THE COHEN INTERVIEWS

EILEEN YOUNGHUSBAND – Interview no 26

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Each interview is presented as a free-standing publication with its own set of notes. However, readers interested in the Cohen Interviews as a whole and the period discussed are referred to:

(a) the other 25 interviews

(b) the Editors' Introduction

(c) the Select Bibliography.

All of these can be found at
http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/services/library/mrc/explorefurther/subject_guides/social_work

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Eileen Louise Younghusband (1902 --1981) is described in the AIM25 archives [www.aim25.ac.uk] as a "social work pioneer" despite her comment in the interview with Alan Cohen "I've never been a kosher social worker" by which she meant that none of her qualifications were from a recognised course of study for social work. There is considerable irony in this -- often remarked on by her qualified contemporaries -- given how much she did in her career to establish recognised training courses for social workers.

Her cv is longer than any other Cohen interviewees and after her time as a student at the LSE she operated at a high level among 'the great and the good.' In the fields of social work, probation, family welfare, penal reform, youth justice and international bodies she was very active and respected.

She gives Alan a very lucid account of her involvement in major events including the famous Reports that bear her name and there is no need to rehearse these here.

However, anyone wishing to study the Younghusband contribution in depth is referred to Karen Lyons extended essay in *Social Work and Society* where all aspects of EY's life and work are discussed and key biographical documents are referenced. This includes the special 1982 edition of *International Social Work* edited by Kathleen Kendall and containing a dozen tributes to Dame Eileen. Researchers may also consult an extensive collection of her papers archived at the Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick.

A.C. So, when did you come into social work?

E.Y. I came into social work in 1924 through a couple of friends, one of whom was then a Care Committee **[1]** organiser in Stepney. I went as a voluntary worker in 1924, and used to do care committee visiting in Stepney in the appalling slum conditions of those days. Of course it was very much better than it had been in the Barnetts' **[2]** day but it was still pretty awful. The rotting wooden staircases and smells, the cookers on the landing for several different families, and neo barrack-like tenement blocks. For instance, College Buildings in Wentworth Street off Commercial Street -- which I knew very well subsequently when it had been built as part of the Toynbee Hall **[3]** complex for extra residents at Toynbee. They were single rooms with all the plumbing on the half-landing, for the whole landing of rooms and, when I knew it, families were living in those rooms, sometimes in single rooms. There was considerable home work of course and quite an amount of unemployment; and casual labour, and again not only poverty but the uncertainty, the wives never knowing whether their husbands were coming back with any money in their pockets or not. They had to try to plan things so that whatever did come in lasted throughout the week. There was a good deal of drunkenness, particularly on Friday nights, because, as the old saying goes, "drink was the shortest way out of Manchester". A good deal of child death too. In Care Committee visiting, which I did both in Stepney and Bermondsey, when you were getting particulars of the family, you would automatically say, "How many children? And how many living?" It was assumed that several would not be living. The strain on the women, of course was simply tremendous, but there was that enormous vitality both in Stepney and in Bermondsey, excepting in the really down-trodden hopeless. Next year I went to live at the Princess Club Settlement in Bermondsey **[4].** Well there I was, in that Settlement as what the [girls'] club members called the "peel round the onion".

A.C. Why did they call you the "peel round the onion"?

E.Y. "Peel round the onion"? Well because that is the least possible thing you can be. I remember one day a group of us were on a bus and they said to the bus conductor, pointing to me, "Her dad's mum ain't born yet". They had these lovely, brilliant sayings. The work conditions were very bad too except in Peak Freans. Peak Freans [biscuit] factory in Bermondsey set the standard for the whole neighbourhood. If you were really lucky, you worked in Peak Freans. Women's wages in those days were somewhere between £1 [20 shillings] and 25 shillings a week. One club member who is still an old friend, was the absolute plutocrat of all. She had been a printer, she was a member

of [the trades union] NATSOPA and she went up to the city and earned £2.10.[50 shillings] a week, and that was absolute luxury in those days. It became pretty obvious in Bermondsey and from the Stepney experience that I needed to train. I went to the LSE **[5]** in 1926. I used regularly to work in various agencies, like the Stepney COS **[6]** in the long vacations. Do you want me to say anything about being a student at LSE?

A.C. Yes please. Before we do come on to that I'd like to come back to something you were saying earlier. You explained when you came into social work it was through friends.

I wonder if you could say a bit more about <u>how</u> you got into it and <u>why</u> you got into it, because I think I'm right in saying that your father was a member of the Indian Civil Service, is that right?

E.Y. Well, his being a member of the ICS didn't have anything to do with my coming into social work. We were living at Westerham [in Kent] at the time. I had nothing to do and was getting extremely bored, and a friend of mine introduced me to a friend of hers, Edith Ramsay **[7]**, who was a Care Committee organiser in Stepney and Edith Ramsay recruited me as a volunteer. So that was how it happened.

A.C. How did she arouse your interest in it though, was it just because you wanted something to do with your time?

E.Y. Well very much because I wanted something to do and this sounded much more interesting than any possible alternative. She was a very vivid person and she enthused me with the whole idea of, I suppose, of work in slum conditions, trying to make things better.

A.C. Are we talking about a philosophical commitment?

E.Y. Yes I suppose we are. I disliked dances; I was no good at painting or playing the piano and I wanted more than a social life.

A.C. Where did that come from and was that something you already had, you had arrived at through reading, or sorting it out in your head?

E.Y. I'm pausing now because I'm thinking of the whole atmosphere of the time. As frequently happens as a result of major catastrophes like war, there was a very strong spirit of idealism in the years after the first world war as indeed there was after the second world war. The League of Nations, refugees from Austria, "Peace in Our Time", the terrible number of returned wounded, disabled soldiers, so it was a whole spirit of reconstruction, after all remember there was a Ministry of Reconstruction after the first world war, during and after the first world war, so it was that whole spirit of rebuilding that was in the atmosphere, and I suppose I caught it.

A.C. I see, yes, fine. So your friend Edith Ramsay interested you in the care committee work and from there you went to the Bermondsey Settlement **[8]**.

E.Y. No, not the Bermondsey Settlement, no, the Princess Club Settlement in Bermondsey. The Bermondsey Settlement is different.

A.C. I see. I didn't realize there were two settlements. The Bermondsey Settlement was a university settlement?

E.Y. No, there was no university settlement in Bermondsey; the Bermondsey Settlement was a Wesleyan settlement. Then there was the Time and Talents Settlement **[9]** and there was Princess Club Settlement, all within a quite small distance of each other in the parts of Bermondsey which are near the docks.

A.C. Who set up the Settlement you worked in?

E.Y. It was named after Princess Louise. I can't now remember how the money had been collected. There was some particular reason why it was named after her, but I have forgotten what the reason was. It primarily ran a whole variety of clubs and play centres and a residential hostel, and we did care committee work in the day time.

A.C. So to work in a settlement was more than a nine to five type commitment?

E.Y. Oh, heavens, yes, we were resident. Settlement workers aren't residents nowadays. It was not nine to five, it was nine to ten, so to speak.

In 1926 I went to LSE, hoping to learn a good deal more about social conditions.

A.C. Can you say something about that course in 1926, what sort of subjects, what was the curriculum and what sort of things did students discuss in seminars?

E.Y. Well, there weren't seminars in the sense that there are in the present day, we didn't even know the word. There were classes, weekly classes with a tutor, for which a student prepared a paper, and read it to the class, and then there was discussion on the paper. No the discussion was much more after lectures, most lectures as far as I remember. There was a period for discussion after the lecture, which really wasn't a very good arrangement because I think if there'd been the real to and fro of discussion, as it is more apt to be nowadays, during the lecture, it would have been much better, but that was unknown at the time. It was after the lecture. I remember for example, after Professor Hobhouse's lecture, he used to leave nearly an hour for discussion, and we used to sit in embarrassed silence and every now and then somebody would ask a fatuous question. But there wasn't real discussion, I think the material was too complex, too rich for students to be able to take hold of that way. They were marvellous teachers of course, in those days. Hobhouse **[10]**, Ginsberg **[11]**, Laski **[12]**, Malinowski **[13]**, Westermarck **[14]**, Eileen Power **[15]**, Tom Marshall **[16]**, Bernard Hart **[17]**, and so on. So it was immensely stimulating. An absolute galaxy of talent. I repeated all the lectures more than one year because I enjoyed them so much. I think to some individual lectures three times. Oh, yes, I'd forgotten Dalton, Hugh Dalton **[18]**, and of course Robbins **[19]**.

