"Obviously, the best way to provide for persons thrown out of their usual employment as a result of the war is to provide them with some other work for wages. Where the demands of the normal labor market are inadequate the Committee should consult the Local Authorities as to the possibility of expediting schemes of public utility, which might otherwise not be put in hand at the present moment. Whatever work is undertaken by Local Authorities should be performed in the ordinary way. The men engaged should, of course, be paid wages in the ordinary way."—Local Government Board Circular, P.R.D.7, August 29, 1914.
THE WAR AND THE WORKERS.

HANDBOOK OF SOME IMMEDIATE MEASURES TO PREVENT UNEMPLOYMENT AND RELIEVE DISTRESS.

WAR finds the nation unprepared for the terrible dislocation of industry, unemployment and distress that is bound to occur. Everybody wants to know what can best be done. The following pages seek to supply authentic information and practical suggestions.

1.—Local Organization.

The Government has directed the formation of a local Citizens' Committee (now to be styled "Local Relief Committee") in every Borough and Urban District exceeding 20,000 in population, and in every County for the parts exclusive of these areas. These Committees, which are to be made representative of all sections, and to be presided over by the Mayor or Chairman of Council, are to act in conjunction with the existing Local Authorities. Their duty is to prevent, even more than relief.

This policy of concentrating the responsibility for emergency measures in a single representative Local Committee is a good one and ought to be loyally supported. But the Committee should be made thoroughly representative of all sections, including especially working men and women. The Government attaches great importance to this latter point. In some places the Committees are too much restricted to "prominent citizens" (always of the male sex), friends of the Mayor or Chairman, and professional philanthropists. Such influential organizations as the local Co-operative Societies, the local Trades Council, the local branches of the leading Friendly Societies and Trade Unions, and the local Socialist Societies have sometimes no members on the Committee. Especially do the local organizations of working women (such as the Women's Trade Unions, the Women's Co-operative Guild, the Women's Labor League, etc.) tend to be ignored. This is a fatal mistake, which the Mayor or Chairman or Secretary would do well promptly to correct, if he wishes the Committee's applications for money, or for sanction of schemes to receive official approval. The organization to which you belong should at once apply to the Mayor (or Chairman of County or District Council) for representation. If the Committee is already formed, ask that these representatives may be added. If representation is refused, write or telegraph at once to the President of the Local Government Board, London.

Take care to nominate a representative who can and will attend all the meetings (there will of course be no payment even for travelling expenses), and who will make himself or herself of use.

* This pamphlet embodies and supersedes the "Memorandum" issued August 17, 1914.^

2.—Keep Up the Volume of Employment.

The declared policy of the Government—quite rightly—is, first and foremost, to use every effort to maintain undiminished the total amount of wage earning employment in the Kingdom as a whole.

This is the guiding policy of each Local Committee. Therefore don't go to the Committee with the idea that its main business, or the most urgent duty, is to organize measures for the relief of distress. It ought first to set its mind on preventing the occurrence of unemployment. It is immensely more valuable to prevent men from being discharged from employment than to relieve them when they are unemployed.

Let your first suggestions to the Committee be to keep up (at standard Trade Union rates of wages) the volume of paid employment carried on in the ordinary way. It is the first time that the Government has adopted so wise a policy. See that your Committee understands it. It has nothing in common with "starting Relief Works" or "employing the unemployed."

3.—How to Keep Up the Volume of Employment.

The first effect of war is to dislocate industry. All sorts of trades carried on by private enterprise will inevitably be diminished, and some even stopped. Many employers will be driven to reduce their staffs of artisans and laborers, clerks and shop assistants, men and women. To fill this void, as the Government rightly declares, it is the duty of every Public Authority to be actually increasing its wages bill. The Government is doing its share by taking some 300,000 men off the Labor Market, and maintaining them and their families; besides giving extraordinarily large orders for army and navy stores, and thus keeping hundreds of firms busy. But every Local Authority ought to be doing likewise. The Local Authority...
Government Board (Circular of August 20th, 1914) makes it the first duty of the Committee to press this on all the Local Governing Bodies (Borough, Urban, Rural, County, and Parish Councils; Boards of Guardians; Harbor and Port Authorities; School Boards (in Scotland); Education, Asylum, Hospital, or Water Authorities). Therefore, make a point of getting your Committee to write to every such Authority, to enquire what steps it is taking in this matter. Here are some specific suggestions for Local Authorities.

(a) It is not enough to decide to keep places open for Reservists and Territorials called away; to treat them liberally as to pay, etc.; and to make provision for their families. Urge strongly on your Local Authorities that they ought to maintain their staffs at full strength by taking on temporary men; that no public services should be reduced; that no officials should be recalled from leave, or denied their holidays; and that no systematic overtime should be worked. It would be well to get returns for all departments showing the actual numbers on the pay-roll (apart from men called to the front) now, and at the corresponding week last year.

(b) Increased work should be promptly started by all the Local Authorities. The first step should be to put in hand at once all the works of building, repairing, cleaning and improving provided for in the estimates for the current year. Do it all now, in order to absorb the men and women thrown out of work by the war. “Now is the winter of our discontent.”

(c) But much more should be done. The Government is prepared to help most liberally with money those Local Authorities that undertake at once new works of public utility, in order to maintain the volume of employment. Urge all the local Councils to draw up at once a list of the buildings that ought to be built, the repairs that ought to be executed, the public improvements that ought to be made in connection with each and all of the departments of their work during the next few years, specifying which of them could be started at once if Government funds were available, so as to involve no rise in the rates. Every Local Authority should send, at once, such a list to Mr. Herbert Samuel. Don’t think yet of “relief works”: think of the following:

(i) Elementary schools, provided and non-provided, that need to be enlarged, remodelled for smaller classrooms, improved or built (don’t forget equipment and school furniture).

