the past. It is not always easy for the individual voluntary helper, who has probably distinct ideas and methods of his own, to submit to official systems. This co-operation with civic and national authorities is almost bound to cost him a certain amount of freedom and romance: he must submit to discipline and frequent red tape and not a little limitation of function. There are, however, obvious advantages in these large schemes of work. Barriers

76 THE GROWING GENERATION

are being broken down and old feuds of those who worked in different ways towards the same end, are being forgotten. The overlapping effort of different private agencies decreases, and the great economy of labour and the increase of efficiency become constantly more manifest. The outlook is becoming wider every day.

At the same time the opportunity for the intimate personal touch of friendship in clubs or families or between individuals is as indispensable as ever. The School Care Committee, for instance, is nothing without its home-visitors and its sympathetic club-managers. These individual workers have hitherto been mainly concerned with the social and religious side of boys' and girls' lives: they have often watched the industrial side with despair at their own inability to help. Now at last they are being offered real facilities in this direction also. They have a responsible place in the whole system of labour. They can make themselves heard by the powers that be, and they can expect to see visible results of their appeal.

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CHAPTER IV

PLAY

A.—THE INSTINCT OF PLAY—

- (a) Its true course
- (b) Its perversions

B.—GAMES AND THEIR USES—

- (a) Quiet Games
 - (i.) Games of chance
 - (ii.) Thinking games
 - (iii.) Games of skill
- (b) Active Games and Sports
 - (i.) Games
 - (ii.) Sports
- (c) Military Training
- (d) Scouting
- (e) Games for Girls.

C.—THE IDEAL GAME

A.—THE INSTINCT OF PLAY

(a) *Its true course.*—The psychologist, in his search for the true key to the actions of men, has long ago begun to take into account the great factor of play. In this he is but straining to follow the child, perhaps in misty recollections of his own childhood, and also the poet who is often nearer than all the wise men to the heart of children. Play seems to be the earliest instinct of all living things: the human baby plays, but no less do the other animals. The kitten and the colt have become proverbial among us, symbols of

the graceful or the clumsy in the behaviour of children or grown men. Darwin was not the first to show us something of the why and how of the play of animals. The poets from the first age have gone beyond the men of science and seen universal nature at play—the smiling skies, the “countless laughter of ocean,” trees and flowers by the waterside each with a conscious enjoyment—

The waves beside them danced, but they
Outdid the sparkling waves in glee.

This may be a misconception of nature, akin to Mr Ruskin's “pathetic fallacy”: it remains an incurable misconception among us till the end of time. Play is the rule, the only real business in the youth of the world.

Why do children play? We cannot attempt to discuss here the many answers to the question—answers which may satisfy our reason, but will always fall a little behind what we know, in our own happy experience, to be the great truth of play. In it we once expressed all our emotions and all our dearest hopes; it was the sum of living, before which the tiresome affairs of grown-up people were to us—the tables being unanswerably turned—“a mere child's play.” Nothing which they could do, not the direst punishment nor the most persistent opposition, could ever really invade our kingdom of play. It was far too high for blundering hands to reach: it was only open to them when they threw off the mask and became children again themselves.

How do children play? This is a question easier indeed to answer than the last, but yet unlimited in the varieties of its answer.

We are thinking now not of elaborate nurseries,

80 THE GROWING GENERATION

provided perhaps with too many good things, but of the dullest city streets with noisy carts passing incessantly between grimy houses. An empty cotton-reel, the lid of a tobacco tin with a string through the middle, an iron bolt, a chip of firewood—these are enough material for a game, for out of them the child will fashion a treasure ship, a whirling machine of unknown powers and strange uses, a sword with which to enter into its kingdom of dreams. Some in their nurseries may possess dolls with jointed limbs and eyes which shut, but they cannot love them more constantly, than the children who sit on the door-step love the knotted towel which they nurse so tenderly. It is not the material which makes for happiness, though possibly few of us accept this philosophy of childhood without a strong effort in later years, it is the all-embracing imagination of the child itself, proof against every common standard of value, the vast, unassailable liberty of the kingdom of "Make-believe."

In this kingdom children of all classes are essentially alike. Here the richest and the poorest seem to meet, blessed at their birth with equal opportunities for enjoyment. They all have their Peter Pan, though not all in Kensington Gardens. New and expensive toys are often enough a failure, for the child who possesses them will wilfully cling to the battered and broken things which it knows best, whilst the odd, accidental things which housewives and workmen throw aside are never really valued until some child has made them its own. It is not, however, many years before the difference in social conditions makes itself felt. Children of all classes will still continue to draw music out of tin-cans,

or engineer a crane out of the ribs of a derelict umbrella, but with all this the working class child begins of necessity to grow more worldly-wise. His very existence depends upon it, for there is no constant guardian to watch him from hour to hour; his mother is out at work, and the neighbours are also busy. The street is his playground. It offers him a constantly changing spectacle, a thousand minor accidents of absorbing interest every day. It makes him late for school and keeps him busy till long after the bed-time decreed by careful nurses in other homes. He is constantly among grown-up people, trips them up with his pavement games as they hurry by, and learns to take care of himself. Crossing the street and playing among the wheels and under the noses of dray horses is a great game in itself: the child learns to cut safe distances as fine as possible, to cheek van-drivers and dodge their whips. The crown of it all is ragging a policeman, at once a test of rare courage and an honourable venture. Not without cause does the street-urchin gain the names, half-growling and half affectionate of "nipper" and "nobbler" and the like, by which he is known to his elders.

The play of children left to their own devices takes the form of a conscious self-illusionment which in its very nature seems akin to the fine arts. The dolls assume life, the paper fleets sail to fantastic victories in the gutter. When school days come these things are by imperceptible degrees left behind, for school life suggest games of another kind. Here are larger bodies of children gathered together in a playground than ever meet by chance in court or street. Play to be possible and comfortable for all must be more

82 THE GROWING GENERATION

organised than before. Sometimes indeed the school authorities help to organise games and bring recreation within well defined rules. This new kind of playing demands more of the patience and perseverance of the child and more obedience to a common cause, but it draws less upon the imagination.

But school days are over early for the boy or girl of the city, and with them childhood in the ordinary sense is left behind. The boy or girl is a worker. Such children have played irresponsibly like any other children, have learnt like them to play at school, but after that, as in every other stage of life, they enter a way which often diverges sharply from theirs. At a time when many really begin to discover the highest gift which common games can offer in the higher classes or better teams of some secondary school, those of whom we speak are freed from direct supervision in their recreation. They may now abandon their games altogether, or as more naturally happens, they carry them on as their fellow workpeople carry them on, untroubled at times by very strong feelings of discipline or nice regard of rule.

They adopt indeed the *natural* methods of play, the give and take of the streets, the hard law of each for himself carried on to the pitch or the football field. This fact of the greater "naturalness" of working boys or girls must ever be in the forefront of any discussion of their behaviour on given occasions. They are not ashamed of naïve methods in sports as in the other business of every day, for the simple and sufficient reason that shame presupposes a recognition of transgressions, and of these they are often quite unconscious. It is

natural for any child, as soon as it feels strongly the competitive spirit, to use every means at its disposal to win a game. Children will cheat at card games, or take extra moves on a draught board as every one knows who has played with them. There are, indeed, exasperating games, such as croquet, which try the honesty of the best of us. The moral code of sport is very certain and very severe, in fact to many English minds there is no code more sacred, but it must be freely acknowledged that it does not exist in the primitive conscience, whether of savages or of children. Only let the sensitive sportsman be clear and fair on this point and he shall find none more ready than working-class boys to learn his lesson, and none more loyal when they have learnt it. At the same time he must not expect to teach them in an afternoon what he has learnt himself in years of continuous practice and under an age-old tradition. At the risk of being tedious we must insist at the beginning on the importance of showing working boys how to "play the game."

(b) *Its Perversions*.—Petty gambling in games of chance is of course one of the earliest vices. With adolescent boys it is often carried further, and becomes one of the most serious difficulties in their life. Wages are small and the main part of them must be taken home to meet the board and lodging account. There are a few shillings a week over, and with luck these may be doubled or increased tenfold, and there is no lack of men in the workshop who will play for small stakes within a boy's reach. It is certain that boys are corrupted in this way by older men who use them as agents in their betting transactions, sending them out, it may be, in the dinner hour to look up the

84 THE GROWING GENERATION

latest "Tips," or to put money for them on a horse or a match. There are football matches and boxing bouts which a boy can witness either actually or on a cinematograph, or at least vividly imagine, horse races which he can follow in the "Stop-press" column: on all these he "has a little." The unexpected occurs more often than not, and he is at once in difficulties through want of capital. He either gradually loses his credit or, more naturally, he sets to work to raise the necessary money. He may pawn a little, but after all it is so little which he has to pawn. He may pay a visit to the middle-aged lady who, as money lender to the street, exercises an arbitrary authority in many families. He loses more and becomes more reckless. In short it is not necessary to describe in detail a moral descent which gradually fulfils itself in cases which come under the eyes of every worker among city boys. Recovery is difficult if a boy stands alone, and he may be engulfed in the morass of confirmed betting and gambling for want of a strong and friendly hand to guide him.

"Pot-hunting," is a deep-rooted instinct among working-class players. What seems to many a real degradation of sport is natural and even laudable to them. It is almost comic to amateur captains and players with an old tradition which condemns this matter, to remember their disappointment over some eagerly-contested game of working-boys. They overhear conversations about the game which turn entirely perhaps on the shield or prize which is offered. They are asked naïve questions about the value of the prize or see the recipient's disgust at the smallness of it. This keenness to win something beyond the

game itself may lead to doubtful methods of attaining it.

At the root of these methods, which most people agree to call "unsporting," lies undoubtedly professionalism. It leads to the watching of games by huge crowds who do not play them, a mere playing by proxy, robbed of all the high glories of personal effort. It encourages betting and it stoops to the sale of fine players in the open market from one team to another. The territorial system of teams is thus completely broken down, for local patriotism in sport is made a hollow thing when a county team is ready to win by buying an outsider who should properly have remained "my friend the enemy." The boys' club touches all this at first hand in the sphere of boxing or wrestling. Once let the boy who boxes or wrestles on a music-hall stage control entirely the club's sport, and a new and undesirable element has established itself. No one can prevent him becoming a club hero; probably few will want to prevent him from coaching or advising others, but his special position should be made clear. Perhaps this is most effectually done if the club affiliates itself to the Amateur Boxing Association, for there the professional takes his place under severe restrictions as an instructor only, and not as one in the crowd of younger boys who practise in the club-room.

The methods on a "grand night" at an East End boxing saloon cannot always commend themselves to those who love fair play on the side of the spectators as well as of the performers. In the intervals of a championship contest it may be, two lads of eighteen are put up on the high

86 THE GROWING GENERATION

"ring" in the centre of the crowded house. From the first moment of their appearance their supporters shout encouragement and, unfortunately, also disapproval if there seems occasion for it. They fight a "game" two rounds and then one of them is knocked out. It is a moment of intense excitement. The judge is kneeling with his watch in his hand before the senseless white figure on the boards. The supporters of the fallen man are by this time beside themselves: they shout ugly things—"Get up there, you——!" as well as encouragements. At last "time" is counted, and the still helpless figure is caught unceremoniously by the legs and hustled out of the ring to make room for a fresh pair. Such a scene is primitive and entirely gladiatorial. It outrages the susceptibilities of a stranger who looks for self-control in those who look on at games.

The "scenes" which are not rare at big football matches belong to the same order of perverted sport. As a rule they are of a minor and short-lived nature, but they are never without their evil effect. A "penalty" goal, for instance, given for a serious foul, may arouse a storm of indignation in the audience. Yet it is indignation rather at the loss of points to the offending side than at a piece of intrinsically bad play. "It was a truly great match, and could one but eliminate the few regrettable incidents, it might indeed have been felt to be a sacred festival for the working man and boy." So runs the final sentence of a letter describing a "Cup Final," written by one whose energy is largely devoted to the service of working boys in a great city. Surely this is the highest aim and the first care: to eliminate the regrettable

incidents which are after all so few, and to make the nation's games a sacred festival.

B.—GAMES AND THEIR USES

Sport among us has grown far beyond the circle of mere physical training. At its best it is a great teacher of courage and obedience and unselfishness: in its exaggeration it usurps the place of serious work or sustained thinking, and is its own religion and the whole end of living. With adolescent boys games of every kind are the most constant of passions and can be turned equally easily to the highest or lowest ends. All this is a truism to those who have had any dealings with boys, and need not be laboured. It will, however, be useful to classify games and sports in some fashion in order to bring out more clearly their special possibilities.

(a) "*Quiet*" games. In every social club there are particular places, a room or perhaps only a table in one corner, set apart for "quiet" games, properly so called. They have certain characteristics which distinguish them from sports whether indoor or outdoor. The victory here is not necessarily for the strong or the swift, the sound in limb or the masterful captain. It is a matter entirely of dexterity, whether of hand and eye or of mind.

(i.) The exceptions, wholly or in part, to this rule are the *games of chance*. For games of mere chance no one who has the interests of boys or girls at heart, will be likely to hold a brief. "Pitch and toss" can be played anywhere and is played in default of anything better. "Banker" is—at all events in London—the great gambling game of

88 THE GROWING GENERATION

boys. In any quiet court or sleeping side street on Sunday morning you may happen on a group of boys squatting on the smooth flag-stones which form their playing-table: one at the corner of the street "keeps *cave*" for any stray policeman, for "Banker" is a jealously forbidden game, and a fine in the police court is no rare sequel to its enjoyment.

There are at least two other forms of common games in which the element of chance plays at least as great a rôle as that of skill: the games of dominoes and cards. Dominoes have an irresistible attraction, and that not only for small boys. Every restaurant in the city is alive at lunch-time or tea-time with the sound of shuffling dominoes on the marble tables. Young clerks and bald-headed business men alike play with untiring keenness. They tumble out the pieces on the table almost before they sit down to it; they play even during lunch, and over their pipes and coffee they may play steadily for an hour. In workmen's coffee-shops and in the public-houses dominoes is a favourite game. In the lowest doss-house it is often the only sustained amusement. It is therefore to be expected that it should be found in every boys' club, except where—as is sometimes the case—it has been expressly forbidden. The interest of an occasional game of "threes and fives" is obvious enough, but not all of us find it still absorbing after an hour's play. This interest is in some cases undoubtedly to be explained by the opportunity for gambling, and it is the recognition of this possibility which leads to the exclusion of domino games in some clubs. Those who hold this view maintain that it is not enough to see that no money passes over the table in the club-room.

Boys who gamble are not so simple; they wait to settle their scores in more private places. How far this is true of club dominoes it is of course not possible to say with certainty. Probably where the club has a strong tradition of loyalty to its rules, written or understood, very little gambling takes place.

Precisely the same criticism applies of course to card-games, but in this case the ban in boys' clubs is far more usual, because it is no matter of doubt in any class of society that the serious players of cards who play "for love" are in a minority. The innumerable minor games, such as "Ludo," in which dice are used, are seldom played seriously or for long, and need scarcely be considered in this connection. Managers and officers of clubs who wish to be on the safe side will probably hold that all games of chance should be discouraged in favour of games of pure skill.

(ii.) "*Thinking*" games.—The principal games of this group are of course Draughts and Chess. Draughts is a very favourite game indeed, both with boys and with girls, because it is sufficiently simple for the youngest members of a club, and offers a wide enough range of skill for those of any age. It is played with real keenness and seriousness, and it is indeed one of the foremost items for inter-club competitions. Its moderate length makes it a much more useful game than chess, in cases where time is limited and the number of intending players—as often—greater than the supply of boards and pieces. Such modern variations of draughts as "Halma" are hardly likely to supplant it in the affections of adolescent players.

Chess, the game of kings and life-work of its

90 THE GROWING GENERATION

professors, is as a rule a little beyond the average member of a working-boys' or girls' club. It is too long, too sustained, too unsociable, but where it is played it comes to its own and leaves draughts a little in the shade. There would be more to say of it if working-men's clubs came within our programme.

The true value of these deliberate, calculating games is not far to seek. They cannot be mastered without pains or played well without ceaseless concentration. It is the quick eye, the nimble mind, perhaps scarcely less the firm will which alone can win. So many boys and girls have been carrying on merely mechanical work in their shops all day, work which requires only muscular force or a trick of the hand, a hundred thousand multiplications of the same simple operation. In the evening comes a new kind of activity, calling on faculties which have not been severely tried by the day's monotonous task: mental alertness and concentration, characteristics indispensable to generalship over a chess board under the outspoken criticism of half a dozen lookers-on.

(iii.) *Games of skill*.—If any covering definition for all these games could be found it would probably run very like a famous description of Golf, "the putting of a small ball into a ridiculously small hole with instruments singularly ill-adapted for the purpose." The same problem, with many variations, is common to all these games of skill, and human nature, determined to test its ingenuity, never tires of seeking the solution. There are so many games of this type which are invented, patented, played for a season and forgotten again for half a century. Out of them all, three or four

at most find any place in the average working-boy's programme. One of the simplest, as it is one of the oldest, played alike in Alpine villages and in Whitechapel, is the game of "Rings." A wooden shield fitted with twenty numbered dresser-hooks and hung on the wall, a handful of rubber rings—these constitute the whole material. Hour after hour the rings are thrown, drop on to hooks with disappointing numbers or roll across the floor into someone else's game. Another variation and one of the most perennial games in any boys' club is the game of "Darts," in which feathered darts with ugly points are substituted for rings and a shield of cork with numbered segments for the polished board with hooks. The fascination in these games is clear, for there is a "possible" to be scored, staring you in the face and always just beyond your reach. Exception is taken sometimes to the ring-game in particular because it is to be found hanging on the walls of many public houses. Boys who play it in a club are even more ready, it is claimed, to spend hours in the smoking bar next door, where, in playing with the first loungee that offers, they give way by gradual stages to the subtle pleasure of drinking. This may be true in theory, but its practical seriousness depends mainly on how far the tradition of the club is able to hold its members loyal to itself, and probably, if they are prevented from playing in their clubs, they will be all the more inclined to seek the game elsewhere.