A.C. When you mentioned Tom Marshall is that Professor T H Marshall?

E.Y. Yes, Professor T H Marshall, who was an extremely good lecturer. He lectured on economic and social history. He had a beautiful voice which made a great difference.

A.C. Was Attlee **[20]** lecturing there at that time?

E.Y. No, I had Attlee's room when I first became a tutor at LSE and I'm afraid I used sometimes to write to my friends on the remaining House of Commons stationery. No, Attlee had left before I got there.

A.C. So when you talked about the practical work you did during the long vacation, was that something you had to arrange for yourself?

E.Y. It was something which had nothing to do with LSE. There was practically no practical work at LSE in those days. I forgot to mention that I got polio in the spring before I started at LSE so I missed part of the first term and I was excused practical work excepting for one month with a probation officer in Shoreditch at the Juvenile Court where Clarke- Hall **[21]** was chairman. And that was another side of poverty.

A.C. Can I just come back to the practical work? Were there any lectures on the course which dealt with techniques of helping?

E.Y. Absolutely none. This is my big quarrel with that whole period. When you talk about training for social work in that period in the universities there was no such thing. It was these splendid social science courses. I'm talking now about LSE, I don't know directly what was happening in the other universities social studies or social sciences departments. But at any rate at LSE it was this splendid teaching about social history, social policy, social philosophy in pretty broad terms, social psychology, a little bit of anthropology. From the mid-1930 onwards first class criminology from Herman Mannheim **[22]**. But absolutely nothing that linked all that to the kind of level at which social workers would be working. Of course, there were the social surveys of the period, but there really was nothing applicable in the day to day practice of social workers.

A.C. Was that something that struck you at the time as you were doing the course?

E.Y. Yes, oh yes. And later on too, yes indeed it did. I went to LSE hoping that those two would be brought together, but they were not until long afterwards.

A.C. So, by 1929 you had had experience in a Care Committee, in a settlement, in a COS office, a practical placement in probation, and you had done the social science course at LSE.

E.Y. I had also got the London University Diploma in Sociology (with distinction) which was a considerably higher standard than the Certificate, which I took in 1928.

A.C. Did you have to be a graduate to do that course?

E.Y. Well the assumption was that you were, but you didn't have to be.

A.C. So, then what happened?

E.Y. What happened then was that LSE asked me to go back as a tutor in the Social Science Department, which I did and I was there from '29 to '39.

A.C. Now that sounds as though you're being a bit modest now about what happened to you as a student! You must have been a pretty good student to be invited to go back.

E.Y. Well I suppose they'd got used to me by that time. I got distinction in the Diploma. C. M. Lloyd **[23]**, who was Head of the Department, said that they gave me a distinction with the benefit for the doubt because they couldn't read my handwriting. I went back and that was the year when the Mental Health course **[24]** was started. It was suggested to me that I should apply to take the mental health course but for several reasons, I didn't. So I've never been a kosher social worker.

A.C. Was that a personal decision not to take the course?

E.Y. Yes. My mother wasn't at all well, and we lived at Westerham as I said, and the course would have meant working on Saturdays so I wouldn't have been able to go home for other than very short weekends.

A.C. Students worked on Saturdays, in those days?

E.Y. Oh yes, on the first Mental Health course, indeed they did. In the clinics. And then LSE asked me to stay on as a tutor. So that was that. I remember talking to a friend about it at the time and saying how wonderful it was that I was going to get paid to read all the books that I wanted to read anyway.

A.C. Were you surprised at how involved you got intellectually? Because at the very beginning you said you were bored, didn't know what to do with your time out at Westerham and a friend suggested the Care Committee, and now here you are, in 1929, absolutely immersed in it.

E.Y. Absolutely immersed in it with the whole excitement of the subjects that we were studying at LSE. I took to that like a duck to water.

A.C. And I suppose in that Senior Common Room you had access to all those people you mentioned as being stimulating lecturers, for conversation.

E.Y. I hadn't thought of that, I suppose we did. Not that I remember very much of the conversations. One I remembered: Professor Wolfe, who was professor of logic, we sat next to each other one day at tea in the Senior Common Room, and I have never forgotten, he said, "Remember: you will never really have understood any theory until you put yourselves in the shoes of the people who advance that theory, until you've got inside it from their point of view and it's only when you've done that that you can presume to criticize it." I often wish students would remember that at the present day, or at any time. But then of course, students, rather naturally at their ages, want black and white. And of course there was a lot of black and white at the LSE. I mean we certainly knew what was white and what was black.

A.C. What was white and what was black at the time?

E.Y. Well, Laski of course was white. Laski of course was much more in the way of a crusader than most of the others. Well, there were an increasing number of blacks of course from 1933 onwards, and there was all the idealism about

disarmament and the refusal to believe that rearmament would come. However, that was later of course.

A.C. Did those sort of issues impinge on the social work courses?

E.Y. They weren't social work courses, they were social science courses.

There were the endless discussions that students used to have, and of course industrial relations and trade unionism. I was in Bermondsey at the time of the General Strike and of course we were entirely on the side of the strikers. It was a terrible period when wages were being steadily reduced so that the standard of living was going steadily down. There was a period when the unemployment insurance allowance was 3 shillings a week for the first child and 2 shillings each for subsequent children. Well even those days to feed a child on 2 shillings a week was practically not possible.

A.C. I wonder if we could talk a bit more about the competing ideas which were around at that time and who thought what, and what the debates were about, who were the protagonists. I wonder if you can recall any of the issues that tutors or students were involved in? Say, about the organisation of the Poor Law **[25]** it would have been at that time.

E.Y. We were obviously anti-Poor Law because of all that Webb influence in LSE. We read the Minority Report **[26]**. I strongly suspect we did not read the Majority Report **[27]**. I don't think in those days we realised the weaknesses of Beatrice Webb's logical divisions and specialisations. We didn't, I think, looking back on it, realise how this was breaking up human beings into the health, education, unemployment and all the rest of the services. I remember when I was leaving LSE in 1929, I went to see Beatrice Webb to discuss with her what I should do, and her enthusiastic advice was to become a woman Relieving Officer **[28]**. She was, very rightly I think, trying to get the Poor Law changed from inside. Of course there was an enormous difference in individual ROs and their whole attitudes in assessing Poor Law relief. I think she was trying to get in more educated people, more particularly no doubt people who had been students at LSE. There was in those days a very considerable number of evening students taking primarily the BSc and I remember a couple of those were two women Relieving Officers. But of course social workers were unknown in anything excepting, as far as London was concerned, Care Committee and voluntary organisations, and probation was the one big break, the beginnings of social workers coming into the public services.

A.C. Did the employers of social workers, look to the social science department at LSE for an intellectual lead? Were they consulting you about how they should organise their services, deploy their staff?

E.Y. They wouldn't have got more than a purely lay answer if they had. That wasn't the kind of knowledge that people were after. Social workers were considered a very lowly breed in those days. The fact that the Social Science Department had so many students who were taking a certificate course which was a college qualification, not a university qualification, that was thought to be very much to the detriment of the Department, and the head of the Department

was only half time. C M Lloyd was part-time editor of the New Statesman and part-time head of Department. The students were practically all women; and women who either could pay for themselves or their family could pay for them. There were no grants.

E.Y. Another thing about the tutors was that you taught every subject. As I did. Of course there were strengths in this as well as its obvious weaknesses. You were the people who brought it all together, who provided for the students a focus across the board, and that helped them to keep the different parts marching in harmony, marching equally so far as the standard they were attaining was concerned They had fortnightly individual tutorials and they wrote an essay for each tutorial.

A.C. You mentioned the Webbs, and I wonder whether there is a conflict between actively trying to shape social policy and promote a particular policy, and being an academic theoretician and wanting to make some kind of academic contribution. What is your experience of that? Would you agree with that?