(ii) Additional secondary schools, training colleges, hostels, domestic economy centres, technical institutes, etc., that are required.

(iii) Further buildings and equipment for university colleges, science laboratories, etc. (don’t forget to ask the local university what work it could put in hand, or what new buildings it could put up, if money were found; also ask how much is required to do all necessary bookbinding and cataloguing of the Public Libraries).

(iv) Roads, bridges, footpaths, etc., that need bringing up to the standards of the Road Board (the Road Board will be prepared to contribute very largely to the cost of new main roads, as well as for improvements).

(v) Tramways called for to complete the local system; new car-sheds, waiting-shelters, car-repairing workshops, etc.

(vi) Light railways required in the rural districts, for which the Development Commissioners would gladly find money, if County Councils or other Local Authorities would submit schemes.

(vii) Housing enterprises, including the improvement of slum areas, the erection of additional cottages, etc. Why should not the Pensions Committee seek Government assistance to build cottages, or what used to be called “almshouses,” specially for old age pensioners? The Government is prepared to advance up to four millions sterling for housing, charging only such interest as it has itself to pay. Get the Town or District Council to put in a scheme at once. Failing applications from Local Authorities, the Government will fall back on Public Utility Societies, advancing them nine-tenths of the cost.

(viii) Hospitals for all diseases (which every Local Sanitary Authority has already full statutory power to erect and maintain, under the Public Health Act): these are urgently required in every county of Great Britain, as the voluntary hospitals (where such exist) are nowhere sufficient for the needs revealed by the Insurance Act. Many even of the existing hospital beds are being reserved for the wounded, and civilian patients are already being refused admission in some places. The Government is alive to this need, and will gladly receive suggestions for additional municipal hospitals; especially as every insured person whose admission to hospital is delayed is now costing ten shillings or seven and sixpence a week to the National Insurance Fund, and thereby increasing the deficit on the Approved Societies. Representatives of Approved Societies should therefore move for this, and insist on immediate action.
(ix) Tuberculosis sanatoria, which County and County Borough Councils are called upon, with extensive Government aid, to provide for the tuberculous. In some places plans and schemes for these are being suspended, and it is even alleged that the officers of the L.G.B. and Insurance Commission are delaying sanction for them, in order to save money! This is in direct disobedience of the Cabinet’s orders to increase employment and press on all works. See that your own County or County Borough presses forward its own scheme; and that it appeals to the Prime Minister himself in the event of official obstruction.

(x) Pathological laboratories for the aid of the doctor’s diagnosis, especially for tuberculosis. Every County and County Borough Council was called upon by Parliament a year ago to provide these; and Parliament has voted the money to enable a 50 per cent. grant of the cost to be paid. Now is the time to push forward this work. The L.G.B. is only waiting for proposals to hand out the money in pursuance of the Cabinet policy.

(xi) Street improvements, paving works, main drainage schemes, extensions of the water supply or of the gas and electricity works and plant.

(xii) Afforestation of the municipal water catchment area, or other waste lands—in fact, any planting of trees, for which the Development Commission will find money on liberal terms, for large schemes or small.

(xiii) Additional parks and open spaces—now is the time to move to lay them out.

(xiv) Waste lands (including “drowned” or flooded lands), whether in public or private ownership, for the draining, reclamation or planting of which the Development Commissioners might be asked for grants.

(xv) Harbor improvements, improvement of sea walls and other coast defences, prevention of floods, etc.

The Government has taken statutory power to pay the whole or part of the cost of all the foregoing works; and any part of the £100,000,000 of money voted by the House of Commons can be made available, if the Government think fit, for any of them. Do not be put off with Departmental refusals to sanction schemes or supply funds on the ground that the money is not provided for in the Department’s estimates. Appeal, in need, direct to Mr. Herbert Samuel. It is understood that the Cabinet has decided that no technical difficulties are to be allowed to obstruct the immediate undertaking of desirable works: indeed, the Cabinet realizes keenly that it is a military necessity that the people must be maintained, and if they are not kept employed now in the above legitimate and healthy way, they will have to be presently fed at the

public expense! It is better to build schools or hospitals than to pay for either “relief works” or a gigantic system of soup kitchens! Applications with regard to No. iv should be made to the Road Board; with regard to Nos. vi, xii, xiv, and xv to the Development Commission; and with regard to the others to the President of the Local Government Board, who is the Chairman of the Cabinet Emergency Committee. Time presses: get all the Local Authorities to act at once.

There can be no doubt that, with almost all Local Authorities, the wheels would be greased if they could be assured there would be no rise in the rates. The way to do this is for the Government to suspend all municipal sinking funds for the period of the war. Press for this to be done. Every Local Authority should at once pass a resolution asking the Government to enact it.

Remember that the Government has laid it down in principle that the “Fair Wages Clauses,” insisted on by the House of Commons, are to apply also to contracts for works made by other than Government Departments, provided that they “involve the expenditure of public money or other consideration granted by the Department, or which have to be approved by a Government Department. In all these cases the Government Department is to require the insertion in such contracts of Fair Wages Clauses.” (Report of the Official Advisory Committee on Fair Wages Clauses, transmitted by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, November, 1912.)

The usual Government “Fair Wages Clause” must therefore be inserted in any contracts entered into for the above works. This is certainly no time for any relaxation in this respect. Let the workmen be taken on through the Labor Exchange on the conditions customary in each trade, without any reference to being in distress.

4.—Remember the Women.

It is inevitable that the works put in hand to increase the volume of employment should operate most directly on men’s trades, especially the various branches of the building industry. This is no reason against their being undertaken. Every man kept in receipt of wages helps to keep others in employment in all sorts of occupations. But something special is needed for the four million wage earning women and girls, many of whom, from “jam hands” to typists, will find themselves discharged. Press the following suggestions on the Local Authorities:

(a) Take care that the staffs of women in public employment (teachers, typists, clerks, charwomen, school cleaners, lavatory attendants, etc.) are kept at full strength.