Of all quiet games of skill there is, of course, none which can approach Billiards. "Bagatelle" is the first step for most, but is soon left behind where there is a billiard table as a "game for kids."

92 THE GROWING GENERATION

A billiard table is the most prized piece of furniture in any club, not even excepting the piano, and its sacredness increases with its size. This is the one club amusement for which boys are prepared to pay game by game. Indeed a scale of charges is very often fixed and inexorably enforced by the boy-officers themselves. Account is in most cases kept of players and times, for the "waiting list" demands a strict limitation of time for each set of players. Play on small tables or for juniors may be free, but on larger tables and for senior members it usually costs a halfpenny or even a penny and more for a game. No other of the quiet games combines in such a high degree the dexterities of hand and eye and brain. It is the best stand-by of the club-room.

(b) *Active games and sports.*—It is tempting to make a contrast by heading the second main division "noisy games." Noisy they often are, but it is just the noise which shocks our sensitive sportsman when he watches working boys playing one of the "National Games," and up to a certain point he is justified in deprecating it. Noise in sport betokens but too often confusion of purpose and lack of discipline, and these two failings are the unpardonable weaknesses in a good game. The answer will come across the Atlantic that noise is an essential part of proper enthusiasm in sport, but we on this side have refined our self-control, in this as in other even more vital matters, to an almost exaggerated pitch of art. To the working boy then, unversed in the "good form" which is a first requisite at public and secondary schools, noise is natural, a little confusion and insubordination in the team does not come amiss. We have hinted already at other uglier tendencies

which may at times creep into his game and, just because they make the game not worth playing for other members of either team engaged, these constitute the true immorality in sport. We have already summed them up, as things to be guarded against and mercilessly put down, but as after all only the unhappy perversions of a fine rule: exceptions which will disappear automatically as boys and girls learn to play a straight game for its own sake. And a fine rule it is, as effective as anything else whatsoever in achieving the purposes for which our whole study has been undertaken.

(i.) *Games*.—What need is there to plead specially for any of our greater British games of the open field? A few words which suffice for each. In the front rank comes, of course, football, for and against which as a recreation for working people columns of print and hundreds of enthusiastic or querulous letters have appeared in the press. As far as the working men and boys, the huge mass of the patrons of football, are concerned, criticism from such a quarter falls on deaf ears. It is the week's absorbing interest, the subject of universal conversation and prophecy, a cause of wild controversy and wilder rejoicing. Every Saturday night in London the familiar pink paper of the *Football Star* is most conspicuous in trams and omnibuses, at the street corner, in the public-house, or the boys' club. It passes from hand to hand until the print is smudged and the sheets fall to pieces. Kingdoms may fall as they will in any continent: we must have our "Half-time Scores," and know the history of every minute which decided the fate of the "Spurs" or "United." But those are not the only matches which count. The club "First" has stood its ground this very

94 THE GROWING GENERATION

afternoon and seems to be a dead certainty for the first or second position in its league. You will hear a dozen accounts of the play as you go through the club, and find voices louder and faces clearer than on any other night of the week. There is something behind it after all; a touch surely of the very best.

It is worth noticing in passing that for the working boy in most cities of England Association Football is the game which matters. The division of "Soccer" and "Rugger" is unknown: in its place is the distinction of "Football," the true game, from "Rugby," the odd recreation of a few gentlemen amateurs. Obviously this attitude does not obtain in the districts which favour Rugby as the professional's game. The endless dispute as to which is really the best form must be left to partisans to carry on till the end of time. It is unfortunate that even where boys in the city would eagerly take up Rugby with a little persuasion, there is seldom a local team to play against or a league to stimulate competition.

Cricket, in some ways the finest test of spirit and judgment, has the obvious disadvantage for working people that it requires much more time to play and provides less exercise in the given hours at their disposal. Certainly the boys who play are considerably fewer than those who play football; in Scotland, indeed, football is played all the year round to the exclusion of cricket. Hockey and lacrosse are played by working boys less still, and are in most places a negligible quantity. So far as hockey is concerned this is a great pity, for it is a fine game for girls as well as boys.

(ii.) *Sports*.—It is curiously fortunate for the town dweller that two at least of the finest sports

require but a decent sized room and very little apparatus in order to be practised completely. These two—boxing and wrestling—have accordingly taken, almost without challenge, the foremost places in the imaginations and affections of working people, boy or man.

Who does not know what is to be expected of the great meeting of Corporal A and Jimmy B? Their portraits, in every fighting attitude, appear on the covers of half a dozen weekly papers which hang in the windows of tobacconists and newspaper shops all down the street. To be behind the times in such news is scarcely less serious than ignorance of the week's football. Boys will pay sums which seem very disproportionate to the meagreness of their earnings to see boxing or wrestling matches in saloons and music-halls, and for this they call down, perhaps very rightly, the censure of economists and reformers. At the same time their interest does not stop at the passive pleasure of looking on. It shows itself in the club, it loves to reproduce what has been seen, to applaud less famous fights there; it pushes them into practice so that they handle the gloves with an absurd disregard of their opponents' comparative weight or reach. They do not stop to take off the old waistcoat; they pull on the gloves with their teeth and shake hands, and are at it with much more energy than science, trampling the floor with heavy boots, ducking and laughing and taking "punishment" with the best. Those who for the first time see working boys boxing or wrestling may think their methods a little rough and ready, their rules a little elastic. This, as a matter of fact, is true of the odd bouts which take place in a club-room

96 THE GROWING GENERATION

between any pairs of boys who happen to be ready to take their turn with a few sticky pairs of gloves or the grubby wrestling mat. It is, however, not characteristic of the more serious and carefully prepared meeting of recognised champions of the two arts such as will be found in most clubs. All the professional conditions are reproduced, if only in imagination. The ring is jealously kept free even where no ropes actually mark it, sponge and towel are waiting beside empty chairs at the corners. Time is kept and called, fair play is expected, for everyone in the impromptu audience has some notion of the official rules. Whatever may be the just criticisms of boxing and wrestling as professions, few will doubt their value in a boys' club in calling out the courage and generosity even of the roughest and most difficult members.

Athletic sports, in the accepted meaning of the term, are scarcely possible in the city itself, and must be relegated to the heroic days of an annual camp. There they form an inevitable and often elaborate item. There is at least one exception—the "practice run," which can take place surely anywhere on the earth's surface, and do not the thoroughfares of a big city seem made for the purpose? After dark, when work is over and the traffic a little quiet, what better purpose should the city streets, well-lighted and well-paved, serve than this? Twenty boys with customary leaders and "whips" will set out, regardless of frost, fog or rain, and run a few miles in and out of streets and over bridges and through all the noisy crowds who do their late shopping. Their shorts and vests excite little comment, though in some other countries they might be regarded as a

breach of the peace and an outrage on public decency.

(c) *Military Training*.—In this country, in spite of all that has been spoken and written about national defence in these last years, there need scarcely be an apology for including military training in the category of games. To call national service a game is, in the minds of most of our countrymen, to pay it a high compliment, for games belong to the things about which we care most and which we practise with the sincerest faith. British warfare has ever been a tremendous game: a sport of archers in France, an alternate riding to hounds and into the enemy in the Peninsula, a series of grim fights and cheery football matches in Africa, while the national game *par excellence* is played at sea. Nations which do not appreciate the glory of a game cannot take our voluntary army seriously. Military service demands indeed in a high degree just those qualities which we look for in a well-played game: courage, obedience, and the sense of the “team,” the regiment, the unit of play. Military organisations have long been used for the training of working boys. No one who has ever known many boys before and after their service in a Brigade will doubt its value. It is not only that a boy is not allowed to slouch in his walk and lean up against things. He learns other matters quickly enough—to keep himself and his clothes clean, to obey without hesitation or complaint, to give a straight answer, and, in the end, if he progresses, to undertake command and responsibility. Marching and learning to shoot, accomplishments which are more peculiarly military than the rest, must be added, and the sum

98 THE GROWING GENERATION

of the lessons which such organisations may teach stands complete.

Military service for boys, however unofficial in its character, meets with grave criticism from many people. Its defenders claim that it encourages a true patriotism, the willingness to sacrifice much if need be for the safety and well-being of the country. Its critics, while recognising this, maintain that it also directly encourages an aggressive spirit, for what should be the possible ground for practising arms and extolling their glory, unless they are intended for use—their only use—the destruction of the lives of fellow men? The choice of approval or disapproval must be left to individual minds. It can at all events scarcely be gainsaid that the delight in possessing and the desire for using instruments of battle is an instinct in every primitive mind. In the light of this fact it is worth recalling a remark which an experienced commander of working-class cadets made to me not long ago, "Put a lethal weapon into a boy's hand," he said: "and he will feel himself immediately twice the man he was before." Throughout this chapter we are viewing games from the point of view of their effect on character. It is very doubtful whether we shall be gratified with quite such an outspoken opinion of the effect of the use of arms as this.

There is also a second objection of quite another kind—namely, that the work of Brigades and Cadet-battalions does not always continue to appeal to boys as they grow older. This is a deep-rooted fact in English life. For one man who will sacrifice much in order to become a citizen-soldier, twenty will be interested in football. It is not enough to say that laziness and lack of spirit is the cause: men and boys will go through

extraordinary hardship in games who will ridicule military drill. Perhaps the solution of this is to be caught sight of in a sentence written by the most powerful advocate of the Boys' Brigade system—Professor Henry Drummond:—

“Call these boys *boys*, which they are, and ask them to sit up in a Sunday class, and no power on earth will make them do it; but put a fivepenny cap on them and call them *soldiers*, which they are not, and you can order them about till midnight.” It is just this touch of unreality, this continuance of “make believe” beyond the age at which it comes naturally, of which many boys grow impatient in a Brigade. Admirable as the discipline and moral teaching is, the “fivepenny cap” proves too much for the growing pride of not a few.

(*d*) *Scouting* deserves a special word for itself, for many of its best advocates distinguish it with particular care from military training proper. The external forms of its organisation are military in principle, and for a very good reason: scouting without ordered units and a strong discipline is a mere picnic or even a hooligan venture. The ideal scout, however, is much more than a cadet. He combines the qualities of the soldier, the athlete and the best sportsman with the duties of the housewife, the public servant and the good Samaritan. He must never be missing where there is a job to be done, and he must be able to improvise plans and tools for the oddest emergency. He is bound with the vows of obedience and cheerfulness and self-forgetfulness. The old ideals are co-ordinated and made more visible in the host of handbooks and periodicals which have sprung up among us with the advent of

100 THE GROWING GENERATION

the boy-scout. He is a new phenomenon as yet, but his future seems more promising than anything else in the world of service for boys to-day. It is obvious that the ideal of the scout movement will sometimes be missed by its exponents, and this is perhaps especially likely to be the case in a system which depends so very much on the personal character of the leaders of small groups, the scout-masters. At its best there is no other system so complete and so attractive to the instincts of boys, their capacity for organisation and association, their loyalty, their physical and moral powers. It is an epitome of all the games and sports which are.¹

Unfortunately in practice scouting is often found to suffer from the disability which we have noticed in connection with military training. It attracts and occupies smaller boys, but it may fail to hold adolescents for long. They become too conscious of the "make-believe" in it, and grow perhaps a little ashamed of its publicity. But "once a scout, always a scout"; this is perhaps, in its wider sense, the real aim and hope of the movement. Years after the ribbons and the badge have been thrown aside a man may be facing every business of life with the ready and clear purpose of scouting days.

(e) *Games for Girls*.—Although girls have been associated with boys in some of the earlier sections of this chapter, their games as a whole demand also

¹ "The more I know of the scout organisation the more admirable I think it is, and the more fully persuaded I am that it should appeal strongly to every father and mother who desires to bring up sons well. It breaks down class prejudice, promotes comradeship, discipline, resourcefulness, self-reliance and sympathy. Its ideals are the highest Christianity and patriotism."—LORD KITCHENER, addressing scouts at Leicester, April 19, 1911.

separate consideration. Boys, in an attitude of sublime superiority, are wont to use the term "girls' games" as one of contempt. They know that girls scarcely compete with them in their more violent sports, and even in the games played by both sexes are not always able to reach the same level of attainment. The question has yet to be answered, however, whether girls have been given the same opportunities and encouragements to play. In skill and, allowing for a smaller natural muscular development, in pluck and endurance, they are often not a whit behind boys in those sports which have been opened to them. Swimming, for instance, has been much encouraged in many girls' schools, elementary as well as secondary, and it is found that girls swim as well as boys. They play hockey and cricket with enthusiasm as soon as they have the chance to learn. "The two captains chose their men. I was on B's side and we had our innings first. Play was very slow in the first half. After tea the other side went in, and of course the game brightened up a bit. . . . We finished in good time and had a splendid afternoon. All the 'men' enjoyed themselves and seem very keen." Does not that sound like an extract from a typical schoolboy letter instead of (as it actually is) from that of a working girl? Tennis and golf, as everyone knows, are recognised games for girls of the more leisured classes. Hockey, it is strange to notice, has not yet made its way with working class players of either sex. For the rest, basket-ball is recognised as an admirable girls' game. Teams to play it regularly are organised in not a few secondary schools and social clubs, and inter-team competitions, the great incentives to keen playing, are

102 THE GROWING GENERATION

often possible. Classes for gymnastic exercises and drill in schools and clubs are kept going at a level which will surprise a good many visitors who are not already familiar with their resources of recreation. A neat and practical drill costume in itself does wonders among working girls. It seems difficult to believe that the squad of girls in uniforms of blue and white, who march and practise of an evening with such extraordinary alertness, are by day workers in a dozen local factories. Rowing is also an exercise which appeals strongly to working girls where it is possible to introduce it into their club life. An extract from a letter recently received will show the possibilities of this sport, for mutual help and recreation. "We hired boats which held four. Three girls and a coach went in each boat. The boats cost 6d. an hour and the girls paid 2d. each. We were fortunate in securing the help of people who were good rowers as coaches; some of them had rowed in their college boats at Cambridge. The coaches thought the girls learnt very quickly, and by the end of the season some of the older girls were capable of taking charge of a boat. It is a most healthy exercise, and the fact that all must pull together in more senses than one is a good lesson in comradeship." Another great resource may close the list of common active "games" for girls. It is dancing, the natural and spontaneous pleasure of every race since the world began. It takes two to dance; at least in the common ways of dancing which we prefer nowadays. But why not two girls? In a club where male creatures scarcely penetrate, the members will clear the room in the twinkling of an eye when the order to dance is passed. It wants but one to strike the

old piano, and in an instant twenty couples of girls are sweeping round a room which comfortably holds only ten. There is scarcely a limit to the pleasure or to the heat which is achieved. As for "socials" with mixed dancing, there are few girls in a club who will not put in an appearance on a "trouser night." Mixed dancing has some other aspects and some special virtues which will find a place when we come to discuss the relationship of boys and girls to one another.

The commonly received opinion that girls are not good at games and lack the power of organising them rests, then, on very inadequate evidence. At the same time it must never be forgotten that girls have other resources of recreation which are not open to boys. This fact arises out of a fundamental difference of sex which we shall have to consider in the following chapter. The football field is not the girl's true sphere, and a racing eight manned by girl "oarsmen" is a rare and unpleasant sight, very different from the quiet rowing which has been alluded to above. Indeed when we look on such things we feel that Nature is being no less degraded and brought into ridicule than in the case of some glorious quadruped which, for the amusement of thoughtless humans, is made to wear a bonnet and walk on its hind legs round a circus ring. Nature, the kindly and far-seeing, has set limits to the activities of all creatures, to transgress which is to make beautiful physical forms merely futile and hideous.

C.—THE IDEAL GAME.

This last section can afford to be brief out of all proportion to those which have

104 THE GROWING GENERATION

preceded it, for the part of leaders who share in the games of working boys and girls is very clear. Those who are so convinced that British Sport in its purest manifestations is the highest and best rule of playing, have a definite mission to raise its level wherever there is danger of degeneration. Such a danger is more apparent within the great mass of working-class players than within the exclusive circle of public school and university sport. For these last possess the long-established advantage of leisure and an ancient tradition. During successive generations they have taught what may be called the "intensive culture" of games: they are the strongholds of first-class amateur play. No one will pretend that black sheep are unknown among "gentlemen players," but at least the class as a whole has bound itself in rigorous discipline to a conscious ideal of "good form." Boys and girls in factories and shops have all the instinct of playing and all the pertinacity which the best players of any class can feel. At the same time they are more open than others to the influence of certain independent factors in sport which disturb the ideal of the game played for its own sake alone. These outside factors cannot but be regarded as perversions of good playing.

If this matter has been discussed at disproportionate length earlier in the present chapter, it is only because of its real urgency. No one will deny the playing instincts of the work-people in our country, and surely no one will seek to minimise the splendid use they make of their opportunities for games. With playing material so inexhaustible and so sound as they produce, there is all the more need to keep the good game at its highest

level of honour, and to raise it wherever, at this point or that, it may fall below the best.

We must remember that we are not the only nation that plays games, but at least we may claim that we are still the foremost, still in many ways the example of others. To some other nations, as to a minority of our own, our struggle to maintain the ideals of sport sometimes appears in the light of a quixotic and wasteful display of power. Yet, as a people, we are deeply certain that the labour which is demanded has its full reward. We are moved by the spirit of a game as others are moved by music. We trace proudly the influence of the same spirit in every crisis of our national history, and the great captains of sport take their place among our national heroes. Whatever may be the views of individuals concerning the burdens and the uses of Empire, we are at least all agreed that no other existing nation has shown the same ability to colonise among the most widely differing races of the world. Our neighbours in Europe, freely recognising the fact, recognise also the secret of our success. It seems to lie, at any rate to a very great extent, in our possession of the sporting instinct. Where other nations govern their colonies largely by rule of thumb and by a careful application of their European systems of law, we make endless compromises in order to give subject races "a good game" of their own. Pure book-work or success in professional examinations avails a candidate for the Indian Army or the Egyptian Civil Service almost less than an all-round certificate that he is "a good fellow" and has captained a football team. We believe strongly that such men are likely to see the best points of the races they are sent to rule and to give

106 THE GROWING GENERATION

them "fair play" which amounts in some cases to practical autonomy. In the arts we are said, on the whole justly, to have little imagination ; in imperial administration we can at least claim it as our due.