E.Y. Well, I think the Webbs and Beveridge **[29]** of course, who was the Director at that time were atypical because most of the lecturers I have mentioned were not on the staff of the Social Science Department and the lectures were not given specially for social science students. The Webbs and Beveridge were atypical in that they both engaged in direct research in the live situation, whereas all the others I have mentioned did not. Eileen Power obviously dealt with historical documents, and of course Tawney **[29a]** did too, in historical documents, but none of the others that I've mentioned engaged in research in the current social scene. Malinowski did of course, but not in this country.

A.C. What changes in social work were there during that period, between 1929 and '39 , the scene must have moved a little bit?

E.Y. Mighty little bit. I suppose the two quite different big moves had been the beginnings of Home Office training for probation in 1936 when the Probation Training Board **[30]**was set up and the Home Office gave grants for both fees and maintenance for students to train for probation. So that was one very big change and that began to bring a few man into the department before the War. For instance, John Spencer **[31]** came in, in that period. Then the other change was the mental health course, but remember the Mental Health course, as such, was encapsulated and really had no influence on what was going on in the Department. They were a separate group of students who were alleged by the rest of us, to be talking a special secret language of their own and you knew, from the past students of your own, that by the end of the first term on the mental health course they would be talking about schizoid personalities and that kind of thing, so they had very little influence on the main body of students. The very first probation students, were supposed to be working as probation officers simultaneously with taking a social science course.

E.Y. That did get changed. They had, I've forgotten how many months at that time, as probation officers and then by degrees a few lectures were added and then of course what became known as the Rainer House course **[32]** started. Almoner students went off and did a year either at St Thomas's Hospital or

what was known as The Group, which was several other London hospitals. It took a long time before there was any teaching at the Institute of Almoners **[33]**

A.C. Had you got to the stage of wanting to give a mighty great shove in the area of organisation of social services and social work training at this time?

E.Y. I think you've got to take into account the significance of the fact that we were doing no study at all of organisational structure or professional expertise, so that we were thinking in terms of social reform and not thinking very much in terms of how you were going to implement it. We were certainly campaigning, for instance, for family allowances. This was one of the means of, well, both alleviating poverty and taking people out of the Poor Law.

A.C. Were you in touch with Eleanor Rathbone **[34]** and Elizabeth Macadam **[35]**?

E.Y. Yes, well Elizabeth Macadam of course I knew, yes, and through her I met Eleanor Rathbone on various occasions. A very single minded, determined campaigner, with the back-up of Elizabeth Macadam. They campaigned on a wide range of issues. One thing they were campaigning about was extension of the Factories Act **[36]**. I was involved in a campaign when the 1937 Bill was going through Parliament.

A.C. What was that? I know absolutely nothing about that.

E.Y. Well, the Factories Act was extended and so far as I remember also consolidated by the 1937 Act. A small group was set up. This was not necessarily LSE, I happened to be at LSE. We called ourselves "The Factories Bill Campaign" **[37]** and there was a remarkable woman called Gertrude Tuckwell **[38]** with whom I had a lot to do in all that period. She was the inspiration of it. There was a previous factory inspector in it, Amicia Carroll **[39]** and Rosamund Tweedie **[40]**, who lived with Helen Waddell **[41]** who wrote a pamphlet for us, and me, and we used to speak to whatever group who was willing to let us come and speak to them. We did what I think was really a very useful thing, we would look at each clause in the Bill which was coming up at the Committee stage in the House, and then we would send several days before to every member of that Committee notes which said the Government clause is such and such, the Factories Bill Campaign suggests so and so … and we did manage to get our amendments drafted in Parliamentary terms. Now we had a lovely time on this, whether we had any influence of not, I don't know. So this was the kind of thing that we were active in, and of course implementation. We knew a lot about the factory inspectorate and its work. I partly did because I had several friends who were factory inspectors, and a few LSE students did afterwards become factory inspectors.

A.C. Was that your first contact with government, with the machinery of government, is that where you learnt to influence it?

E.Y. I suppose having thought about it, in a way, it was. The whole contact with government departments only began during the second world war. We had no intimate contacts, such as University Social Studies Departments do

nowadays. A whole new way of operating began. The whole climate changed. Government departments became much less the monasteries or nunneries which they had been in the past and outside people were called in for a whole variety of purposes.

A.C. So, what did happen to you during the war?

E.Y. I was away from LSE during the war as I wasn't able to go to move with it to Cambridge and therefore I was asked to resign from LSE. I was here in London all through the war as far as my base was concerned. I was working first of all setting up one of the first Citizen's Advice Bureaux **[42]** and then I was with the National Council of Girls' Clubs **[43]**, which later became the National Association of Youth Clubs, until 1944 when I went to the Assistance Board to do a study of their welfare services for them, and then I went back to the LSE.

A.C. You've said that all very speedily. Can you tell me something about setting up the first CABx? How did that all come about, whose idea was that?

E.Y. George Haynes **[44].** A group of people of whom George Haynes of the NCSS was one and I think Ben Astbury **[45]** then the general secretary of the FWA, decided that there would be a lot of new regulations in war time, and people would need easy access to information about these, because they would affect their lives, and therefore it was necessary to have easily accessible sources of information. From that sprang the whole idea of Citizen's Advice Bureaux which were to be staffed entirely by volunteers with a back-up service and one of the first ones, which I went to start in September 1939, was in Church Street, Kensington. Of course volunteers were very easily come by at that period and we had a very good group of volunteers and people began to stream in for what I realise now was advice. For instance in this part of the world, small hotel and boarding house keepers whose establishments were emptying, well nobody was coming to live in London at that time, were wondering how in the world they were going to keep going, so it was that kind of thing. It was the days when one still carried one's gas mask, it was the phoney war period before the daylight raids began. Well I was doing this for about a month, and then Mrs Walter Elliott,**[46]** (whose husband was then Minister of Health, and she herself was Chairman of the National Council of Girls Clubs (NCGC).) asked me to come and help her hold the fort as there were no staff. So she and I ran what there was to run of the NCGC which was a national organisation with its headquarters in Hamilton House, just off the Euston Road. So I went there.

A.C. I don't know whether you'd agree, but you're accumulating a lot of experience of setting up organisations and negotiating with outside bodies.

E.Y. There was a very great deal of that because the then Ministry of Education became extremely interested from 1939 onwards in the Youth Service, the National Youth Service really started then **[47]**. It had been entirely voluntary organisations up to that point. But the Ministry of Education was extremely active and therefore my first and intimate contact with a government department was with the Ministry of Education during that whole war time period, and afterwards.

A.C. In 1944 you were working with the Assistance Board?

E.Y. Yes. And in between that I'd also been running British Council courses for what were called Social Welfare Courses for Allied nationals. These were courses for women from the occupied countries who were refugees in this country but expecting to go back to, well, first of all to working in the displaced persons (DP) camps in Germany, and then back to their own countries for a variety of social welfare rehabilitation purposes. I was running those part-time while I was still at what was then the NAMC, the National Association of Mixed Clubs **[48]**. I was travelling all over the country all the time while I was at the NCGC and running their training, and it was very largely a result of that experience which made me so convinced that there had got to be a much closer relation between theory and practice.

A.C. So you thought you'd try and do something about that? Is that how it happened?

E.Y. Well, yes. I first began to do something about that when the Carnegie UK Trust gave me a grant to produce what was known as the first Carnegie Report **[49]**.That was after the time with the Assistance Board. Again that enquiry for the Board had meant travelling all over the country and seeing social conditions all over the country.

A.C. Before we get onto the Carnegie Report can you say something about the Assistance Board?

E.Y. That arose because Ben Astbury had convinced the top brass in the Assistance Board that they ought to have a look at their welfare function. The relevant legislation required them to grant assistance in such a way as to promote the welfare of the applicant. They asked me to come and do that study for them and of course I knew that it could only be done by going to local offices all over the county, going out with what were then called Visiting Officers, and actually seeing what was happening and what kind of situations they were having to deal with. So I did go all over the country: South Wales, the North-East and Scotland.

A.C. I was looking through some back numbers of the *COS Review* and one of the things that struck me there was, particularly in the early part of the inter-war period, some kind of debate going on, an argument, I'm not sure if it involved Astbury, about 'Stateism' and really the COS holding out against the Welfare State.

E.Y. Oh heavens, yes, but I don't think that Ben would have written against Stateism; I'd forgotten that term. It was a basic part of the COS principles campaigning against State provision.

A.C. Did you get caught up in those arguments?