(b) Do not postpone any orders for uniforms, asylum clothing, or other garments: rather increase stocks.

(c) Increase the elementary school staffs of women teachers, so as to bring the classes down, where accommodation permits, at any rate to the extent of taking on at once the whole year’s supply of trained teachers leaving college, or otherwise available.
(d) Now is the time to start, or to increase the staff of Health Visitors and Women Sanitary Inspectors.

Moreover, don't let the Insurance Committees delay the starting of the scheme for home nursing, for which Parliament has actually voted the money. Every day's delay in providing nursing for insured persons means an unnecessary drain on the funds of the Approved Societies, and a steady increase in the deficits. It will be said that nurses are scarce. But this is mainly because thousands of them, of various degrees of training, have offered their services to tend the wounded—to the extent, it is said, of several nurses to each expected patient! In a few weeks there will be nurses available—partly rejected volunteers, partly trained women who had left the profession, glad now to resume nursing on the suspension of their present occupations or incomes, partly women whose training was interrupted and can now be completed, and partly probationers ending their training. The full staff of probationers must everywhere be maintained. We must remember that the civilian sick have to be nursed equally with the wounded soldiers and sailors. See that the local Insurance Committee takes steps without delay; and that it does not allow the Insurance Commissioners to obstruct the policy of Parliament (which has decided to have the nursing) and of the Cabinet (which has determined to increase employment).

The following ingenious suggestion is commended to all Police Authorities (Watch or Standing Joint Committees): "Now is the time, when the urban police forces are everywhere working under great pressure, and the Cabinet is anxious to keep up the volume of employment, for the Home Secretary to start the much needed 'police women.' Great Britain has over a hundred thousand policemen and no female constables, though at least one per cent. of the total strength might with advantage be women, if only for use in the protection of women and children. In the United States no fewer than twenty-five cities have now one or more policewomen, Chicago having twenty, whilst Baltimore, Seattle, and Los Angeles have five each, Pittsburgh four, and San Francisco and St. Paul each three." (The New Statesman, 15 August, 1914.) Two women have just been appointed unpaid special constables at Sandgate, Kent. Why withhold the paid posts?

More, however, will have to be done. Why should not the Local Education Authority seek authority and funds to enable it to provide maintenance scholarships and appropriate training for all girls under sixteen (or for all such now at school who are willing to stay on), as to avoid flooding an already overstocked Labor Market? The same might usefully be done for the boys, especially where juvenile unemployment increases. Accommodation could be found temporarily, in London in the Polytechnics, and elsewhere in the technical institutes, which are not fully occupied in the daytime; or in buildings temporarily hired for the purpose. The Board of Education would, it is understood, favorably consider such applications; and there is some possibility of aid in money being provided. It is a case for local initiative and insistence.
There are also advances on mobilisation, allotments of pay by soldiers serving abroad, gratuities on mobilisation, and so on—some of which may not have come to hand. Full particulars can be obtained from the Local Government Board.

The Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association (23 Queen Anne's Gate, Westminster) will advise as to how the wives can establish their claims and will help any cases of distress. Keep in touch with its branch in your town, and see that any such are promptly dealt with. Do not seek to relieve the Government from its obligations. There ought to be no need for the wife of anyone called to the front to come on the general relief funds, which, except in emergency, are not for them.

(b) Foreigners not receiving their remittances.

Up and down the country there are men and women depending on remittances from abroad, which now fail to arrive. Especially are Germans, Austrians and Hungarians—frequently here as governesses, clerks, teachers, etc.—in this condition. They need to be helped to get to the nearest Consul in temporary charge of their nationality (usually the American Consul); advised how to get their remittances if this is anyway possible; advised as to the societies that can help them; and perhaps assisted by loans.

There are also many foreign waiters and workmen in distress, who need similar personal assistance. They are not at war with us!

(c) Insured persons.

Remember that all men usually employed in the building, shipbuilding or engineering trades, in the making of vehicles or sawmilling, and in works of construction are normally "insured" against unemployment, and ought to be in receipt of 7s. a week, irrespective of their means. Ascertain in any case why that sum is not being received; and help the applicant to establish his claim, or to appeal.

Members of Trade Unions and Friendly Societies who have run out of benefit ought to have their arrears paid up for them, or anything else done to enable them to get into benefit again according to the rules.

Every person sick, or incapable of work by physical or mental disablement (including blindness or other affliction; also pregnancy or maternity) ought normally to be entitled to ten shillings (seven and sixpence if a woman) per week from the National Health Insurance Fund; or to five shillings where permanently disabled. Ascertain in any case why that sum is not being received, and help the applicant to establish his claim. Don't easily be put off by a refusal to pay from the Approved Society. It is the experience of those who have pressed such claims that many refusals to pay have been converted into payments by judicious insistence! If necessary, get the co-operation of the claimant's doctor, appeal to the chairman of the society or company, and telegraph or write to the Insurance Commissioners. Claims for actual incapacity to work due merely to pregnancy are often (quite unlawfully) refused.

Arrears of Health Insurance may be paid up voluntarily. But no one ought yet to be out of benefit on account of arrears (except as regards deficiencies in the initial 26 weeks needed for Sickness or Maternity Benefit, and in the initial 104 weeks needed for Disablement Benefit). No arrears need be paid in respect of men called to the front. No application from a Society for payment of arrears should be complied with without careful enquiry as to whether the payment is now required.

7.—When Distress Comes.

Unfortunately, we cannot hope, whatever we may do, to prevent the occurrence of all distress. When it comes, avoid to the last the mere doling out of relief, whether in money or in bread. What the unemployed man or woman wants is wages, not charity. Do your utmost to get every applicant taken on at regular wages, at some occupation or other, whether or not his accustomed work, or near his present home. Make the fullest possible use of the Labor Exchange, in order that jobs of all sorts, in all parts of the country, may be promptly heard of.* Get railway fares paid where necessary. It is better to get men jobs in other places (helping them to move), or in occupations new to them (treating them temporarily as "improvers"), than to put them on relief.

