

THE ROUGH & THE FAIRWAY

AN ENQUIRY BY THE
AGENDA CLUB INTO
THE PROBLEM OF
THE GOLF CADDIE

LONDON
WILLIAM HEINEMANN
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THE HISTORY OF
THE

THE ROUGH AND
THE FAIRWAY



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An Enquiry by the Agenda Club
into the Golf Caddie
Problem



MCMXII
WILLIAM HEINEMANN
LONDON

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Preface

PREFACE.

THIS little book attempts to put the Problem of the Golf Caddie seriously before the public. For years every golfer has known that there is such a problem, but it is only lately that he has begun to realize that the duty of solving it rests entirely upon himself; the duty, because with him alone lies the means. He can hardly be blamed for having let the matter rest so long. For the most part he comes straight from his business to the course, and it is natural that he should consider that the only problem before him as a golfer is the interesting one of reducing his handicap. He pays his caddie the agreed wage; he tips his caddie; and, as far as the exigencies of the game allow, he is polite to his caddie. What more can be expected of him? Well, the day is gone when we might have answered him "Nothing." There is a new spirit abroad. It is beginning to be recognized that the liberty allowed to the individual does not free him of all duties towards the State; that indeed he can only remain legally free so long as he holds himself morally bound. And so to-day even the golfer (always held up as "soulless" by those who have not yet learnt to play) is inspired with the feeling that something more is required of him; that the account as between himself and his caddie implies a further account as between himself and the State; and that the first account cannot honourably be settled without some reference to the second.

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To the golfer, then, this book is primarily addressed. He has shown that he is ready to consider the problem; in the following pages the problem is put plainly before him. But, inasmuch as the State is concerned in his manner of dealing with it, so is the non-golfer concerned. It is in the hope that the non-golfer will be very much concerned that these pages are addressed also to him. If he is to bring the right pressure upon the golfer, he must understand just what the matter is. Besides, he will probably be a golfer himself to-morrow.

Now, every player knows the reason of the caddie's existence, but the man who doesn't play is a little vague about it. He thinks of the caddie as a small boy who carries the clubs of the man who is too lazy to carry them himself; that there is a Caddie Problem at all seems to him sheer wilfulness. "Why not carry your clubs yourself?" he asks. Perhaps for his sake it would be as well to explain the exact relationship between the caddie and the game.

Most of the golf played round London is played during the week-end. Stand by the first tee on a fine Sunday in May and you will find yourself in the company of some fifty or sixty golfers waiting their turn to begin. Two of them have just driven off, and, accompanied by their caddies, are now walking after their balls. You observe those keen players A and B taking their places on the tee. Let us follow them for a hole or two.

A's caddie hands A his driver and places his ball on a little pyramid of sand. A drives. Probably he

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means to send the ball two hundred yards down the middle of the course, but by some mistake he pulls it a hundred and fifty yards round to the left. B, on the other hand, pushes his accidentally a hundred yards to the right. They walk off in their different directions. Now B is strange to the course. There may be many dangers between him and the hole of which he has no certain knowledge. It is possible that from his new position he may not be able to see the green. He may be vague about his distance from the one obvious bunker in front of him and doubtful whether he can "carry" it. Shall he play short with an iron or go for it with a brassy? Upon all these points he would like to consult A, but, even if the rules allowed this, A is far away to the left; and on the tee behind there are impatient people waiting for him to play his second shot.

Fortunately he has his caddie. The caddie knows every blade of grass on the course, every dip in the ground. He warns B of the dangers to be avoided; he tells him his distance from the bunker; he advises him which club to use. Under the caddie's guidance B progresses happily towards the green, arriving there simultaneously with A who has travelled by a different route. It is a large green and A is on the right-hand edge of it, fifteen yards from the flag, with B on the left-hand the same distance away. There are still two impatient people behind them; namely those superior players C and D who think they can reach the green with their next

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strokes and must needs wait till A and B have finished with it. Fortunately for their peace of mind A and B have caddies. It is not necessary for B to walk fifteen yards to the hole, remove the flag, and then walk fifteen yards back to his ball. A caddie is already at the flag; no time need be wasted; first A and then B can "putt"—B under instructions from his caddie to keep well to the right of the hole because of the almost imperceptible slope.

We must not follow these keen players through the whole round, because they are always nervous in front of spectators; but we really ought to see A slice his ball into the rough grass on the way to the second green. He always slices this shot, and the rough grass is really very rough indeed. A, poor fellow, is a little short-sighted. Moreover he has a theory that if he keeps his eye (such as it is) firmly fixed on the place where the ball was when he was hitting at it, he is more likely to make a successful stroke. Consequently he is really rather undecided as to which spot in all this jungle of tall grasses his ball has chosen. And there are C and D behind, as impatient as ever. But A's caddie is not at all undecided; he saw the ball the whole way. He has an eye like a hawk, and he is a wonderful judge of distance. He walks straight to the spot and offers A a niblick. Perhaps we had better leave A there. . . .

It is to be hoped that the non-golfer is now beginning to understand that caddying is far from being mere carrying. The caddie owes his existence to more than his master's laziness. If he is to be abolished he

Preface

will have to take with him the professional bowler, the loader, the marker at tennis and a host of others who help the amateur with his games. And, when these go, the valet and the lady's maid will begin to tremble on their backstairs thrones.

Now it is distinctly without the scope of this little book to inquire into the value to the State of these parasitic services. But there are special circumstances which demand an inquiry into the economic conditions of caddying. Caddying, as will be shown, provides a living wage for the boy only, and the boy caddie is living in the blindest of alleys. Telegraph boys, we have been told, are the young of postmen; and some people may think that caddies are the young of professional golfers. This is far from being true. For one caddie who becomes a professional, a hundred are turned adrift at the beginning of manhood, not only unfit for work, but entirely unwilling to consider it.

Can their lives be saved for the State? Well, that is the Caddie Problem, which it is the business of the public, and particularly of golfers, to settle. In the following pages a solution of the problem is suggested. But it is mainly the intention of this book to explain clearly and without prejudice the facts as they are; there is no desire to insist on any particular remedy. What is wanted first is to bring home to every golfer the exact state of the case, and to help him to realize his responsibility for it. When this is done the Caddie Problem will be a problem no longer.

A.A.M.

NOTE.

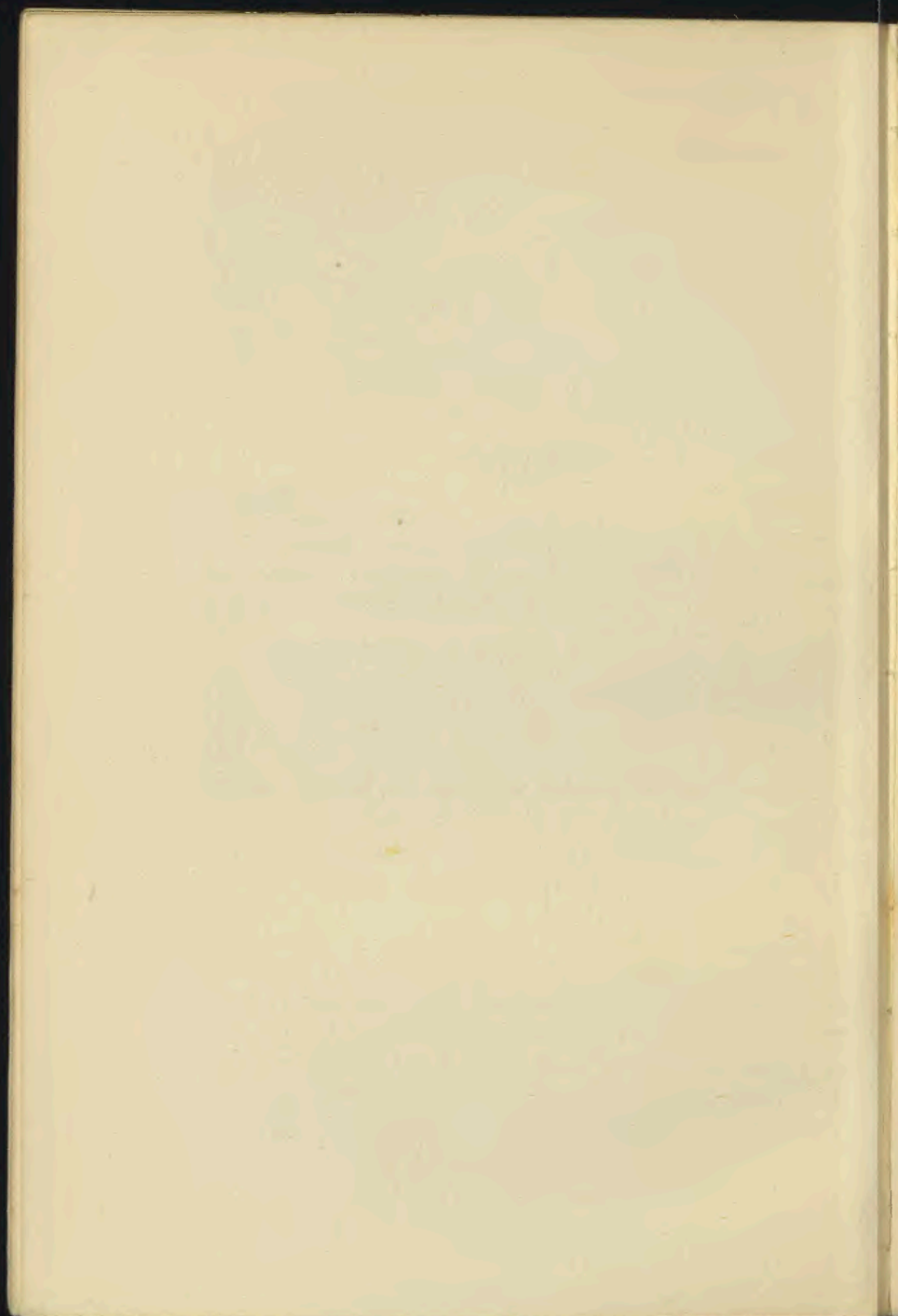
THE Report on the employment of golf caddies is the work of a special committee of the Agenda Club appointed by the Board of Control.

28 Fleet Street,
London, E.C.

July, 1912.

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REPORT OF THE AGENDA CLUB

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE origin of this report is to be found in a scheme presented to the Agenda Club by a member who has given much thought to the question of the better education of boys, and whose personal views are outlined in the contribution by him which will be found below (p. 129).

When the Agenda Club was first asked to consider that scheme, the golf caddie's affairs had already been discussed with some freedom. The non-golfing public, forgetting the large number of undesirable trades which still served its own convenience, was crying out against the scandal of employing boy caddies and (what was more important) a movement in aid of caddies was already in progress among golfers. The beginnings of this had been seen some years before at certain golf clubs, where the energy and foresight of individuals had brought about reforms; notably at Sunningdale, on the initiative of Mr H. S. Colt. But it was not till the Caddies' Aid Association was founded early in 1911 by Mr Mark Allerton that any general movement was to be observed.

The first object of this Association was to call the attention of golfers to the fact that all was not well with the caddie; till that had been realized it was useless to insist on any particular line of reform, or to criticize too closely any methods that were at least based on the right spirit. By the time that the

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Caddies' Aid Association held its first meeting it was evident that much had been accomplished in the way of bringing home the question to the persons most concerned; it appeared also that much more had been done by a few individual clubs than either golfers or non-golfers had known; the schemes mentioned at that meeting and subsequently collected in the first Report of that Association were encouraging examples of pioneer work.

It was however easier to make the golfer uncomfortable than to provide him with an immediate solution of his new perplexities. With the best will in the world to put his house in order, he found himself confronted by the fact that he did not know very well how to set about it. The experiments of which he had been told varied much, and were those of clubs often differently situated from his own; when he began to look about him for remedies suited to the conditions known to him, he found it difficult to decide what particular end to aim at, and how to achieve it.

Here, it seemed, was a matter in which the Agenda Club could help. It was in a position to do some of the hard work of collecting facts and comparing methods; it could submit, for what it was worth, a considered opinion as to the lines on which reform could most hopefully be started; and could so put the matter before non-golfers that they should be inclined to co-operate with the golf clubs.

The results arrived at are contained in this Report. It could never have been prepared if it had

Introductory Note

not been for the courtesy of the golf clubs themselves. The thanks of the Committee are due to all those who have made it possible to gather together the requisite material, and who have answered inquiries which might well have seemed meddlesome.

The Report itself is divided into two parts for greater convenience. The conclusions to which the Committee has come and the recommendations it makes are set out first in a summarized form. Afterwards will be found an account of the material dealt with, followed by a fairly full analysis of the requirements of a golf club, the way in which those requirements are met, and the chief factors in what is known as the Caddie Problem. In this connexion the various attempts that have been made to improve the conditions are fully examined, and much space has necessarily been devoted to a consideration of the economic conditions which have to be taken into account.

In attempting to present clearly a mass of detail, without omitting anything that might be of practical value, it has been difficult to avoid some repetition; but it is hoped that the index will enable the reader to refer easily to any special point.

Although the Committee has by no means limited its investigations to the neighbourhood of London, it only claims to speak authoritatively about the conditions in that neighbourhood. But it feels confident that most of its observations will be found to apply with almost equal force to the provinces.

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CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Committee finds that certain facts are established and feels justified in making certain recommendations.

CONCLUSIONS.

The facts are as follows :

I. CADDIES ARE A NECESSITY.

The proper conduct of a golf club requires the services of a considerable number of regular caddies, not engaged in outside work, as well as of a much larger number of caddies who only attend at fixed intervals, or on special occasions. It is chiefly on Saturday and Sunday that the larger demand occurs (pp. 22, 24). Sunday employment is usual, and is defended on facts which deserve consideration (pp. 34, 35).

II. AGE OF CADDIES.

The majority of caddies are boys or quite young men; the proportion of middle-aged men is not large, and they are usually found scattered among the younger caddies. The indiscriminate mixing of all ages is a common practice. Schoolboys are the staple of the Saturday and Sunday supply, but men of all

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ages and characters are also employed on these days (pp. 25-30).