E.Y. I didn't get caught up in them, I was so utterly anti. But it was something that was dying, very much dying in the last ditch. I forgot to mention, by the by, which is pretty important, that I had been a juvenile court magistrate from 1933 onwards and became a chairman of the juvenile court before the war and was a chairman until 1967.

A.C. So beside all these other things you've been telling me about, you were working in the area of juvenile delinquency?

E.Y. I was sitting, once a week, on a juvenile court, having this direct contact with the ultimate client so to speak, or the ultimate consumer of the social services, and with probation officers.

A.C. Were the sort of people coming up before the bench the same sort of young people that you had known through your work in settlements and so on?

E.Y. Yes, mostly of course boys, the vast majority, as it still is, were boys.

A.C. So, if we can move on to the Carnegie Reports and the Carnegie grant. I haven't seen the first Report, though I have seen the second. The thing that strikes someone reading the second one, anyway, is the meticulous way in which a whole lot of statistics have been deployed about manpower and so on, and I wonder just how you set about doing that?

E.Y. Well, it was much more difficult for the first one because by the time of the second one quite a lot of people had read the first report, it was known, and therefore people were much more willing and keen to supply information for the second one than they had been for the first one. It was quite difficult getting all the replies you needed for the first one, but I think I did get all the information I needed. I remember the whole concept of what constitutes a social worker and where a social worker should be employed was extremely vague, amorphous at that period compared with what it is now. For instance, in many quarters personnel managers, women housing managers, youth employment bureau secretaries, were regarded as being social workers.

Those were some of the employments into which social science students went. There was all the uncertainty about how social work was going to develop after the war and the new things in which they had been employed during the war, for instance, evacuation.

A.C. So you had to write round to all those organisations asking them?

E.Y. Yes, for information where it wasn't published, and there was very little published information at that time compared with what there is now.

A.C. Did you have help with that or was that something you did single-handed?

E.Y. Single-handed. I had secretarial help but otherwise, single-handed.

A.C. As well as being chairman of the bench and teaching at LSE?

E.Y. Yes, I had a year off from LSE.

A.C. You had a sabbatical year to do the Carnegie enquiry?

E.Y. No, no sabbatical year, a year's leave of absence without pay, there were no sabbaticals in those days. Goodness me, no, oh no. I once had a term off sometime in the early 1930s because I wanted to see the kind of agencies into which students were going for their practical work, and that was not only without pay, but the Head of Department had a fight to get my FSSU [pension]

contributions continued. It was suggested by the Administration that I should pay those myself. It's a very different situation nowadays. And the maximum salary in the Department in 1939 was £350 per year.

A.C. Yes. So, coming back to that report again, for someone from outside knowing of Dame Eileen Younghusband, I always think of the Carnegie Reports as the first kind of boomp.

E.Y. Yes, I suppose it was the first kind of boomp. Yes, you see there wasn't much in the way of boomps before the war and hadn't been for a very long time, I mean with all the plonks like Eleanor Rathbone, yes, but these were campaigning plonks.

A.C. Yes, but now we are talking about someone trying to shape the social work side of social policy, the social work component.

E.Y. Yes I suppose it was social work beginning to emerge as a possible profession wasn't it?

A.C. Yes, but also seeing it in the context of a network of social services, so somewhere along the line presumably the Beveridge Report and all that post-war legislation or impending legislation (those White Papers and so on,) must have influenced the development of social work.

E.Y. The Beveridge Report as such was not about social work. Its concern was, after all, insurance. And not concerned with social work, in the way that the Education Act of 1944 **[50]** was not concerned with social work. Most social workers still were employed in voluntary organisations.

A.C. But if you are going to tackle the post-war reforms, you are going to have to set up organisations that are going to have to employ social workers.

E.Y. I wasn't concerned with the setting up of organisations, I was concerned with the way social workers were being used in existing organisations which was the employment of social workers and how things were changing and developing and how they were trained, and how in my view they ought to be trained.

A.C. And those ideas came from the experience you have been talking about?

E.Y. Very largely. The gap between the very broad theory that was taught in many of the social science departments and the pretty narrow practice into which very many social workers went, was huge. Remember again that practically no social workers had any remotely large administrative or policy-making responsibilities. They were practically all fieldworkers, or they were organising the work of volunteers, like care committee organisers or COS secretaries.

A.C. I know that in the inter-war period there were international conferences on social work, and there is that international review of social work training by Alice Salomon **[51]**. Were you influenced or in contact with any of those people?

E.Y. No, I wasn't at all involved in those international conferences, even the one that was held in London in 1936 I didn't go to. It was only from 1942 and after the war that I got involved in international things.

A.C. So what went into that first Carnegie Report is absolutely your experience, or mostly your experience and reflections on what had happened up to that time in the training of social workers?

E.Y. Yes, I think it probably is true, a lot of it was outside my experience of course, well no, wait a minute, I was thinking of what was then known as colonial social welfare. There was an Advisory Council **[52]** in the then Colonial Office on colonial social welfare of which I was a member, and the employment of senior people from this country as colonial social welfare advisers was beginning so that did come into the first report.

A.C. And then why the second report?

E.Y. That came about because, well, things did change extremely rapidly of course, after the war. The material for the first report I gathered in 1946 and it referred to 1945 and it was published in 1947. Then things changed very rapidly after the war and in 1949 or '50, I've forgotten which, I suggested to the Carnegie Trustees that I should write a short report bringing it all up to date, and the short report was in fact longer than the first one. That was published in 1951.

A.C. And now by that time there is an emerging fabric of social services, or state employers of social workers, is that right?

E.Y. Yes, there had been an enormous change, as I have said in the beginning of the second report in the whole balance of the employment of social workers, primarily with the creation of the Children's Departments.

Those became, with the probation services, the biggest public employers of trained social workers, who were going for the first time on any substantial scale into local authorities. Of course, some had been employed in some municipal hospitals, some local authority child guidance clinics and in some war time evacuation services, before and during the war. But the big move came as a result of the (1948) Children Act **[53]**.

A.C. I remember you wrote an article in 1953 to the effect that the local authority social services should be amalgamated into what we would now call a social service department, do you not remember that? Well, when did that idea first hit you?

E.Y. Yes that was Geraldine Aves (Interviewee no 2) and me. She had to be behind the scenes because she was then Chief Welfare Officer in the Ministry of Health. There was someone else I think in local authority service. Anyway, we had the idea that the services under the National Assistance Act **[54]** and the Children Act and some of those under the NHS Act ought to be amalgamated into one local authority department. Richard Titmuss **[55]** was very much interested in this and he thought he could get a leading article in *The Times* and we wrote this article with that in view, and Richard did quite a lot of helping and editing with that. Well, he didn't succeed with getting it into

The Times, but it was published in *Social Service*. That was well before Seebohm **[56]** wasn't it?

A.C. You start by postulating a family which had been visited by seven different people.

E.Y. I remember now, yes it was a pretty unrealistic picture, wasn't it?

A.C. Well, was it, do you think so? Unrealistic?

E.Y. I think we had rather too many calamities happening to that family. Yes we had fun constructing that family.

A.C. Yes, so you were already thinking about the shaping of services.

E.Y. I realise now partly where all this came from. I had recommended in either the first or second, I think the second, Carnegie Report that there should be a comprehensive look at the social services in which social workers were employed, and the Joint University Council (JUC) took this up in their discussion of the second report and actually got a deputation to several government departments together, a common meeting to discuss this. It got nowhere: I think the rivalries and the water-tight compartments at that time were too considerable for this to be possible. But it was one of the factors which led to the setting up, by the then Minister of Health, of the Departmental Committee on Social Workers in the Local Authority Health and Welfare Services.

A.C. The Younghusband Working Party? **[57]**

E.Y. Yes. But of course that was later on, 1955-58.

E.Y. Well, I was just wondering whether we better do the clearing up of where we've got to because we're coming on to some quite major things.