It is an imperative duty of the community at all hazards to prevent suffering from lack of the necessaries of life. But the worst form that our provision can take is that of the mere charitable dole. The evil effects of this so-called "charity" are not avoided by giving it only after elaborate investigation, or out of public funds, or under the influence of "war fever."

(a) Nobody to be driven to poor relief!

The Government has expressly pledged the honor of the nation that no one brought to destitution as a result of the war shall be driven to the shame and demoralization of the Poor Law. And the Government has lost no time in starting to redeem this pledge. When it was brought to the notice of the Cabinet Committee that the wives of men called to the front had, owing to the non-arrival of the Government allowances due to them, been driven to apply to the Relieving Officer, the Government unhesitatingly decided (for the first time in Poor Law history) (i) to repay to the Boards of Guardians their shameful doles; (ii) to erase from the records the names of those thus relieved, and entirely to cancel the transaction; and (iii) to write officially to each woman, informing her of what had been done, and explaining that she had not become a pauper!

This precedent is to be followed in other cases. No distinction was made in the Government's pledge between the dependants of

* In country villages, and other places where is no Labor Exchange (or any effective agency thereof), Local Committees, besides registering all local applicants for relief, may usefully ask all employers to inform them at once of any vacancies or opportunities for employment of local men and women. No one realizes how much additional employment can be afforded locally, with the aid of good will, until the attempt is made.
those called to the front and those serving the community in other ways. No destitution caused by the war is to be a fit subject for Poor Relief. Urgent cases must, of course, be attended to as heretofore; but Boards of Guardians should at once claim repayment from the Local Government Board, and regard themselves only as making temporary advances for the Government. Local Relief Committees must therefore see to it that no person coming to destitution on account of the war is left without help, or driven to apply to the Relieving Officer.

(b) FEED THE CHILDREN.

The first thing to be done in distress is to feed the children. The Board of Education is urging every Local Education Authority to undertake to feed, in connection with the elementary schools, every child in need of food, whether actually on the school roll or not, on Saturdays, Sundays, and other holidays, as well as on school days, including children above school age, or under school age—even the infants in connection with Schools for Mothers, etc.—promising fifty per cent. of the amount spent on those on the school roll. The Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund will make grants towards expenses not authorized from the rates. See that your Local Education Authority, if it has not already done so, immediately takes the formal step of passing the resolution necessary "to adopt" the Education (Provision of Meals) Act. Write to your County or Borough Councillor at once, asking whether this has been done. Urge the Local Education Authority to do its full duty in this respect—if not, complain to the Board of Education. If it does, all relief for children had better be concentrated there; and (except in emergencies and special cases) nothing issued for children by any other agency. Above all, keep the children away from the Board of Guardians; the Poor Law should never have anything to do with children.

(c) PROVIDE FOR MATERNITY AND INFANCY.

The Local Government Board has just pointed out to all County and Borough Councils, and Urban and Rural District Councils, in a Circular of July 30th, 1914, that it now falls within their scope—really in supersession of the Poor Law—to make systematic and gratuitous provision for Maternity and Infancy. Parliament has voted money for a Fifty per Cent. Grant in Aid of their expenditure on this service. The scheme of work suggested includes (i) local supervision of midwives; (ii) an ante-natal clinic for expectant mothers (where provision may be made, out of voluntary funds, or a grant from the Prince of Wales's Fund, for supplying meals); (iii) the home visiting of expectant mothers, to which the Government says it attaches particular importance: this should bring to light any cases needing help; (iv) a Maternity Hospital, which the Council is authorised to provide; (v) assistance to the mother to ensure skilled attendance at confinement; (vi) medical attendance at confinement in all difficult cases; (vii) hospital treatment after confinement where required; (viii) treatment of the infant up to school age at a "Baby Clinic," which the Council is authorised to provide; (ix) systematic home visiting of infants until they get on the school register.

The very best way to deal with distress among mothers and infants is for the Town or District Council to do its duty in carrying out this scheme. Get your Committee to urge this on the Council. See that the Medical Officer of Health brings up the proposal at once; and that the Health Committee presses it on the Council. The L.G.B. will, of course, be eager to approve such schemes, in pursuance of the Cabinet's policy. Now is the appropriate time!

This is, in effect, the policy advocated by the Women's Cooperative Guild, which presses strongly for the provision by the Health Committee of (a) medical advice for mothers: this can legally be done under the Public Health Acts at a public dispensary (which is included in the term hospital); (b) midwifery at confinement—this may require further authority, but might at once be provided out of voluntary funds; (c) free dinners for expectant and nursing mothers—this could be organized, out of voluntary funds, in connection with the Maternity Clinic; (d) free milk for mothers and young children on doctor's recommendation—this can be given out of the rates at the Baby Clinic, as ancillary to medical treatment; (e) free dinners for children under school age—this can be done, out of voluntary funds, by the Local Education Authority.

If the Local Health Authority and the Local Education Authority both do their duty, as the Government has directed, with the aid of the Government grants promised, and of grants from the Prince of Wales's Fund, the Medical Officer of Health will know of every expectant mother or mother of infants, and there ought to be no cases of distress among them throughout the whole area.

In some places, an energetic Town or District Council actively increasing its public enterprises so as to prevent unemployment, an energetic Education Authority feeding all children in need, and an enlightened Health Committee providing thoroughly for all mothers and infants, might, otherwise than for particular cases of exceptional distress, find no need for any further measures. The emergency would have been met in the best possible way.

(d) EXTENSION OF UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT.

(i) The Trade Union Benefit.