III. TIME DURING WHICH CADDIES ARE IDLE.

Roughly speaking, about two-thirds of the time during which a regular caddie attends a golf club is spent in waiting about. An examination of the books of certain typical clubs shows that the regular caddies who attend seven days a week are in the aggregate employed in carrying clubs for only nine rounds, occupying twenty-two and a half hours a week on an average throughout the year. It is calculated that four of these nine rounds occur on Saturday and Sunday, and that the remaining five occur between Monday and Friday. This means that the regular caddies are usefully employed for only two and a half hours for each of these five days, and are idle for the remaining time they are in attendance at the club, which is from about 9 a.m. till dusk.

The actual number of hours of useful employment varies greatly between one club and another, from day to day, and between one season of the year and another, the minimum being eight and a half hours and the maximum thirty-five hours per week of seven days for the clubs in question. Even under the most favourable conditions the actual employment of caddies in carrying clubs falls far short of the time they are in attendance, and of the

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usual hours worked in regular occupations or trades (pp. 46-54).

IV. PAYMENT AND EARNINGS.

The caddie is paid for carrying clubs in one or other of the following ways:

(a) By the round, i.e. on a piece-work basis.

(b) By the round, with a guarantee that should the earnings for the whole week or month fall short of a fixed minimum the difference will be paid by the club.

(c) By a guaranteed minimum wage per week, with permission to keep what is earned per round above a fixed number of rounds per week, or part of a week; the earnings for the fixed number of rounds being retained by the club.

(d) By a fixed weekly wage irrespective of the number of rounds for which he carries.

The unmodified piece-work system is most generally in force, but examples of the minimum, guaranteed, and fixed wage systems are found at clubs which include some of the largest and best known.

An examination of the books of certain typical clubs shows that the piece-work earnings of the permanent caddies attending seven days in the week amount in the aggregate

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for these clubs to 9s. 9d. per week (the payment being 1s. 1d. per round for the nine rounds mentioned in paragraph III above) when averaged throughout the year. The actual earnings vary with the hours of employment referred to above, and also with the payment per round, which is far from uniform at different clubs, the highest weekly earnings being 21s. and the lowest 3s. 5d., taking the clubs separately. It is estimated that extras, in the form of tips and food allowance, raise the aggregate yearly average of earnings from 9s. 9d. to 12s. 9d. per week. This is for twenty-two and a half hours' employment in a week of seven days. It is true that the work is unevenly distributed, and also the earnings, if paid on a piece-work basis, but it is clear that the wages, if averaged for the year, are higher than in most blind-alley occupations for boys, while the amount of time spent in actual work is much less (pp. 46-54).

V. SHELTER AND FOOD.

The provision of shelter and food and the sanitary arrangements are generally inadequate (pp. 31, 32).

VI. PROSPECTS OF YOUNG CADDIES.

The prospects of the young caddie in after life are usually not good. Apart from enlistment in the Army or Navy, which absorb only a small

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number, the work which can be obtained by a caddie is usually limited to odd jobs, got through private patronage, or to work connected with the game itself. The former opening cannot be relied upon; the latter is very restricted (pp. 35-38).

VII. DEMORALIZING FEATURES OF EMPLOYMENT.

In most cases under existing conditions, where special steps have not been taken to improve them, employment as a regular caddie is harmful to a boy for the following reasons:

(a) He is actively employed for only a part (about one-third to one-half) of the time he has to be in attendance near the club house, and is consequently idling for many hours a day, just at the time in his life when he ought to be learning the habit of industry and developing his strength and character by regular work (pp. 51-54).

(b) He earns on the average more money than he could at other occupations open to him, but these earnings vary so greatly from week to week and between one time of year and another that he is likely either to have insufficient to keep himself or so much as to tempt him to be extravagant. This fact, together with the long hours of idleness, leads frequently to gambling (pp. 51-54, 34).

(c) He learns to count on tips as a means

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of making a living. Their amount is uncertain, but often excessive and out of all proportion to the work done to obtain them.

(d) He is brought in contact with men of bad character who are confirmed loafers, whose influence may be most harmful, particularly during the time he is idle (pp. 25-30).

(e) He has little or no prospect of improving his position and loses all ambition (pp. 35-38).

RECOMMENDATIONS.

On these facts, and on a consideration of the evidence, the Committee bases the following recommendations:

I. MEN AND BOYS NOT TO BE EMPLOYED TOGETHER.

Any attempt to organize the employment of caddies can only prove satisfactory if:

(a) Grown men alone are employed; or

(b) Boys between the ages of fourteen and eighteen alone are employed.

The practice of employing boys and men indiscriminately together as caddies is to be avoided. Where a club wishes to employ men it should employ men only. Where a club wishes as a general rule to employ boys, it might engage

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one or two men of known good character and proper qualifications to assist the caddie-master in keeping order, and, if a training scheme is adopted, to help in it.

II. EMPLOYMENT OF MEN.

The policy of employing men, when examined, involves an increase of wages or earnings for the permanent caddies sufficient to provide a living wage for a man, or a restriction of choice to men receiving pensions, such as the ex-soldier and ex-seaman. Otherwise it means employing men temporarily out of employment, or those who, having become unfitted for their former occupation, or for regular employment at a living wage, are for that reason forced to take less than a living wage (pp. 56-59).

A club wishing to employ men as regular caddies should be in touch with accredited sources of supply, such as agencies for the employment of men of the pensioner class, and must endeavour to secure them adequate and uniform earnings by means of a fixed or guaranteed minimum wage, and should also be prepared to undertake the management of some adequate provident scheme.

III. EMPLOYMENT OF BOYS.

A club wishing to employ boys as regular caddies ought to secure them proper environ-

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ment and proper food; also to take steps to train them for after employment, and so remove the reproach attached to a blind-alley occupation. Such training is rendered possible by the peculiar conditions, shown to be inherent in the occupation of the caddie, which entail many hours of idleness but at the same time provide good earnings for a boy; in fact, by the very conditions that at present are demoralizing. The training to be satisfactory must be compulsory and must include regular practical work under proper supervision and discipline and with proper instruction. The work must be such as will at all times afford employment for the caddies when not carrying clubs or engaged on the course. Suitable evening classes should be arranged for, and the caddies' attendance made compulsory.

IV. CHOICE OF TRAINING SYSTEM.

Any attempt to start and organize a suitable training system must take into account:

- (a) the means at the disposal of the golf club, and
- (b) the subsequent opportunities of employment offered to the man who has undergone such training.

In these respects a training in the minor forms of agriculture is possible, and the most

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promising. With this may usefully be coupled some training in the rougher forms of carpentry, though this alone does not offer equal advantages (pp. 83-89).

V. JUSTIFICATION FOR EMPLOYING BOYS.

The condition of boy-labour generally in England is such that a scheme for the improvement of the economic position of golf caddies is not open to objection merely on the ground that it is a dangerous palliative. The proper way to deal with a blind-alley is not to block the entrance but to provide an exit (pp. 90-98).

VI. INTERMITTENT CADDIES.

Some attention should be paid to the interests of the intermittent caddie who, although outside the limits of a training scheme, is not necessarily outside the golf club's sphere of influence. On the one hand, if the atmosphere is demoralizing, his attraction into it is to be avoided; on the other hand, if good influences are at work among the regular caddies, such influences may be brought to bear to some extent on the intermittent caddie also. In this latter case the club is incidentally benefited, as it can recruit its permanent supply from a good source.

Conclusions and Recommendations

VII. CASUAL CADDIES.

The merely casual caddie, though still wanted on occasions, should be made as little necessary as possible by the maintenance of an adequate regular staff, and by considering where to apply in an emergency.

VIII. OUTLINE OF ORGANIZED SCHEME.

The more intricate details of an ideal scheme for the improvement of the present conditions under which young caddies are employed require to be worked out, but they should include:

(a) The engagement of selected boys as regular caddies immediately on their leaving school. The choice should be confined to boys of good character, not having superior prospects or attainments, and as far as possible be made with the help of schoolmasters and Juvenile Advisory Committees*, where the latter are already constituted. The terms of the engagement should be made clear, and should establish the relations of the parties on as binding and permanent a basis as the nature of the case allows.

(b) The payment to these boys by the club of a fixed weekly wage in return for a fixed number of hours' work a week, with such provision as may be suitable for over-

* See Appendix A.

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time, holidays, or division of surplus takings after the wage has been earned, so as to ensure approximate uniformity of earnings throughout the year, and to provide a fund for insurance against unemployment and sickness. A rule should be made limiting to a reasonable figure the amount given as a tip.

(c) Compulsory practical training in market gardening and simple agricultural operations, including the use of carpenters' tools, or, as a less recommended alternative, in carpentry only, during the whole of the fixed hours of attendance (except when the caddie is required to carry clubs); all training to be under the supervision of a skilled man engaged for this purpose only. The practical work should be supplemented by compulsory attendance at evening classes, where these are held at a convenient centre. There is little difficulty in obtaining the co-operation of Higher Education Committees. But evening classes, whether of a technical or generally educational character, are not in themselves enough.

(d) The improvement of necessary accommodation, including washing and sanitary conveniences, and provision for the supply of good food at cost price.

(e) The provision of a club room on the premises or outside, according to local con-

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ditions, and of such means of recreation as books, games, lectures, etc.; and the encouragement of a corporate spirit among the caddies. This is better than the attempt to merge them in an existing organization independent of the golf club (Appendix B). It is well that the caddies should be encouraged to play golf themselves at times when they can do so without interfering with members.

(f) The dismissal of caddies at the age of eighteen, except in so far as it may be desirable to retain for a time those for whom no immediate employment can be found. But provision may be made for the inclusion of a few older caddies as mentioned in paragraph 1 above (p. 9).

(g) The exclusion, even at the risk of inconvenience, of known bad characters from employment as intermittent or casual caddies, and co-operation with Labour Exchanges and similar organizations in obtaining intermittent or casual labour. The employment of schoolboys for extra labour is, under proper conditions, not open to objection.

(h) Arrangements for giving information to caddies about the Army and Navy, emigration, and openings for work generally.

It is not claimed that the scheme here out-

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lined for the employment of boy caddies is presented in a final shape, or that its proposals must all stand or fall together, but it states fairly the lines on which the Committee considers that a golf club ought to proceed.

IX. SUCCESS DEPENDENT ON SUPPORT OF MEMBERS.

The organization of changes in the method of engaging, employing and paying caddies must be the work of the authorities and officials of a golf club, but for many improvements the initiative, generosity and active work of private members are required. It is thought that there is a tendency on the part of many members of golf clubs to throw the responsibility on the shoulders of committees and secretaries, and to forget that the general desire of these to put things on a better footing is limited by the necessity of properly administering a corporate fund.

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Sources of Information

I. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The facts set out in this report are based, in the first instance, on exhaustive inquiries made at a number of important clubs in the neighbourhood of London. In order to collect material, two courses were open to the Committee: either to circularize, in a common form, all the clubs within a given area whose names appear in the year-books, or to make personal and thorough investigations into the conditions obtaining at a smaller, but still representative, number. The latter course was adopted. Taking all the clubs playing over 18-hole courses within a fifteen-mile radius, as well as a number playing over more distant courses but still catering mainly for London players, and eliminating those of lesser standing, it was found that the number of London clubs of importance might be reckoned at fifty-six.

Particulars from twenty-nine of these have been obtained and then tabulated, on the basis of a list of questions raising thirty-one points; in most cases much light has been thrown both on the general question and on points of detail by the opportunity, always willingly afforded, of talking them over with secretaries, caddie-masters, professionals and others having special knowledge. The following is a list of the clubs or courses to which attention has been specially directed in this way:

Acton.

Berkhamsted.

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Burhill.
Bushey Hall.
Chingford.
Ealing.
Edgware.
Eltham.
Fulwell.
Hampstead.
Hanger Hill.
Highgate.
Mid-Surrey.
New Zealand (Byfleet).
Neasden.
Northwood.
Prince's (Mitcham).
Richmond.
Romford.
Sandy Lodge.
Stoke Poges.
Sundridge Park.
Sunningdale.
Stanmore.
Walton Heath.
Wanstead Park.
Wembley.
Incorporated West Herts (Cassiobury).
Woking.

It is thought that these include a sufficient number of types upon which to base a general view of the conditions affecting the employment of caddies in and

Demand and Supply

about London, and to warrant some conclusions being drawn. It may be noted that this list includes all those London clubs which present (so far as is known) any unusual features in the organization of their caddie service, with the exception of one or two to which reference is made in the course of this report.

The parallel details so obtained have been supplemented by information from various sources, throwing some light on one aspect or another of the question.

Although the information in the possession of the Committee about provincial clubs is insufficient at present to warrant them in presenting an equally exhaustive survey of the conditions in other parts of the country, reference has been made to certain of them by way of illustration or comparison, especially in dealing with existing or suggested methods of organization. But it has been thought wiser, in all cases, to limit the inquiry to clubs in England.

II. DEMAND AND SUPPLY

I. NATURE OF THE DEMAND.

The great difficulty with which any golf club has to contend in securing an adequate supply of caddies is the inconstant nature of the demand. Leaving out of account casual variations due to causes which cannot be calculated (of which the weather is the most obvious) we find variations which can be foreseen and allowed for to a certain

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extent. The most important distinctions to be taken into account are those between the demand on ordinary working days, and that which recurs at the end of every week, and also between the demand at one season and that at another. These factors produce their effect more or less at each of the clubs visited. The effect of the former is certainly the more general; the latter is very marked at some clubs where the nature of the soil is only adapted to certain conditions, less so at courses more favourably situated. The following figures give examples of the very wide limits between which the demand has recently ranged at certain clubs:

Week ending	No. of rounds played Monday to Friday.	No. of rounds played on Saturday.	No. of rounds played on Sunday.	Totals for week.
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BURHILL GOLF CLUB (1911)

January 15 . . .	106	115	145	366
April 9	222	163	227	612
July 9	181	69	111	361
October 8 . . .	174	186	230	590

FULWELL GOLF CLUB (1910-11).