I went back to LSE in '44 as their first practical work organiser. The thing that Kit Russell **[58]** became later, and so I was responsible for the arrangements for students, for all the social science students, and later on for some of the sociology degree students' practical work, which meant building up the whole thing. It had been carried on during the War to the extent to which it was possible, but the deputy head of the Department who also had many other responsibilities had been doing it and this was the first time they'd had anybody full-time on it. LSE came back to London in 1945, but for a year I used to go down to Cambridge once a week to see students and then came back to London to try to do the organising. Of course I did practically no travelling. I don't think there would have been the financial resources to do it, so it was practically all done by correspondence which of course was a very unsatisfactory way of doing it. I began to have classes with students when they came back, or the LSE came back to London, partly classes taken by different people who were actually practising in different agencies on the work of that particular agency, and partly classes for and by students discussing their practical work and they also began to write essays for their tutors on their practical work experience, so there was the very shaky beginnings of forging some kind of link between theory and practice. It was extremely difficult to get

across to the fieldwork agencies the idea that what you wanted was students to have some kind of responsibility for clients – in those days, of course, they were not called by that dreadful term client – rather than, as it was put, to see all sides of the work and also to break out of the fairly narrow bonds of suitable placements. You see working in a family casework agency was regarded as the highlight, so to speak, and I think for the perfectly sensible reason that it was the only thing that wasn't specialised. So this went on: every student having some experience in a family casework agency, primarily in London but also in other parts of the country. But then increasingly in the new Children's Department, in probation, in, to some extent in hospitals, though that was to a considerable extent reserved for students who were going to train as almoners, and then in a much wider variety of things like Youth Employment Bureaux, Children's Homes, Approved Schools, the Invalid Children's Aid Association, local Moral Welfare agencies and so on.

A.C. So there's social science courses shaping up to be more like the social studies/social science courses we know today.

E.Y. Yes. I think that's true – and of course being greatly extended with many more universities starting then.

A.C. Would you say it was the case that you were reaching out to government to try and influence them, or have we got now to the point where government looks to people like yourself, in the university, to look at problems like deployment of manpower in the social services?

E.Y. Deployment of social work manpower was not considered at that time at all. No that came on the scene quite a lot later. It certainly comes so far as I remember in the second Carnegie Report. Influencing government – well, government is a large thing. I was on the Central Training Council in Child Care **[59]** at the Home Office from 1947 until it ceased to exist in 1971 and also on the Advisory Council in Child Care **[60]**. I was a member of the Probation Advisory and Training Board **[61]** which was its title then. I think this was largely because of my juvenile court connections. And of the Institute of Almoners Education Committee and, later on the Council for Training in Social Work **[62]**. And so I had a lot to do with every form of social work training excepting psychiatric social work.

A.C. Would it also be fair to say that now government departments are asking you to do, serve them, in the capacities you've just mentioned, rather then you having to go to get a grant to make a study?

E.Y. Getting the Carnegie Grant was a quite different thing. That was going to a Foundation. Government Departments by this time were beginning to be aware that social work was part of the operation of some of the Social Services and that if you were thinking about universal coverage then government had got to play its part in promoting and subsidising the training. This was a whole different outlook during and after the war. Before, as I said, it had been entirely people financing training from their own resources.

A.C. Listening to you, it sounds like a lot of very careful spadework by the end of this period eventually beginning to pay off, in that people are beginning to

listen and you're not having to pluck at people's coat tails to be heard. They're coming and asking things from you.

E.Y. Of course social work had got to be much more part of the atmosphere. Many other people both in professional and voluntary organisation and the universities, by this time were wanting very substantial change in training. There's quite a lot about this in my last *Social Work in Britain: 1950-1975* giving the background of all this.

A.C. Thank you very much.

EDITORS' NOTES TO THE YOUNGHUSBAND INTERVIEW

1 **The School Care Committee service** was set up in 1908 by the London County Council to provide a welfare service to London's school children, using large numbers of volunteers directly employed by the local authority. Published histories include: Willmott, P. *London's School Care Committee Service 1908-1989* in Voluntary Action Journal (6, 2 (Spring 2004, 95-110) and Jennings, H. (1930) *The Private Citizen in Public Social Work*. Allen & Unwin.

2 **Samuel Augustus Barnett** (1844–1913). Church of England clergyman and social reformer. Studied at Wadham College, Oxford. Was later admired by generations of university men for bringing them into direct contact with the problems of the urban poor. He was a co-founder of the Society for Repressing Mendicity and Organising Charity (better known as the Charity Organisation Society or COS) in 1869. **Henrietta Barnett** (1851 -1936) served alongside, but often disagreed with, Octavia Hill in her Marylebone housing work and there met her future husband Samuel. Theirs was a 'remarkable collaboration' in social reform when they worked together in St. Jude's parish, Whitechapel. She was directly involved in the foundation of Toynbee Hall and was its Manager for 17 years, in the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants (1876) and in the Children's Country Holiday Fund (1877). From 1903 she devoted herself to creating socially mixed housing in the planned community of Hampstead Garden Suburb -- where a girls' school is named in her honour – and to the care of her mentally disabled sister; and to an adopted daughter.

3 In 1884 Samuel Barnett launched **Toynbee Hall**, the university settlement in Whitechapel, a residential colony of university men, committed to no particular religious creed, who would live among the poor as friends, neighbours, social-scientific observers, and practical social workers. He served as Warden until 1906 and he kept his connections with Whitechapel throughout his life, though he resigned from St Jude's in 1893 to serve as a canon of Bristol, by which title he is best-known to posterity. He was also actively involved in many initiatives to improve the economic and material conditions of the poor,

including slum clearance and housing reforms such as the Artisans' Dwelling Act of 1875, old-age pensions, and labour farm colonies.

4 **Princess Marie Louise** was a grand- daughter of Queen Victoria who established the Girls' Club in Bermondsey, which served as a hospital in the first world war. It became Bede House in 1939, a settlement which is still operating. She was described as a "Patron of social services" in her obituary in *The Times,* Dec 10th 1956.

5 **The London School of Economics and Political Science** (informally, the London School of Economics or **LSE**) was founded in 1895, the moving Fabian spirits being Beatrice and Sidney Webb, Graham Wallas and George Bernard Shaw. The initial finance came from a bequest of £20,000 from the estate of Henry Hunt Hutchinson, a lawyer and member of the Fabian Society. He left the money in trust to be put "towards advancing its [The Fabian Society's] objects in any way they [the trustees] deem advisable". The aim of the School was the betterment of society through the study of social science subjects such as poverty and inequality.

The important role of the LSE in the development of social work education is referred to in several of the Cohen Interviews. The Charity Organisation Society (COS) sociology department - that had provided some theoretical training for social workers - was absorbed in 1912 into the LSE's new Department of Social Science and Administration. The range of courses later provided by the Department was described by David Donnison in 1975: "The Department was teaching about 300 students at this time (1956): about sixty were taking the Social Administration options in the second and third years of a course leading to an honours degree in sociology, ninety were taking a course leading to a Certificate in Social Science (later renamed the Diploma in Social Administration) and twenty five graduate students were taking the same course in one year. The Department also provided four one-year professional training courses designed in the main for graduates in social sciences: the Personnel Management course for about twenty five students, the Mental Health Course [established in 1929] for about thirty five students training for psychiatric social work, the Child Care Course for about twenty students training to work in local authorities' children's departments and involuntary child care organisations, and the Applied Social Studies Course for about twenty five students entering various branches of social work. A number of graduate students were reading for higher degrees, and various others were temporarily attached to the Department."

The School ceased to offer professional social work qualifications in 1998.

6 The **Charity Organisation Society** (**COS)** was founded in London in 1869 and led by Helen Bosanquet (1860–1925), social theorist and social reformer and Octavia Hill ((1838–1912), housing and social reformer. It supported the concept of self help and limited government intervention to deal with the effects of poverty. The organisation claimed to use "scientific principles to root out scroungers and target relief where it was most needed". It organised charitable grants and pioneered a volunteer home-visiting service that formed the basis for modern social work. The original COS philosophy later attracted

much criticism though some branches were much less doctrinaire than others. Gradually volunteer visitors were supplanted by paid staff. In 1938 the COS initiated the first Citizens' Advice Bureau, and continued to run CABx branches until the 1970s. The COS was renamed Family Welfare Association in 1946 and still operates today as Family Action a leading provider of support to disadvantaged families. [For more information, *see* Charles Loch Mowat *The Charity Organisation Society 1869-1913* (1961), Madeline Rooff *A Hundred Years of Family Welfare: A Study of the Family Welfare Association (Formerly Charity Organisation Society) 1869–1969* (Michael Joseph 1972) and Jane Lewis *The Voluntary Sector, the State and Social Work in Britain* (Brookfield 1995). Michael J.D. Roberts, in an article *'Charity Disestablished? The Origins of the Charity Organisation Society Revisited, 1868-1871'* in the Journal of Ecclesiastical History (CUP 2003, vol 54).