In a large number of trades, the Trade Union members subscribe liberally whilst in full work in order to provide for themselves "Out of Work Pay" of 8s. to 12s. per week whilst out of employment. The Government now assists this self-help by repaying to any such Trade Union one-sixth of what it has disbursed in this way. About one million Trade Unionists are thus in ordinary times provided for. It would be of the greatest value if similar Unemployment Benefit could be adopted by the other Trade Unions (numbering nearly three million members). The repayment of so small a proportion as one-sixth of the cost—an extremely limited encouragement, far below what is given in other countries—is not sufficient to enable this to be done. Why not offer to increase the proportion to one-
half, in order to make it possible for other Trade Unions to institute a system of Out of Work Pay?

But the Government might well go further during the continuance of the war. A Trade Union which can promise that none of its unemployed members shall trouble the Local Committees, or come on public relief, is doing a valuable service to the State. A Trade Union knows its own members, and can judge better than any Distress Committee of their need. The Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress asks that, in this crisis, every Trade Union giving Out of Work Pay, and thus undertaking the support of its own unemployed members, shall be granted, week by week, in lieu of all other assistance from the State, what it finds necessary to expend in this way according to its rules, subject to a maximum weekly rate to be fixed by the Board of Trade.

(ii) The Government Unemployment Insurance.

This (securing 7s. a week for five weeks at a time, with certain maximum limits) extends only to some three million workmen (and 10,000 women), in arbitrarily selected trades, covering only one-fifth of the wage earners. It is suggested that the period of benefit is already proving quite insufficient, and ought to be extended; (b) that the scheme ought at once to be extended to many other trades, employing women as well as men, the workers being, in this emergency, made immediately eligible for benefit. These reforms would, of course, in order to maintain the solvency of the Fund, involve a Parliamentary Grant in lieu of the initial waiting period.

(iii) Loans to Trades.

If unemployment becomes widespread, desolating whole industries, something more will have to be done. Yet it is difficult for Parliament actually to give more to one section than to another. It is suggested that, where no Trade Union Out of Work Pay exists, the offer might be made by the Government to the operatives in any trade—preferably through the Trade Union, but enabling non-unionists also to vote, as is the practice among the coal-miners for a checkweighman—to advance to the trade on loan the amount necessary to institute and maintain Out of Work Pay weekly throughout the whole war, under the administration of the Trade Union, on the understanding that the loan should be gradually repaid by the proceeds of a deduction to be made under statutory authority from the wages of all the operatives in the trade who might now or hereafter be working full time, with a corresponding payment by the employers (exactly as if made under the Insurance Act, Part II.), these deductions and payments lasting only until the total sum advanced (less the one-sixth or whatever other proportion that the Government might be contributing to other Trade Unions) had been wholly repaid. This plan might suit the circumstances of such industries as the textiles and the miners; and if agreed to at ballots of the whole trade, would involve the Government ultimately in no loss.

Think, next, of the case of the unemployed women, because they are generally thought of last. The lot of the women and girls thrown out of employment—jam hands and bottle washers, charwomen and box makers, "hands" from the tea and tobacco factories, and what not—is a particularly hard one. They are excluded from the Government Unemployment Insurance, and their little Trade Unions have no funds. They have a right to honorable maintenance just as much as the men. No one can think of municipal employment for them. The Government agrees that they are not to be driven to Poor Relief. The best thing to do for them is to take them on as "learners" or improvers, in some big, empty warehouse, at making and repairing all sorts of garments, hats and boots, not to be put on sale, but for the use of themselves and their children. A certain number every day should be taught to cook the dinner for all, in the very best way. The work will be totally unskilled, even bad; and the result at first will be small. But if competent instructors are provided, the women will, in a few weeks, not only have improved in health, but also have gained a training of the greatest value in their homes. The necessary outlay on premises, equipment, material and instructors (who are themselves thus found paid employment) though, like the women's pay, a dead loss, is more than repaid by the training gained, if not by the utility of the clothes they retain for themselves. Wives of men out of work, or of men called to the front, should be eligible to join these Women's Training Centres, if they are in need.

In some cases, large employers of women, whose workshops have to be closed owing to cessation of orders, have offered to place their premises and forewomen gratuitously at the disposal of any Local Committee which would set the girls to work at domestic dressmaking and millinery, interspersed with lessons in cookery, etc. This might be a good way of starting the Training Centres.

As the object is not to convert these women and girls into professional tailoresses or milliners, but merely to train them to make garments for themselves and their children, it is not desirable that steam power should be used, or factory methods adopted. What should be taught is "domestic" cutting-out, simple dressmaking, the making of undergarments and of children's clothes, and hat trimming partly by hand and partly with the ordinary domestic sewing machine.*

Failing any such organization, women and girls in distress might, where possible, be required, as a condition of the receipt of pay, to attend regularly for instruction in Domestic Economy and Hygiene.

* Women's Workrooms have for some years been conducted by the Central (Unemployed) Body for London, under the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905. These, however, by an unfortunate L.G.B. decision, which is understood to be now officially repented of, have had to be conducted on commercial lines, as if the object were production for profit! The commodities have to be produced for the market and sold—thus actually tending to throw other seamstresses out of work! The women, moreover, are kept to what they can do well, as being most profitable—not put successively to one task after another, so that they may get the utmost possible training. All this is uneconomic and mistaken, and must not be repeated.
for which unemployed teachers should be engaged and paid, and suitable temporary premises obtained. Remember the successful educational classes for the unemployed during the Lancashire Cotton Famine—undertaken at the suggestion of the operatives themselves.

Consider, in this connection, the special needs of the many thousands of women and girls working only "half-time." To them, often earning 8s. to 12s. per week in full work, "half time" is starvation. Many casual workers may presently be getting only a few hours' wages in a week. Yet, as they are not wholly "out of work," they may be excluded from all the schemes. They should be eligible to attend the Women's Training Centres on their off days, or Domestic Economy Classes in their free hours; receiving adequate subsistence for these periods.