October 16 . . .	76	155	236	467
January 15 . . .	47	92	147	286
April 9	73	153	166	392
July 16	145	93	152	390

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SUNDRIDGE PARK GOLF CLUB (1910)

January 8 . . .	88	56	No Sunday play.	144
April 9	115	93	do.	208
July 9	146	85	do.	231
October 8	221	108	do.	329

WOKING GOLF CLUB (1910-11)

July 31	127	50	54	231
October 16	94	150	107	351
January 22	121	88	101	310
April 16	273	129	66	468

These examples are more or less typical in this respect of all the clubs in the neighbourhood of London, and they point to the fact that each club requires, and can give reasonable prospect of, employment to a limited number of caddies every day in the year. Over and above these a far larger number is required at week-ends and on special occasions. The demand, therefore, is: (a) regular; (b) recurring; (c) casual.

(a) Although the volume of the regular demand is small in proportion to that of the recurring and casual demands, it is not inconsiderable in itself. It is true that few golf clubs are able to make more than a rough adjustment between demand and supply; but the number of those who are on a caddie-master's books as regular caddies and certainly attend regularly, even if they do not all get employment, affords a fair indication of the amount of service required. Of the clubs from which materials for a reliable

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estimate have been got, twenty-nine in this way informally retain the services of 827 caddies in summer and 752 in winter. This demand is in itself very exacting and very inconstant, as on any day it may increase without warning during the hours of daylight or may not arise at all; so that the attendance of a certain number of caddies all day and every day is a necessity for all but the least organized clubs, although the work actually to be done and the hours between which it is to be done can only be estimated very roughly. This gives rise to a peculiar state of affairs under which the caddie has in practice two employers—the golf club, which affords him the opportunity or hope of earning wages, and in return exacts his whole time and attention; and the individual player, whose uncertain requirements determine the amount of work done and the wages earned. This anomaly has much to do with the caddie problem.

(b) The recurring demand arises, as has been said, mainly at week-ends. At the clubs where inquiries have been made, it is reported that Saturday and Sunday (where Sunday play is allowed) are by far the busiest days, and of the sixty most important clubs in the neighbourhood of London forty-five, or rather more than two-thirds, encourage Sunday play with caddies. It is a demand which can be foreseen, and, therefore, to some extent, though in a smaller degree than is the case with the regular demand, enables the club to hold out a general invitation and inducement to labour.

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(c) The casual demand does not recur at stated intervals, and can only be foreseen or notified to a very limited extent. It arises on special holidays or competition days, and must be disregarded in any attempt at organization.

2. NATURE OF THE SUPPLY.

(a) It will have been seen that the regular demand is such that it can only be met by the employment of those who are able to spend their whole time on the premises of the golf club. Persons who have other employment, however intermittent, cannot be regular caddies. Persons who are otherwise unemployed may either be youths who have not long left school, or older youths passing into manhood, or grown men. The first class, and the larger proportion at any rate of the second, must necessarily consist of those whose previous experiences in the labour market have been limited to the diverse unskilled occupations in which schoolboys and untrained boys generally can be useful—e.g., the paper-round, the milk-round, the running of errands; and no useful purpose can be served by drawing a distinction between those who have had such experience and those who have not. In the case of men, however, a more important division can be made. The adult caddie, though now engaged in unskilled work, need not necessarily have been drawn from the ranks of unskilled or casual labour. He may be a man who has been forced or has preferred to abandon his original or last occupation. This point is

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of importance as indicating a possible basis on which the authorities of a golf club employing adult caddies might select them, and also as giving rise to certain suggestions which will be considered later.

The following are the proportions in which recourse has been had to these various sources of supply by the twenty-nine clubs of which particulars have been obtained.

Nine clubs employ only youths under eighteen, and of these they employ between them 221 in summer and 209 in winter.

Eleven clubs employ youths under eighteen and adults mixed. They employ between them 196 youths in summer, and 159 in winter, and 125 adults in summer and 108 in winter.

Nine clubs employ only adults over eighteen, and of these they employ between them 285 in summer and 276 in winter.

These variations are only partially due to any definite policy on the part of the clubs concerned. Not more than nine of them have made rules imposing an age limit.

Of these, three will not employ caddies under the ages of sixteen or seventeen; six refuse to employ any new caddies over eighteen years of age, and try to get rid of them at that age, if this can be done without hardship.

The term adult is necessarily used to include both adolescents and older men, and it is difficult accurately to estimate the proportions between these; it may, however, be said that the larger proportion con-

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sists of caddies of the average age of twenty-two to twenty-four years. Only one of the clubs makes a definite effort to employ men of the class referred to above who have retired from other employment. It would be safe to say that at thirteen of the twenty clubs mentioned above as employing some proportion of adults (such thirteen clubs employing, in fact, about 240 adult caddies) the ages of the adults range between eighteen and twenty-four years of age; and the proportion of older men who have retired from other regular work is small throughout the mass.

Where youths and adults are mixed the proportions are as a rule fairly equal.

With regard to the relation between demand and supply, it appears that twenty-seven out of twenty-nine clubs to which the question has been put experience no difficulty in keeping up the supply of regular caddies. Two report some such difficulty, due partly to situation, and partly to competing demands. In this connexion may be noted a fact that may partly account for the ease with which the demand is met, and that is the very small amount of discrimination that is generally exercised in the selection of caddies. One club (Woking), which has definitely adopted the policy of retaining youths and keeping them properly disciplined and employed, makes a point of knowing something of the character and origin of these before allowing them to become regular caddies. Similar precautions are taken by the Royal Eastbourne Golf Club, but the general rule is that no questions are

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asked, and no precautions taken. This remark has a double bearing in the case of the younger caddies, inasmuch as certain boys ought not to be introduced among the others, because their influence is bad, while others with prospects and abilities better than the ordinary ought to be dissuaded from a poor career.

(b) The same circumstances that cause the recurring demand furnish also much of the supply. This comes largely from sources which are closed during the working week. It is partly drawn from the same material as the regular caddie service—youths and adults without other employment—and it appears that in so far as this is the case the distribution is fairly equal. Of seven clubs which rely on this familiar material three are frequented during the week-end by youths, three by adults and one by both indifferently. In the absence of any indication to the contrary, these may be said to come from the ranks of quite casual labourers or loafers who would not be considered desirable as regular caddies.

But where available the schoolboy is undoubtedly the staple of the recurring supply. It has been difficult to get accurate information at all the clubs inspected, for the largeness of the demand causes great variety in the acceptable material. But at eleven out of fourteen clubs other than those just referred to, it is the schoolboys who come in the largest numbers to carry clubs on Saturdays and Sundays. The supply at the remaining three is found to be made up of men in regular work who are glad to earn an extra wage in

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their free time, and these also augment the numbers to some extent at all clubs.

The caddies assembled on Saturdays and Sundays are therefore a very heterogeneous lot, comprising in most cases, in addition to the regular caddies, respectable and disreputable adults, schoolboys, and young workers and loafers of all sorts. Some of them are well known on the course; others come and go at long intervals. In no case does the recurring supply offer a good opportunity for organization on a satisfactory economic basis, and exact details as to its volume are therefore unnecessary. The points on which stress must be laid are, firstly, the indiscriminate mixing of all classes which is common, and, secondly, the opportunity afforded to novices to become acquainted with the business and habits of the caddie, and the accompanying temptation to adopt them permanently.

(c) The casual supply may come from any of the sources mentioned above, according to the time at which the demand arises. As it is required to meet an unusual demand, little reference need be made to it. But it may be noted that, as pressure at one course may coincide with slackness at another, it is not uncommon to find that such an extraordinary demand is partly met by a temporary migration of caddies from neighbouring courses. Thus, it is a common practice for a caddie-master to telephone to another club for a temporary reinforcement: and there are caddies who do not attach themselves firmly to any particular club, but make it their business to go

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from one course to another as special competitions or meetings suggest.

III. GENERAL CONDITIONS

The regular caddie exists to carry out one kind of provision that must be made by a club for the convenience of its members; there must be on the premises some one to carry the clubs of any member wishing to play during the usual hours—between 9.30 and dusk. The time usually reckoned for a round is two hours, so that the first player may be expected to go out any time after 9.30 and the last about two hours before dusk. A golf club has normally no use for any of its caddies before the arrival of the first player, nor after the last has started. In the case therefore of a caddie who attends without getting employment, the time for which he is expected to hold himself at the disposal of the club may be said to vary between five hours in winter and eight in summer, but the caddie who goes out with a player at the end of the day may have put in another two hours of attendance before he is finished. It is not intended at present to do more than make a very general statement as to how much of this time of attendance will actually be spent in carrying clubs, but in summer four hours and in winter two hours would represent a satisfactory mid-week day's work for most caddies; so that it is clear that a considerable amount of time—probably from three to five hours in winter, and from four

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to six in summer—must be spent in waiting, even where work is fairly good.

During this time shelter and food must be of considerable importance to their physical requirements, and reasonable occupation to their mental and moral welfare. These needs are met only to a limited degree.

I. SHELTER.

The standard of comfort proper to a caddie is of course a matter of opinion. In the question of shelter the variations are very great, ranging from the shed with an earth floor, one small window or none, and neither firing nor any sanitary convenience, to the club room with a coffee bar and lavatory. At two clubs only (Mid-Surrey and Sunningdale), out of twenty-one where the arrangements have been inspected, is the shelter of the latter description, and these are thought to be quite exceptional. At five at least the arrangements, if any, are of the former kind; at the remainder more or less adequate provision is made for warmth and dryness, though at most no proper arrangements are made for personal cleanliness and decency on the caddies' part, and the shelter provided is extremely comfortless, and destitute of any means of recreation.

2. FOOD.

Only one club out of twenty-nine holds itself responsible for providing food for caddies in consideration of their attendance merely, unemployed

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caddies being given lunch out of a common fund. Twenty-one impose an obligation on their members to provide food for caddies employed by them in the morning, and five of these a like obligation in respect of caddies taken out in the afternoon. In certain cases the obligation is limited to members employing the same caddie morning and afternoon. At two clubs the same object is attained by exacting a higher fee per round, a portion of this being intended to cover the caddie's incidental expenses. At the remaining six clubs the provision of food is left to the members' private benevolence.

The amount at which lunch or tea money or value in kind, where earned, is fixed varies from 3d. to 6d. for lunch, and is generally 3d. for tea, so that the employed caddie does well; but the unemployed caddie has to fall back on his own resources.

At fourteen clubs out of the twenty-two where some provision is made, money only is given; at four, food only is provided; at four more, either money or food is given, at the caddie's option; and at Sunningdale, one of the clubs which gives the higher fee, facilities are also given for buying good food at a cheap rate. This policy of providing or offering food in lieu of money has generally been deliberately introduced in order to prevent caddies wasting their food-money, or from a recognition of their difficulties in getting good food close at hand.

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3. OCCUPATION.

One of the objections made to caddying is that it is a loafing occupation, and it is necessary to point out that this is only true in so far as reference is made to the spare time, and not to the actual work, of the caddie. This actual work requires certain qualities of alertness, concentration, and endurance, not demanded of much casual work, and brings him into contact, moreover, with men of a good class. If loafing habits are acquired they are the result of the time spent merely in waiting for employment, under insufficient supervision and in an uncivilized environment. Certain clubs, both near London and in the provinces, have instituted organized systems under which this state of things is necessarily improved, and these are more particularly referred to hereafter. Of the remaining twenty-three London clubs, sixteen offer no employment whatever to their caddies in their spare time, and one employs them on the course as far as possible, but without system. At the others, though some employment is similarly found on the course, it is very irregular and occasional, and for the most part is voluntary. The main difficulty about this sort of employment is stated to be that, being spread over a large area, it is difficult to enforce, and that it interferes with the proper duties of the ground staff and of the caddies themselves. This subject is referred to again under a later heading.

Many caddies are intelligently interested in golf,

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but they have not, as a rule, much opportunity of practising in a systematic way. A few clubs give them this opportunity. Cards are their chief resource and lead to gambling.

The attitude of most golfers to caddies is generous as far as money is concerned, both individually (tipping being almost universal) and collectively. Full information has been difficult to obtain, but of twenty-three clubs five have raised large sums for permanent benefits to caddies, and eleven collect annual funds of varying importance. It is symptomatic, however, that seven of the latter go towards money gifts and treats. This habit of careless and spasmodic kindness fits in too well with the caddies' own disposition and environment, which do not predispose them to habits of thrift.

The question of Sunday play should be mentioned here. It has been seen already that the majority of clubs make a practice of play on Sunday, and the regular caddies usually look forward to the increased amount of play as providing the most certain portion of their earnings. Their attendance during the week carries with it the privilege of first call on Saturdays and Sundays, so that they are generally certain of two rounds each on those days. It is not the practice of the majority of the clubs employing caddies on Sundays definitely to state that the attendance of regular caddies on that day is entirely optional, but it is not likely that any, even if expecting their regular caddies to come on Sundays, would warn off

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during the week those who preferred not to do so. It is not desirable to go here into the question of principle, as opinions will differ, but it may be stated as a fact, on the authority of secretaries and caddie-masters, that caddies, if not allowed on the links, as a rule merely loaf in the neighbourhood to the annoyance of players. A good instance of this occurred at Woking, where the club acceded to Sabbatarian representations, and for a time turned away its caddies on Sundays. It was found that they assembled by the canal and gambled and fought, till all parties agreed that they were better on the course, where they were kept busy and under some kind of discipline. But it is suggested that, if those who object to Sunday caddying were to organize better occupations for the caddies on this day, there would be little danger of the clubs putting obstacles in their way, and it is likely that many would modify their rules so as to reduce the counter-attraction. It is probable that considerations of this sort apply with more force to schoolboys than to regular caddies, as the former are more within reach of religious influences. One club refuses schoolboys on Sundays.

Some details of the lives and circumstances of known caddies will be found in Appendix B.

IV. NORMAL PROSPECTS OF THE CADDIE.

The middle-aged caddie cannot, in the nature of things, make his work a stepping-stone to other employment. For him the occupation is either a

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temporary or a last resource, and if he emerges from it successfully it is not with the help of any knowledge or opportunity gained on the links. But the younger caddie, while on the one hand he is pitied for having strayed into a blind-alley, on the other is congratulated on the chances offered to him as a reward for good behaviour. These chances need careful examination.