7 **Edith Ramsay** (1895-1983) was an educationalist and community worker who lived in Stepney for 60 years. She produced an anthology with Eileen Younghusband, *St. Joan* (1932). See also *Edith and Stepney: the Life of Edith Ramsay* by Bertha Sokoloff, Pluto , 1986.

8 **Bermondsey Settlement** was founded in 1892 by Rev. Scott Lidgett as the only Methodist Settlement at the time. It offered social, health and educational services to the poor. It closed in 1967.

9 **Time and Talents** was founded in 1887 to encourage young women ("of leisure and education") to make use of their time and abilities in the service of others. A number of Centres were set up, the first being in Edinburgh in 1889. The Bermondsey Settlement referred to by Rose Mary Braithwaite (Interviewee no 4), and other Cohen interviewees, developed from a Centre founded in the late 1890's. The activities included clubs for girls, welfare and safety activity with working girls, a hostel for 16 working girls and a country holiday cottage See: Daunt, M. (1989). *By Peaceful Means: the Story of Time and Talents, 1887 – 1987.*

10 **Leonard Trelawney Hobhouse** (1864-1929). Liberal politician and sociologist and one of the leading proponents of social liberalism. Appointed the first professor of sociology at the University of London in 1907

11 **Morris Ginsberg.** (1889-1970). Lithuanian born, graduated at University College London and was invited by L. T. Hobhouse to join him on the staff of LSE where he eventually became Reader and then Professor of Sociology. *Psychology and Society* (1921) and *Sociology* (1934) were among his publications.

12 **Harold Joseph Laski** (1893–1950). Marxist political theorist, academic, author and broadcaster. There exists a substantial literature about Laski--his political ideas, his influence on the British Labour Party and Labour Governments for 30 years, his radio broadcasts and his professorship at LSE from 1926 to 1950, the latter being most relevant to the brief references to him by some of Alan Cohen's interviewees.

13 **Bronislaw Malinowski** (1884-1942). After taking degrees in Germany he studied at the LSE 1910-14. In 1922 he was appointed lecturer at the LSE and later became professor of Anthropology

14 **Edvard Westermarck** (1862-1939) born in Finland he was a social anthropologist and philosopher. Professor of Sociology at the LSE, 1907-31 while he was also Professor of Practical Philosophy at University of Helsinki, 1906-18.

15 **Eileen Power** (1889-1940) Lecturer at LSE 1921-24, Reader at University of London 1924-31, Professor of Economic History at LSE 1931-38 and then at Cambridge

16 **T. H. Marshall** (1893 – 1981). Sociologist ,author and academic. Firstly a Fellow of Trinity College Cambridge then lecturer at LSE from 1919 to 1925. Was Head of the Social Science Department of LSE 1939 to 1944 and held a similar post at UNESCO from 1956 to 1960. Lectured and published extensively including his *Citizenship and Social Class* (1950) which was both influential and controversial.

17 **Bernard Hart** (1879-1966). The LSE Library contains three books by Bernard Hart: *The Psychology of Insanity,* 1914, The Psychology of Rumour, 1916 and Psychopathology, 1927.

18 **Hugh Dalton** (1887-1962) After Cambridge he studied at the LSE. Was elected MP for Peckham in 1924 and lectured at the LSE and the University of London from 1919. Was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1945 but had to resign in 1947 for leaking budget details to a journalist.

19 **Lionel Robbins** (1898-1984) graduated from the LSE in 1923 and spent all his working life there. Was Professor of Economics 1929-61 and continued on part-time basis until 1980. Best known for the *Robbins Report* 1963 which urged massive expansion of university education. Made a baron in 1959.

20 **Clement Attlee** (1883-1967) Taught at the LSE 1913-23 and became mayor of Stepney in 1919. Author of the 1920 book, *The Social Worker*, which took issue with the prevailing philosophy of the Charity Organisation Society. Was elected MP for Limehouse in 1922. Leader of the Labour Party 1935-1955 and Prime Minister 1945-51. .

21 **Sir William Clarke-Hall** (1866-1932) . Author of the text book on *Law Relating to Children and Young Persons* which was in its 7th edition by 1970. A progressive London Metropolitan magistrate, with strong Toynbee Hall connections, who advocated probation and other humane approaches to juvenile delinquency. His central belief was that crime was preventable and that the solutions to it should be remedial. He allied himself to fellow magistrates Cynthia Colville and Basil Henriques in promoting non-punitive ideas about the treatment of young offenders. They were strongly influenced by the growth of the Child Guidance movement and developments in child psychology. Gertrude Tuckwell (see note 38) described him as “protagonist of probation and the proper treatment of juvenile offenders” in *Probation Journal* Vol.1 (14) 1933.

22 **Dr. Hermann Mannheim** (1889 –1974). Was born in Germany and studied at four Universities before practising law and later becoming both a judge and a professor. At the age of 44, faced with the rise of the Nazis, he emigrated to England and took up an honorary post as Lecturer at LSE and gave important lectures on criminology. See: *Criminology in Transition***:** *essays in honour of Hermann Mannheim*. Tavistock Publications. 1965.

23 **Charles Mostyn Lloyd** a barrister who was Head of the Department of Social Administration at the LSE 1922-44. A prize is awarded in his name for outstanding performance at MSc level.

24 **Mental Health Course** frequent **The Mental Health Diploma Course at the LSE**. This one year course was established in 1929 with financial aid from the Commonwealth Fund in the USA and this support continued until the 1940's. However, as Professor John Stewart has established by researching the archives of both organisations, the relationship was a complex one and not without difficulties. The senior staff of the Commonwealth Fund had had strong views on how the course should be run – particularly in relation to the course content and the experience and qualifications of admitted students - while the LSE wished to maintain its independence. However, threats to withdraw funding were not carried through and the course became established. For a considerable period this was the only course of its kind in the UK and hence carried considerable prestige. It formed a focus for the expansion of the profession of psychiatric social work from a very low base: in 1930 the newly formed Association of Psychiatric Social Workers had only 17 members. The curriculum included the different existing strands of psychiatric theory and practice; intra-family relationships; and disorders of childhood. Those qualifying went into, or returned to, a variety of work settings; child guidance, mental hospitals, local authorities and voluntary agencies. Over the years the influence of this course gradually spread. For a fuller discussion see: Stewart, J. (2006). *Psychiatric Social Work in inter-war Britain: American ideas, American philanthropy*. Michael Quarterly. www.dnms.no and Noel Timms (1964). *Psychiatric Social Work in Great Britain: 1939-62***.**

25 The **English Poor Laws** were a system of poor relief which existed in England and Wales that developed out of late-medieval and Tudor-era laws before being codified in 1587–98. The Poor Law system was in existence until the emergence of the modern welfare state after the Second World War.

English Poor Law legislation can be traced back as far as 1536, when legislation was passed to deal with the impotent poor, although there is much earlier Tudor legislation dealing with the problems caused by vagrants and beggars. The history of the Poor Law in England and Wales is usually divided between two statutes, the Old Poor Law passed during the reign of Elizabeth and the New Poor Law, passed in 1834, which significantly modified the existing system of poor relief. The later statute altered the Poor Law system from one which was administered haphazardly at a local parish level to a highly centralised system which encouraged the large scale development of workhouses by Poor Law Unions.

The Poor Law system fell into decline at the beginning of the 20th century owing to factors such as the introduction of the Liberal welfare reforms and the availability of other sources of assistance from friendly societies and trade unions, as well as piecemeal reforms which bypassed the Poor Law system. The Poor Law system was not formally abolished until the National Assistance Act 1948, with parts of the law remaining on the statute book until 1967.

26 **The Minority Report** was one of two reports published by the Royal Commission into the Operation of the Poor Laws and the Relief of Distress 1905-09. The minority members of the Commission were led by the Fabian socialist Beatrice Webb and the future leader of the Labour Party, George Lansbury. They proposed that a national system of poor relief should be fundamentally different from the existing Poor Law. They believed that it was quite wrong to expect all adults in poverty to be entirely accountable for themselves. However in the short term Minority Report did not carry the day as most of its proposals were disregarded by the new Liberal Government of 1906 when implementing their own reforms. However the Minority Report had a longer term influence on radical thinking both on the Beveridge Report of 1942 and on the programme of the 1945 Labour Government.