Consider, too, the widowed home-worker, getting only a few hours work a week; and yet sometimes tied to home by the care of children under school age. The Government insists that, in so far as her distress is caused by the war, the Local Committee must see to it that she is not driven to the Poor Law. She must be given maintenance merely in return for attending to the infants; if possible, in connection with the municipal Baby Clinic or School for Mothers.

Applications for approval of schemes for women, for which, it may be assumed, grants will be made from the Prince of Wales's Fund, should be made to Miss Macarthur, Hon. Secretary of Central Committee on Women's Unemployment, Wimborne House, Arlington Street, London, S.W.

(f) Use the Distress Committee.

Unfortunately, we must contemplate that many Local Authorities will have been slow to understand the important new policy of actually preventing the occurrence of unemployment which the Government has laid down: they will not, in many places, have started enough new enterprises of the kinds already mentioned, nor yet sufficiently enlarged their wages bill, to save their localities from disastrous unemployment. Any such failure of the County, Borough or District Councils to prevent unemployment is not economical, because it compels resort to the worse and more costly alternative of relieving the unemployed who are not in receipt of Unemployment Benefit. The Local Relief Committee must then use the machinery of the Distress Committee, which can everywhere be appointed by the Borough or District Council under the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905 (in London, such Distress Committees are federated in the "Central (Unemployed) Body," Temple Avenue, Whitefriars, E.C.). The reasons why the actual provision for unemployed workmen should be left to the Distress Committee are (i) because we must not have two overlapping sets of "relief works"; (ii) because there is £100,000 already voted by Parliament for such work, and only the Distress Committee can draw this grant from the L.G.B. Hence, see that your Distress Committee is as actively at work as if this were hard winter weather—if it has not yet sprung into activity, complain to the L.G.B. All ablebodied men in distress should be referred to the Distress Committee, and be by that Committee provided for. All needy applicants for whom the Labor Exchange can find no situation anywhere, should be referred to the Distress Committee. (But they should all be registered by the Local Relief Committee, kept in view, and no case lost sight of, to ensure that the Distress Committee neglects none of them.) The Distress Committee will be able to get grants from the L.G.B. towards the cost of all approved schemes. As the Government has made it clear that persons in distress through the war are not to be driven to the Poor Law, it follows that the necessary grants will have to be forthcoming to any extent that the emergency requires.

(g) Find Really Educational Employment for the Men.

It is hopeless to expect the Distress Committee to be able to organize employment at their own trades for this mixed crowd of men—tailors, jewellers, waiters, dockers, carmen, clerks, porters, cabmen. To do this, indeed, would be equivalent to throwing other men out of work. The very best use to which the men can be put, for whom no situation can anywhere be found, and for whom the Distress Committee has to provide, is to put them to work for themselves in some way that promotes their own improvement. The human engine is temporarily out of use—let us utilise the interval to bring it up to the highest possible health and activity. The Distress Committee can far more profitably pay the unemployed to work at raising their own condition than to work at their old jobs. The men for whom no situations can be found are, practically always, physically "out of condition" (which of us is not ?); the occupation to which they have been accustomed is, at least for the present, not required, and hence has no value; they do not know how to produce food and clothing for themselves, nor yet how to do anything that the nation for the moment wants—let us teach them! Some can be put to work on the land (that is, can be taught the processes of agriculture and gardening); others can be put to work at the cooking and cleaning, and other household duties that any set of men require, repairing their own clothes and mending their own boots (that is, taught how to cook and to sew and to cobble); others can be put to do the necessary alterations and painting and decorating the premises (that is, taught to use all the ordinary tools). Every man ought, moreover, to be able to read a plan, and draw to scale, and expert at practical workshop arithmetic. Some few will actually want to learn something by which they think they can earn a living in a new way, or in a different locality—let us meet their laudable desires. What is essential is to realize that the men will, at any rate at first, produce next to nothing, and will need skilled instruction. The result will be, not much value in the way of material product—for "employing the unemployed" is always the costliest of processes—but great advantage to the men themselves in improved health and new training. What is important is that they will have been maintained and improved, instead of being
starved and demoralized. This, as the Local Government Board now advises, is the best form of “work for the unemployed,” though one difficult to organize for all. The L.G.B. will gladly help with any such scheme of training, which ought to be got ready at once.

(h) FALL BACK ON RELIEF WORKS IN THE LAST RESORT.

Some people are impatient of the idea of putting men to work at anything that requires them to be trained: they revolt against the idea of expecting grown men to learn anything new! Well, if we are so prejudiced that we insist on keeping our unemployed in the same helpless condition as that in which we find them, we shall be driven to the costly futilities known as Relief Works. Pay on Relief Works is better than doles without work; and if the augmented municipal enterprises already suggested have not kept everybody in regular wage-earning employment, and if we won’t train them to better things, we must put them to the only work they can do. The Distress Committee must exhaust its ingenuity to invent Relief Works suitable for “employing the unemployed”—improving parks and open spaces, making roads, digging up waste land to bring it under cultivation, planting waste places and spoil heaps, filling in disused pits or raising the level of low-lying land, strengthening sea walls, raising river banks, preventing floodings, restoring to some sort of beauty the spots which industrialism has made hideous, and so on.

One of the drawbacks to Relief Works is that employment at them never brings a workman again “into benefit” for Government Unemployed Pay. Making a road for the Town Council is working at an insured trade, and counts for Unemployment Benefit. Making a road for the Distress Committee is not working at an insured trade, and does not so count. This is a strong reason for doing works in the ordinary way, and not “to employ the unemployed.”

(i) RELIEF IS NOT WAGES.