If sport is the special characteristic of our national genius, there can be scarcely any intensity of effort which is not warranted in order to maintain sport at its most honourable level. It must be regarded as something more than the hobby of a limited leisured class: it must be honoured just as seriously when the great mass of the people play. Although the danger of exaggerating the place of sport is undoubtedly great among us, working boys and girls do need better opportunities of playing, and do call for the co-operation of others in their games. It is something to be interested, and to referee on their football fields. It is incalculably more to become players in their teams, with a vital share in their loss and victory. This is, indeed, a practical and first-hand opportunity. In a particular sense the joyful and free activities of the club-room or of the open field provide the greatest natural outlet for the special physical needs of adolescence: they are one of the best safeguards against very fierce temptations of the body. In a far wider sense they are among the foremost influences on character. From the "sporting" view of a game it is no appreciable step to the "sporting" view of a whole life. In the second as in the first we speak of playing "cricket."

BOOKS

JANE ADDAMS. *The Spirit of Youth in our City Streets*. New York: Macmillan Co. 4s. 6d.

URWICK, E. J. *Studies of Boy Life*. 1904. Dent. 3s. 6d. (Chapter iv., "Boys' Clubs.")

- NEUMAN, P. *The Boy's Club*. 1900. Nutt. (Especially the excellent chapters on Gymnastics, Rowing and Swimming, Cricket, and the Cost of Gymnasium.)
- RUSSELL AND RIGBY. *Working Lads' Clubs*. 1908. Macmillan. (Deals primarily with Manchester and with highly organised clubs. Chapters viii., ix., x., xi. deal very fully with outdoor and indoor sports and games.)

PERIODICALS

For managers of clubs as well as members : *The Boy's Own Paper*, *Girl's Own Paper*, *The Captain*, etc., may often be useful ; also various organs of the Scout Movement.

SOCIETIES

National Physical Recreation Soc. (12 New Broadway, Ealing, W.)
 London Federation of Working Boys' Clubs (W. H. Smith, Memorial Hall, Portugal Street, W.C.)
 Manchester Federation.
 Birmingham Street Boys' Union, etc.
 Federation of Working Girls' Clubs, London Girls' Club Union, Manchester Union of Clubs, Leeds Association of Girls' Clubs, etc.

BRIGADES

Boys' Brigade, 162 Buchanan Street, Glasgow.
 Church Lads' Brigade, Aldwych House, Catherine Street, London, W.C.
 London Diocesan Lads' Brigade, 28 Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C.
 Jewish Lads' Brigade, 21 Bucklersbury, London, E.C.
 Imperial Lads' Brigade, Reed Street, West Hartlepool.
 Boys' Life Brigade (non-military), 56 Old Bailey, London, E.C.
 Society of Miniature Rifle Clubs, 20 Bucklersbury, London, E.C.

Agencies for providing facilities for playing are many County Councils : in London also the London Playing Fields Association.

(For younger children, in London—Evening Play Centres Committee. *Hon. Sec.*—Mrs Humphrey Ward, 25 Grosvenor Place, S.W. ; and Children's Happy Evenings Association.)

CHAPTER V

FINDING INTERESTS

A.—THE INTELLECTUAL AWAKENING

B.—THE CULTIVATION OF TRUE INTERESTS—

- (a) The Instincts of Womanhood
- (b) Nature and the Country
- (c) Literature and Art
- (d) The Work of Church and State
- (e) Conclusion

A.—THE INTELLECTUAL AWAKENING

So far our picture of the adolescent has been, on the whole, a picture of constant struggle and preparation for struggle, a record of grave economic and physical and moral dangers to be faced. At many points it must have seemed a picture gloomy and oppressive enough. We have seen what urgent demands this struggle makes upon body, character and general capacity, and how greatly those engaged in it may be helped and developed through the medium of active, organised recreation which is a very real form of striving in itself. All this, whether it be presented in the shape of learning or working or playing, belongs to the strenuous life. Up till now there has been little mention of rest and quiet thought and the finer activities of the spirit. Yet there are of a truth other manifestations of adolescence than those which we

have been discussing. They may be said to claim the rest of this book.

Adolescence has its physiological changes, but also not less its mental and spiritual. The minds of boys and girls at this period receive visions as real as those of early childhood, but not so irresponsible in their nature. Instead of the light-heartedness of playing children we find that a common feature of adolescence is a certain vague melancholy and longing to withdraw at times into the world of self. Boys and girls awake gradually to new purposes and new possibilities of life, and this dawn of consciousness cannot but bring to them moments of doubt and wavering. They seem to stand alone; they are sometimes inclined to believe that the difficulties which they feel in themselves are unique, not shared by their own contemporaries and not understood by the older people about them. This loneliness and hesitation would seriously impede their progress (as indeed it does in neurotic cases) were it not for a parallel development of new powers in body and mind. A constant feature of adolescence is the increase of the instinct and capacity for organising and managing. The feelings of one moment, which prompt a growing boy or girl to be alone, are overborne in the next by an intense desire for association with others of the same age in order to join in common plans with them. On the whole it may be said that while the interests of the child are largely self-centred, those of the adolescent are turned outward towards other persons and groups in a teeming world. Self-consciousness, never more acutely felt than in adolescence, now serves as the incentive to distant ideals. The growing boy watches and worships his heroes,

110 THE GROWING GENERATION

whether in books or in real life, at every step of their career, constantly compares himself with them, and strives to become as they are. The girl no less has passionate attachments to people and to causes. This is a period, beyond others in life, of emotions and enthusiasms, of splendid dreams and a restless desire to see them fulfilled. In the thought of poets it will always be associated with the singing of birds and the fresh bursting of the green, it is the April of life with its "girlish laughter" and "girlish tears." Well may they liken it to the Spring, for it is the awakening of countless fields in the human spirit. It is filled with the wonder of a new creation, seeming, in the moments of exaltation which it brings, unlimited and deathless.

This eagerness of adolescence can only be satisfied by expressing itself to the full and in many directions. The manner of this expression is necessarily coloured by the surroundings of the individual boy or girl. Left alone it may take the paths of misdirected energy and disaster, a result at least as probable in the class of boys and girls whom we are studying as in any other. One of the strongest instincts of adolescence is that of attachment to a leader. This, if it has its dangerous side, is also, for those who wish to help working boys and girls, in many ways very fortunate. Experience has shown abundantly that the right leaders, sure in purpose and filled with love for the task, can influence, even to the point of revolutionising them, the lives of young followers brought up amid the most degraded and seemingly hopeless conditions.

An important principle must be laid down at the outset. It may serve as a check to hasty and

uncharitable judgments. It is that no natural instinct is in itself false or wrong. Nature we are wont to conceive as a wise mother, kind even where she seems most stern, just where we think her cruel, swift in retribution but merciful in the ways of escape. We have ceased to revere the type of asceticism which looked upon the flesh and all its pleasures as the arch-enemy of the soul, to be tortured and slain. Like St Francis, even while we may impose privations on ourselves for our good, we still speak of "Brother Body," the worthy companion and servant of the spirit. The instincts of adolescence are keen, and in their origin they are all natural. Some of them are emphatically of the body, and these we are often a little inclined to condemn as the offspring of "our lower nature." Natural as the instincts are and salutary as their action should be, there are frequent perversions of them which must be watched with anxiety. This, then is the real task of all those who wish to see working boys and girls develop the powers of mind and spirit as well as of body. They will have little need in many cases to arouse latent instincts, for they will find these in some form abundantly present. They will have rather to turn the promptings of adolescence into healthy and fruitful channels, a task which may need all the patience and tact at their command.

B.—THE CULTIVATION OF TRUE INTERESTS.

It will be well to examine shortly some of the ways in which the adolescent mind expresses itself, or can be taught to express itself to advantage.

112 THE GROWING GENERATION

(a) *The Instincts of Womanhood*.—In the first place it is necessary to notice that the objects on which a boy's and a girl's thoughts centre, are in some respects fundamentally different. In the preceding chapter we dealt with play, meaning more than anything else the organised games of various kinds. We found on the whole that the boy was the hero of the chapter, while the girl had to take the second place. It is now possible, as indeed was hinted, to restore the balance on the girl's side. The games of the field, in which opposing teams are engaged, are in reality but forms of warfare, springing directly out of the instinct of the natural man to fight. The conventions which govern them are parallel to the systems and codes of the battle-field. A boxing or wrestling match is in its essence a very palpable form of duelling, though happily its motives and effects, under proper management, are completely healthy. Similarly it may be said that quiet games of skill are but miniature translations of the stricken field: indeed in the case of chess the very names and pageantry of mediæval battle still cling to the pieces on the board. All this has in reality a deep bearing on the sundered interests of boys and girls. For the primitive male, fighting is not only a natural instinct: it is a necessity. It is advanced to the place of a mission in his life and becomes the highest source of honour. Through all the pride of our established civilisation, the sound of drums and the sight of marching regiments still thrills us with sudden exaltation and even fills our eyes with tears. These are the visible links which remain to connect us with the bloodstained victories of men since the beginning. Emphatically, war is not a woman's work, nor is it a woman's

instinct. Her thoughts and her actions, consciously or unconsciously, are moulded by and adapted to the great work which she alone can do. Gloriously or ingloriously she must hand on the race. Motherhood is the central fact of her life.

The evidences of this are patent at almost every stage of the girl's career. They are abundantly to be found in her recreation and her interests. Already at two years of age, or even earlier, the mother instinct may be said to have its foreshadowing: the first doll is in the child's hands. In a very few years all her care is devoted to it: she has ceased to batter its head or pull off its legs in forgetfulness or temper. It is a joy and an anxiety through all the waking hours, and at night it sleeps on her pillow. Gradually and surely this doll, or indeed a long and increasing family of dolls, extends the variety of its claims on a girl's imagination. It becomes in her mind much more than the cold image of a human child; it is a being with a distinctive character of its own, responsive to the interminable conversations which are lavished upon it, alternately good and naughty. It eats its meals and has to be undressed and washed, and even to say its prayers before going to sleep. It falls ill and must be nursed back to health. Sometimes even the extreme tragedy is reached: it dies and is buried with reverent solemnity. "Make-believe," the child's infinite refuge, could go no further. In fact we may almost claim that make-believe has turned into reality.

Nor are dolls the only indication of a woman's mission in the heart of a child. While the brothers play at "Indians"—it is fortunate if they do not scalp the dolls in their fervour—the sister is "keeping house." Groceries are bought from the

114 THE GROWING GENERATION

barricaded corner of a room which does duty for a shop or perhaps from a convenient wall in the street. Meals are prepared, perhaps with "real" fire, and the feast proceeds with the utmost gravity.

Such are the expressions of motherhood and the motherly interests in childhood. In adolescence they express themselves through the tasks of every-day life: we find girls throwing themselves with energy into the work of the household. In the houses of the poor the daughter has usually no choice but to join in the arduous work of scrubbing and washing, and looking after the wants of her father and the children. The "mothers" of the city streets by day are usually the little girls. At the age of six they may be seen sitting on the doorstep with the baby in their arms, or towing it laboriously as soon as it can walk through the streets. If you question them they will speak quite naturally and with conscious pride of "my baby."

There is no more natural scope for the activity of a growing girl, of whatever class, than house-keeping in the most liberal sense of the word. It includes many handicrafts such as occupy a large part in girls' clubs and classes. From plain needlework and "mending" to fancy embroidery, woodcarving and the making of artificial flowers, all the work of a girl's neat hands is calculated to increase comfort and efficiency and to bring higher ideals of beauty into her home. There is no interest which those who seek the good of the working-girl can arouse more profitably than this, and through her they can influence a whole family. Who is it in effect that spreads the new ideals and introduces the higher standards

of domestic management into the households of the city slums? Is it the mother, grown old with toiling in the old ways? Is it father or son? Is it any outside visitor? More than all others it is the daughter of the house. She is keenly alive to all the ways of her neighbours, and compares their standards constantly with her own. True to the type of the adolescent mind, she is intensely conscious of herself, and she seeks always to relate that self to the groups of people with whom she comes in contact. Possibly she drops into a friend's house while a meal is still on the table and notices some little refinement of cooking or sewing which is new to her. The same day may see the improvement introduced in her own home, silently or with the sufficient explanation: "That's how they do it at Jones's." It is a grateful task for any friend or adviser of working girls to make suggestions of this kind. A hundred little changes in taste and convenience may thus slip in to the domestic management without arousing very serious opposition. Indeed the reforms which can be suggested may be more radical. There are opportunities for higher standards of cleanliness and decency, which a working girl will accept eagerly if she is once convinced of their value. Parts of this section may appear to some readers in the light of trivial detail. Is it a platitude to say that the happiness of a home depends vitally on the standard of comfort and taste in details, and that this standard is mainly the work of a woman? The working-girl who manages in her mother's house to-day may manage in her own very soon. To-day her cares are for younger brothers and sisters; some day they will be for children of her own.

116 THE GROWING GENERATION

Home-making is an essential part of a woman's genius, and no scheme for her advancement which is founded on nature will rob her of it. These details are often not only her daily work ; they are also part of her interest and her recreation and her delight. Less obtrusive than the boy's play, less organised and less stereotyped, they are equally an expression of natural instincts which cannot without loss be neglected.

(b) *Nature and the Country*.—It is always regarded as one of the saddest features of city life that the children of the poor have little or no opportunity of getting to know the country and its ways. The best substitute they possess is a large park, and those are specially fortunate who have such a resource within reach. Yet sooty trees and worn grass and railed off flower beds, however gay and trim, are a curious travesty of the free countryside. When the rare chances do come of "a day in the country," they are too commonly made use of in a way little calculated to awaken the love of wild nature. The average Sunday school treat or choir outing is in essence a pagan festival. A host of children or young people carry the worship of the town into the country. They sing its noisy songs, and wear its flashy fineries. They wave flags. The central feature of the day consists in over-eating, not the simple fare of the country, but the puff-pastries and cheap sweets of the town. True, there are exceptions in which a less grotesque programme is adopted. There are many cases in which young children pick flowers through the woods and with overflowing hearts play in the open field. The "annual outing" of the adolescent is less likely to be of this latter kind,

for already the restless excitements of the town have laid deep hold upon their imagination. For them the sea is too often inseparable from pierrots and winkles, and rural delights from gramophones and round-about. "The Cockney" stands for much more than a mere dweller in London. It implies a certain type of mind, the product of city-dwelling. It stands for a distinct kind of Philistine, before whose coming Nature, ever careful of her sacred mysteries, hides her face.

A day's outing on the usual lines is absurdly expensive in proportion to the true benefits it can bring. Surely the "Country Holiday" proper is the more excellent way. Energies and hopes and savings which are concentrated on a holiday of a week or even a week-end, bring far more of lasting satisfaction. The letters "C.C.H.F." stand already, in the minds of thousands of city school children, for the greatest happiness of their lives—a week or a fortnight in the heart of the country. What the Children's Country Holiday Fund has been doing for children, many agencies are now doing for young people. A simple open-air life is a wonderful resource, not only for bodies tired by work and the confined air of crowded homes, but also for the mind of youth. Camps for boys and holiday homes for girls, therefore, make a very strong appeal to social workers, who, through these means, can bring children most near to the very bosom of the strong, creative earth. There is a freedom which comes from the touch of the field, the smell of the sea, the purely natural life under the open sky, which drives out the baser cravings, and prepares the spirit for lessons of truth and beauty. At such a time boys and girls are most alive. It is as easy to arouse their emotions then as to turn

118 THE GROWING GENERATION

their bodily activities to account. Perhaps such a holiday is more concerned with the awakening of sense and emotion than of the intellect. Yet in so far as the essential interests of the country appeal to the imagination of boys and girls and cause them to reason and to investigate, it cannot be said that the intellect is suffered to sleep. Country things and country work are probably more easily made interesting to girls than to boys. While boys are playing their games or climbing trees, girls are more ready to wander about at will. They observe the habits of the creatures and make collections of wild flowers, whereas boys are more inclined to regard birds' nests merely as a legitimate plunder and flowers as a useful adornment for their caps. A prize offered at a large camp of London boys for a collection of natural objects and some description of their history, did not call forth a single response. There are, however, other ways of drawing a boy's interests towards the country-side, such as fishing, regarded in the light of "the contemplative man's recreation" as well as in that of a sport, and certainly the use of the camera, of which there are usually several to be found in camp. The time for country holiday is not only the summer, though that may be the only chance for a boy or girl to get a whole week from work. Almost any week-end in spring or autumn will serve, for even deluges of rain do not deter the bolder spirits. In the south of England the Easter week-end is of course a great camping season and in the north Whit-week. Some clubs and societies have gone a step further in making country holidays at all seasons possible by renting a cottage permanently, or even buying land and building one. Such an

arrangement misses perhaps a little the keen edge of freshness in camp but it allows of greater comfort and an opportunity to see the conditions of everyday country living.

(c) *Literature and Art*.—Literature and Art may seem rather grandiloquent titles for the interests of boys and girls of the working class, but the terms merely indicate our ideals. In some form books and pictures and dramatic performances must come into the life of all city children. It can be our lasting labour and joy to see that their standards of taste in these things are gradually raised and the horizons of their imagination widened. At school, the child has learnt to read, and it only remains to put this knowledge to some use. In far too many cases its use is of the most primitive and uninspiring kind. Some boys read nothing beyond the sporting news in an evening paper, and it is difficult enough to find any relation to literature proper in such material. Both boys and girls in factories support largely the innumerable penny novelettes which are published weekly. The craving for such food has an increasing hold upon them as soon as they have once acquired the taste. In some factories it is found that girls spend as much as a penny a day on stuff of this sort. Many people know by experience how domestic servants will treasure a whole drawer full of Horner's Penny Stories or volumes of "My Queen" Library. The great majority of such stories are not immoral save in the very true sense that they pander to the most commonplace and futile sentimentality. They are written frankly as "pot-boilers" and they are read voraciously. There is, of course, another class of literature very widely read, which incurs a more serious censure.