27 **Majority Report .** The Royal Commission into the Operation of the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress 1905-09 was the body set up by the British Parliament in order to investigate how the Poor Law system should be changed. The commission included Poor Law guardians, members of the Charity Organisation Society, members of local government boards as well as the social researchers Charles Booth and Beatrice Webb.

The Commission spent four years investigating and eventually produced two conflicting reports known as the *Majority Report* and the *Minority Report*. As the basis of the two reports was in such contrast the Liberal Party were able to ignore both when implementing their Liberal reforms package.

The Commission was set up by an outgoing Conservative government and was chaired by Lord George Hamilton. The scale of the enquiry was considerable with huge volumes of documentary evidence collected. Although the two reports produced came from opposing political ideologies, there was some degree of consensus that the existing 1834 Poor Law should not continue. Each had a wish to standardise provision and each recognised that much poverty was involuntary – the frail elderly, the chronically sick and young children could not be lumped together with fit adults whose poverty was primarily caused by unemployment.

28 **Relieving Officers** were employed by the Poor Law Union to receive applications for relief and make payments when approved by the Board of Guardians. ROs could also issue orders to admit people to the workhouse.

29 **William Beveridge** (1879-1963) was an economist, writer and academic. Joined the Board of Trade in 1908 and became an authority on unemployment. He had become interested in this and other social issues through working at Toynbee hall in 1903 where he had close contact with Sydney and Beatrice Webb. He was Director of the LSE 1919-37 but resigned in 1937. This was thought to be over his serious interest in eugenics, he was a

member of the Eugenics Society. **The Beveridge Report on Social Insurance and Allied Services** (1942) was part of the foundation of the welfare state.

29a **Richard Henry Tawney** (1880- 1962) was an outstanding economic historian, a socially engaged Christian, a socialist , an author, university teacher and a leading advocate for adult education. He made a major impact in all of these fields. After graduation from Oxford in 1903 he lived and worked at Toynbee Hall in east London for a time alongside his friend William Beveridge. Early in his career he came to the firm belief that charity alone would not solve the nation's social problems and that major structural change would be required. Lecturer at the London School of Economics for 14 years to 1931 and thereafter Professor of Economic History at the School until his retirement in 1949. A champion of the Workers' Educational Association; and .author of *Secondary Education for All* (1922) and Education: the Socialist Policy. Other widely read books by Tawney are: *The Acquisitive Society* (1920), *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (1926) and *Equality* (1931)

30 **Probation Training Board** was set up in 1936 to establish a pattern of 12 weeks training. It had followed a Home Office Departmental Committee in 1935 which had made renewed pleas for training

31 **John Spencer** (1915-1978) Lectured in Social Science at the LSE 1946-53 and left to carry out an action research project at Bristol. Taught at Toronto University 1959-67. Was the first Professor of Social Administration at Edinburgh University 1967- 78.

32 **Rainer Foundation and House.** The Rainer Foundation was the name chosen for the Church of England Temperance Society in 1939 when the Home Office assumed full responsibility for the probation service. It was named in honour of Frederick Rainer who had earlier prompted the Society to get involved in police court work. The Foundation developed into a charity providing residential and other care for young offenders. Subsequently merged with other charities.

33 **Institute of Almoners** frequent Institute of Medical Social Workers (IMSW) was the main professional body for social workers attached to hospitals in the United Kingdom. It was established from two separate associations of hospital almoners. The Almoners' Committee was established in 1903 and successively changed its name to the Hospital Almoners' Committee in 1911, the Association of Hospital Almoners in 1920, and the Hospital Almoners' Association in 1927. The Hospital Almoners' Council was established in 1907 to handle the selection, training and employment of almoners and changed its name to the Institute of Hospital Almoners in 1922. The two amalgamated as the Institute of Almoners in 1945, and this changed its name to the Institute of Medical Social Workers in 1964. Merged with others to form BASW in 1970.

34 **Eleanor Florence Rathbone** (1872-1946). Social reformer, researcher and campaigner:, she worked alongside her father, until his death in 1902, to investigate social and industrial conditions in Liverpool. She was elected as an independent member of Liverpool City Council in 1909 and served until 1934. In 1903 Rathbone began working with the Victoria Women's Settlement,

which had opened in 1898 and was now expanding. In 1902 the settlement had appointed a dynamic new warden, Elizabeth Macadam (1871–1948), a Scottish social worker who had trained at London's Women's University Settlement in South London. In 1929 Rathbone entered Parliament as an independent MP and campaigned for cheap milk and better benefits for the children of the unemployed. In 1945, the year before her death, she saw the Family Allowances Act pass into law.

35 **Elizabeth Macadam,** (1871–1948). Social worker and close colleague of Eleanor Rathbone. She lived for a time at the Women's Settlement in Canning Town, she was awarded a scholarship to train in social work at the Women's University Settlement in South London and then was hired to become Warden of the Victoria Women's Settlement in Liverpool, a position she held for eight years. Assisted by Emily Oliver Jones and Eleanor Rathbone, she improved the settlement's organization and finances and also altered its philosophy and direction. In 1904 the Settlement launched a training programme for social workers that combined lectures on poverty, child welfare, and civic administration with a course of practical work undertaken in collaboration with municipal and voluntary associations. She also wrote several significant works on the development of this new field, publishing in 1925 *The Equipment of the Social Worker*, a study of the evolution of training for social work; and in 1934 *The New Philanthropy,* a survey of the complex and evolving relations between state and voluntary efforts.

36 **Factories Act 1937** The Factory Acts had been a long series of Acts to limit the hours worked by women and children in all industries. The 1937 Act consolidated and amended the Factory and Workshop Acts 1901-29

37 **Factories Bill Campaign** was a committee of the British Association for Labour Legislation urging the early introduction of the 1937 Factories Bill and making observations on various clauses. R H Tawney was the lead author describing the campaign in the BMJ Oct 31st 1936

38 **Gertrude Tuckwell** (1861-1951) Trade Union organiser and campaigner for women's rights. Secretary to her aunt, the suffragette Emilia Dilke. Secretary of the Women's Trade Union League in 1891, and President in 1905. President of the National Federation of Women Workers in 1908. One of the first women to be a JP.

39 **Amicia Carroll** (1905-1990) Political secretary to Ronald Tree MP and to Lady Astor. Was the first County Children's Officer for Hampshire and went on to work for United Nations Relief Organisation in China

40 **Rosamund Tweedie** was honorary secretary to the Factories Bill Campaign. In 1936 she wrote *Consider her Palaces- a study of the Housing Problem of Lower Paid Single Women Workers in London* for the Over Thirty Association

41 **Helen Waddell** wrote the campaign pamphlet *For Better Factory Laws,* 1937

42 **Citizens Advice Bureau (CAB)** is one of a network of independent charities throughout the UK that give free, confidential information and advice on money, legal, consumer and other problems. The origins of the modern Citizens Advice service can be traced back to the *Betterton Report on Public Assistance* (1924) recommending that advice centres should be set up to offer members of the public advice to help them with their problems. During the 1930s, as preparations and plans were drawn up for the possibility of war, the voluntary sector's role was determined. The National Council of Social Services (NCSS) called a meeting in 1938 in which plans to establish 'Citizens Aid Bureaux' were devised in the event of war. The first 200 bureaux opened in September 1939 immediately after Great Britain declared war.

43 **National Council of Girls' Clubs** began in 1911, became National Association of Girls' Clubs and Mixed Clubs in 1944, National Association of Youth Clubs in 1961, Youth Clubs UK 1987 and UK Youth 2001

44 **Sir George Haynes** (1902-83). A distinguished social services administrator who began his career in a slum area of Liverpool as a schoolmaster and then as Warden Liverpool University Settlement. He joined the regional staff of the National Council of Social Services (NCSS) and became Deputy Secretary in 1936 and Director in 1940. Led the NCSS effort to expand the Citizens Advice Bureau (CABx) network from 1939 onwards and initiated an important series of publications on major social issues. In the post-war period he assisted the formation of several national charities

45 **Ben Astbury** joined the staff of the Charity Organisation Society in 1930, long before the name change to Family Welfare Association. He was appointed as General Secretary of FWA and served a member of the editorial board of *Social Work* for several years.