The most vigorous denial of the "blind-alley" charge comes from the golfer who has the most belief in human benevolence, and the least regard for its limitations. In his eyes, the best hope of the caddie is to obtain the patronage of some member of the club where he carries, and get "a job" through him. In some clubs no doubt this kindly interest exists and has borne good fruit, but it cannot be relied on. The extreme difficulty of finding work for even a likely boy is well known to most private persons, and not every golf club includes members holding positions that would enable them to offer openings to boys or young men. Jobs obtained in this way as gardeners or grooms are apt to terminate after a short trial. Where employment is given in a factory or brewery or on a railway, it not infrequently amounts to no more than the exchange of one low-grade employment for another. Moreover, the disinclination of undisciplined caddies to take regular work has to be borne in mind. It is thought that, while it is well to insist on the excellent effects of the personal goodwill involved in the theory of patronage, it cannot be regarded as adding much to

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the caddie's economic prospects. This view is strengthened by a significant extract from the current report of the Sundridge Park Golf Club Caddies' Association. One of the objects of that association is stated to be, "*To assist in finding employment for those caddies who are old enough to commence regular work.*" But the report states: "The Committee have been able to make little progress in this department, principally on account of the fact that few of the caddies know any trade."

It is often suggested that the caddie may be expected automatically to pass into the ranks of green-keepers and professional golfers. It is true that there is an opening in these directions; the number of golf clubs is increasing, and with it the number of persons required in connexion with them. But it must be borne in mind not only that the number of caddies increases as fast as the demand for such officials, but also that the greenkeeper and the professional are men who require a prolonged technical training. This is especially the case with the professional player. The days are gone when a natural aptitude for the game settled a caddie's career. The professional golfer of to-day is a man of good class and education, who has mastered not only the practice but the theory of the game, and has a thorough knowledge of clubmaking and business generally; and even so the competition is very great. Similarly in the case of the inferior ground staff the work must be properly learnt, and the numbers required on each course are not very large. At Mid-Surrey the

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policy is definitely adopted of recruiting the ground staff from the caddies, but not more than 10 per cent per annum can be so drafted out, and this at a club where an abnormal number of vacancies occur, and where the staff is large enough to admit a great number of beginners. Only a small number of the best boys can anywhere hope to get out of caddying in this way without assistance.

These suggested openings appear to exhaust those which at first sight offer greater chances to the untrained caddie than to the van boy or the errand boy. If they fail, either he remains a caddie or drifts into the general mass of unskilled adolescents. In the latter case, it is impossible to say what becomes of him, unless the course of his next few years is settled by his enlisting in the Army or Navy, or some local industry exists to absorb him.

What proportion of caddies do so enlist cannot be accurately ascertained. Out of twenty-five London clubs giving information, thirteen report that "a few" or "a fair number" enter the regular Army, and five clubs give instances of enlistment in the Navy, but in negligible numbers. In these cases the influence of a caddie-master from one of the Services has usually been at work.

The opening afforded by a dominant local industry appears only in the provinces (e.g. in colliery or sea-fishing localities). Where such exists it has already altered the whole aspect of the caddie question, as carrying clubs has been only a stop-gap till the proper age or strength was attained.

Earnings and Hours

V. EARNINGS AND HOURS

I. METHODS OF PAYMENT.

There are two ways in which it is practicable to remunerate the regular caddie for his work. The first is by a system of payment for piece-work, whether modified or not by a minimum wage; the other is by the payment of a fixed wage.

(a) *Piece-work without minimum wage.*—Under this system the caddie is not paid anything in consideration of regular attendance, although this attendance is undoubtedly for the club's benefit. The return made for it by the club is the privilege of offering services, and the use of such accommodation as is provided. The monetary reward of the caddie is dependent entirely on the services accepted by members, and the relation of club to caddie is rather that of a registry office than of an employer. The round of about two hours is the unit of employment, and the fee for this is fixed by the rules of the club, the normal fee being 1s. 1d., of which the caddie gets 1s., and the club takes 1d. as booking fee, the latter being, directly or indirectly, devoted to incidental expenses. A little more or less is sometimes charged, or a distinction made between first-class and second-class caddies. Earnings are paid over at the end of each day.

On this system the caddies' weekly earnings can be calculated only by multiplying the allocated amount of the fee by the number of rounds done. As the total amount distributed among the caddies together

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with the booking fee tallies exactly with the amount taken from the pockets of the members, this is obviously a system which relieves the club from financial responsibility in respect of the caddie service; on the other hand, it lessens the hold of the club on the caddies, makes the livelihood of the latter extremely precarious, and distributes their aggregate earnings over a long period unequally. The precariousness of the earnings is inherent in the system, but precautions can be taken to distribute them as equally as possible among individuals by employing caddies in proper rotation. Circumstances, however, generally prevent this equalization being carried far, owing to the difficulty of anticipating the demand, and to the rough-and-ready manner in which it is met and recorded.

(b) *Piece-work with minimum wage.*—This system, while not restricting or equalizing the caddies' earnings, aims at lessening the hardship arising from bad days or seasons. A minimum amount is guaranteed to the caddie over a stated period, and if not earned is made up to him. The responsibility for making-up the difference, if any, between the amount earned and the amount paid over falls on the club as a body, but may be ensured against by the club's taking a proportion of the surplus earnings during each of such periods. This system, while increasing the club's hold, does not diminish the incentive of the caddie to work, and so earn more than the minimum. It may also be used to give the caddie a feeling of security against illness as well as hard times gener-

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ally, or to afford him the opportunity for Territorial service.

(c) *Fixed wage*.—This method is quite simple. The caddie is engaged at so much for a fixed period. The members pay for his services per round as usual, but all the earnings are taken by the club, which is thus put in the position of a contractor. It may be modified by being applied for a portion of the period only, the caddie being allowed to revert for the remainder to the usual system of earning and keeping what he can; or, further, by the whole or a proportion of the caddie's surplus earnings being ear-marked for the latter's benefit at a later date. The system, in its simplest form, is open to the objection that it puts a premium on shirking; and it is obvious that the wage ought to bear a proper proportion to the demand and to be based on careful calculations spread over a long period, without which there is a danger of serious loss to the club on the one hand, or of a charge of sweating on the other. It must be remembered also that a proportion of golfers carry their own clubs and that the fixed wage, if it throws any additional burden on the finances of the club, indirectly taxes those who do not make any use of the benefits it secures. Carried out on a proper basis, however, it appears to be economically sound, and to avoid what are thought to be some of the demoralizing features of caddie life—i.e., alternate affluence and poverty, immediate possession of earnings, and the want of recognition of any responsible paymaster.

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(d) *Deferred pay.*—A small deduction may be made from the amount earned on each round, or from weekly wages, and be applied to a general fund whence bonuses are paid to caddies at intervals.

Only the system of piece-work is applicable to the intermittent or casual caddie.

2. DISTRIBUTION OF THESE METHODS.

(a) *Piece-work without minimum wage.*—The first system is the one usually adopted. Of the twenty-nine London clubs specially inquired into, only five have introduced any modification into their methods of payment, and it is thought that these include the whole number, throughout the area, which have done so. Three provincial clubs which have adopted a modified system are also noted, and no others have been found (except one which does not wish its name to appear), though no doubt such exist here and there. With the exception, therefore, of a mere handful, clubs everywhere are paying their caddies on the old piece-work system. This must not be taken to indicate a deliberate examination and rejection of alternative methods. The fact is that the entire caddie system has grown up in a haphazard fashion. It was natural that at first the engagement of a caddie should have been looked upon as entirely a matter for the individual player, in the same way as he might engage a boy to carry his bag from the station; and it was the growth of the game and the increase in the number of players that led to the clubs taking up the

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position of intermediaries, from which they have not yet in theory emerged into that of employers. In practice there is an increasing tendency to assume, or have thrust on them, the latter status.

(b) *Piece-work with minimum wage.*—The second method is in force at Walton Heath, Sunningdale, and to some extent at Woking.

At Walton Heath, from the regular caddies, many of whom are oldish men, forty are selected, and to these £2 every four weeks is guaranteed by the Club. If their earnings do not amount to this the difference is made up to them and a proportionate allowance is made during sickness, or service as Territorials, but no deduction is made from their surplus earnings. So that the whole cost of the payments made under the guarantee is borne by the club.

In making the selection preference is given to those who are of good conduct, and especially to those who are willing to become Territorials.

At Sunningdale, where the regular caddies are boys ranging from fourteen to eighteen years of age, about sixty in number, a first-class caddie is guaranteed 5s. per week, a second-class caddie 4s., a third-class caddie 3s. Here the fees paid by the golfer are 1s. 6d., 1s. 4d., 1s. 3d. per round respectively. The club takes the proceeds of the first four rounds, which amount to 6s., 5s. 4d., and 5s.—that is, it retains 1s., 1s. 4d., and 2s., in respect of each caddie of each class who does four rounds or more from Saturday to Friday (excluding Sunday).

The money retained forms a fund from which all

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payments of the guaranteed wage are drawn. Caddies take all earnings over and above the first four rounds. Sunday work is optional.

The balance-sheet for 1911 shows that in that year £1,196 7s. 8d. was paid over to caddies as wages, £129 10s. to the caddie-masters, and £25 7s. 9d. distributed as bonuses to caddies, as against £1,365 12s. 9d. earned by the caddies for the club.

Under this system, and as this money is earned by the caddies as a whole, no expense falls on the club, provided the amount retained is properly adjusted to suit the conditions of play at the particular club. It is, in fact, an insurance scheme against unemployment or sickness, to which the caddies are the sole contributors. Any surplus in the fund can be used for the benefit of the caddies in other ways.

At Woking, a small minimum wage of 2s. to 3s. 6d. is paid in addition to any sums earned for carrying clubs by the caddies, but this is really paid in consideration of the work done by them on the course as described hereafter. The regular caddies are boys from fourteen to eighteen years of age and about twenty-five in number.

(c) *Fixed wage.*—The third method is in force at Sandy Lodge, and, in respect of some caddies, at Fulwell; also at some provincial clubs.

At Sandy Lodge the regular caddies (boys from fourteen to sixteen years old and about twenty in number) are paid 5s. to 8s. per week. The club takes all earnings from Monday to Saturday mid-day inclusive. On Saturday afternoons and Sundays the

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caddies are not in the employ of the club, but are given first chance to carry. It is stated that this system involves no loss to the club over the whole year, though there is a heavy deficit during the summer holiday months, and in snowy or very wet weather.

At Fulwell certain of the regular caddies, boys from fourteen to sixteen years of age, being those included in the training scheme referred to later, are paid 5s. (first-class) and 4s. (second-class), and the club takes all moneys earned from Monday to Saturday inclusive, except that earned in respect of third rounds, which the caddies may keep. Sunday work is optional, and earnings are kept by the caddies. The boys are given a half-day off each week and one week's holiday in the year, on full pay. In 1910-11 £62 7s. 4d. was received for rounds in excess of wages paid to caddies.*

At Eastbourne, first-class caddies are paid 7s. and second-class caddies 6s. per week. They have to be in attendance by 9.15 and remain as long as required. The club takes over all moneys earned otherwise than in respect of a third round or a round starting after 4.30. But the money so taken by the club is eventually applied for the caddies' benefit. There is no Sunday play.

At Mullion there are a few regular caddies, who are taken straight from school at fourteen and are not encouraged to stay more than a year. They have

* The Club's Annual Report states that the weather was exceptionally favourable.

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fixed hours—from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m.—and are employed in odd jobs about the pavilion and on the course when not carrying clubs. They are paid 8s. a week, the club taking over their earnings, but they are allowed to keep for themselves anything earned by carrying after 5 p.m. On wet winter days they are given instruction in club making. There is no Sunday play.

At West Cornwall there are twenty-seven regular caddies, all boys under seventeen. First-class caddies are paid 8s., second-class 7s., and the club takes over their earnings; but each caddie is paid 6d. in respect of any third round carried in a day. There is no Sunday play.

(d) *Deferred pay*.—At Acton rd. is deducted from the price of the round, and put to a general fund, out of which bonuses are paid at intervals to the caddies according to their attendance and conduct.

At West Cornwall a caddie after six months with the club becomes entitled to 1s. per week extra if his conduct is good, but this is put aside to accumulate till he leaves.

3. STATISTICS OF WAGES AND HOURS.

To obtain as full a grasp as possible of the conditions under which caddies are employed at present, it is necessary to know the amount earned each week by the regular caddie, and the number of hours he is actually employed in carrying clubs. It has been found that off-hand statements, even by caddie-masters, are not reliable, as they represent an im-

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pression formed from observation of a particular caddie, and very likely at a particular period. Any proposal for bettering the conditions of employment of all the regular caddies at a club must be based on a sound economic foundation, and in order to prove successful must show that the amount earned is on an average at least as much as under the present system of piece-work, or that some real advantage from the caddies' point of view is obtained equivalent to any reduction of the amount earned.

The fluctuations in the amount of play, and therefore in the amount earned by the regular caddies, are so great from day to day and between one season and another that it is necessary to consider the conditions for the whole year to arrive at a true average. The method adopted by the Agenda Club Committee has been to obtain the actual figures of employment and earnings from the caddie-masters' books at a few of the typical clubs. The work involved is considerable, and in order to reduce this to possible dimensions the figures for twelve weeks have been taken one from each month over a period of twelve consecutive months. The figures worked out from these data are shown on the table following the index.

The following explanation of the way in which the results are obtained may be of use:

To determine the average maximum number of regular caddies (column 2).—First the figures are taken which give the total number of caddies employed for each day from Monday to Friday for each of the twelve weeks. This represents the mid-week

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play as distinct from the week-end play, when a large number of intermittent caddies are employed. Next the highest figure in each mid-week is taken. These twelve figures are added together and the total divided by twelve so as to obtain the *average* of the maximum number of caddies employed each mid-week. By adopting this method for all clubs considered, a comparison between the different clubs is made on a uniform basis.

It will be seen that in most cases the figures in column 2 agree fairly closely with those in column 1, which gives the approximate number of regular caddies actually employed by the club as entered in their books.

Average sum earned per week for each month (columns 3 to 14).—The total earnings for each day of the mid-week are next considered. So long as the actual number of caddies employed on any day is equal to or less than the assumed number of permanent caddies (column 2) the whole of the earnings for that day are allocated to such caddies. Where the number employed is greater than the assumed number, a corresponding deduction is made in the total earnings and the balance only allocated as before.