120 THE GROWING GENERATION

The point comes at which the "strong love interest," common to every penny novelette, develops into frank nastiness. Those who are older and know more of the world find much that is written of this kind, merely silly or mildly entertaining, but to adolescents, still experimenting with life and thought, the suggestions which come through such literature may work untold harm. Moreover it is not only the story of sexual passion which is dangerous to young minds. Books the whole aim of which is to exalt crime or barbarous luxury or money-making may contain a poison only less subtle. These evils are recognised to the full in many quarters, and efforts are constantly being made by Vigilance Committees, Girls' Friendly Societies, the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, the White Cross League and other agencies, to combat them. It must be remembered always that mere prohibition is the most futile attempt at a remedy. The true remedy is provided by books at their best, for they are an imperishable treasure-house of all that is most beautiful and health-giving to the human spirit. When we look round on all the good books which have been written for boys and girls, where shall we end our survey? They hold all things in earth and sea and heaven—coral islands shaded with palm, the Canadian prairie, the ice home of Ungava. Shall we plunge under the sea, or sail across the moon with Jules Verne? Shall we conquer the incredible ocean with Ulysses, or fight the just battle with Arthur? Boys can soon be taught to see that these are even better things than penny stories of burglary or sensational adventure. And girls have no smaller resources in books and no lesser heroines. Besides the host

of modern authoresses who write good things expressly for them they delight no less than boys in *Westward Ho*, or *Kenilworth*, or *The Tale of Two Cities*. It cannot but be a sincere pleasure to the manager of a club or the visitor to a factory to suggest a list of books or even to provide the beginnings of a library for boys or girls. Stories that set out to preach will never gain a hold on the majority of youthful readers. There need be no fear that the moral which the best books contain, though in less obvious forms, will fail to be recognised. Magazines and papers, not haphazard or in inordinate quantities, form a necessary corollary to books in these days. A great advance will be made in the kingdom of the imagination, if boys and girls can be brought to write for or edit a magazine of their own. The latent creative power, of which some of them scarcely suspect the possession, will find its expression and be saved from extinction.

An interesting experiment which has been tried in a large public library with great success, is to have a reading-room set apart specially for boys and girls with a librarian constantly in attendance to give them advice and help in their reading.

After literature comes art, and in the first place pictorial art. Here the student of æsthetics and the social reformer often take divergent views, for where the one honours a picture from the point of view of its fidelity to artistic canons, which are undoubtedly great and true, the other must regard it mainly in relation to its effect on public morality.

The love of good pictures and all beautiful things of art springs from the capacity of seeing rightly and discriminating justly, qualities which belong to a mind in some way purified. A boy or

122 THE GROWING GENERATION

girl can be led gently but not forced to adopt new standards in these things. The change must always be marked by some striving and many doubts, until at last he or she may be found approving just those achievements of art on which the centuries have set their seal. A beginning can easily be made. In a boys' or girls' club let this education of a state gradually make its way. Let there be many pictures, popular or descriptive or what you will, but let them all be good—not necessarily expensive, but at least honest workmanship of their several kinds. Let there be no thrusting of old masters upon those who as a whole do not and probably never will fully understand them. A few finer spirits will always go far beyond the rest, and fit themselves to enjoy the great freemasonry of the world's chosen artists of all times. It is a happy reflection that the "Sistine Madonna," the most popular picture in the world among all classes of people, is also a crowning glory in the temple of great art.

Music demands a word for itself, for the cultivation of a purer taste is here easier and more obvious than in the case of pictures. Music of some kind adolescents must have, and experience goes to prove that they can be taught to accept the best with enthusiasm. The great oratorios never lose their popularity among English people, least of all among the working class. Even the greatest music is not beyond the least educated; it has its effect, although it may not be completely understood. Time and again the experiment has been made with the music of Beethoven himself: it catches them and holds them fast, they know not how. It is noticeable how far this appeal of good music rather than bad has been taken into account

in an unexpected quarter. The music-halls have discovered that good music pays: they will begin their programme with an overture from an Italian opera and not seldom "a classical piece" is introduced as one of the turns. This is becoming common even at places of amusement in the poorest parts of the city.

The songs of the people are an interesting study for the psychologist, and it is chiefly the adolescents who sing them. Broadly speaking they are of two kinds—the jolly song which has a marching tune and sharp catch phrases in it, and the song of well-worn sentiment. The first rarely gets through many lines without a mention of beer and all the roystering happiness which is supposed to go with it. In some forms it may concentrate on the Flag and the red coat in a fervour of rather nebulous patriotism. It is the second kind, the song of sentiment, however, which makes a stronger appeal to the adolescent mind. Long lost love and faded beauty and little children dying in the snow are some of the "properties" which do constant duty. Sadness and farewell and death are the familiar subject of popular songs. These are characteristics of all folk-songs whatsoever. Sorrows, which the people face dumbly when they arrive, are voiced in the music with which they cheer their leisure hours. The maudlin songs of an English music-hall and the exquisite and enduring "volkslieder" of the Bavarian peasant have this in common—that they are never very far from tears. Nor must the people's hymns be forgotten in this connection. A member of a boys' club if asked to choose three or four hymns for a service will constantly revert to the same selection. One may be "Fight the good fight"—a hymn

124 THE GROWING GENERATION

comparable to our first type of song. The others will have long wailing choruses and minor cadences: they will probably contain sentiments of the most melancholy kind and not seldom grotesque lines which can have no meaning whatever for any Christian soul.

In music the boy or girl of the city is usually conservative in the face of a proposal of change, but this reluctance to admit new standards is easily overcome. London boys gathered at a club or camp sing-song will shout the popular music-hall chorus of the moment, and probably they will laugh "John Peel" and the "Lincolnshire Poacher" out of court if they are attempted by an outsider. Yet take them apart and form a singing-class, and you will find them ready to learn anything—a seventeenth century madrigal if you will. As for girls a singing-class and musical evenings are among the greatest and indeed the highest resources of their social life. The musical nature is very variably distributed, and has its local strongholds where efforts at reform from outside are scarcely needed. A Yorkshire miners' brass band or a Welsh choir are the spontaneous expressions of a musical people. Happy indeed are they among whom this great instinct of singing or playing, whether at common festivals or in churches, is so strong.

Lastly among the arts there is the drama. There are some who think to serve the best interest of young people by an unqualified discouragement of all dramatic performances. Probably they are actuated by unhappy experiences, but it may be doubted whether they have ever reasoned the matter in all its bearings. The dramatic instinct is inborn in every normal child.

It finds expression in its fancy and in every game it plays.¹ All the passers-by in the street are to the child figures in a great pageant, glorious or sorrowful or ridiculous. Comedy treads on the heels of Tragedy through all the long day.

In adolescence the characteristic change of attitude takes place in this as in other things. The growing boy or girl is no less imitative or less alive to the "situations" of common life than the child, but the dramatic instinct is more organised and more related to other people. Adolescents are no longer content to play their parts to themselves in an ecstasy of self-illusionment: they desire keenly to stir others to laughter or scare them with sudden dramatic entrances. Every boy or girl who gathers others round in a group and amuses them with patter or fantastic versions of simple incidents is a conscious actor or actress.

If such be the natural instinct can it be expedient to crush it out of the life of adolescence? Would it not rather be far safer to give it free play, not only safer but more beneficial?

The passive interest of spectators of the drama is keenly alive in growing children. Why should it not find a healthy outlet in becoming active? Charades and pageants and plays make demands on many corners of the mind and draw out much latent power. The preparation of them requires great forethought and ingenuity and the performance of them a great measure of self-confidence. "Scenic effects" need not be elaborate, indeed from the point of view of

¹ An extremely interesting experiment in teaching history, etc., by acting it, has been made at Sompting School, Sussex. See *The Dramatic Method of Play*, by H. Finlay Johnson. (Nisbet 1911. 3s. 6d.)

126 THE GROWING GENERATION

exercising the mind in freedom, the less scenery the better. In many social clubs for working boys and girls this immense power and possibility of the drama is recognised to the full and with the happiest results. The opposition to the dramatic interest of young people is partly no doubt a relic of the full tide of Puritanism, but in most instances it is immediately founded on a fear of the harm which theatres and music-halls may produce. Now, a sweeping condemnation can have little weight unless it is supported by complete evidence, and in this instance first-hand evidence is often lacking. Many of those who preach most uncompromisingly against the theatre and the music-hall have never even visited one, at least of the kind which working people frequent. Their first visit, if they can be persuaded to risk the great experiment, is usually full of surprises. They find that the chief accusation to be levelled against most of the sensational dramas, with their inevitable triumph of virtue over vice, and most of the variety entertainments of the working-people, is that of dullness, not of immorality. They are pitiably lacking very often in any real imaginative power. The theatre and the music-hall should at their best be potent factors in stimulating the mind ; they should have something new and wholesome to suggest to the awakening interests of adolescence. As it is, rusty old comedians or vapid young ones shuffle on to the stage and sing unamusing songs in harsh voices, relying for their effect merely on some trick of gait or a crooked umbrella. The eager mind of the adolescent craves for bread and is given a stone. It is not the abolition of the theatre which is urgently needed, but

a much wider extension of thoroughly good theatres.

Many people conceive that the real perils of the theatre for many of its young patrons lie not so much in the performance as in all the surroundings in which they find themselves. Undoubtedly the theatre in any case is a likely resort of many undesirable classes of people, and this is such a serious source of disaster to many adolescents as to go far in warranting the opposition which we have discussed, but it has yet to be proved that there are fewer brave and pure-minded men and women in the theatrical profession than in any other. Boys and girls are insatiable hero-worshippers, and often not unnaturally find their heroes on the stage: hence one reason for keeping it pure and wholesome.

The raising of the public taste and the encouragement of the best in the drama is a matter that depends upon each one of us. Like all great and sublime arts it is capable of infinite degradation, like all noble passions of the human soul it may be prostituted to ignoble ends. Were it a lesser thing, with smaller possibilities, making no real demand on our deepest nature, this prostitution would be less easy and far less serious than it is.

Let those of us who are grateful for all of insight and beauty and truth that has been revealed to us through the drama, those of us who have, through it, enjoyed some of our greatest intellectual feasts, and much which has added to the wholesome gaiety of our lives; who have learnt from it some of the highest and deepest truths of human nature and some of our sanest views of human relationships—let us, at any rate, pay this

128 THE GROWING GENERATION

simple tribute to the drama that we use our best endeavour to see that it be handed on to others, perhaps less fortunate than we are, even purer and greater than we ourselves have received it.

One means to this end, simple and yet possible to each of us, is to help to promulgate the best in public opinion by giving weight to the opinions of people of distinction and refinement and by helping to cultivate the finest taste in those who have not perhaps had equal opportunities with us of forming a good judgment. For it is no less true of the drama than it is of literature that what the public taste demands, with that will it be provided. It is to-day a reproach that in England intellectual, sensitive, delicate drama, the drama, so to speak, of prophecy, can hardly be produced because it is not supported by the public, who yet will go in their thousands to hear a musical comedy with its meretricious attractions, or to see a lurid melodrama with its often coarse presentations of human passions. Truly the responsibility in this matter rests upon those who have the wider vision.

Nowadays no account of dramatic performances, especially for the youth of the country, would be complete without a reference to the cinematograph. It is a very cheap and for the most part, we must believe, a wholesome entertainment. Very few of the scenes which are presented outrage public decency, though many of them are stupid in conception. At their best they are genuinely amusing and indeed educational. A child may see here how various things are grown or manufactured, and may travel in foreign lands, surely only to his good. Already, though there have been many complaints that cinematographs

hinder church-going, some of the clergy have been heard to express the conviction that there is less drunkenness and less loitering in the streets than was formerly the case, owing to this new and accessible source of recreation.

Closely allied to the drama is an art which deserves mention here because it has been used lately with special effect in the training of young minds. It is the art of story-telling. It may begin by the manager of a club or some friend of boys or girls telling a story, clearly and with emphasis on the essential stages. This is followed up in some cases by an enactment of the whole scene in the club-room or in the open air. Sven Hedin follows his lost caravan across the trackless desert—which is a public park. He catches up his comrades at day-break and finds them in a state of utmost exhaustion. To save themselves and him he urges them by a frantic effort of will to rise from the ground and build a tent, formed of a cricket stump and a thatch of dead branches, against the fierceness of the noonday sun. Obviously the enacting of such scenes is nearly allied to scouting—the great boys' game of our time—and probably, like scouting, it is more applicable to pre-adolescent children. At all events the lost art of story-telling is worth revival.

Moreover, since we speak of revivals, the great impetus which has been given of late years to the ancient art of Morris-dancing deserves mention. Such expressive dances and choruses partake of the very essence of original drama. Their success among modern girls, perhaps especially working girls, is most conspicuous and encouraging.

(d) *The work of Church and State.*—It only remains to consider another class among the

130 THE GROWING GENERATION

interests of adolescence; one which is directed towards wider spheres, the work of the world around. The dawn of the adolescent mind lights on ever more distant groups of people, makes them clearer and minimises the distances between them. The young child has had his own kingdom of self: the adolescent looks for *his* kingdom in the whole world. Politics and social systems engage the boy's or girl's mind. The book of history unfolds treasures unsuspected and still only slowly realised. Where formerly the previous centuries brought merely a series of adventures and anecdotes to the child, they begin at length to imply a coherent development related to the race which is now alive—nay, ceaselessly at work to make history for the generations of the future. Here is a golden opportunity for all who wish to help in the best development of working boys and girls. There are lectures to be given, debates to be held, historical places to be visited. Through the ears and eyes the adolescent mind drinks in most vivid impressions of the world's history and organisation. The continuation schools of most countries recognise how vital at this period of life is the clear understanding of citizenship, its rights and responsibilities. Boys and girls are quite ready to debate and write essays on such subjects. They show an intense interest in the places where the rulers of the nation or the city transact their business, and they inquire much among themselves or of others as to the machinery of government. These interests have been hitherto far too little encouraged among working people. Surely out of the youth of to-day we can hope by education of this kind to make the more intelligent voter of to-morrow—a man able to see his way

through party cries and the excitements of elections to one or two clear issues at least.

Nor must the work of the Church be forgotten. For those who believe that the Church, in spite of her faults, has a great and real part to play in meeting the world-problems of to-day, nothing can be more important than that young minds should see her work in a light different from that in which they often see it. The Church must be presented not as an institution of which people are members merely for the sake of respectability. It can be presented to boys and girls with a great story behind it of noble men and women. It can be presented as having within it a power for social progress which is greater than all legislation and schemes for reform. Above all, its work on the mission-field, its heroes and martyrs, can capture the imagination and implant in the mind a love and admiration for men and women who have given their lives to a great cause. To many boys the story of a Raymund Lull or of an Alexander Mackay has been a living impulse to nobler striving after the best and purest things.

Space does not permit any lengthened consideration of methods whereby these things can be taught, but one general suggestion is perhaps necessary. The teaching of them is more difficult than most things, for it can be of no avail unless there is personality and character behind the teaching. It is difficult, therefore, to teach these things to many at a time, for if there is to be successful teaching there must be close friendship between teacher and pupil. The greatest success has been attained where these things have been discussed in small classes or "Circles"; in such groups all members have a chance of asking or

132 THE GROWING GENERATION

answering questions, and that personal link which is so necessary has its best chance of being established. Much more lasting work may be done by the short telling of the story of one of our missionary heroes to a few boys gathered quietly together in a small room, than by all the pomp and ceremony of a "march-out" or a "Church Parade."

Conclusion.—Some of the main interests of adolescence have been touched upon and considered, chiefly as they affect a special class of the community. It is a class where the instincts are not lacking, but where the interests through which they should rightfully express themselves are apt to be crushed out by other forces. Labour in the factory or mill for nine or ten hours a day is exhausting. It makes boys haggard and girls anæmic. When respite comes there comes also a reaction, a taste for spasmodic and violent excitement. The interests which should be suffered to develop slowly, unfolding day by day at the touch of kindly experience, are rushed into maturity or atrophied in the struggle of stronger passions. To develop them is to combat those passions, to restore beauty to the world, and to make the men and women whom God intended. Worst of all fates is that of the man or woman who has lost interest in vital things, and goes forward heedless from day to day, without any particular hope or any particular refuge. In contrast to this apathy the headlong indiscretions of boys and girls are often the securest signs of a healthy spirit. They should never be our discouragement, but rather our obvious opportunity for help and sympathy. Stevenson himself, for ever young in the resourcefulness of a mind which no suffering could conquer,

gives this truth an impetuous utterance. "Some people swallow the universe like a pill: they travel on through the world, like smiling images pushed from behind. For God's sake give me the young man who has brains enough to make a fool of himself!"

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SOCIETIES

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- Kyrle Society, 192 Marylebone Road, N.W. (encourages the artistic interests of working people).
- Social and Political Education League, Sec. A. H. Reed, 23 Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C. (provides lecturers on a great variety of subjects).
- The National Vigilance Association, 161A Strand, W.C., and the Pernicious Literature Committee (Rev. H. Bull, Wellington House, Westgate-on-Sea), put down bad literature, etc.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL RELATIONS

- A.—THE SOCIAL OUTLOOK OF ADOLESCENCE—
 - (a) The Family
 - (b) Friends
- B.—THE SOCIAL EDUCATION OF ADOLESCENCE—
 - (a) The impetus to corporate loyalty—Clubs
 - (b) Wider responsibilities
- C.—BOY AND GIRL TOGETHER—
 - (a) Customary relationships
 - (b) The imparting of right ideals
 - (c) The fostering of true fellowship

A.—THE SOCIAL OUTLOOK OF ADOLESCENCE

WE have seen in the preceding chapter how many interests are eagerly developed by the adolescent. We have noticed also, that a characteristic of adolescence is the tendency to regard everything with reference to groups and conditions of people other than the young observer's own. While the child is an egoist, the adolescent is by comparison an altruist. This has an obvious bearing here, for where the joy in many interests and the instinct of association is so strong, surely it requires only encouragement and a fair opportunity to establish a healthy social life. In the last chapter we were dealing with the expression of a boy's or girl's awakened mind through interest in the beautiful things of intellectual achievement: here we are

considering the more objective expression of that mind in the practical social relations of every day. How are boys and girls to act towards home and friends and country, and towards one another? How do they, as a matter of practice, behave? These are the questions which must be answered.