But when we have failed to prevent the occurrence of unemployment by the Local Authorities setting on foot enough useful works at standard Trade Union wages—if there are then still unemployed men in distress for whom the Distress Committee has to provide either at educational occupations or on the so-called “Relief Works”—what the Distress Committee pays to the men cannot be deemed wages: it is only an allowance for maintenance, or relief. We cannot pretend to pay, for the common task of practical instruction or digging to which all have to be put, the different Trade Union rates which the several men would have got if they had been working at their respective trades! We ought to insist, considering present prices, on a minimum rate for the allowance or relief of not less than sixpence an hour for the time the men are in attendance, irrespective of what may be done for the wives and children. No deduction should be made in respect of anything done by the Health or Education Committees. But don’t let us pretend that this is wages, or that it has any relation to what the men will “produce” (which in commercial value will be next to nothing).

(j) ONE COMBINED REGISTER ONLY.

One indispensable thing in every locality must be a single register of all kinds of public provision being made for the relief of distress. A dozen different public bodies will be dealing with distress in each locality—to say nothing of all the private charities—and to prevent overlapping (and the chance of some unscrupulous families accepting help simultaneously from half a dozen different sources to the detriment of others more scrupulous) it is of vital importance that each authority or committee affording assistance should have some means of ascertaining, quickly and accurately, what is being done by the others. This register (which had better be kept by a special sub-committee of the Local Committee for the Prevention and Relief of Distress,* and be arranged as a card catalogue of families) ought to include any assistance afforded by (a) the Local Committee itself; (b) the Distress Committee; (c) the Board of Guardians; (d) the Local Education Authority; (e) the Old Age Pensions Committee; (f) the Prince of Wales’s Fund, or National War Relief Committee; (g) the Committee for the Relief of Soldiers’ and Sailors’ Families; (h) the Queen Mary’s Needlework Guild; and (i) any philanthropic societies or relief agencies willing to co-operate. It would be useful to have the clerk or secretary of each such organization on the sub-committee, together with a representative of the Labor Exchange. Get your Committee to start such a combined register at once. It will, of course, have to be the work of one or more clerks, who ought to be engaged and paid regular wages—no amateur blacklegging! The L.G.B. allows all this expense to be charged to the rates.

(k) WATCH YOUR LOCAL COMMITTEE.

Local organizations, such as Fabian Societies; Co-operative Societies; Branches of the I.L.P. and B.S.P.; of Trade Unions and Friendly Societies; of the Women’s Co-operative Guild, and of the Women’s Labor League; local “Brotherhood” Societies and Adult Schools, etc., might usefully watch the progress of unemployment and distress in their localities, and the proceedings of the several Authorities; and might, from time to time, press on their notice by resolution any points needing attention. It would be a good thing for such organizations to form locally a joint committee for this purpose, with its own secretary, so that it is properly attended to. The War Emergency; Workers’ National Committee (28 Victoria Street, Westminster) should be informed of any cases in which the

* Not by the Labor Exchange, which ought to keep itself to its own duty of helping men and women, whether or not in any need, to find regular wage earning situations, and not be mixed up with the registration of applicants for relief because of their distress. The Labor Exchange has no more to do with distress than the Post Office has. Its business is only to bring together demand and supply. Of course, such of the applicants for relief as are able-bodied persons ought to be required to keep themselves continuously on the “live” register of the Labor Exchange, which ought to inform the Local Committee of any other distressed persons for whom it cannot find situations.
interests of any section of the wage earners are being neglected, or of any Local Committees that are not working satisfactorily.

8.—How to Help Personally.

Many people in comparatively easy circumstances, or whose salaries are not yet affected, are asking: “What can I do to help?” To this the first answer is, go on with your accustomed work, and continue your ordinary life. Do not, out of panic, or from an egotistical “fussiness,” or because of a hypersensitive conscience (which is perhaps not unconnected with personal vanity), aggravate the inevitable dislocation that war causes, by wanton dislocations of your own. Continue at any useful occupation in which you are engaged. Before you change, pause to think what harm you may be doing.

We must all bear our share of the money cost. Economy is a good thing, and thrift a better. But let your economy (which should begin at once) be in your own personal consumption—not, until your income is actually reduced, in your expenditure. First, see that you pay all your bills, and henceforth pay cash for everything—it assists trade. You would, of course, not think, without finding something else for them to do, of dismissing any servants, or reducing your domestic establishment at this moment of dreadful danger of unemployment. If you can dispense with their services to yourself, set them to attend to the needs of others. But it is part of the world tragedy of riches, and of the personal luxury to which they lead, that all our daily expenditure maintains, and unwittingly specializes to our service, hosts of unseen workers, who are in effect just as much our body servants as the footman and the lady’s maid, and who starve if our expenditure on luxuries is suddenly suspended. Therefore, do not stop orders to dressmakers and tailors, or give up travelling—merely change the character of your order. If you can forego the new dress or the new suit of clothes, the holiday excursion or the visit to the theatre, spend the same amount on clothes for those who need them badly, or on a holiday for the men or women who would otherwise go without. Don’t put down your motor car and dismiss the chauffeur: lend the car for the service of the Local Committee. Exercise thrift by all means; but thrift means, not stopping expenditure, but its wisest possible allocation among different needs. You will not be wrong if you aim at restricting your personal use or consumption of other people’s labor, or the fruits thereof (down to what seems to be needed for the maintenance of your utmost efficiency for service); provided that you transfer that use or consumption to others who require it more than you do.