Next the Saturday and Sunday play is considered. It is assumed that the permanent caddies (column 2) are given preferential treatment so that they get the maximum amount of carrying that such a number can do, always taking into account the actual number of 3, 2, and 1 rounds played on the actual day. The

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earnings of the permanent caddies for Saturday and Sunday arrived at in this way are then added to the corrected earnings for the mid-week play. The total sum so obtained is then divided equally among the whole number of permanent caddies (column 2); this gives the figure representing the *average* earnings of each of the permanent caddies for that week. These figures are entered in columns 3 to 14, the figure for the one week being assumed to represent the earnings for each week of the month.

Column 15 is the *average* earnings per week for the year, and is simply the average of the 12 figures in columns 3 to 14. It represents what each of the permanent caddies could have been paid supposing his earnings had been equally distributed throughout the year.

Average (annual) number of rounds per week (column 22).—In column 16 is given the actual payment to the caddie per round at the particular club. By dividing the yearly average earned per week (column 15) by the payment per round (column 16) the equivalent number of rounds per week, averaged for the year, is obtained and shown in column 22. The number of rounds per week fluctuates according to the season, and can be obtained for any month from the average earned for the representative week by dividing by the figure in column 16.

Average (annual) hours employed per week (column 23).—A round usually takes about two hours, but to allow time for calling up the caddie and getting away, etc., $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours per round has been assumed.

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The average hours worked per week are shown in column 23 and are obtained by multiplying the rounds per week (column 22) by $2\frac{1}{2}$. This is averaged for the year, but really fluctuates according to the weather conditions and season, with the earnings and rounds, as already explained.

Extras.—Columns 17, 18, 19 and 20 show the extras paid to the caddies for lunch, tea, and as a tip. The last mentioned varies greatly, but is assumed to be 3d. per round in all cases for the sake of obtaining comparative figures; it is purposely put at what may be regarded as an absolute minimum in order that later references to the comparatively high earnings of caddies may not seem to be based on the inclusion of unrecognized payments. Column 21 gives the total of the caddies' earnings, including extras, as averaged for the year.

Points to be noted.—It is not suggested that these figures are exact, as, of course, one week has been assumed as representing a month. Again, although the weeks were chosen for the same part of each month, weather conditions may have had an undue effect. In certain cases holidays and competitions have had to be allowed for and their effect eliminated. But as the figures of principal importance are those given as averaged for the year these errors probably to a great extent cancel out.

In giving the Sunningdale and Fulwell figures, no allowance or correction has been made for the special payments made at these clubs (see pp. 43, 45). They have been made as if the caddie was paid in the usual

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way by the round. At Woking no allowance has been made for the payment for work done on the course.

The most important results obtained are those given in:

Columns 15 and 21, the average wage earned per week.

Column 22, the average number of rounds per week.

Column 23, the average hours employed per week.

It must be remembered that at all the clubs, except the last on the table, these figures are for seven days in the week.

If a composite club is imagined in which the figures are the average of all the clubs in which caddies are employed seven days a week, as given on the table, we obtain the following round figures:

Number of permanent caddies: 23.

Usual hours of attendance (seven days a week): 9 a.m. till dusk.

Payment per round: 1s. 1d.

Wages earned and hours employed, per week:

	<i>Earned</i>		<i>Rounds done</i>	<i>Hours of</i>
	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>per week.</i>	<i>employment</i>
				<i>per week.</i>
January	8	1	7½	18½
February	9	1	8½	21
March	10	10	10	25
April	10	4	9½	24
May	12	4	11½	28½
June	11	4	10½	26
E2				51

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	<i>Earned</i> <i>per week.</i>		<i>Rounds done</i> <i>per week.</i>	<i>Hours of</i> <i>employment</i> <i>per week.</i>
	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		
July	9	4	8½	21½
August	7	8	7	17½
September	8	2	7½	18½
October	11	2	10½	26
November	11	8	10¾	27
December	7	8	7	17½

Wages earned per week (average for the year)	9s. 9d.
Wages earned per week with extras (average for the year)	12s. 9d.
Rounds per week (average for the year)	9
Hours employed per week (average for the year)	22½

It may be said that usually a permanent caddie gets two rounds on Saturday and two on Sunday, which leaves only five rounds (out of the total of nine for the whole week) for the other five days—that is, one round a day from Monday to Friday. He is therefore employed for only 2½ hours on these days between 9 a.m. and dusk—say eight hours—which leaves him idle for five and a half hours a day. He has, however, earned during the week a total wage of 12s. 9d., which is more than most boys can earn in other blind-alley occupations, which employ them for eight or ten hours a day (see pp. 94-97). It is in this peculiarity that the caddies' employment differs so entirely from other blind-alley occupations,

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and offers the chance of dealing with the problem in a really satisfactory manner and for the permanent benefit of the caddie.

It has been thought worth while to explain these figures in some detail as it may assist others to consider the question from the same point of view. Every club will, of course, have its own peculiar conditions that must be investigated when the caddie question is considered, and the most important point is, perhaps, to ascertain what are the average earnings and hours of work per week.

It will be admitted that, if a club can calculate in anticipation what wages its permanent caddies will earn throughout the year, it can, without difficulty, make arrangements for distributing those wages by equal instalments each week, without risk of loss. A sufficient margin must be made to allow for unfavourable weather conditions, sickness, and other contingencies. Any surplus in hand at the end of the year can be placed in a reserve or benefit fund for the caddies, and so give them confidence that such a scheme is worked in their interests and not as a means of making money for the club.

But when considering the average hours of employment per week at any club, one must bear in mind that there will be considerable fluctuations above and below this figure. The figures for the composite club, given in the table, vary between $17\frac{1}{2}$ and $28\frac{1}{2}$ according to the time of the year. In the particular clubs given in the table, the variation is as follows:

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		<i>Hours per week.</i>	
		<i>Maximum.</i>	<i>Minimum.</i>
Sunningdale, 1st class		35 in May.	18 in Dec.
„ 2nd „		32 in May.	15½ in Jan.
„ 3rd „		27½ in April.	12 in Aug.
Woking		28 in Nov.	16 in April
Burhill		31 in June.	17½ in Sept.
Fulwell		29 in May.	11½ in Aug.
Leamington & County		25 in Oct.	12 in Sept.
Hanger Hill		25 in Nov.	8½ in Dec.
		8)232½	8)111
		29	14

From this it appears that the maximum is approximately twice the minimum hours of employment per week.

It must also be remembered that the time of day at which the caddie is required is uncertain and may be anything between 9 a.m. and an hour before dusk.

All the above variations in the duration and time of employment must be borne in mind as being inherent in conditions of caddying and must be reckoned with in considering any scheme of employment or training during the caddies' idle hours.

VI. PRESENT THEORY AND PRACTICE.

It is proposed in this section in the first place briefly to set out and comment on the principal suggestions that have been made from time to time by

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persons to whom the present state of affairs has appeared unsatisfactory; then to show how far any of these suggestions have been carried out in practice; and, lastly, to compare these experiments in the hope of finding out what is best in them.

I. SUGGESTIONS TO BE CONSIDERED.

(1) *Abolition of Caddies.*—It has been suggested that it is the duty of golfers to dispense entirely with the services of caddies of whatever age or status. This is either a counsel of despair, based on the conviction that caddying is so demoralizing a pursuit that no improvement of the conditions can justify its encouragement, or is founded on a misconception prevalent among non-golfers of the purpose for which the caddie is employed.

It is said that the employment of the caddie is a mere luxury, that it is a sign of degeneracy that one man should require another to carry a bag of clubs for him. Probably it only needs to be pointed out that golf is a game, not of endurance, but of skill, in order to show the value of this point of view. The purpose of the caddie is not to save fatigue, but to secure concentration, and on the principle that what is worth doing at all is worth doing well it seems that the golfer is justified in seeking immunity from the distractions incidental to the game.

This report will, perhaps, show that there is reasonable hope of such an improvement in the conditions as will take the employment out of the cate-

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gory of those to which a policy of suppression and not palliatives ought to be applied. The suppression of an industry, with the consequent increase in unemployment, is a serious step to contemplate, except in the last resort.

Assuming, however, for the moment that this root and branch policy is not desirable, or practicable, and that the employment of caddies is legitimate, we find that a division of opinion at once appears as to the material from which they ought to be selected.

The choice, speaking broadly, lies between men and boys, but it is desirable to examine more closely the classes into which these can be split up, the likelihood of getting them, and the suggestions with which the advocates of each qualify their proposals.

(2) *Employment of Men.*—If men are employed, it may be that the only qualification required of them is that of having attained an age when the danger of entering on a blind-alley employment, and the risk of deterioration, no longer arise. In this case the demand will be merely for grown men willing to work permanently for a boy's wage, whether fixed or not, earned under the conditions explained above. It is evident that this is not a proposition likely to appeal to able-bodied men of good character, and that the supply of desirable caddies under this system is not likely to meet the demand. If it did it could hardly be regarded as a matter for congratulation that men should be diverted into a low-grade employment, imposing a lower standard of living than that of the majority of their class. The proposal

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to employ men without restriction of choice therefore generally involves an increase of wages or earnings sufficient to provide a man's living wage, or results in the employment of men whose characters or misfortunes are everywhere against them. The former alternative, however desirable, is beyond the means of most golf clubs to adopt; nor can a club be invited deliberately to offer itself as a dumping-ground for disreputable and unmanageable men.

But if a club is content to restrict its choice within narrower limits no doubt there are some men who may with advantage be employed. These are men not fitted for other work, nor able to earn better wages, by reason of some industrial or physical disability, which, however, does not unfit them for the work of a caddie—men who are not merely unemployed, but in whose way stands some obstacle other than the temporary state of the labour market. Such obstacles are age, or some other physical handicap, or superannuation from a definite employment unrelated to industrial life.

The ex-soldier and ex-sailor are a very distinct as well as a very deserving type of those who have done well enough up to a certain point and are stranded in a new environment. Many of them have small pittances by way of pension only requiring to be eked out, and are quite capable of the work. Several important societies exist to bring men of this class into touch with employers.

But the class whose use is more generally advocated is that of the industrial cripple—men who

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have broken down, or been injured under the strain of their proper occupations, or merely grown too old, and so are deprived of their proper means of livelihood.

The claims of these are certainly great, but it must be remembered that caddying, though light work in a certain sense, is by no means work for the maimed, the halt and the blind. The man who cannot see well, move smartly and put up with a good deal of physical exercise and exposure is not a good caddie, and the reproach of taxing him beyond his strength is one that ought not to be forced on a player. A club which set itself the task of forming and maintaining a staff of caddies wholly out of those who displayed only a reasonable amount of decrepitude would have a hard task. It therefore seems doubtful whether the supply could be kept up without a much greater fluidity of labour than exists at present.

While the employment of this kind of material is an admirable expedient, where practicable, there is one suggestion that it is thought well to deprecate, and that is the suggestion that the occupation of a caddie is well suited for phthisical patients.

No doubt, in the case of a caddie predisposed to consumption, the prospects of immunity are more favourable on the golf course than in the factory or workshop. But it seems only necessary to refer again to the common incidents of a caddie's life—exposure, doubtful warmth and shelter, bodily exertion, and, above all, the difficulty of segregation, to show that the experiment suggested would be equally danger-

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ous for the caddie himself and for his companions.

Exceptions might, however, perhaps be made in the case of those who can be looked upon with confidence as cured, but whose future immunity depends on an open air life. These fall properly into the class of handicapped men, with the difference that they sometimes have the advantage of being in touch with societies or persons interested in the crusade against consumption.

It is well to point out further that the caddie's trade is one that demands a certain amount of experience. If, in respect of casual labour, a golf club is often forced to fall back on men or boys who know neither the course nor the game, it is only reasonable that it should not wish its regular caddies to be constantly changing. This is a consideration that is lost sight of in the vague proposal to make use of "the unemployed."

The proposal, when examined more closely, amounts to this: the club is (either through the medium of the Labour Exchange or otherwise) to open its gates to the "out-of-work" plumber, painter, etc. But it cannot conscientiously do this with the intention of diverting him permanently from his original trade. The result is that by the time the new caddie knows enough to be useful (and at first he is more of a nuisance) he returns to his proper job. If the club pursues this policy strictly it will be constantly faced with the alternative of turning a skilled worker into a caddie, or of having no caddies on whom it can rely.

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(3) *Employment of boys.*—The distinction between boys and adults is made principally for the purpose of emphasizing the danger of "blind-alley" employment and of certain demoralizing influences at an impressionable age. It is hard to say at what precise age these considerations cease to be of importance; but it is thought that they apply, though with diminishing force, up to at least the age of twenty.

A year or two after leaving school is the critical age; opportunities lost then will not recur; but it seems over-pessimistic to fix eighteen as the age beyond which it is too late for a boy to do any good in the world.

The term "boy" is therefore loosely used to include caddies between the school age, i.e. fourteen, and about twenty. As has been seen, boys under this age cannot be divided into classes. All boys must be either admissible or inadmissible as caddies.

In the opinion of some they are inadmissible, and the alternatives are those set out above. In the opinion of others to employ them is the right and natural as well as the only way of satisfying the demand. The figures before given will show that the demand can be, and is, in fact, mainly satisfied in this way. But many add that this employment must be organized under conditions which will make the occupation at the worst not demoralizing, and at the best a preparation for something better. The steps suggested to this end divide themselves into two categories. Care must be taken to keep the boy decent and subject to decent influences; and,

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secondly, to train him in such a way that he emerges from the golf club better equipped for the struggle for life than when he entered it.

The first object is to be attained by the encouragement of caddies' clubs, books, entertainments, etc., with which may be combined schemes for the encouragement of thrift; the second, by definite instruction, both of a generally educational and of a technical kind. The latter must be regarded as a means to an end (that is, the caddie should be put into a position to earn his livelihood elsewhere) and care must be taken that the means are well adapted.

These steps are looked at doubtfully in some quarters on the ground of expense; in others, on the more serious ground that they do not achieve their end, and especially that such training can only be make-believe. The validity of these objections will be better considered after an examination of existing experiments.