(a) *The Family*.—At home a working-class child's social position depends a great deal on his economic position. During the years that the child attends school he is, comparatively speaking, under discipline at home. He must appear at meals more or less at regular times or go without. He must go to bed and get up at hours which do not disturb the household arrangements. He has many duties and not many rights. In the family councils he should be "seen and not heard," and it is just the child's self-assertion which, transgressing this law of common convenience, produces the succession of petty storms which make a crowded household so cheerless. The mother nags and the child replies; tempers are quickly lost when people are overdriven. So there arises some of the discomfort which makes home no resting place for the older members of the family. As soon, however, as the boy or girl leaves school and gets a first job the position is inevitably changed. The parents may still exercise some authority over the young worker, but they can no longer dictate an absolute programme of every day. The boy or girl is earning money and paying over the greater part of it to the family funds. He or she is a person of some importance in the house, and must be treated much more on equal terms. The adolescent is quick to perceive this and claims a re-

136 THE GROWING GENERATION

cognised position. Not that the home feeling has vanished. Rather the growing consciousness of independence and a certain impatience of arbitrary restraint come into conflict with it. Much tact is needed on the part of both parent and child if home life is to run a smooth course, and tact is a difficult virtue in an existence with so many opportunities of conflict as theirs. The common consequence of economic independence on the one hand and domestic discomfort on the other is that the young worker comes in time to regard the home tie more loosely. A boy will pay his mother seven shillings a week, keeping only a shilling or so for himself. He is thus able to expect his board and lodging in return for a definite payment. He demands a definite standard of comfort in these things, as well as other little services of various kinds. All this tends rather to turn home into a boarding house, and it is not surprising that young people of both sexes should sometimes seek lodgings elsewhere at the same price. Boys will frequently take a room or part of a room in a strange house, and it is not rare to find two factory girls joining together to gain the independence which a common room with one bed can offer them away from home. As soon, however, as the young worker loses his or her job the situation is altered. Boys and girls feel being out of work keenly, for it makes them once more dependent on their family and lowers their pride. The search for new employment begins, and if it is to continue long without result it makes great demands on the courage and self-respect of the searcher. Early in the morning the boy must turn out and go a round of the factories and yards, sometimes at

a considerable distance from the neighbourhood in which he lives. He meets with many sharp rebuffs from foremen and employers; sometimes he gets no further than the closed door with its notice: "No hands wanted." Day by day he grows weary in body and mind, careless of his clothes and appearance. He slouches from one yard to another, and at last, thoroughly disheartened, he slinks home. There his presence is perhaps scarcely commented on. The sparing meal, to which he feels he has scarcely a right, passes in silence, and he goes out into the street again to avoid the awkwardness of his position in the household. The laconic phrase in the registers and case papers of a relieving agency "o/w two months," when it applies to a boy or girl, may cover a course of serious deterioration in the personal character of the "case" referred to. The unemployed become in time the unemployable.

In lightening or making more heavy the burden of unemployment which is felt as a sort of stigma by a boy or girl, the family can effect much. In some few unhappy cases, where dire necessity or lack of affection prompts the parents, the door may be shut in the face of a child who is out-of-work. A system of half-begging or living on the charity of friends and mates is now the only course, and when the child wanders by day and sleeps out at night a career of helplessness and waste is in a fair way to being opened. In many homes the sympathy of the father or mother towards a child out of work is fortified by the moral or material support of brothers and sisters. Indeed the relations of brothers and sisters in working-class families have received too little attention from visitors and students of social

138 THE GROWING GENERATION

problems. Their attitude to one another is often very difficult to determine, for their affections are undemonstrative and elusive. At times it seems as though they took very little interest in one another's doings, or were indeed almost oblivious of one another's existence. Work and outside interests are not the common stock of the family. Just as the mother often has no idea what her children do in the evenings and scarcely knows of the existence or whereabouts of the social club to which they may belong, so the working children of the family take very little share in one another's amusements. How often in the course of a year will you see a brother and sister walking together in the street? In the majority of cases very seldom indeed. There are, of course, pairs of brothers of much the same age who are devoted to one another, or pairs of sisters who dress alike and walk arm-in-arm, but on the whole these are the exceptions. A common and touching feature of family life is, however, the concern of elder brothers and sisters for the younger children. In the case of girls this feeling seems to belong to the natural "mothering" instinct which expresses itself very early indeed. They are not completely happy unless they have something or someone, a doll or a child, to think for and work for and fend for continually. Among boys this concern for the younger children is sometimes no less marked. An elder brother will at once be up in arms if an outsider insults his young sister, even though there may not be much obvious affection between them. Often his devotion to some younger brother goes very deep. "My little brother is just out of hospital," said a boy of eighteen with unaccustomed tears in his

eyes. "If he had died, I don't know what would have happened to me. I couldn't go on living without my lad." Brothers at a distance, perhaps even on the other side of the world, send small contributions to their brothers and sisters in times of distress. It is a common and natural thing for a brother or sister in later life to take over the care of nephews and nieces in cases where the parents have died or are in great poverty. Sickness or anxiety or death, the disgrace or danger of some member of the family—these are often the signal for a reunion of the scattered forces of the home, and for some utterance of the strong feelings of pride and affection which are not lost but only lying hidden.

(b) *Friends*.—The next sphere, outside the family, is the social life of friends. The friendships of the working boy or girl, as of most people, begin casually. It is indeed difficult to avoid striking up a nodding or speaking acquaintance in so confined a space as a slum district, and there is no need of visiting cards or calling-days to carry the matter further. Shouting across the street or out of window to an acquaintance, is at any rate a more natural way of "calling." There is generally some convenient backwater in the line of the street, a haven from the tide of passing traffic, and not out of sight or smell of a friendly public house, where friends of all ages hold their evening receptions. Boys of seventeen, in scarves or prodigious neckties, will stand about there in groups for hours. Girls will also form their own groups, and here and there will mingle with the others. These friendships which begin so accidentally come often to claim more time and affection than the natural

140 THE GROWING GENERATION

ties of family, and may become the best or worst of possessions.

Young people are moved by a passionate desire for association with one another. This "gregarious instinct" as the naturalists say, or "gang-spirit," as some who work among city children prefer to call it, must be the basis for improved social relations, for it is the spring of all society whatsoever. Young children are sociable enough, but they have neither the instinct for social relations nor the organising ability of the adolescent. Grown men and women as a rule have found their places in an accepted system, and may have lost the first spontaneity of that vision of a new heaven and a new earth which came to them when they were younger. The growing boys and girls have left behind their irresponsible childhood, and a career where all things are possible lies before them. The great deeds of the future are still to be accomplished, and in their hearts they are the possessors of an infinite armoury of great resolves.

In devising means to satisfy these instincts, the special conditions of working-class life must not be lost sight of. The home in favourable circumstances is the true nursery of social progress, but the necessarily crowded and dismembered homes of working men often make such progress difficult. As the school teacher supplements the training of home in certain directions, so the voluntary worker can take a legitimate part in directing the instincts we are now considering. Working boys and girls will come together in their free time at any cost. They will make friendships, play common games and discuss common interests. All these requirements of their nature must be expressed in the streets, if no more suitable place be offered to them.

It is at this point that the social club for each sex becomes an inestimable benefit, nay, an imperative necessity.

B.—THE SOCIAL EDUCATION OF ADOLESCENCE

We cannot but believe that, of the attempts made to widen the outlook of the people and improve their lot, a large proportion is foredoomed to comparative or complete failure because the reformers begin at the wrong end. They recognise the irresistible power for good of a really strong family life, and they set to work to reform the homes as they find them. They think to work on the children through the parents, and so they turn the best of their energies to the waning generation of to-day instead of to the advancing generation of to-morrow. It is the adolescent children who are to be the parents of the brighter and more glorious homes of the future, not those who have made their attempt in parenthood already and are perhaps grown weary in the accomplishment. It is the adolescents who have still the freshness of enthusiasm and the conquering spirit of youth which believes that it can never fail.

(a) *The impulse to corporate loyalty: Clubs.*—The great part which clubs occupy in the physical development of working children has already been described. It remains to speak of the no less important uses they may be made to serve as schools for social development. Given a ramshackle house or even a large room, with a score of boys or girls from the street, and you have the ingredients for your experiment. Out of these is to grow a little

142 THE GROWING GENERATION

state, with a constitution and a political life of its own. Here is to be repeated in miniature the history of civilisation. The dawn of it is likely to be troubled, and in the early stages of the club's career an inexperienced manager may be inclined to despair. If the score of members, as yet unversed in those laws of development which seem to guide clubs and nations alike, are left to their own devices, such a state of affairs will probably result as would surprise an explorer were he to find the same among the most primitive of races. Anarchy will flourish—the struggle of all against all, the unstable tyranny of the strongest. The furniture will be demolished, and the club will resolve itself automatically into the street once more. Such a false start as this is scarcely likely to be made, for those who open a club are prepared to exercise some supervision over it from the beginning. The rules should be simple and few, so as to reduce the number of possible offences and to increase the chance of spontaneous development. Clearly from the outset the chief object must be to see justice administered; in other words, to insure that every member gets his or her chance. When it has been proved in a club (as nations have had to prove it) that the good of each member is the common good of the community, one great purpose of the whole venture may be said to have been realised. There is, of course, more than one way in which this truth may be introduced to the members. The balance of weak against strong and all the administration of justice and precedent may be kept in the hands of the club-manager, the older social worker to whom the inception of the club was due. This is clearly the method of autocracy, such as the child has already learnt to know at school.

It may result in great precision and efficiency, if the autocratic manager possesses the character necessary to make it so. At the same time it must tend to create a rather cold and mechanical atmosphere in which the intelligence and initiative of individual members are not freely developed. As an alternative method there is the gradual training of the members for self-government. In the early days of any social club among working children the manager must be ready for all emergencies with a strong hand. Physical coercion is in fact sometimes inevitable. Oh to remember the early days of a club's existence, when a boy had to be picked up bodily by the most available part of his clothing and carried with incredible struggle to the door; to hear still in imagination the fall of broken glass within the building as he took his revenge on it from the street! How the manager perspired, and prayed for the patience of Job, when, returning in disorder from his work of "chucker out," he found the gas turned off at the meter and the rest of the club rioting in a locked room upstairs! The years pass and the lesson is learned. The small rascal who led all the "ragging" in earlier days is leading still, but he has changed the objects of his organising power. He is the strong and faithful club officer who sees that order is kept and subscriptions paid, and that no single member loses his game of billiards just because he happens to be small. The successive stages of self-government have been gone through. The little state is in all important respects a democracy. Its officers may have been appointed by a higher authority, the club-manager, but they are the approved champions of the club itself. The football and

144 THE GROWING GENERATION

cricket teams, which form such an integral part of club life, elect their own captains and appoint their own committee men to represent them in dealing with other organisations. The true test is passed when the manager can feel that if he absents himself for an evening from his club, everything will proceed as usual. Crises of course there must be, revolutions which shake the foundations of the little state and the faith of all but the best. Yet on the whole the natural solution has been reached, because the natural impulses which underlie the stages of social evolution have been allowed proper play. Once again, what are they? The gang spirit which brings boys and girls together, however loosely and uncertainly; the organising instinct which calls them to associate themselves ever more closely in order to achieve some common ideal; and the love of responsibility and power, which helps them to fit themselves for positions of trust and keeps them faithful in office. These are the guiding principles which make for a complete and healthy society within the walls of a club. They need but to be applied to society outside it, and there arises a new race of men and women, who march with their eyes open and their heads crowned with sunlight towards a distant goal. The means of accomplishing this task of great hope can be left to the generation which has been trained on such lines, and to those friendly advisers who will stand always at their side.

(b) *Wider Responsibilities.*—It may be necessary to indicate briefly the field which must be covered. The great blessings of friendship have been learnt in the club already, for without them it would speedily have died. The family relation cannot

be directly taught there, for it is likely to be the great experiment of a club-member's life, and one in which the experience of the club can help only in a very general way. The wider relationships which in the case of some working men have remained at a rudimentary stage cannot help being furthered by club life. There is the little state, as we have said, with its politics and its conscious ideals; beyond it is the larger state—the nation, and in the end a brotherhood of all men. Boys and girls will do anything for their club, and will guard its prestige almost beyond any other possession. Club members have thus begun at the beginning of patriotism in a very practical sense. Many of the club interests can be related directly to the world outside. Debates on politics and social questions always produce eager champions among the members. Classes and books on citizenship can be made popular amongst girls as well as boys. An organised discussion in a girls' club on the value and use of money, for instance, may surprise the casual visitor by its earnestness and intelligence. Members of either sex can at least have an opinion, even if they cannot express it by a vote. In these days, and in the days to come, in which the people grow ever more articulate in public affairs, it is urgent that they should discipline their minds to think clearly.

The world's honours are slowly changing hands. Already the citizen is no longer less than the soldier; work and not war is to have the homage of the future. Until the masses of the working people awake to the worth of their own labour all the speeches of professional pacivists must be barren in result. Surely it is worth while to make our own working girls and boys reason out such

146 THE GROWING GENERATION

things for themselves. Their own common sense will decide what are the true values and the true standards of honour in matters national and international. The working classes alone could compel peace by their united answer to such questions as these.

It is clear that mere thinking and discussing will not bring working people much closer to the wider groups of mankind. "What is the Empire to me" a man in Whitechapel was heard to remark, "when I have to open the window before I get room to put on my trousers?" There is much commonplace work to be done before that reasonable and only true patriotism which we desire has a chance of thriving. The building of sanitary houses and the encouragement of a healthy home-life may seem an unimaginative answer to those who talk of Empire and the brotherhood of nations. Yet it is the only possible beginning. Somewhere the hearts of a few citizens are deeply stirred. The commotion gathers volume until it is advertised in the newspapers as "public opinion." After a birth struggle it appears, in positive shape yet inadequately expressed, in an Act of Parliament, and claims the cumbrous title of "Social Reform." It began in the love of a few for the many who seem oppressed, and to have effect love must meet love again—the love of the social reformer must be answered from the people to whom he comes with help. This then is the fundamental requisite for working girls and boys, that they should become conscious that they are joint creators with the social reformer of the better conditions to be. They must be shown somehow that their kingdom is already within them.

C.—THE BOY AND GIRL TOGETHER

One social relation always demands separate consideration, and that perhaps especially when we are dealing with adolescence; it is the relation of the sexes. The subject is of vital moment to all who are granted the friendship of the working boys and girls of a big city, or indeed of those of any class of society anywhere. It is a matter which involves so many difficulties and such delicate courses of action that many—especially, unfortunately, in our own country—are not prepared to face it with an open mind. Yet by denying its urgency and discouraging all discussion of it we are beyond a doubt furthering disaster. If we face it in the right way we are directly helping to develop sound men and women.

(a) *Customary relationships*.—Scientific students of adolescence seem to distinguish three recognisable stages in the attitude of the sexes to one another during these years. The dawn of the period is usually accompanied by a carefulness for personal appearance in the boy as much as in the girl, which is quite new and in marked contrast to the hobble-de-hoy days which have preceded it. It is a change of attitude which most people can remember in their own personal experience. The boy who has been despising neat clothes and clean hands as signs of degeneracy, now suddenly appears with a high collar and well-considered tie, remembers the crease in his trousers and voluntarily submits to the agony of tight boots. The girl foregoes the freedom of a short skirt and sacrifices simplicity to alarming fashions in hats and glittering ornaments. Biologists, it is interesting to note,

148 THE GROWING GENERATION

relate this adolescent outburst of finery to the increased brilliance of the birds' plumage in the spring and to the dancing and strutting of animals in the mating season. Among growing boys and girls it is the time of what complacent elderly people call "calf-love." In the street-life of the city this inclination towards personal display is indulged to the full. "Our Bill" meets some factory mate in the street with his sister and is formally introduced, or meets the sister alone and introduces himself by the most casual of remarks, addressed to no one in particular and about nothing in particular, but intended to reach her hearing. A smile, a wink, and they are "pals" from the instant. They walk down the street together and dissolve partnership at the corner in the same casual way as they formed it. Next evening and perhaps for many an evening after they meet, always as if by accident, at a given place, and repeat the performance with variations of amusement. At last one night the girl appears alone. You ask her about Bill and she shrugs her shoulders. "I couldn't go on with him any more, when he behaves to me like he do." You ask for further explanation. "Well, he don't never treat me even to a glass of lemonade. Not once in three weeks he hasn't done it!" You express regret at Bill's unchivalrous nature and hope the breach may be healed. "Not me! But there," (this with a decisive air of pride) "I done very decent by him—nobody can say I didn't. I found him another girl." To many the motives behind such an incident must be quite incomprehensible. This type of casual and short-lived partnership is very common, indeed the rule, with adolescent workers. It begins and ends in little, and the

most close and experienced observers agree that it is in the great majority of cases a perfectly moral relation. In some cases it spreads itself rather beyond adolescence. There are servant girls who "walk out" perhaps for a whole year, with a man of whose name they are not certain, and in whose personal affairs they show very little interest. They will walk arm in arm in silence, sit on seats in the park, no doubt kiss each other, and then walk home. This is of course a relation which is apt to be less entirely innocent. Is this promenading, this casual unstable relation of young people really the beginning of love? Is this really of the same stuff as the glories of the poets, the passion of the Greek for the beauty of Helen—

"the face that launched a thousand ships"?