If you are a person without any useful occupation (which, of course, is not at any time a reputable mode of life)—or if your occupation has been temporarily suspended by the war—you will rightly feel bound at this crisis to give your personal service to the State. Healthy young men of this sort might well enlist or join the Territorials, and thus get trained and mobilized for the military defence of the country. On no account must you do any work gratuitously that would or could otherwise be paid for—leave that to go to the men and women of all grades whose livelihood has been destroyed. But your first duty is to be helpful to those nearest to you, especially to all the needy persons with whom you or your family are in any way in contact. What can you do to assist (i) friends or acquaintances whose livelihood has stopped; (ii) your household establishment and its connections; (iii) those in your own village, or those with whom you are brought in personal relations? Beyond that, there is an unexacting but useful unpaid service to be rendered in (a) serving on the many committees and sub-committees that are needed; (b) organising and supervising particular parts of the work; (c) running about, under instructions, to get information that is needed; (d) visiting the applicants; (e) dispensing relief. The organization and provision of useful work and training for the unemployed always hangs fire for lack of competent instructors and directors, and requires all possible help. But don’t “fuss”; send in your name to the Local Committee, to be called on when and for whatever required. “They also serve who only stand and wait.”

It is equally evident that we must not, in zeal for “helping the war,” sacrifice any of the existing services. What can be more foolish, or more suicidal, than the proposal to close schools and colleges, in order to convert them into hospitals for the wounded? As though there were no building operatives unemployed, no means of very quickly putting up temporary buildings; no teachers to be cruelly thrown out of work; and no children to be made to suffer all their lives long, because of panicky haste! What could be more shortsighted—just when shirtmakers and seamstresses are being thrown out of work in all directions—than for unoccupied ladies and their daughters actually to start making shirts and other articles of clothing, with the result of throwing still more women out of work? (Whoever advised the Queen to call on all the branches of Her Majesty’s Needlework Guild to start these amateur sewing centres did a foolish and an utterly mischievous thing. Experience actually shows that the garments made could be bought in the market for less than the cost of cutting out, packing and despatching of materials in small quantities; so that the result of the good ladies’ ineffective labor is literally to waste some of the available money. It has been made abundantly clear that Her Majesty now deeply regrets the precipitate action that she was allowed to take. Do your utmost to stop all such work.)*

* At any rate, make it known that the Queen begs that ladies will on no account make any of the following articles: viz., flannel shirts, socks, and Cardigan jackets; flannel vests and jerseys, pyjama suits, serge gowns, underclothing, flannel gowns and flannel waistcoats. All these would, in the ordinary course, be bought by the War Office and Admiralty, and every one of them made in the branches of the Queen Mary’s Needlework Guild, or by other well-meaning amateurs, is “doing some poor woman out of a job.” Even with regard to other garments, the Queen much prefers ladies to purchase them in the shops, or to organize groups of paid women workers to make them. (Her Majesty’s official communication to the Press, August 21st.) The War Office actually begs that no one will burden it with such things. “It is unnecessary to send shirts, socks, or underclothing, as there are ample reserves of these and all other articles of clothing at the base.” (W.O. official notice, August 28th.)
Unoccupied women and girls should not rush to nurse the wounded soldiers and sailors. Nursing is only for the trained—mere womanly kindness and domestic experience is of no use—and it is said that there are already more volunteers than the War Office and the Red Cross Society know what to do with! There are those at home who, in consequence of the war, equally need volunteer help. The great extension of school feeding and of medical inspection and treatment at school will involve the appointment, throughout the country, by the several Local Education Authorities, of literally tens of thousands of additional members of Children's Care Committees and School Canteen Committees; with endless opportunities for most valuable service to the children. Apply at once to the Clerk of the Education Committee of your County or Town Council. Similarly, the new development of provision for Maternity and Infancy by the Public Health Committees of County and Borough Councils will call for a greatly increased voluntary staff. The Association of Infant Consultations and Schools for Mothers (4 Tavistock Square, London, W.C.), would be glad to hear of voluntary workers for Infant Welfare Centres. The services of the following are required: (a) consultative medical officers; (b) home visitors; (c) helpers with dinners; (d) helpers at sewing, knitting or cooking classes. There are already schools for mothers in over 300 localities throughout the United Kingdom, and these all require additional help now; whilst many new ones will be established.

But it is part of the punishment for a misspent youth that emergency finds you useless! Perhaps the most useful thing that the inexperienced, unoccupied young woman can do is first to put herself through a systematic course of training for social work.*

Conclusion.

The nation has to face a great emergency. At all costs the people must be kept fed. If the war is prolonged, it will tax all the powers of our administrators to avert the most widespread distress. The suggestions contained in this Handbook, if adopted at once and to the full, would, it is believed, prevent such a calamity, without waste of money or demoralization of character. Yet, let us not forget the fact that, in dire necessity, all our economic scruples and philanthropic pedantries will, perforce, have to give way. The people will have to be fed. If we do not find money for wages, and useful provision for those thrown out of work, we shall have eventually to find it, even more of it, for unconditional weekly doles, or the universal soup-kitchen. The money—of which there is really no lack—will have to be found. The question is, how can the emergency most advantageously be met; how can the money be best laid out. Spend it now in prevention: it will actually save you later much more in relief!

* For suggestions for such a course of training, see the special prospectus of the London School of Economics (Department of Social Training), Clare Market, Portugal Street, Kingsway, London, W.C.
FABIAN SOCIETY IN SOCIALISM. Paper 6d.; cloth 1½; post. 2½d. and 4d.

WHAT TO READ on Social and Economic Subjects. 1s. n. and 2s. n.

THE RURAL PROBLEM. By H. D. Harben. 2s. 6d. n.

THIS MISERY OF BOOTS. By H. G. Wells. 3d.; post free 4d.

FABIAN TRACTS and LEAFLETS.

Tracts, each 1½ to 52 pp., price 1d., or 9d. per doz., unless otherwise stated.

Leaflets, 4 pp. each, price 1½d. for six copies, 1s. per 100, or 8½d per 1000.

The Set of 77, 3½; post free 3½d. Bound in buckram 5½.; post free 5½.

I.—General Socialism in its various aspects.


II.—Applications of Socialism to Particular Problems.


III.—Local Government Powers : How to use them.


IV.—General Politics and Fabian Policy.


V.—Biographical Series.

In portrait covers, 2d. each.