2. PRACTICE OF CLUBS.*

It will now be shown how far these suggestions have been anticipated, or put into practice, either in the neighbourhood of London or in the provinces. In this connexion attention is called to the useful

* In reading this section it must be remembered that it claims to be exhaustive only in respect of the London clubs which have been taken as types. Although every effort has been made to obtain details of the steps taken by clubs generally to improve their caddie arrangements, there are no doubt some which are not mentioned here.

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summary recently issued by the Caddies' Aid Association. The details given here, however, have, with two exceptions, been collected independently by the courtesy of the clubs concerned.

(1) *Employment of men.*—As has been seen (p. 26 *supra*), the policy of employing men of whom it can definitely be said that their active careers are over has few followers, though it has many advocates. Men of middle age, robust or broken down, respectable or the reverse, are found on many links, but either they are outside the ring of regular caddies, or they are the exceptions among these.

But at Walton Heath the establishment of a generous guaranteed wage is understood to have attracted men of good character, and this club seems to have shaped its policy to that end.

The arrangements made there tend to show that to keep together a staff of men, many of whom have wives and families, is a scheme that demands some financial nursing on the part of the club. In addition to the guaranteed wage, for which the club does not recoup itself at all, and the allowance during sickness or Territorial service, loans are frequently made to the caddies, a good part of which are written off from time to time. There are forty caddies, and the amount made up on the guarantee from November, 1908, to October, 1911, inclusive was £162 15s. 11d.

At Coombe Hill (opened in the summer of 1911), the co-operation of the Kingston Labour Exchange is obtained, but the work of the men supplied by it

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is confined to Saturdays and Sundays. On week days twenty-eight regular men caddies are employed. On Saturday the Labour Exchange men get preferential treatment after the regular caddies, and on Sundays the club guarantees every such man is, if he is not employed. The secretary of this club reports that the chief difficulty found is that many of the Labour Exchange men will not wait any time, but expect to be employed at once, while others whose attendance is counted upon do not turn up at all; but this of course may be due to local conditions.

Most of the men sent have carried before; to novices the Labour Exchange gives a few lessons in the names of the various clubs, etc., but in their case the trouble is that they do not know the course. Permission is given to them to go round the course in charge of a regular caddie without payment, so as to equip themselves. It is apparent, however, that this will not familiarize them very far with the requirements of the game.

At Purley Downs the committee offered, through the Croydon Guild of Help and other agencies, to give employment to men who, through physical infirmity, were incapacitated from following their regular employment. The intention of the Committee was to engage a number of men, preferably pensioners—to be styled "Staff Caddies"—who, for a small wage, could be called upon to do light work on the course when not wanted to carry clubs. So far very few suitable men have presented them-

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selves, and at present there are only three such men in the employ of the club.

The secretary of the Croydon Guild of Help reports that the work always turned out to be too hard for men sent by the guild.

At Royal St George's, Sandwich,* a benefit club has been running for over a year which helps to put the employment of men caddies on a more stable basis. It is managed by a President and a Committee, Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary, appointed by the Committee of the golf club. Green-men, club waiters and shop-men are allowed to join it as well as caddies. The income is derived partly from subscriptions from members of the benefit club. All the caddies are over eighteen; boys are not allowed. The caddies and other members of the Benefit Club pay not less than 3d. a week. When incapacitated by sickness they receive, on production of a doctor's certificate, 10s. a week for eight weeks, and 5s. for the next eight weeks, but no member must receive more than £6 in one year.

Interest at the rate of 5 per cent and a bonus is added to the balances at the end of the year, and any member leaving the club may have a bonus added to his savings.

Members may, at the discretion of the committee, withdraw not more than 5s. a week of their own money, provided they have 10s. in the fund. Caddies who are members of a registered Friendly Society

* These particulars have been furnished by the Caddies' Aid Association.

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are not required to join the club, but may receive a special bonus out of the funds subscribed by members of the golf club. Members of the benefit club are fined for unpunctuality in their weekly payments.*

(2) *Employment of boys.*—Of the twenty-nine London clubs inspected it has been seen that six out of nine, where an age limit is fixed, take no caddies over eighteen, and try to get rid of them at that age, and these may be said to be guided by a definite policy; and some of these, as well as some of the other London and provincial clubs where a large proportion of the caddies are, as a fact, young, have taken steps to lessen the dangers either of the present or of the future, or of both.

* In this connexion the effect of the National Insurance Act 1911 may be noted. It seems clear that a Golf Caddie (if over sixteen and under sixty-five years of age) is a person falling within the definition of persons to be compulsorily insured contained in Schedule I, Part I (a) of the Act, and as his employment is "for the purposes of a game or recreation where the persons employed are engaged or paid through a club" it does not come within the exception of "employment of a casual nature" contained in Part II (h) of the same Schedule; and Section 49 further provides for the insurance of similar persons who at the commencement of the Act are between the ages of sixty-five and seventy: the Club is deemed to be the employer.

It appears possible therefore that private schemes like that described above will be partly superseded by the Act, and also that neither a fixed wage nor a compulsory training scheme would add anything to the liabilities of the Golf Club under the Act in question. It will, in fact, be to the advantage of a club to eliminate the otherwise unemployed and casual caddie as far as possible, as it seems likely that troublesome questions will arise as to the insurance of these.

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(a) Social Influences.

At Mid-Surrey a caddies' club was started about twelve years ago by the present caddie-master, originally on a very small scale, and housed at the caddies' own expense. It has now at its disposal a large club-room, provided four years ago by the members of the golf club at the cost of £600. This is open three nights a week and all day; and good food is provided at a coffee bar in the building. Occasional concerts and lectures are held. The latter have not been very popular, but the ordinary club nights are regularly made use of, the caddies living mainly in the neighbourhood. Books and games are provided.

The club is managed by the caddies themselves through a committee. The points to be noted in connexion with it are not only the expensiveness of the building, and the adequacy of the arrangements generally, but the small beginnings it sprang from, and the immense effect it has had on the *moral* of the caddies.*

At Sunningdale a somewhat similar club-room is provided, which also cost a large sum, near the members' club-house. It forms part of a building, of which the remainder is occupied by a kitchen or coffee bar, where good cheap food is supplied to caddies and can be debited to their earnings if desired, and by a class room. Books are provided,

* A further account of this club is thought worth giving in Appendix C.

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and the caddies, when not wanted, can play cards or other games without money, instead of gambling under hedges. The room is made use of chiefly in the day time, as the caddies live some distance off.

At Sundridge Park a Caddies' Association was started in December, 1910, by members of the golf club, with an independent committee. A lending library of 287 books is housed in St Mary's Schools, which is lent, one evening a week, for the purpose of the special classes referred to later. The library is open on that evening and the chairman of the Caddies' Association attends personally. The Association also manages, with success, a boot and clothing department.

There is at present, for want of funds, no special club-room on the premises, so that the caddies must still spend their spare time during the day in the ordinary surroundings.

The existence of such an Association is obviously a social influence of the greatest importance apart from its many particular activities.*

At Birkdale there is also a Caddies' Association on the same basis of independence, now in its fourth year. There is a club-house rented at £35 per annum (not on the golf club premises, but near the boys' homes) where there are books and magazines, and where Wednesday evening lectures, and concerts are held successfully in the new Recreation Room, built at the cost of £260, which also proves

* The report and balance sheet of this Association is given in Appendix D.

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useful for drill and the classes referred to hereafter. The caddie-master is employed as caretaker at the boys' club. There is a clothing club to which the caddies subscribed £44 in 1911; they also subscribed £10 to the general purposes of the club. It has been stated by the secretary of the Birkdale Caddies' Association that an annual subscription of five shillings from each member of the golf club would more than suffice to keep the club going, but it appears that the actual amount subscribed is contributed by about 150 out of 450 members (including ladies).*

At Woodford all caddies have to become members of the Woodford Green Boys' Club (an outside institution) and to conform in every respect to its rules. Two-pence per week is deducted from their payment as subscription. It is reported that membership of this club has a good effect on the caddies.

Both Mid-Surrey and Sundridge Park, in addition to Walton Heath, encourage caddies to join the Territorial Force, the latter club offering a bounty to those who do so.

At Mid-Surrey, Woking, Sandy Lodge and Wembley the caddies are allowed to play golf on the course at times when they will not interfere with the members.

(b) Inculcation of Thrift.

At Sundridge Park there is a penny bank under the Post Office Savings Bank, but at present there

* The material part of the report of this Association is given in Appendix E.

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are only eight depositors, in spite of the inducement offered by the Committee, who contribute 1s. to each account opened, and make the interest up to 5 per cent.

At Sheringham caddies may bank 1d. or more on each round, and 5 per cent is paid each half year. One week's notice has to be given before making a withdrawal.

At Fulwell a savings bank of the same kind has just been started.

(c) Education and Training Schemes.

A distinction must be drawn between those schemes in which the caddie is only required or encouraged to avail himself of facilities open to the general public, and those which are specially planned. Differences both in the scope and effectiveness of the training, and the disciplinary purpose which it fulfils, arise from this distinction. The evening class at a continuation or evening school is a type of the one; practical work on the premises during the day-time of the other; but there are also cases where the evening classes are confined to caddies and adapted to their special requirements.

(i) *Public Evening Classes.*

Prince's (Mitcham).—The caddies, who are all under eighteen, have ever since 1890 been required, and still are required, to attend the Mitcham evening schools at least two nights in

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the week. These boys are young and at the evening schools they are given a better knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic than they brought away from the elementary school, together with physical drill, and instruction in woodwork and draughtsmanship.

Purley Downs.—Caddies between the ages of fourteen and eighteen are required to attend the Polytechnic classes at Croydon from October to April inclusive. The Polytechnic charges 10s. a boy for the whole session, and to meet this cost players are charged 1d. extra per round. The boys may choose the trade in which they are to be instructed.

Nine boys have recently attended a special carpentry class, and one a plumbing class. In the case of a boy living at a distance, his tram fare is paid.

A report is received at intervals from the superintendent of the Polytechnic stating the number of times each caddie has attended the classes. If any boy does not attend regularly and cannot give a good reason for his absence, he is reprimanded by the secretary of the club, and, in some cases, forbidden to act as caddie on the course for a certain number of days.

Sundridge Park.—A few of the caddies in 1911 attended voluntarily a carpentry class, and a few a painting and papering class under the Kent Higher Sub-Committee, their fees being paid out of a special donation by a member of the Caddies' Association.

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(ii) *Private Evening Classes.*

Sunningdale.—There are on the club premises both an excellent class-room and a large and well equipped carpentry workshop. Each caddie is expected to attend a class in each once a week during the winter months. At the former he is given general instruction, especially in arithmetic of the kind that would be most useful in market gardening or agricultural business; in the workshop he learns the use of tools and does practical work in carpentry. Both classes are held under the auspices of the Surrey Education Committee, who supply competent teachers.

It has not been found possible to enforce attendance strictly, but the attendance is good. This result is perhaps helped by the fact that tea is provided free on class nights.

Sundridge Park.—In connexion with the Caddies' Association's gardening scheme, theoretical instruction is given by means of a lecture one evening a week to caddies joining the scheme; but the scheme itself is voluntary. It is dealt with as a whole below.

Birkdale.—At Birkdale practical instruction in bootmaking and tailoring is given at evening classes in a workshop forming part of the clubhouse before referred to.

Sheringham.—A special carpentry and drawing class was started in the end of 1911 to suit the needs of caddies for whom the usual classes were

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too advanced. These have been held under the direction of the Norfolk Education Committee, with the co-operation of a special sub-committee of the golf club.

The class is held for two hours twice a week, and the course consists of twenty-five lessons. The teacher's salary and the cost of wood are paid for by the education committee, and the class has free use of the carpenter's shop and tools of the Council school.

Five boys have also attended a public class in seamanship. It is said that the Sheringham caddies are working well, but no formal report has yet been made.

(iii) Practical Training during the Daytime.

At Hanger Hill the caddies are of varying ages, from about fifteen to twenty-six years. A piece of land of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres, forming part of the golf club's grounds, was, in the beginning of 1911, converted into market garden ground, for the specific purpose of instructing the caddies in market gardening. The caddies did most of the work themselves after the first ploughing. At first the land was divided into allotments, but this plan was abandoned in favour of a common garden. A skilled gardener was engaged, having experience in the colonies and being skilled in the management of boys, and the following system has been evolved.

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All regular caddies are expected to work in the garden, under the direction of the gardener, who is retained for this purpose only. The hours during which the garden is open are 7 a.m. to 5 p.m.; but the caddies do not work in fixed numbers, nor at fixed hours, but according as the amount of carrying to be done permits. They are not paid extra, and carry clubs on the ordinary piece-work system. The produce of the garden is sold to the golf club and to members, and it is expected that there will be a ready market, if wanted, outside. Net profits from the garden are intended to be divided among the caddies according to the work done, of which a record is kept.

No inconvenience to members requiring caddies is thought to have resulted, although the inclination on the part of the former to demand particular caddies has tended to disturb the system of rotation which is necessary if the caddies are to settle down to work.

The garden got into working order too late in the season and suffered from drought in the summer, so that its producing power for 1911 was put to a severe test. In spite of this, it has made a good start. The committee has aimed at laying a good foundation rather than producing quick results, and it was not anticipated that the garden would pay before its third year.

Expenses for 1911, mainly initial, amounted to a little over £50 in addition to the gardener's

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wages, at the rate of £78 per annum. Owing to the causes before mentioned, no sales could be made before July; the aggregate sales for the next four months amounted to £32, nearly the whole of which was distributed among the caddies. The Education authorities made a grant of an annual £50, and their report is favourable. The secretary states that the sales for 1912 will probably be trebled, and that the year after there is a chance of the garden being a commercial success.

The caddies take a keen interest in the garden, and work well. They were not originally of a superior class. In age they are mostly of the young adult category; the one who has taken most kindly to the scheme and is the most promising worker is twenty-six years of age. There have been no cases of theft from the garden. The reason why a common garden was preferred to allotments was that it was easier on that system to secure continuity of attention.