It seems so. It is love under a childish disguise and as yet uncertain of its goal.

The gay and shallow period is succeeded often, in normal mid-adolescence, by another which is its exact opposite. The deep earnestness and indeed the melancholy which we have noticed as characteristic of adolescence seem to gain the upper hand. Boys and girls dream about a great career in the future and lay their plans with anxious hearts. Intellectual interests claim them more and more, and it is now that the great battle of religious doubt has to be joined. Boys and girls at this stage, therefore, shun each other's company. It is in very fact the "monastic" age, for "the monastery is the social device arranged for those who continue permanently at this stage of development, while the college is for those who

150 THE GROWING GENERATION

are expected to pass through it.”¹ All this seems to be clearly reflected in the life of a working boys’ or girls’ club. A boy officer of sixteen will work for his club with extraordinary keenness and self-forgetfulness. He will forego many social amusements outside it, in order to be in his place every night as the servant of all the members. Soon however, it may be, the next and final stage of adolescence comes upon him. He becomes irregular in his attendance and careless in his business there. He may cease to come at all. For he has passed through his period of retreat as far as the other sex is concerned. He has found his “girl” at last, or revived a half-forgotten affection. The girl, too, who may have been devoting all her abilities to classes or home-work or club management is impelled by a new force towards masculine company. They stand at the threshold of manhood and womanhood, and it is foolish for us to try to disguise their altered relations to one another. This is no longer the irresponsible and fickle attachment of a few years before. At its worst it is an affair of ephemeral passion; at its best it is founded on the instincts of a home and children, some day to be attained. It would be absurd to add that such instincts are the just and glorious inheritance of the adolescent, were it not that some of those who seek the highest good of working girls and boys deny their existence, or degrade them by regarding them in the light of sin.

(b) *The imparting of right ideals.*—Those of us who want to help the working children of the city come now in due course to the consideration of our own part in the matter. Once more the great

¹ Slaughter, *The Adolescent*, p. 38.

"naturalness" of working-class people must be remembered. A rigid etiquette surrounds children of another sphere of society. They are required to go through forms of introduction and recognition even within the narrow circle of close acquaintances which is allowed to them. The working classes also have their etiquette, which is in some emergencies no less ludicrous in its effects than that of the West-end. Yet on the whole boys and girls of this class are allowed much more liberty in their relations to one another. The conditions under which they live make this inevitable. We dare not forget that certain standards which some of us would insist upon as bare decency in our own homes may be quite out of the question in theirs. The barrier between the sexes cannot be maintained in the same way when six people live and sleep in two rooms. Nor, let us add, is it altogether an evil that this should be so. There can be little doubt that civilisation has often worked incalculable harm by the stress it lays on the difference of the sexes. The most "civilised" children are hedged round with prohibitions. They are constantly being reminded that they are boys and girls, and their consciousness is thus directed inward upon their own nature to an unnatural extent. After all it has always been agreed that things of the senses which are avowed and known have little of the poison in them which is engendered when they are half hidden. This is a truth which is turned to evil account every day in devices of dress and allusive conversation. Facts which come as a moral shock to children of other classes are matters of common knowledge to working-class children from their earliest years, and their outspokenness and rough and ready

152 THE GROWING GENERATION

philosophy in such things, however much it revolts the feelings of another class, may be proofs of the innocence of their inmost hearts. In practice, however, their early knowledge of the physical basis of life is confused, and in the storm and stress of adolescence it does not suffice to save them from experiences which may have bitter and sometimes irrevocable consequences. It is at this point that they are in urgent need of help; help which their parents are in the vast majority of cases unable or unwilling to give. The wish, on the part of other friends who might bring this help, to retain the "innocence" of a boy or girl by keeping silence, is in reality the most cruel of kindnesses. It might have some place in a monastic society but it certainly has none in the violent struggle of city-life. Far better were it, surely, to replace the sentimental theory of innocence by very careful positive teaching of physical facts and necessities. Thus and thus only can that other deeper innocence be won, which sees clearly and steadfastly and is not ashamed.

The great questions are: Who is to do the teaching, and when and how is it to be done? On these points opinion is much divided. The parent is clearly the proper teacher but it is a matter of common knowledge that the parent too frequently neglects the duty. Not a few reformers advocate the school teacher as the nearest substitute, some the doctor, many the grown-up personal friends of the child. Obviously, save in exceptional cases, men are the only teachers who can approach boys and women the only ones for girls. In the case of both it is a task which calls for great personal self-control and resoluteness on the part of the

teacher ; men and women without sureness, themselves perhaps scarcely more than adolescents, are dangerous missionaries in this field. To the question : " When ? " we believe the true answer must be : " Always, through every stage of childhood and adolescence." The child must come gradually to know and respect its own body and to lead a healthy, physical life. It cannot for ever be put off by evasive answers or allowed to indulge in those popular superstitions which prevail in some matters of this kind. There are, however, stages in the journey of the child and the growing man or woman when more positive teaching becomes urgent. It is some one's business to see that it does not come too late. Above all we feel very strongly that *quietness* is to be the characteristic of the best method.

Some people would advocate definite lessons on human physiology in elementary schools. Scientific knowledge of this simple kind is of great use to growing children, but there must be danger in pressing it to the definite point of its intimate bearing on each child present. Curiosity is aroused among some who are not yet in a position to discuss. Other people believe in " purity meetings " undertaken by some voluntary agency. However great their value when they are wisely conducted (and that is not always), the same objection applies. Above all, the purity meeting which is a feature of many camps for working boys or girls must be looked upon with misgiving. The course is attractive, for in camp the mind is very alive, emotions are easily worked upon and extraordinary fervour can be created in a large audience. Such meetings are apt to sow emotion of one kind, and before long to reap

154 THE GROWING GENERATION

emotion of quite another. The violent action claims a violent reaction.

Finally, there is the method of a rare and intimate talk with an individual boy or girl. Few words, no evasions, perfect frankness and sympathy are its characteristics. Practical expedients may be suggested to suit the time and place, and possibly certain books may be put into the boy's or girl's hands, not to be lent about among all their friends and discussed, but to be read and returned. A schoolmastering attitude in such talks is a fatal bar, for it imposes an impenetrable reserve on the child. These are troubles concerning which girls or boys can never open their hearts unless they feel sure of the hearer's willingness to understand. Especially when they have confessions to make the adviser to whom they speak will need deep sympathy and tenderness, great kindness and much faith.

(c) *The fostering of true fellowship.* — The manner in which boys and girls are to be educated to regard one another naturally, fearlessly, always reverently, must claim a few words. Nature's way must take the foremost place: the way of free and healthy social intercourse between the sexes. The promenade of the streets, which we have noticed, is but a distorted manifestation of nature's happiness and liberty, the limited expression which the exigencies of artificial city life allow. It is only a matter of organisation to provide far better means than this for the intercourse of working boys and girls. Co-education is in its infancy still, so far as adolescents are concerned, though it has always been the principle of the Kindergarten. Mixed clubs have been tried and voted a failure. But "social evenings," which are but temporary

mixed clubs, can be made an unlimited success. There is a little initial shyness to be got over when boys and girls, accustomed to meet one another in the street, are gathered together in a room. There may be a good deal of giggling and many embarrassed silences between individuals: there may be some horse play which has to be summarily checked. Some common interest must of course be provided if the evening is to be a success. It may be a competition, a dance, a play in which both sexes share either as players or as spectators.

A mixed singing-class which meets once a week and gives a small concert every few months has been found most encouraging in its popularity.

Beyond the boundaries of the city where there is no traffic to hinder and room enough for all, activities common to boys and girls might be given fuller play. A day's outing of two clubs, boys' and girls' respectively, might be tried if there are bold enough spirits among the managers to undertake it. One even bolder experiment has been proved a success. Several girls were taken for a week's holiday by the manager of their club. They were asked to bring their boys with them for the week-end, and those who saw the party in the countryside said that they had never seen happiness more natural or more complete. The life of Nature as far as men and women can live it together in innocence, in town or country, must be the most healing and joyful of all.

The course of adolescent love among the working class is very downright in its manifestations, and often sudden in its emergencies. There is nothing to be gained by trying to disguise these events as they come. A boy has his "girl," in

156 THE GROWING GENERATION

London he will call her his "whack": we must recognise her. In some cases we may be able to encourage him to treat her more fairly and not to be ashamed of her. In others it will be our more difficult task to ask him to wait a long while yet, or even to give her up altogether. The men who are to help boys in this direction can appeal with great force to their chivalrous feelings. In the case of girls there are special things to be watched and taught. Girls are conscious of their power over boys. They run after them often for their own amusement, and flirt with them frankly. In the case of the working girl this has very sufficient reasons. She is weary of the machine of which all day she is a part. She often leaves work tired out and nervous. Perhaps no one seems to care much for her, and she wants some one to care. She may find happiness in some true affection, or she may run on into danger without counting the cost. She wants love. Just as childhood ends early in working-class life, so does adolescence. When a girl is eighteen she is quite likely to marry, and her husband is quite likely to be only a year older than herself. It is the call of untrammelled Nature herself, a call which boys and girls in other classes of society are forced to refuse on economic grounds. But already, perhaps, the step has been taken. Many are the cases in city life in which the marriage precedes the birth of the first child by a very few weeks or days; many are the cases in which the "love child" appears almost without comment in the midst of the girl's family. In these circumstances the boy's or girl's best friends are called upon to make up their minds and to act very rapidly. Many on principle would force the parents into

marriage for the sake of the child that is born. Is the legitimization of the child worth in every case the terrible price of a union without any mutual affection, a lifelong reminder of a brief passion which is dead? Most working-class marriages, happy or shameful, bring years of great struggle and privation. In some the parents win through to the true goal, in others they become at last a little lower than the beasts.

There is no series of problems in working-class adolescence so anxious as this. For those who love working boys and girls there must be moments approaching despair. Yet through all the shoals and shallows of city life, its cheap pomps and crushing labour, there is always, in the hearts of many who are counted the poorest, the greatest of all gifts—Love.

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CHAPTER VII

RELIGION

A.—RELIGIOUS CHARACTERISTICS OF ADOLESCENCE—

- (a) Spiritual awakening
- (b) Doubt
- (c) The moral struggle

B.—RELIGIOUS METHODS—

- (a) Public worship
- (b) Club services, etc.
- (c) Personal work

C.—THE PLACE OF RELIGION—

- (a) As a weapon
- (b) As a refuge
- (c) As the sum of living

A.—RELIGIOUS CHARACTERISTICS OF ADOLESCENCE

·ADOLESCENCE, a period of change and stress, is also a period of religion, the eternal fact behind all change and the greatest healer of the weariness which follows stress. Religious feeling, alternately gaining and losing hold, is the dominant feature of the spirit of youth. In the province of religious experience, as in all else, adolescence has a distinct place of its own, for its obstinate questionings scarcely occur in childhood and its fervent visions are often forgotten when manhood has come. It is a battle ground of the two principles which are inherent in all living religions—the principles of emotion and reason. The

manifestation of the first finds in adolescence its culmination in what is often called "conversion," the second in the scepticism which attacks, and, at some moments, overwhelms young minds.

(a) *Spiritual Awakening*.—Growing boys and girls gradually become more conscious of bodily power. Their minds awake at the same time and they see the whole world with new eyes. It is, therefore, not strange that they should also receive some sort of spiritual revelation. In the development of the religious spirit the attitudes of childhood and of adolescence are very distinct. In reference to the Christian religion it has been said that the difference is that between the Old and New Testament, the Law and the Gospel. The stories of the Old Testament, intensely dramatic and full of Eastern gorgeousness, appeal with wonderful force to the mind of a child. The brilliant garden of Eden, the dream of Jacob, Joseph in Egypt, the wrath of Moses and the lightning catastrophe of the plagues, Daniel alone among the lions, the battles of the kings and the glory of Solomon—what nobler pageantry is there to capture the child's imagination? In the New Testament the child is deeply moved by the gentle childhood of Jesus, but on the whole the action seems more sombre and more involved in mysteries which the child can only dimly comprehend. The inevitable tragedy and the final triumph involve questions which are beyond childish experience. With adolescence a new view of the Bible begins, and this directly depends on a new and larger comprehension of the difficulties and distant ideals of life. The adolescent seems indeed to eat of the fruit which gives "knowledge of good and evil"; he or she now stands irresolute

160 THE GROWING GENERATION

a hundred times a day before some little emergency which the child would have passed over in all innocence. The world is no longer governed by a system of swift and visible rewards and punishments such as are characteristic of the Old Testament and of the nursery alike: it now offers constant individual choice and responsibility. New temptations assail, but also new visions of holiness and joy are given. This is the point at which the significance of the Gospel impresses itself upon the mind of youth. Boys and girls find themselves now with open eyes in the midst of the eternal conflict between the actual and the ideal, that which they are and that which they desire to be. They have dark hours in which they feel intensely their own shortcomings and the humiliation of their failures to maintain a self-appointed standard. They long for some certain encouragement, some assurance of forgiveness for the past and of promise for the future. In the midst of this inner storm and stress they become aware of the personal appeal of religion. For the first time they understand why those older than they insist so strongly on the fact of man's redemption; to them, too, it now appears as the greatest and most vital thing in the history of the world, an event, a promise intended through all the centuries for their very own selves. This revelation may be the accumulated result of conviction which has grown little by little within them, or it may come upon them in a sudden and wonderful moment, a "dread apocalypse of soul." Ever anxious as we are to find labels for the most complex and fundamental happenings in nature or the human spirit, we say they are "converted."

Conversion is the central fact of normal

adolescence. It bursts the chains of doubt and hesitation, it does tremendous battle with temptation and it crowns all those vague visions of the awakened intellect with a higher glory of the soul. In the first fire of its coming one who experiences it feels irresistible: he seems to wear already the signs of complete and final victory over all evil. Especially, perhaps, is this so in the case of sudden conversion, the result of some overwhelming emotion. It may be the sorrow of bereavement that brings it—sorrow hitherto unknown, and a depth of bitterness as yet unsuspected. It may come in a moment when the boy or girl is being plied with tremendous religious emotion, face to face with some fervent evangelist or more probably in a crowded religious meeting. It may come as if from nowhere, as it came to Saul of Tarsus, striking down the subject in the midst of a thoughtless crowd, or alone and sleepless in bed, or under the silent stars. Wherever and however it comes there is no doubting its power to alter the whole aspect of human existence. It is in very truth what is meant by being "born again." Its reality and its unquestionable effects on the character of a boy or girl, man or woman, form a far surer defence of the truth of religion than any logical arguments of the theologian can ever hope to do.

(b) *Doubt*.—Side by side with conversion, sooner or later but almost inevitably, comes scepticism, the revolt of the reason. In the moments of triumphant emotion a boy or girl is apt to feel that the final victory is won. For a time the old temptations are held at bay, but at last they must return. Like a flood-tide they leap the barriers of resolve, and seem in the instant to sweep away all the

162 THE GROWING GENERATION

beautiful things that have been planted and have grown in the regenerate soul. This is a failure far more ignominious than any which has gone before it. In the first bitterness of disillusionment a boy or girl is apt to give way to doubt of every kind. Is the promise of deliverance only a sham after all? Is the common way of the world the only way, the tyranny of bodily temptation the inevitable law? Religion is looked upon now as a treacherous aid. Its powers are discredited; its very basis is put to the proof. At this stage reason has got the upper hand and pursues its search with a cruel steadfastness. How far are the miracles of the Old and New Testament supported by reliable evidence? Adolescence, putting forth all the energy of its awakened intellect, finds a bitter satisfaction in demolishing the old articles of its faith. In the first place very naturally it attacks such a narrative as that of Jonah and the whale. Seldom will it be satisfied with the attitude of the man who said that if the Bible had contained an account of Jonah swallowing the whale he would still have believed it. In the next place it often makes far more serious onslaughts. It questions the facts of the life of Jesus, seldom with levity and easy confidence but with a sort of horror at its own act. The presentiment is continually arising that this is after all some great intrigue which diligent searching will suddenly lay bare, and the discovery is dreaded as earnestly as it is sought. One by one the dearest beliefs of childhood are thrown away until there seems no substantial resting place. For some minds it is as though they shared the unspeakable darkness and bitterness of the hours of Cavalry, and it may be long for them before the breaking of the Easter

Day. All that lies between is a restless dream between waking and sleeping. Surely no one who has passed through such a spiritual crisis can look with coldness or impatience on the boys and girls who are in the midst of it now. It reaches different temperaments and different types of intellect in very different ways. Though the intellectual crisis may be more acute for the better educated, it is often, in simpler forms, very real for working people, to whom the processes of reasoning are not clear. For some it is a passing phase which leaves few marks behind; for others it is a matter of many years' conflict and of ineradicable effect.