46 **Mrs. Walter Elliott,** Katherine or 'K' Tennant (1903-94) was from a very well connected Liberal family. She married a Conservative politician and became one in her own right. Appointed the first woman life peer and became Baroness Elliot of Harwood. Of her many public positions the most relevant to this interview are her Chairmanship of the National Association of Mixed Clubs and Girls Clubs 1939-49; and the Chairmanship of the Advisory Committee on Child Care for Scotland 1956-65

47 **National Youth Service** The Board of Education issued two key circulars. One (1486) undertook "a direct responsibility for youth welfare" and the other (1516) set out "The Challenge of Youth". R. A .Butler was President of the Board 1941-44 and then Minister of Education 1944-45

48 **National Association of Mixed Clubs** see note 43 above

49 **Carnegie Reports.** Eileen Younghusband wrote two Reports arising from Inquiries funded by the Carnegie Trust. The first, published in 1947, was on *the Employment and Training of Social Workers* and it was generally agreed after publication that its assumptions and conclusions had been overtaken by the legislation passed from 1945 onwards. Basically, the demand for social workers had been underestimated. This necessitated a second, supplementary Report: which she worked on during 1950: *Social Work in*

Britain. A supplementary report on the employment and training of social workers. Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, 1951. But even here she felt obliged to say, “It is significant that that the estimated annual demand in 1950 is more than double that of 1945; although for three groups – caseworkers, mental welfare workers, youth leaders…- no forecast of demand is possible in 1950”.

50 **1944 Education Act.** A White Paper on reform of the school system in England and Wales was unopposed in the House of Commons in 1943. This encouraged the President of the Board of Education, R. A .Butler, to introduce a Bill in January 1944 which became law in May of that year. The Act introduced a root and branch reform of the way state-aided schools were managed and financed ; and it effectively opened up greater access to secondary education for working class students, especially girls, given that local education authorities previously were not obliged to provide secondary education. The school leaving age was raised to 15; and school meals and free milk were introduced. There has been a wide consensus that the Act was a huge beneficial reform. But the tripartite hierarchy of grammar, technical and secondary modern schools, underpinned by the 11-plus examination, attracted considerable and increasing criticism as the 1950’s progressed.

51 **Alice Saloman** (1872-1948) German social reformer and pioneer of social work as an academic discipline. Active in women’s associations in Germany. In 1929 established the International Committee of Social work. In 1937 made an international comparison of over 100 social work educational settings. Expelled from Germany in 1937 and went to New York. Commemorative stamp issued in Germany in her memory.

52 **Colonial Social Welfare Advisory Committee** was established in March 1943 to advise the Secretary of State for the Colonies on various problems including the training of social welfare workers. The Duke of Devonshire was the chairman. Lettice Harford (Interviewee no 11) was a member and Eileen Younghusband was listed as Principal Officer for Training and Employment, National Association of Girls’ Clubs.

53 **The 1948 Children Act** was concerned with providing care for children with the consent of their parents, or for children who had no parents. Children who were neglected or ill-treated or in "moral danger" could be committed to the care of a local authority under the Children and Young Persons Act 1933 and other legislation. These two routes into local authority care were unified in the Children and Young Persons Act 1969. The Local Authority Social Services Act 1971 integrated separate local authority departments, including Children's Departments, into Social Services Departments (SSDs) which were intended to serve the needs of the family as a whole, being responsible for the old, handicapped and mentally ill as well for children. Increasing emphasis was placed on support for the family and preventive work (the Children and Young Persons Act 1963 had, for the first time, given local authorities powers to spend money on help and support to families in order to prevent reception into care). Central government responsibility for social service matters rested with the Department of Health and Social Security (DHSS).

54 **National Assistance Act and National Assistance Board.** The National Assistance Act of 1948 was one of the major welfare reforms of the Attlee government and the National Assistance Board (NAB) was a mechanism for sweeping away the harshness of the previous Poor Law with its Public Assistance Committees and means testing. While insured workers could obtain benefits by right, the NAB's function was to assess the needs of the uninsured and make payments to them. The NAB took over from the old Public Assistance Committees and for the first time, without the earnings of their families being considered, claimants were interviewed to see what kind of help they needed. Means testing was ended.

55 **Richard Titmuss.** (1907--1973). One of his generation's most original and influential academics who was appointed to a professorship in social administration at the LSE in 1950 despite having no formal academic qualifications. In his 23 years at LSE he raised the profile of social administration and strongly influenced the development of social work and other public services such as the NHS. Among his many publications are: *Essays on the Welfare State* (1958), *Commitment to Welfare* (1968) and *The Gift Relationship: From Human Blood to Social Policy* (1970).

56 **The 1968 Seebohm Committee and Report.** (Home Office. *Report of the Committee on Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services*. [Chairman, Frederic Seebohm, later Baron Seebohm (1909–1990), banker and philanthropist.] London, HMSO (Cmd, 3703) which gave birth to the new local social services departments in England and Wales in 1971. The Report recommended that an essential feature of these departments was that they should be unified in character; that service users would have to enter only one door rather than apply to several; and that services should be integrated under a single management structure, but accessible through local area offices. This inevitably led to comment and debate about the implied loss of specialist knowledge and expertise.

57 **Younghusband Working Party and Younghusband Report .** This Working Party, set up in 1956 with the long-winded title, has almost always been referred with EY's name attached rather than the official title. By the same token, its 1959 published outcome (not to be confused with the two earlier Carnegie Reports) was officially the *Report of the Working Party on Social Workers in the Local Authority, Health and Welfare Fields* but always subsequently referred to as the "Younghusband Report". Karen Lyons in her appreciation of EY (in the online journal *Social Work and Society*, Vol. 6, no 1, 2008) cites EY's later comment on the existing social work provision: "a rag bag of activities after the upheaval of dismantling the Poor Law in 1948". "Chaotic, with some good work, some pointless and some damaging. No sense of direction based on evidence and …no preventive work".

The Report cited other inadequacies in the prevailing social work services - a general lack of staff supervision, of case reviews and of adequate records – and concluded that there had to be a very substantial increase in training courses. The existing post-graduate courses in universities could not supply the quantity of trained people required and so the Report recommended the introduction of a two year diploma course to be delivered by polytechnics and

other bodies outside the university system. This came to pass as did a new structure for assessing and validating the new courses.

58 **Katherine (Kit) Russell** (1909–1998). Social worker and university teacher. On leaving school at the age of seventeen, she at first combined running the family household with voluntary work in the impoverished dockside area of Bermondsey, in south London. The Time and Talents Settlement, started in 1887 by Christian society ladies, gave her early opportunities. In 1931 she went to the London School of Economics (LSE) and in 1933, having gained the Certificate in Social Science, she became the Warden of the Time and Talents club house in Dockhead. She remained a devoted supporter of the Settlement and admirer of Bermondsey people until the end of her life.

In 1937 she was recruited by the London Council of Social Service to organize community activities on the new Honor Oak housing estate in Lewisham, but following the outbreak of the Second World War she moved in 1940 to become Warden of a youth centre in Southampton, a city by then suffering heavily from German bombing. In 1945 she took charge of five emergency courses run by the Institute of Almoners to ease the shortage of hospital social workers in Britain and in 1949 moved on to the Social Science Department at the LSE, first as practical work organiser, later as senior lecturer. She retired in 1973, but continued as president of the LSE Society for many years. After retirement in 1973 she a detailed questionnaire to 2000 past LSE social administration students and the published result was *Changing Course* (1981).

59 **Central Training Council in Child Care.** In 1948 the Central Training Council in Child Care was set up under the aegis of the Home Office Children's Department. In 1971 the Central Council for Education and Training in Social work was set up as an independent quango, superseding the CTCCC. That too was wound up in 2001 and responsibility for training moved on to other organisations

60 **Advisory Council in Child Care** was one of the committees set up by the Home Office to advise on its responsibilities for child care

61 **Probation and Advisory Training Board** was formed in 1949 replacing the Probation Advisory Committee and the probation Training Board

62 **Council for Training in Social Work** existed between 1962 and 1971 and awarded recognised Certificates in Social Work for completed training in some specialist areas of social work. Predecessor body to CCETSW.