The work is entirely practical and no technical lectures are attended, though some elementary books have been purchased and given to the boys to read. The distance of the caddies' homes would be an obstacle to evening classes, and they are fully occupied in the garden in their spare daytime.

At Sundridge Park the caddies are mostly under eighteen, but there are a few men. The Sundridge Park Caddies' Association has ac-

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quired from the golf club, rent free, a tenancy of a piece of land forming part of the premises, together with the use of a potting and tool shed. This land measures 110 yards by 30, and is divided into a common plot and individual plots of ten yards square. The land is used for the purpose of affording practical instruction in gardening to such of the caddies as desire it, together with the opportunity of raising garden produce for their own use. A class divided into two sections is held in the garden or in the potting shed for one hour each week; the caddies may work in their plots in their spare time, and the instructor will generally be available to give advice. On the common plot sample trees and plants are grown, and pruning, budding and grafting taught. To supplement this practical instruction a lecture is given once a week in the evening during the winter. Teaching of both kinds is under the auspices of the Kent Higher Education Sub-Committee, who provide the salary of the instructor, tools and appliances, plants, and seeds to a certain amount, and also the use of a room for classes, but the Association pays the Education fees. The head green-keeper is himself a competent gardener and lecturer, and has been selected for the post of instructor. The class was started on October 16, 1911, and since that date the garden land has been prepared, being trenched

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by the caddies themselves, and is now cropped. The result of the practical work remains to be seen. About one-third of the caddies have so far joined in the garden scheme (which is entirely optional, and is extended to the ground staff also) and the classes have been well attended by them. The system of individual plots was adopted on the theory that a feeling of private ownership would be an incentive to each boy. The capital expenditure on the garden up to December 31 was £11 16s., and the education fees were £5 6s. 6d.

It may be mentioned that the ground staff is largely recruited from the caddies, and from time to time furnishes green-keepers to other clubs; and so there is a flow of promotion in this technical trade which may be further stimulated as the ground staff and caddies get better trained by means of the gardening classes.

At Fulwell a scheme has been worked by a Caddies' Committee since November 1, 1910, under which a certain number of regular caddies (till quite recently eight out of seventeen, the number having just been increased to twelve) who are under seventeen years of age are taught carpentry in a practical manner. A good workshop has been fitted up, and is in charge of the caddie-master, an ex-army man, who is a skilled carpenter. The nominal hours

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of attendance in the shop are from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. in winter, and from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. in summer, except on Saturdays and Sundays. These hours are, of course, broken into by the requirements of players, and in practice are somewhat shorter in any case, but on an average each boy does from three to three and a half hours carpentry each day. The caddies are also employed in the garden as opportunity occurs.

These boys are paid a fixed wage, extending over the week-days, as before mentioned. Those who are first class caddies get 5s., the second class 4s. The caddie-master is paid 7s. 6d. extra as instructor. The Middlesex Education Committee makes an annual grant of £12 10s.

The capital cost of starting the scheme was £72 2s. The maintenance expenses of the carpentry part of the scheme, being instructor's extra wages and wood materials, amounted in 1911 to £68 10s. 5d., against which must be set the sale of articles amounting to £9 6s. 10d. The profits on the fixed wage system were, however, enough to wipe out the deficiency, owing to the exceptionally good golfing weather. The combination of instruction and a fixed wage, therefore, has enabled the caddies to be trained without loss after the scheme was established. The average weekly earnings of a regular caddie at Fulwell have been seen to be 6s. 11d., so that under the scheme he gets training, occupation and a steady wage of 5s. or 4s.

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instead of a fluctuating wage of which the average is 6s. 11d., and the common temptations and disabilities. The principle of a fixed wage is considered satisfactory, and the boys see the advantages of it.

The training accustoms the boys to the use of tools; they do not become highly skilled carpenters, but learn to do all sorts of rough handiwork.

The scheme is voluntary in the sense that joining in it is not at present made a condition of regular employment, but those taking advantage of it must submit to it in detail.*

At Woking a scheme is in force, which may properly be called a training scheme, though no special trade is taught. The club takes its regular caddies, from twenty-four to thirty in number, direct from school, and keeps them until they are about eighteen. They have regular hours, in summer from 7.30 a.m. to 5 p.m., and in winter from 8 a.m. to 4.30 p.m. During these hours, and when not required for carrying, they work either on the course (this is the principal occupation of their spare hours), or in the club's vegetable garden, or in making the sweeping brushes used on the course. The amount of gardening they do does not teach them a great deal, but they learn enough about methods of planting, etc., to make them acceptable in the

*The report of the Fulwell Golf Club on the first year's working will be found in Appendix F.

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neighbouring nurseries. Their work on the course also familiarises them with the use of simple gardening tools, and gives them some elementary knowledge of green-keeping. They do no actual carpentry, but get handy in the practice of such jobs as making up their sweepers. The caddies are paid a small extra wage in consideration of the work they do in addition to the carrying of clubs.

No difficulty has here been found in supervision, even over the scattered area of the course; this is probably due to the excellence of the caddie-master's arrangements. Members help in the scheme by showing forbearance in the matter of preference for particular caddies. The moral effect of the discipline has been admirable, and it is reputed that to have been a caddie at this club is a recommendation in the neighbourhood both of the character and capabilities of the boys. With regard to the latter it must be borne in mind that the local demand is largely for beginners in market gardens.*

At Sunningdale the caddies are practically all under eighteen. While employment on the course does not amount definitely to a training system, nor occupy all the caddies, it is better organized than at most clubs, and may be thought

* A letter from Mr J. Stuart Paton which appeared in "The Spectator" of Feb. 19, 1910, is reprinted in Appendix G.

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to add to their prospects in an agricultural neighbourhood. About half the caddies are so employed in three squads at a time, as opportunity occurs, each boy doing about ten hours' work a week.

At Sheringham a piece of ground has been assigned for the use of caddies, and is divided into allotments. The boys receive instruction in gardening, when not carrying clubs. Marks are given for the best kept garden, and for proficiency shown in the subject.

At Ipswich a scheme for benefiting caddies was started in 1911. There are about twenty-six regular caddies, aged fourteen to twenty, and fifteen of them have availed themselves of the scheme. A piece of land near the club-house has been hired and laid out in allotments, which the caddies cultivate in their spare time. A working gardener instructed them for several weeks. The scheme is managed by a sub-committee, and the tools and the rent of the land were paid for by subscriptions from members of the club. *

It will be noted that here the caddies appear to be left to their own devices, and that no provision is made for continued instruction.

At Birkdale the details of a scheme for affording practical instruction in gardening to caddies is under consideration by the Birkdale

* These particulars have been furnished by the Caddies' Aid Association.

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Golf Club Caddies' Association, land adjoining the club buildings having been allotted by the golf club.

(3) COMMENTS.

Having examined some of the methods that have been devised to further these several lines of policy, it is possible to judge to some extent which is the best adapted to its particular end. Such criticism cannot of course be final until the test of longer experience can be applied. The movement in favour of the caddie is itself recent, and the more drastic experiments are new.

(a) Of the policy of employing grown men there are, as has been seen, but few examples. It seems clear, however, that it is not enough merely to decide to employ persons over a certain age. In the search for them it will be necessary to have recourse to Labour Exchanges and other organized sources of supply, asking for men of good character, preferably for those that are rather superannuated than disabled; the desirability of getting such men as have some other means of support must be borne in mind, and the club must be ready in return for the regular services of competent men to give a fair fixed wage, or at least to guarantee that the earnings will not fall below a certain amount, and to devise some formal or informal means of tiding them over bad times. While no doubt any amount of the nation's damaged material can be had for the asking, the greater part of it will be found useless for the work.

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Recent legislation, when it comes into force, will possibly help by creating a class of pensioners some of whom may be useful, and also by contributing to the amount sunk in insurance.

(b) Those clubs that limit themselves to the endeavour to keep the young caddie's general environment wholesome need not look far for an indication of the lines along which they can work. With a little organization they can provide occupation on the course, and this will be to their own benefit, as bunkers, etc., will be kept in better condition. A small additional wage somewhat arbitrarily based on the amount of work done is good to prevent dissatisfaction or strikes among the caddies. The chief difficulty will be that of supervision, but some check can be kept by setting definite tasks rather than relying on time work. The scattering of caddies over the course will call for some forbearance on the part of members; one of a caddie-master's difficulties in the way of organization arises from the demand for favourite caddies.

The provision of proper washing and sanitary arrangements is necessary to improve the standard of cleanliness and decency, and the provision of means for getting good food is important from the physical standpoint.

The good that can be done by personal interest among members and the provision of various means of recreation and mental improvement need not be insisted on. It is not necessary to build an expensive institute, but such means can be much better pro-

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vided if the caddies have a room which they can look on as a club-room. If this can be managed, it may be the beginning of a caddies' club which, with encouragement, will be the chief factor in their struggle towards self-respect. It seems that the formation of a caddies' club, even if poorly housed, is much better than the opportunity to join some outside organization; indeed it is thought that the key to the improvement of the type is the recognition of the fact that the regular caddies at any club form a well marked social unit which does not readily coalesce with other social units. Two things should be avoided: the drawing off of the better boys into a select circle, and the attempt to impose too much from above. Caddies, unless they are very young, are quite capable of organizing themselves, if some one will provide the impetus and the opportunity, and it is much better that they should do so.

Something will depend on local conditions. In districts where they come from fair homes, or from a distance, the club's best opportunity is found in the daytime, and what is done must be done on the premises; in other places something can be arranged in the evenings also to keep them off the streets, and the use of a club-room off the premises is in such cases better than nothing. But generally speaking the golf club itself is the natural centre of their social life.

(c) More divergence of method is seen when the task is rightly undertaken of giving the caddie some practical equipment for after life. In some cases the

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club limits itself to providing a more or less real opportunity for learning, in others it undertakes the responsibility of training, and does what it can to supply the initiative and continuity of purpose that is generally wanting in the caddie himself.

The least effectual method is that of voluntary attendance at an evening class. There are two obvious reasons for this; firstly that only the exceptional boys will go at all, though this can be remedied by making attendance a condition of employment; and secondly that, good as such classes may be, they do nothing to improve discipline during the day, and are too infrequent and not practical enough, even when the subject is a technical one. Moreover, the kindness of expecting caddies, after their day's work, to go long distances to attend classes may be called in question. Such classes are more useful when they are held for the caddies only, and are specially adapted to their needs and convenience, as at Sunningdale, Birkdale and Sundridge Park, or are intended to supplement practical work as at the last.

It is from practical work during the spare hours of the daytime that the caddie has the best chance of learning the habit of work, and gaining some real knowledge and skill. He cannot, however, teach himself and he will not submit to be taught entirely of his own accord. Those schemes will therefore be the most thorough which, like the Hanger Hill and Woking schemes, are imposed on all caddies; but good results will also be obtained on a smaller scale where the scheme itself is not compulsory, but

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discipline and compulsion are features within its limits, as at Fulwell. Good results in other directions may be obtained where caddies are allowed to do gardening or other practical work if they have a taste for it, but this is more in the nature of the encouragement of a hobby than anything else.

The training, to have more than a disciplinary effect, must aim at teaching something over and above the work of a caddie.

It must be suitable to their class and environment and must be thorough. It cannot and ought not to be highly specialized, and the aim of the pioneer clubs has properly been to turn out men who have the primary qualifications which are necessary for all manual trades, together with an elementary knowledge of one.

In this respect it seems that the clubs whose schemes are based on the teaching either of gardening or carpentry are working in the right direction. It will have been seen that the training at Woking, though sometimes loosely described as work on the course, includes the use of tools and implements and is linked up with agricultural pursuits, and even so it is probable that the training there is more particularly adapted to the one locality. These two trades, gardening and carpentry, can conveniently be taught on the premises during the daytime.

Those clubs (Hanger Hill and Sundridge Park) which have adopted the former have been able to do so on a larger scale than is possible in the teaching of carpentry at Fulwell, as no special premises are

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required other than a spare portion of the grounds. The scope of the teaching, both theoretical and practical, is also wider and can be further extended, as more subsidiary qualifications are desirable in agricultural pursuits.

The examples of Hanger Hill and Fulwell show that the instruction is not necessarily occasional or superficial.

A good portion of the day, two to three and a half hours, at the shortest (and, in the case of the garden, the slackest) time of the year, was reported to be about the amount of work then being done by each boy. It seems idle to say that this amount of work, if done steadily throughout the year under proper direction, will not, after a few years, result in a reasonable amount of competence.

As has been seen, the selection of a proper instructor is recognized to be one of the essentials of any scheme. The plan that seems most to recommend itself is that of employing a competent man who has no other duties. It is only possible for him satisfactorily to combine the part of caddie-master and instructor under circumstances such as exist at Fulwell, where the work is kept within a small space. The duties of an instructor in gardening and head green-keeper can be combined to a certain extent as at Sundridge Park, but this necessarily reduces the amount of time given to the instruction and supervision. At Woking the duty of supervision fits in naturally with the work of the head green-keeper and gardener.

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It is thought that none of the schemes hitherto started has involved a really formidable capital expense, considering that they were new experiments. The annual gross expense is not large. The garden produce at Hanger Hill finds, as might be expected, a readier market than the articles made at Fulwell.

The opinion and general practice of those who have been responsible for schemes of this kind, as well as for other movements intended to benefit the caddie, are in favour of working them as far as possible by means of a committee independent of the general committee of the golf club. The planning and carrying out of details thus becomes the business of a body created for the purpose, consisting of those who are most interested in the matter, and able to co-opt women and others not eligible for the general committee.

What has been said above by way of comment has made a clear distinction between the practice of those clubs that employ men and those that employ boys. It has been shown that there are clubs which have no definite policy in either direction, but employ men and boys together without discrimination. It is apparent that under the conditions which do, and to a great extent must, prevail, this is a bad system. At its best it means that men and boys are put on the same footing, so that neither of the systems proper for the one or the other can be put in force; at its worst it means quick demoralization. It is very strongly urged that clubs should pursue a fixed policy in the matter of age.

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4. THE OUTLOOK FOR THE TRAINED CADDIE.