(c) *The Moral Struggle*.—It will be asked what is the special form which the conflict of emotion and reason, conversion and scepticism, takes among the working youth of the city. It is well-nigh impossible to generalise in such matters as religious experience. It is only worth while to remember that the character of the ordinary working boy or girl is apt to be very downright in its expression. "Natural" in their religion as in other things, they do not use the elaborate safe-guards and sophistications which sometimes obscure the religion of children or grown-up people of another class from the scrutiny of the world. The term "conversion" is used very commonly among them in its crudest meaning: that of an open act of repentance, a declaration of spiritual reformation made by a boy or girl perhaps before a full meeting of their fellows or the general public. For by the working people of both sexes and all ages a very distinct line is drawn between the Christian and the non-Christian. On the one hand is "the Christian life," a definite profession, sealed by some open initial act and carried on quite con-

164 THE GROWING GENERATION

sistently to the end; on the other is the life of everyday, not better and not worse than the great majority of one's neighbours. Persecution is of course not rare, but if the persecuted shows the courage of conviction the persecutors as a rule soon tire and watch the ways of the Christian life with great interest, even with sincere admiration. It is indeed common to hear a working boy confess that he admires so-and-so as a "proper Christian" and as a "better man than me," while he himself declines—with a half-comic seriousness—to try the experiment of such living himself. He is sure he couldn't keep it up, he knows he couldn't do it yet—anyway not in the factory he is now in. He hopes cheerfully that he may be in a position to become "Christian" some day or other. This attitude is perfectly honest and intelligible, for Christianity is, in the eager eyes of working-class youth, a sort of priesthood of those who are set apart from their fellows. They have made a vow of peculiar sacredness, and woe to them, in the regard of their outside admirers, if they fail to keep it. Boys or girls who are doing acts of Christian kindness and usefulness every day may yet hesitate to array themselves on the side of the professed believers. They have often an extreme feeling of modesty and mistrust of self in such matters. A boy who was asked why he had ceased to attend church services answered with great directness: "Because I am not genuine." Another who had already been an admirable club officer for some time, when he was asked if he would speak for a minute or two at the Service of his club, thought it essential to address his fellow members in extraordinarily simple and downright words on his own shortcomings. The acute

consciousness of personal unworthiness which forbids some people to receive the Holy Communion also keeps not a few working people from avowing Christianity even though they may be quite in sympathy with it. Any hypocrisy, real or fancied, is apt to meet with censure. An address on gambling given by a young clergyman to a boys' club called forth very disconcerting comments from at least one of the hearers. "I've done some gambling in my time," he said in private conversation, "I do it still between whiles, and that's why I'm not a Christian. But what right has he to come and talk to us chaps? He's no better than me: I know a thing or two about him as 'ud make him sit up!"

We have been brought incidentally already to one special use of religion among working-class girls and boys: it is to be a great fighting force, to be wielded directly and literally in all the difficulties of the home and the workshop. It matters little as a rule that it is, in their words and actions, downright and crude. Boys and girls will be found saying many things, in the name of a most true-hearted Christianity, which shock some strangers inexpressibly. Probably it is safe to say that everything is on the right side which expresses itself in any action consistent with the spirit of original Christianity, rather than in inactive emotionalism. A boy will often ask an older friend whether it is allowable to pray for victory on the football field or in some such situation, a girl for success in some detail of domestic economy or friendship. Such questions must depend for their answer on the special motives and circumstances of the case, but it goes without saying that they should never be

166 THE GROWING GENERATION

simply ridiculed or evaded. Religion, we repeat, is for them nothing if not practical. It must not fail them in the moments of strong temptation to gamble or drink or give way to the sins of the body or mind which constantly assail them. It must hold them up straight and unflinching through those periods of petty persecution which are often more real than the outsider is aware and can make a workroom a hell. It must make them bold to speak out on some occasions and to hold their tongues on many more. It may lead to their losing a job, by refusing to obey a dishonest foreman or by speaking their mind to him. Then more than all it must be at their command to tide over the discouragement and real privation of being out of work. In home life it is often no less precious to them. Here is a boy who has to give up his hard won Saturday leisure to keeping his mother out of public houses, to quieting her when she is found drunk at home, screaming and cursing, trying to do violent injury to herself and her little children. Such a scene has to be known intimately to be realised. There are sometimes other things at home which are too shameful to be described. Yet this is the boy who appears at his club carefully dressed and clean, ready almost always with a cheery word, even when those who know him best can see, without asking, how he left things at home, or how he expects to find them when he goes back. And what of the girl who is the only competent manager in a large, disordered family, the servant of them all? In health or sickness or deadly weariness she is the only one at home who can be really counted on. It is not rare to find both older boys and girls who live at home under the worst conditions

instead of leading an independent life elsewhere, simply that they may give the younger children a chance. This is the faith that moves mountains every day.

Adolescent religion in the toiling city is simple no doubt. God as a father, Christ as a brother, captain, king, are very vivid figures to many. Moreover the worship of heroes, which is akin to this conception, plays a very important part in adolescent religion. The ideals of power and goodness and loving-kindness are found in living persons or in the great figures of history and romance. Boys, perhaps, especially do a most continual homage to physical strength. They choose champion footballers or wrestlers as their ideals of manhood. The legend of St Christopher, who vowed to serve only the strongest and was conquered by the might of a Child, is written assuredly for them. For they can be brought easily to see the Divine in men, manifesting itself first in the bodily chivalry of a Lancelot, and then—a long stage further—in the purer strength of a Galahad. At last there is the Carpenter of Nazareth, bearing the tools which are in their own hands, labouring at the bench, facing the multitude of His enemies, giving up His life for His friends. The boyhood and girlhood of the city comes willingly and unashamed before the Greatest of the Heroes. Two principles of religion—the two in fact which give Christianity its unique powers over so many types of mind—are therefore present already in the minds of working girls and boys. God in the semblance of man, and man created in the image of God—we believe that the perfect type of this consummation is to be found in the person of Jesus Christ.

168 THE GROWING GENERATION

B.—RELIGIOUS METHODS

It is difficult to give an adequate account of the methods which may be used by those who are convinced of the value of religion to young working people and who wish to help them in practical ways, for in no subject are there more divergent and apparently irreconcilable opinions. Happily, however, the religious training of children after they leave school is left unconditionally to voluntary effort, and there is therefore little of the bitterness in it which marks (in England and Wales) the "religious question" in elementary education. The most diverse principles are applied and prove themselves, with varying success, all possible in practice.

(*a*) *Public worship*.—Public worship, the outward and visible sign of religious life, is often taken as the criterion in any given district of the spiritual progress of its inhabitants. Perhaps too much hope is built on good attendances at church or chapel or bible-class. The doors of a dozen places of worship in one poor neighbourhood may open on Sunday night, and let forth their streams of worshippers into the street. Here are girls in gay and comparatively expensive summer frocks, and young men who even aspire to frock coats and silk hats: here are older folk who are nothing if not "respectable." Some of these no doubt are the working people who to-morrow morning will appear once more in the crumpled blouse and battered hat of every day. Yet it must be asked whether the worshippers really represent the district as a whole. Where are the girls in shabby shawls and the boys who wear scarfs instead of collars? They will be found in their hundreds,

walking in the streets or lolling in doorways, on Sunday night as much as on any other. They may view the "parson" with good-natured forbearance, but they will not see the inside of his church from year's end to year's end. They are a dead weight which all his efforts do not avail to lift. They are not actively hostile to religion, but they are in no regular or visible sense members of the Church of Christ.

The reasons for the small proportion of church-goers are various and complicated. One of the most elementary in a poor district, and very likely in others, is the necessity of Sunday clothes. Although it is a rule that the best clothes shall be taken out of pawn on Saturday night (to be returned with regularity on Monday), the festival finery does not always come up to the recognised church-going standard. The working people of our country have indeed much to learn from their fellows in many other countries. The French market woman has no hesitation whatever in clattering in to Mass each morning in her wooden shoes and taking her basket of vegetables with her. The Italian workman is utterly unconscious of his shirt sleeves and his dusty clothes in church. Little children enter at all hours of the day and are not afraid to pray there alone. Even the dogs are not noticed or shut out. With us churches and chapels are apt to be unfamiliar and rather forbidding places, even if they are not, as in the great majority of cases they are, kept bolted and barred against their own people. It is little wonder if the gigantic superstition of Sunday clothes and artificial manners still rules in the minds of our rich and poor alike. A deeper reason for the comparative failure of most religious

170 THE GROWING GENERATION

bodies among working girls and boys often lies in the nature of the services. Churches and chapels have discovered long ago how to appeal to children, with special services and Bible-classes. They know also how to minister to the sick and to the aged. They do not always consider with open minds the needs of young people, for whom the simple children's stories are not food enough and to whom the common forms of public worship are not always interesting or indeed comprehensible. Between the over-simple and the uncongenial the adolescent not seldom fails to find a place.

There are, of course, many workers who extend the uses of church or chapel beyond the limited sphere of common public worship. The Bible-class from being, as it sometimes is, little more than a formality, can be made to live and be a most real help to its members. If they feel that it is not a thing apart, an odd secondary item of the Sunday programme, but rather the meeting ground of their common opinions and the means of solution of many common difficulties, they will not need to be pressed into unwilling attendance. Boys and girls are eager to question and criticise and discuss in a class, if someone will only bring them together and lead the way. In the established churches preparation for confirmation often plays a very important part, though there is much difference of opinion as to the age at which it should take place. It may, moreover, be said that many other churches realise the deep significance of such a definite step in the religious development of adolescence, and have instituted something in their own practise which corresponds to it. Advanced Churchmen often believe thoroughly in

encouraging confession for growing boys and girls, and are able to show remarkable and lasting results from it.

What has already been said about the facts of conversion makes it necessary to revert to the subject in the present place, for—whatever be the name used for it by the different denominations—conversion, radical and more or less immediate, is the chief aim of the Christian Church and demands its own appropriate methods. It has been suggested that anything like a sudden illumination of the soul, a sudden changing of the whole spiritual attitude, means a very severe strain on anyone who undergoes it, and is apt to have its dangerous reaction. Without for an instant doubting the sincerity of such a spiritual experience, it is possible to question the wisdom of one person trying to bring it about in others by violent pressure from without.

One fact which may cause us to question the true and lasting value of arousing public emotion in religion is that it is the *easy* way to produce what is desired. The climax may be reached in some meeting at which members of the audience are urged to “testify” the sudden and wonderful spiritual change which they feel within them. It may be that a large marquee is packed with boys, whose every faculty is keenly alive with the tingling air and happy life of a camp. There are a few lanterns slung between the poles, a wealth of sensuously impressive hymns, bursts of prayer, and an address in which, however sincerely, every artifice of voice and gesture is used to work on rapidly changing feelings—now of terror, now of fighting, now of self-revelation. Some boys on such occasions burst into tears, others give way to

172 THE GROWING GENERATION

ejaculations. One and then another will spring forward, overfilled with a very real, if transient, emotion, and declare their complete surrender to the cause of Christ. This is the phenomenon of ecstasy well known at meetings of the Salvation Army or of Welsh "revivals," and famous in the old-time "camp meetings," of American negroes. It may be—it undoubtedly is—a moving sight to see boys stand up, as if transfigured with a new hope and a strange joy, and give their "testimony" of conversion, but the average results of such a scene must be carefully weighed in the light of experience. The implacable battle of emotion and reason has to be fought. For the moment the boy had trodden down all the sordid and anxious things in his life beneath his feet. To-morrow or next week he will return from the camp and plunge immediately into the drudgery and temptation of his workshop. How will the new life look then? There are some who face the persecution of it, renounce old bosom-pals for the sake of the cause and persevere to the end. But we must believe that there are many more who have not counted the great cost. They flutter uncertainly for a time perhaps and then they succumb utterly to the arguments and practices of their mates and special tempters. The shame is greater than it could have been before the "experience," for it is commensurate with the height of the emotional excitement which worked so strange and brief a wonder. It may be that such boys recover later on much that was best in the hour of sudden revelation, but it is also likely that they never again suffer themselves to approach such a crisis if they can avoid it. Independent observers, whose evidence is not to be questioned on the score of sincerity, have

drawn attention again and again to the sudden increase of crime of certain kinds (especially of passion) which follows in the wake of each great "revival." We are tempted to call it the revenge of outraged nature. For in the case of most normal people the instantaneous and demonstrative conversion is not natural. It is not in such ways that nature, in which we perceive the speech and garment of God, chooses, as a rule, to work in the world about us. There are at times the terrible voices of thunder and earthquake, before which mountain and forest and city pass into smoke and ashes. Yet far more often, everlastingly in our midst, the wind and the waves and the slow dripping water crumble the builders' work and wear the hardest rock until, in an æon of time, the landscape is utterly changed. God, in the lives of ourselves and of the men and women whom we know, would seem to work much more often in these ways. Except in rare cases our faces and our hair do not alter much in a single night, and our minds strive and attain and decline in merciful slowness during the course of a lifetime. Thoughts of this must make us hesitate before we urge young men and women to race in paths of spiritual experience before they can walk or even stand alone in them.

(b) *Club Services, etc.*—For many, perhaps for most, working boys and girls "going to church" is a serious step. It is indeed an open acknowledgment of their religious conviction, and in some cases, unfortunately, it is not free from a certain interest as a purely social event. For the few who attend the regular services of church and chapel, there are many who will join with complete confidence and freedom in more private acts

174 THE GROWING GENERATION

of worship. The most obvious medium for their needs is the special Sunday service in a club, and club prayers each weekday evening. As to the methods no general rule can be laid down, for the practice of religion in different clubs and societies varies from an occasional Sunday service to an almost monastic severity of life.

Some will hold that the simplest possible "Gospel" is enough teaching for working children, others that they must be carefully grounded in the doctrines of a particular denomination. In general terms it may be said that social clubs are divided into those which set out only to provide games, gymnasia, etc., for their members, in fact, to use a stock expression, "to give them a good time," and into those which regard all such natural recreations as subservient to the great object of making their members complete men and women, not only in body but also in mind and spirit. Any effort which aims at a lower goal than this last is bound to fall short of the best. Too much "religion," in the sense of express religious observance, is rightly felt to be unnatural for young people, but surely none at all is much more unnatural! The plan which recommends itself to a great many managers of clubs as free from exaggeration on either side is to close each club evening with "Prayers" which last for a very few minutes, and to encourage all their members to attend a club service on Sunday afternoon or evening. Whatever the method, there can be no doubt that social workers can encourage the habit of common worship and of private prayer in no way more easily than through the medium of a club. For in a good club the initial foundation has been securely laid: its

members have faith in it and confidence in each other. The relation of the club to the whole religious community must, however, be constantly borne in mind. Individualist religion is attractive to many active and independent minds, but in practice most of us believe in the deep necessity for large organised churches, in fact, for the upholding of an ideal "Church Universal"—the catholic society of all co-religionists whatever be their minor differences of doctrine. Most social clubs are more or less directly connected with some religious denomination. Any form of worship which they institute should therefore be related to the practices of their church. The club service should, in fact, be supplementary to the church service, not a substitute for it, and the club may well be a nursery in which boys and girls are trained easily and gradually for their ultimate share in church worship and work.

Common worship, however, whether on Sunday or weekday, in church, chapel or club, is clearly but a little thing by itself. It is far less than half the religious life. Boys and girls may, and not seldom do, attend services and join in singing and prayer without coming much nearer to the Christian ideal. Even Bible classes or special prayer meetings or the Holy Communion itself may have little effect on their conduct. There is but one way in which their faith can be made to grow and live. Is it too trite to call it simply the way which Christ himself laid down and in which he walked, the way which will always be "to the Greeks foolishness," the hard way of giving in order to receive again? The working boy or girl deals little with theories and doctrines: for them "the Christian Life" must be a matter

176 THE GROWING GENERATION

of tangible and immediate service. A girl may be asked to forego a few extra hours of sleep on Sunday morning in order to visit some member of her club who is sick or a "slacker." A boy may be given a chance to volunteer for a piece of dull, hard work in his club or church—to scrub a floor or paint the woodwork or mend locks and windows. It is just the untiring attention to odds and ends of this kind which constitutes part of the power of the best club-officer. He expects no reward, not even a word of praise or encouragement: he does it (if not perhaps in so many words) "to the Glory of God." These may seem trivial activities which have but a very general connection with religious observance. Yet it is in such ways as these that so many boys and girls make a beginning.

(c) *Personal Work*.—Behind all true and living common religion, whatever be its practices, there must be a lively consciousness of personal sympathy between the teacher and the taught, the fellowship of all faithful people. In spite of every difference of education or material opportunity, Christians must be able to recognise their complete equality as members of the Church of Christ. So much is said among us about this cardinal principle of our faith, that we are apt to take it for granted, and to forget how incongruous are the actual facts of our intercourse with our nearest neighbours. The brotherhood of different classes of society is among the easiest of all things to moralise upon, and among the most difficult to attain. The standards of taste and even of morality which belong to one class seem to another to be the uncomfortable characteristics of a different civilisation. There seems so little time and so little

reason for crossing one's own familiar boundaries into a foreign land.

Yet we are all agreed that, if we accept the history and the teaching of Jesus Christ, there is no other course open to us than to forget the barriers of class. Moreover, for working boys and girls a genuine personal friendship is generally the only road which leads to their acceptance of Christianity. In other classes there may be many to whom the habit of religious observance, learnt from their earliest days, has an inherent virtue of its own, but among those of whom we speak in this book such a habit is rare. They will not join in public worship unless they feel that it is really intended for them and contains a personal welcome. They are easily reached through the medium of some familiar fellowship, some little informal meeting "where two or three are gathered together." Most easily of all can they be touched in intimate talk with one friend face to face. It is here that workers among boys and girls have their crowning opportunity, but it is not given to everyone to turn it to good account. There are a good many whose self-confidence deserts them as soon as they come into close contact with working people: they find when the moment comes that they have no words to speak. There are not a few others who press forward over-eagerly, say far too much, and find their hearers reserved and irresponsive. In these cases of failure, often so disconcerting, the fault no doubt lies, as a rule, with the would-be helper rather than with the person to be helped. Older people, conscious of a certain advantage in age and position, find it hard to be themselves, to be simple and entirely frank when they are dealing with boys and girls.

178 THE GROWING GENERATION

They do not go to them as open-hearted friends, but rather as school-masters. They go prepared to receive sacrifice and respect, but not to give it: if there is to be compromise it shall not be on their side. These are not the ways of real friendship, and cannot but be found out and fail. Not with many protestations of sympathy, but in self-forgetfulness and humbleness of heart, do true friends come to a perfect understanding.

After all the great virtue of pure personal service lies in the unconscious nature of its influence. In unsuspected places, and before men are aware, the miracle is worked, the fruit has come. It may appear a splendid thing to have moved a large congregation for a time by preaching or in prayer, but in the end it seems that the most fruitful seed is only to be sown with labour in the hearts of a few, to be tended diligently throughout its slow ripening, to be harvested and sown again in the hearts of just a few more. Those who work in cities and in limitless mission-fields complain, in times of disheartening, that they seem only to have influenced one here and there in an immense crowd. For the moment they have forgotten the half-dozen for whom they have changed the whole world. In a city parish there is perhaps but one unconquerable worker for the highest; in five years there are ten, and in a generation a whole district may have been revolutionised. It is thus that the Kingdom of God increases wonderfully, though it be in the beginning no greater than a grain of mustard seed.

C.—THE PLACE OF RELIGION

In what way is religion to be related to all the varied activities of a working boy's or girl's career? Is it to keep its special place apart, one recognisable factor among many others, perhaps rather in the nature of a medicine for certain hours of the day and certain seasons of festival? If so, it might have been disposed of earlier in this book and in far fewer words. As it is, it has been reserved until this final chapter: it has been borne constantly in mind as the only possible epitome of all that has preceded it. Firstly, religion is to be a reasonable and necessary part of the workman's armoury, a practical and integral part of his life. In the second place it is to have a much wider significance—the widest of all: it is to be the sum and sole greatness of his life, the whole of which all his activities whatsoever are the parts.

(a) *As a Weapon.*—Religion, then, is to be in the first place a practical thing, a fighting force. It is to supply the worker with general principles of conduct, and with a special answer for each emergency of his life as it arises. The adolescent has peculiar need of it, for the general line of his conduct is not yet tried by experience nor modified to suit the importunate demands of everyday life. He is met also by special emergencies and special temptations, and his need of a ready weapon is great, in the still unfamiliar country through which he is passing. At the very outset he has need of religious firmness to combat the bodily trials which he meets now for the first time. He is conscious of new physical forces within him, which too often he has never been taught to expect: too often he becomes for a time their servant instead

180 THE GROWING GENERATION

of their master. Boy and girl alike, in their several ways, have a paramount need for the religion of personal purity with which to oppose and control their bodily desires.

Sudden freedom from the restraint of school and the rapid entry into the bustling world of grown men and women bring their own subtle dangers. So many attractive issues appear to the eyes of a growing child, and as yet the consequences of following them up are not clear: it is difficult to withdraw from an unfortunate venture, whether in the choice of employment or of companions, and to regain firm ground. Religion is the best, the only, ally which can steady the weak will, and keep the ideal of conduct unalterable and clear. For all the quick temptations of the working day it has its unfailing answer. It can make persecution and ridicule not only bearable but altogether vain.

In the unfolding kingdom of the mind religion also has its great value. It sets the standard by which the eager child can judge between the profitable and the base, the beautiful and the useless, in whatever is to be read or heard or seen. It guides the choice to the springs of free and lasting enjoyment.

Finally, religion is nowhere more availing than in the adolescent's dealings with the individuals and groups of people with whom he is thrown in contact. In the family, patience and obedience and charity are sometimes demanded of a boy or girl in an extraordinary degree. There are no difficulties harder to face with courage and cheerfulness than those at home. It may need a very strong faith to keep in mind always the good points of other members of the household. More-

over, in all the wider relations of friend to friend, citizen to city and to country, there is need of the purified mind, the clear sight and joyful service which are characteristics of all true religion.

The necessity for religion, the only unfailing resource, in a hundred petty emergencies of the moment as well as in the rarer and deeper cases, can be no matter of doubt. It is urgent and direct. The practice of religion must be correspondingly direct also. Some of its methods have already been suggested. Behind them all is the habit of prayer, a power which can be drawn upon in all times and places, familiar as the speech of one man with another, suited to the greatest and to the most trivial temptation.

(*b*) *As a Refuge*.—If religion in the city is a somewhat primitive fighting force, there is also another aspect of it which ought to be represented. The characteristic above all others of city life as opposed to the country is its restless and petty activity, its harsh, impatient noises, its flashy and superficial amusements. Nature marching on through the seasons, heedless of the desires of the labourer in the field, blessing and withholding the fruits of the land as she will, is unknown and unknowable in the town. Everything the city child sees is made by the hands of men. Even the natural things are chipped and rooted out by them and brought ready prepared into the butcher's or greengrocer's shop. The child may sing hymns about buttercups and daisies, but it cannot enjoy the living flowers. Man and his feverish concerns seem all sufficing in the city. Ask the man you meet in the street whether the moon is new or at the full to-night and he will not be able to answer you, for he will

182 THE GROWING GENERATION

not know in what quarter it is to be seen or whether there is a moon at all. The glory of a sunset does, indeed, often look down a long street, transforming every shop sign or cab into something strange and fiery: yet scarcely one of those who hurry by will notice it particularly or remember to speak of it to those whom they meet. The anxious eyes of men bent always upon the pavement, where there may be a sprawling baby or an open man-hole, instead of up into the infinite freedom of heaven, is a true symbol of the city. Surely in all this bustle and inane noise, this continual respect for the transitory fashions of to-day there is a need for that religion which is the "Peace which passeth all understanding," no less than for the religion which is the armoury of the strong saints in war. This is perhaps a view of the matter which is more necessary, and better suited to the older and the more care-worn, than to the active boy and girl. Yet where care and responsibility come to boys so early, and where girls become haggard women in a very few years, there is undoubtedly a place for it at all times. Perhaps this aspect would not have claimed mention here were it not for a grateful remembrance of some faces of older boys in a club in which the inexhaustible wealth of faith in all its quietness seems to be visible continually. It is no sign of a religious prig, worn on the outside for all comers to comment on, but the kind of strength which exerts no conscious influence and yet compels the restless, weaker wills of all the rest. It is no carefully nurtured plant, but the fruit of trouble from outside and long conflict within. This is the living reminder to city dwellers that they need above all others that most beautiful petition of the

ancient evening prayer, "that we, who are fatigued by the changes and chances of this fleeting world, may repose upon Thy eternal changelessness."

(c) *As the Sum of Living*.—At the same time religion is to be regarded as something more positive than a sword with which to beat off the onslaught of temptation. It is to be the capital possession of every individual soul—perhaps it would be better to say the possessor of his soul, the sum of all his life. The adolescent, as we have seen, awakens to the immense claim of religion upon his thought and conduct. He sees in it for the first time the solution of his difficulties and the whole explanation of his existence. He looks up in expectancy, and he sees, however dimly, those things which are hidden from our bodily sense, things not to be described and yet incomparably more real and lasting than the common things of sight and touch. He seeks after them and finds them as men in all ages have sought and found them. To the simple mystical mind of most working people the vision often comes the most easily through the medium of *visible* things. Ritual of whatever sort is an inevitable accompaniment of their worship. It may manifest itself to one in the uniform of the Salvation Army and the badge of "Blood and Fire." To another the redemption of man and the kingdom of Heaven are made clear in a moment in the singing of a hymn: for him there is an actual "fountain filled with blood," a sparkling Jordan, a City built of gold and gated with jasper. To yet a third God speaks in infinite majesty in the music and solemn processions of a beautiful church: to him Christ appears in the Chalice upon the lighted altar. These are the means of expression, fit means for very varied temperaments of men

184 THE GROWING GENERATION

and women. Round these alone a large proportion of the controversies of Christendom still rage. Yet in the end does it matter much or at all to one man how his fellow sees God and speaks with Him, so long as the vision of love and purity is vouchsafed? Religion is to be conceived not as a dogma, but as a life of perfect freedom and of unspeakable happiness and completeness. While the headlong skirmishes of the churches are proceeding, the working boys and girls of our nation are not seldom forgotten. We insist on a multitude of formalities and meet their ardent searchings of heart with conventional phrases from our own worn armoury. It is often we, far more than they, who have need of the prayer: "Help Thou mine unbelief."

BOOKS

- BRAY. *The Town Child*. (Chap. iv., *The Child and Religion*.)
- SLAUGHTER. *The Adolescent*. (Chap. v., *Scepticism and the Period of Storm and Stress*.)
- PATERSON. *Across the Bridges*. (Chap. x., *A Boy's Character and Religion*.)
- GREEN, PETER. *How to deal with Lads*. Arnold, 1910. 2s. 6d. (An admirably clear study of work among boys from a High Church point of view.)
- RUSSELL and RIGBY. *Working Lads' Clubs*. (Chap. xiv., *Religion and Connection with Religious Bodies*.)
- URWICK. *Studies of Boy Life*. (Chap. iv.)
- NEUMAN. *The Boys' Club*. (Part II. Chap. viii., *Religion in the Club*.)
- The Work of the Church and Sunday School*. (A number of papers on different aspects of religious work.)
- The Nation's Morals*. Section II.

APPENDIX I

LEGISLATION

The following is a brief summary of two most important Acts of Parliament which relate to working boys and girls.

A.—FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACT 1901

(a) A *young person* is defined in this Act as anyone between the ages of fourteen and eighteen (anyone under fourteen is a *child*).

(b) Factories are divided into *textile*—those in which any mechanical power is used to manufacture cotton, wool, silk, hemp, etc., and into *non-textile*—works for bleaching and dyeing, match-making, fustian-cutting, printing, bookbinding, tobacco factories; mills for paper, iron, copper; blast furnaces, foundries, etc.

Sections relating to Young Persons

§ 13. No young person to clean dangerous machinery in motion.

§ 24. Period of employment in *textile* factories to be from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., or 7 a.m. to 7 p.m., allowing for a half-holiday on Saturday. On every day except Saturday not less than two hours off for meals, on Saturday half an hour. Not more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours continuous employment.

§ 26. Period of employment in *non-textile*, factories

186 THE GROWING GENERATION

to be from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., or 7 a.m. to 7 p.m., or 8 a.m. to 8 p.m., with a half-holiday on Saturday. Not less than one and a half hours for meals. Not more than five hours continuous employment.

§ 30. Where a young person in a non-textile factory has not been employed for more than eight hours a day he may work on Saturday from 6 a.m. to 4 p.m.

§ 31. A young person employed *in* a factory must not be employed on the same day *outside* it (e.g. in a shop), except during factory hours.

§ 33. No young person to remain during his meal time in a room where manufacturing is going on.

§ 35. Public holidays to be observed in England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively. § 36. Work allowed on public holidays in certain exceptional trades.

§ 42. Work not exceeding three hours allowed on Sunday by special order of Secretary of State.

§ 37. Exceptional period of employment (4 a.m. to 10 p.m.) for male young persons allowed in lace trade.

§ 38-53. Special regulations for overtime etc. in particular trades. (Baking, fish and fruit preserving, etc.).

§ 54-56. Regulations for night employment of male young persons in various trades.

§ 61. Women not to be employed within four weeks after childbirth, and no young person under sixteen to be employed more than seven days without a certificate of fitness from certifying surgeon. § 64-67. Regulations for obtaining certificates.

§ 77. Young persons not to be employed in certain dangerous trades (silvering mirrors, white lead, annealing glass, etc.).

§ 103. Application of the Act to laundries. § 111. To domestic workshops, etc.

B.—THE CHILDREN ACT 1908

This act is in the main a gathering up of nearly all the existing legislation relating to children and young

persons. By it are repealed, in whole or in part, no less than thirty-eight previous Acts, dating between 1854 and 1908.

N.B. A *young person* in this Act means any person between the ages of 14 and 16.

PART I.—*Infant Life Protection*

§ 1-11. (This is practically a re-enactment of the Act of 1897.)

PART II.—*Cruelty to Children and Young Persons*

(a) § 12. Any person convicted of cruelty, neglect, etc., of a child or young person of whom he has the custody is liable to a penalty (i) on conviction on indictment, a fine not exceeding £100, with or without imprisonment up to two years; (ii) on summary conviction, a fine not exceeding £25, or imprisonment up to six months.

(*N.B.* A very important section. Neglect includes failure to provide adequate food, clothing, medical aid, or lodging.)

(b) § 14. Any person who causes a child or young person to *beg*, whether there is a pretence of singing, performing or offering anything for sale, or not, liable to a fine not exceeding £25.

§ 16. Penalty for allowing a young person to reside in or to frequent a brothel.

§ 17. Penalty for causing or allowing the *prostitution* of a girl under sixteen; and § 18, regulations for causing a girl's parents to exercise due supervision if she is in danger of prostitution.

(c) § 19-25. Arrangements for the *arrest of offenders*, and *provision of safety* for children.

(d) § 26. A *habitual drunkard* who is parent of a child or young person may be detained in a retreat (under Inebriates Acts).

188 THE GROWING GENERATION

(e) § 27-38 relate to the *evidence* of children and young persons, and to the *procedure* of the courts.

PART III.—*Juvenile Smoking*

§ 39. No one to sell cigarettes or cigarette papers to any person apparently under the age of sixteen.

§ 40. A constable or park-keeper in uniform may search a boy found smoking.

§ 41-43. Regulations for sale of tobacco by automatic machines and shops.

PART IV.—*Reformatory and Industrial Schools*

(a) § 44-56 deal with regulations for managers, inspectors, etc. of such schools.

(b) § 57-83 relate to the *mode of sending* young offenders to such schools, and to their *treatment* there.

(c) § 83-93. Supplemental provisions.

PART V.—*Juvenile Offenders*

(a) § 94-101 relate to procedure and treatment of children in court.

§ 102 abolishes penal servitude, and § 103 abolishes death sentence for children and young persons.

§ 104-110 regulate the methods of detaining young offenders, and dealing with offences.

(b) § 111-113 relate to *juvenile courts*, and enact that no child or young person shall appear in a court with adult offenders or in public.

PART VI.—*Miscellaneous*

This part relates almost exclusively to children: it deals with the exclusion of children from licenced premises, their safety at entertainments, cleansing of verminous children, etc.

Books.—The legal text-book for all such legislation is Atherley Jones' *The Law of Children and Young Persons*. Butterworth, 1909, 10s. 6d. The text of the *Children Act*, price 9½d., may be obtained through any bookseller, or from Wyman & Son, Fetter Lane, London, E.C., or Oliver & Boyd, Tweeddale Court, Edinburgh. A useful summary (*The Law of the Children Act*, price 1d.) is published by Andrews, 173 Old Street, London, E.C.

APPENDIX II

POOR LAW COMMISSION, 1908-9

It is not possible to summarise shortly the whole great mass of evidence and the conclusions of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and the Relief of Distress. The different parts of the enquiry and the sections specially relating to working boys and girls are indicated below:—

A. "MAJORITY REPORT," signed by fourteen out of the eighteen Commissioners.

PART I.—*Procedure of the Inquiry*PART II.—*Statistical Survey of Poor Law*

§ 104. Number of persons between the ages of fourteen and fifteen in Receipt of Poor Law Relief (England and Wales, middle of 1906) was 10,181 or 14.9 per cent of population at that age. Number of persons between fifteen and twenty was 12,485 or 3.7 per cent of population at those ages. (*N.B.* Children under sixteen form nearly one-third of total number of persons in receipt of relief.)

190 THE GROWING GENERATION

PART III.—*Historical sketch of Poor Laws to 1834*

PART IV.—*Historical development of various branches*

Chap. 10, § 545, *Boy Labour*. "... the extent to which boys leaving the elementary schools are drafted into work which lasts only a few years, and then flung out, unskilled and untrained, into the casual labour market." Evidence of Professor M. E. Sadler and his recommendations for compulsory continuation classes.

PART V.—*Medical Relief*

PART VI.—*Distress due to unemployment*

§ 121. "... in almost every trade which has been separately examined, the decrease in the number of *children employed below fifteen*—thanks in great measure to the operation of the Education Acts—is considerable."

§ 136, *Boy Labour*. "... the very serious fact emerges that between 70 per cent. and 80 per cent. of boys leaving elementary schools enter unskilled occupations. Thus, even when the boy ultimately becomes apprenticed to, or enters a skilled trade, these intervening years, from the national point of view, are entirely wasted." § 137, *Blind-alley trades*. "Street selling," says the Chief Constable of Sheffield, "makes the boys thieves": "newsboys and street sellers," says Mr Cyril Jackson, "are practically all gamblers": "of 1,454 youths between fourteen and twenty-one, charged in Glasgow during 1906 with theft or other offences inferring dishonesty, 1,208, or 83.7 per cent. came from the class of messengers or street traders, etc.," says Mr Tawney. § 140. "While it may be doubtful how much truth there is in the oft-repeated cry of 'too old at forty,' there is probably good reason to believe that, in many cases, we might say, 'No use at five-and-twenty.'" § 141. "Boy labour is, perhaps, the

most serious of the phenomena which we have encountered in our study of unemployment." § 142. Mr Sidney Webb's proposal for Industrial Training, etc.

PART VII.—*Charities and the relief of distress*

PART VIII.—*Miscellaneous*

PART IX.—*Review of existing conditions and proposed changes*

B. "MINORITY REPORT," signed by four of the eighteen Commissioners, who were unable to agree with the conclusions of the majority. The National Committee for the prevention of Destitution has since been formed, with Mrs Sidney Webb as Hon. Secretary, to urge the carrying out of the Minority Report conclusions. The Report "recommended that Boards of Guardians, the General Mixed Work-houses, and the whole machinery of the Poor Law should be abolished ; and that all necessitous persons should in future be provided for by authorities able, not merely to relieve destitution, but to deal with its different causes."

PART I.—*The destitution of the Non-able-bodied*

PART II.—*The Destitution of the Able-bodied*

Chap. V. B. The Absorption of the surplus by (1) *halving Boy and Girl Labour*. Legislative reforms proposed for further restricting juvenile labour. "We should recommend these reforms even if they rested solely on their educational advantages. It is upon the proper physical and technical training of its youth that

192 THE GROWING GENERATION

the nation has eventually to depend. But they present also the additional attraction that they would, we believe, arrest the tendency so to arrange industrial operations as to replace the labour of adult men and women by that of boys and girls."

BOOKS. — *The Report of the Royal Commission* (majority and minority together) is published by H.M. Stationery Office at 5s. 6d. A handy form of the *Minority Report* is published by the National Committee for the Prevention of Destitution (37 Norfolk Street, E.C.) in two parts, price 1s. each. The *Minority Report for Scotland* is reprinted separately (Scottish National Committee to promote the Break-up of the Poor-Law, 180 Hope Street, Glasgow, price 6d.)