One question must be touched on, and that is whether the state of the labour market is such as to make it worth while to train caddies. It is said sometimes that, trained or untrained, they will come to the same end—unemployment. Such a view amounts to this—that there are not only too many unskilled boys, but too many moderately skilled men also; that there is no opening anywhere, and that the kindest thing is to leave the caddie, whether boy or adult, to enjoy his short and unprofitable career.

But the scarcity of employment can never be made a reason for the deliberate manufacture, either actively or by omission, of unemployables. It is an argument that might be used by the idle caddie himself, or by the workers who feared his competition; but the good of the community surely demands that the law of selection should operate over as large an area as possible. It may be well to eliminate the unfit, it is not well merely to eliminate the young. It is a good thing carefully to compare the openings that can be found for these, but if a chance anywhere can be found it must be given them.

It is believed that such a chance exists in England in one particular direction, that of the various forms of trade gardening. Expert advice has been taken, from which it appears that the supply of men having some knowledge of this does not equal

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the demand. It is knowledge, moreover, that can be gained on the golf course, and the getting of it implies the sort of training that converts the loafer into the man who is not afraid of hard work, and brings him into conflict with no interests. Either combined with it or alone can be taught those forms of carpentry which unite some specialized skill with a general handiness. Here, probably, the demand is not so good, and the form of training unacceptable to the trade union, but the man who can use tools can get jobs which an unskilled man cannot.

Moreover, the Colonies want men from us. They do not want our sweepings. If we are to help them and ourselves we must send them out, not our best, for this would weaken us, but material worth having. The man who does well there is the young man who has learned to work, who knows how to tackle with both hands the rough business of life in a new country. Caddies—picked boys—are known, who, having gone out without preparation, lost their chance, and were lost to Canada, because they had never worked, and could handle nothing, from a spade to a saw, and did not care to try. It might have been different if they had done some rough work, and had had to do it, for a few hours every day.

It is said that only a proportion of any given number of boys will take to the particular training adopted. This difficulty does not seem to have arisen in practice, and need not arise unless the attempt is made to teach very specialized trades.

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VII. THE CADDIE AND BOY LABOUR GENERALLY

The greater part of the last section was devoted to an examination and a discussion of the methods by which it has been proposed or attempted to provide for the present and future welfare of the young caddie. But it has been left an open question whether or not the young caddie himself ought to be allowed to exist. From the facts set out it is thought that the following conclusions may fairly be drawn:

1. That not the work itself, but the environment, may be very demoralizing.
2. That the occupation of a caddie has no natural exit.

The question will then rightly be asked whether, whatever may be the attitude of those who, in fact, make use of the services of boys as caddies, any impartial inquirer can do more than pronounce them to be wronging the community, without comment on their efforts to palliate the evils of the system. If the caddie question could be isolated from the problems of boy labour generally, if this one class of boys were being lured away from any certain prospect of better things, there could be only one answer, that golfers were themselves first creating and then endeavouring to minimize an evil.

But nothing has been found in connexion with the trade of a caddie which makes it an inherently

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vicious one. Its badness consists rather in what it is not than in what it is. It is only demoralizing because it does not give certain things; if it is possible to supply these things, its bad features, as far as the present is concerned, disappear or are turned into good ones.

It is the outlook for the future, however, that is the real test. It is not the annoyance caused to a neighbourhood by a handful of ill-behaved caddies that is serious; it is the waste of the nation's material. The golf caddie at eighteen may have been made as smart and well-mannered as the telegraph boy; he will then, if he can do nothing but carry clubs, be in the same position as the telegraph boy; that is to say, he will have come to the end of a blind-alley. Certainly, the most obvious way in which a golf club can rid itself of this reproach is to block the entrance of the blind-alley. Only, in that case, what becomes of the boy?

In order to get some idea of his chances, Table II in Mr R. A. Bray's *Boy Labour and Apprenticeship* (p. 116) may be consulted. It shows that of a total of 1,020 boys leaving the elementary schools in 1906-7 and 1907-8, in the electoral areas of Dulwich and Lewisham, which he regards as typical of suburban villadom (and this is the sort of district which supports the majority of London golf clubs*) 34.31 per cent had entered the employments included under the heading "Transport" (messengers, er-

* There are, as a matter of fact, at least eight important golf clubs in this neighbourhood.

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rand-boys, van-boys, etc.); 12.35 per cent those included in "Shopkeepers" (which also includes a large proportion of errand-boys); 2.64 per cent those coming under the category of domestic labour (lather-boys, page-boys, club-boys and knife-boys); 5.29 per cent those headed "General labour" (such as boys in warehouses, etc.), and 6.17 per cent remained unemployed. Sixty-one per cent of the boys of this neighbourhood, therefore, either entered unskilled trades or remained unemployed.

Making a good allowance for those whose employments might lead to permanent situations, it may well be said that 50 per cent of these boys entered, or were likely to enter, blind-alley employments.

From the same table it appears that of the same 1,020 boys 14.86 entered some trade or industry. A Report of the London County Council (*Report on the Apprenticeship Question*: L.C.C. publications) makes it apparent that many of these boys are in no better position than the fifty per cent mentioned above. It states that "even if on leaving school he obtains employment in a workshop his prospects may not be materially improved. . . . If he is taken into the shop as a learner he has little chance of getting an all-round training. . . ." "It is thus possible" (this is a quotation from the Advisory Committee of the L.C.C. Shoreditch Technical Institute) "for a boy to be at one branch of a trade for a few months only, and when bad trade intervenes he is out of employment and frequently finds himself at twenty years of age without a definite knowledge of any craft what-

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ever, and he swells the ranks of the unemployed.” “We have reason to believe that if a similar inquiry were made into other trades” (other, that is, than woodworking) “the same unsatisfactory position would be disclosed: either the training is one-sided, or there is no training at all.”

It appears, then, that of the 14.86 per cent of the boys mentioned above who entered a trade or industry a large proportion were in reality no more hopefully situated than the boys admittedly engaged in blind-alley occupations; and it is feared that the same may be said of the 15.38 per cent classed under “Commercial Occupations.”

Only 7.45 per cent are entered under the heading “Higher Education.”

These and similar figures lead Mr Bray to conclude that “in London the provision of supervision, of training, and of an opening is alike defective, and beyond the age of fourteen, for the majority of boys, can hardly be said to exist at all; and, what is more serious, we are face to face with a state of affairs where there is no sign of improvement, and where all tendencies indicate for the future an accelerated rate of progressive failure. . . .” “We may take it as a well-established fact that, in other towns besides London, supervision, training and the provision of an opening are alike gravely and progressively defective” and of the country “we may perhaps therefore assume that while the conditions of boy labour are more favourable in rural districts than they are in towns, the old machinery of training is

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falling into disuse and no adequate substitute is taking its place."

Turning now to the conditions which actually exist in the blind-alley occupations mentioned by Mr Bray, the following extracts may usefully be quoted from an article on the van-boy by Miss K. I. M. Medley in the *Economic Review* for 1911 and reprinted by the Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Association.

"The duties of a van-boy are no doubt well known. In the large towns it is contrary to the police regulations to allow vans and carts to remain long unattended; hence a boy is carried to watch the van while the carman is delivering the goods. The boy learns little, except a slight knowledge of horses, and his way about the streets. The hours, although excessively long, are interspersed with intervals of waiting about in idleness. In fact, it is a life which offers special temptations, and works against the formation of habits of industry and application. A partial antidote to these deteriorating influences might be found in a system of attendance at evening classes or a continuation school; but in the majority of cases the length and uncertainty of hours worked makes any such scheme impracticable."

"The seventy-two cases here analysed have been selected from various districts of London, from certain large English towns and from various branches of the transport trade, so it is believed that they are fairly typical instances.

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	50-55 hrs.	55-60 hrs.	60-65 hrs.	65-70 hrs.	70-75 hrs.	75-80 hrs.	80-85 hrs.	85-90 hrs.	90-95 hrs.	95-100 hrs.	100 hrs. and over.	Also worked over-time beyond average hrs. given.	Also worked on Sundays.	Casual.	No time given for meals.
Boys	3	3	5	15	23	8	6	3	4	1	1	31	3	6	18

“It will be seen from this table—especially when it is noted that, in addition to these average hours, thirty-one boys worked overtime—that in very few cases would the hours worked permit of the boys attending a night school. The cases in which sixty hours or less are worked are those of lads who work two days on the vans and the rest of the week in the shop or factory. The hours given are inclusive of meals, but it was ascertained that in eighteen cases these had to be taken ‘when they could be got.’ In one or two cases glaring instances of occasional over-work were given. A boy in a large midland town employed on a country round had worked on one occasion from 8.30 one morning to 8.30 the next. Several said they had often worked for two or three days in succession from 6 or 7 a.m. to 1 or 2 a.m. A lad of fifteen who worked for six months with a large carrier in the provinces said he was never home before 11 p.m., and rarely before midnight or 1 a.m. One London lad habitually worked for three nights a week till 9 p.m., and for the other three nights till between 1 and 4 a.m. Another lad of fourteen said he had worked till 1.30 a.m. on the three consecutive nights preceding the inquiry, and thought 10.45 p.m. ‘early to get home.’

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“The solitary instance of attendance at a night school was that of a boy of twelve years and eleven months whose weekly average was seventy-two hours. In this case, owing to his having been exempted from the day school at an early age, attendance at night school was compulsory; but it is difficult to believe that a boy of twelve or thirteen could apply himself properly to study after being out twelve hours with a van. It is almost impossible that lads employed from 85 to 100 hours a week can find time to cultivate any healthy amusements and hobbies, much less be willing, or even able, to attend evening classes.

“Evidence was also obtained from employers and other persons of experience, which tended to confirm the statements made by the boys themselves. The Secretary of the Carmen’s Union considered a fourteen hours’ day for a van-guard quite normal. An official of one of the best and most considerate firms of carriers admitted that their youngest lads worked thirteen hours a day. An official of a large railway company gave the average hours of their van-guards as from twelve to fourteen. Mr Charles Booth found that the average week for carmen and van-boys was from 96 to 100 hours.”

“Mr Cyril Jackson, in his report on Boy Labour to the Poor Law Commission, gives some valuable information on the prospects and drift of van-labour as a whole. Out of 150 lads who had at any time been employed as van-boys, at twenty-two years of age only 36 per cent were working as carmen, and

The Caddie and Boy Labour

of those some did not seek it as their first job. Very few boys who begin as van-guards get into skilled trades; in fact, the percentage is even smaller than for errand boys."

Again, in a letter on the subject of Boy Labour which appeared in *The Times* of February 1, 1912, over the signatures of many persons entitled to speak with authority, it is stated, after endorsement of the report in question: "Unsatisfactory as are the conditions under which the bulk of van-boys have to work it is probable that the lot of the errand boy, viewed as a preparation for adult life, is still more unsatisfactory. The hours are more uncertain, the intervals for meals in many cases most uncertain, and on some nights—particularly Saturday nights—boys are often worked till 11 p.m. and later. Moreover they have frequently to carry packages so heavy as seriously to overtax their strength. If space permitted particulars could be given as surprising and as unsatisfactory as those relating to van-boys."

In Appendix H will be found some particulars of the wages, hours and period of probation in some of the commoner London trades of a more skilled kind, and the way in which they are entered.

These show that a boy taking them up must, in some cases, be prepared to pay a considerable premium, to work for some years for a low wage, and for a number of hours per week which make it difficult for him to devote his spare time to any form of education. In cases where no premium or apprenticeship is required, the process of picking

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up a trade will not be accompanied by any security against unemployment.

To this must be added the fact that an opening in a given trade cannot always be obtained locally.

These facts make it easy to understand that it is an economic impossibility for the children of many poor parents, settled in a particular locality, to go early into a skilled trade. It is idle to suppose that under present conditions such trades absorb a very appreciable percentage of those boys who could now pass into employments to the consideration of which this section has been mainly devoted. If the conditions obtaining in these are compared with those under which a golf caddie works, it will be seen how much more favourable an opportunity for training and influence is here afforded where the attractive feature of a high immediate wage is also present.

It is thought, therefore, that a golf club which uses boys as caddies, and at the same time undertakes to give them proper training and occupation in their spare time, is doing more, both actually and by example, to improve a bad state of affairs than a club which merely ceases to employ them.

Juvenile Advisory Committees

APPENDIX A

JUVENILE ADVISORY COMMITTEES

THESE are being established in connexion with the Board of Trade Labour Exchanges, and their function will be to assist boys and girls leaving the elementary schools in the choice of suitable employment, and subsequently to keep in touch with them after such employment is obtained, or advise them as to continued education. For this purpose they will work in close connexion with School Care Committees, which will, as far as possible, keep the Advisory Committees informed of the general ability, circumstances and qualifications of such boys and girls. Efforts will be made to help in the collection of industrial information as affecting juveniles and generally to better the organization and conditions of juvenile employment in the particular locality.

These committees will, therefore, form a body acting under official guidance with whom a golf club wanting a supply of respectable boys whether permanently or at intervals might with advantage be in touch, and as they are to be constituted partly of the representatives of employers it is probable that they would be glad of the services of a member representing one or more golf clubs within their district, where these absorbed any large proportion of boy labour.

Good progress has already been made in the organization of these committees in different parts of the country, especially in the county of Surrey.

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APPENDIX B

NOTES ON CERTAIN CASES.

THE supply of caddies is drawn from such varying sources that it would be unsafe to generalize in any way, or to pick out any cases and present them as typical. At the same time the Committee has in the course of its inquiry become acquainted with the home conditions of a certain number of caddies. As the selection has been determined entirely by the opportunity of obtaining such details, it may be said to have been made at random, and the following cases are presented only as being of general interest in connexion with the subject of this report, and not with the desire of producing a particular impression.

I. From a large club in a popular residential suburb in the south-west of London. Here about 50 per cent of the supply is drawn from the immediate locality, the rest from other suburbs within a two-mile radius, and it consists almost entirely of men. Much of the male population is without visible means; the women are of the wage-earning class.

1. Age 35; labourer, out of work; wife chars; one child; one room, 4s. 4d. per week, kept clean; is able-bodied but has no inclination to work; helped by charitable.

2. Age 46; a single labourer; one room, 6s.; two convictions.

3. Age 51; shop's porter out of work; wife chars;

Notes on Cases

five children; does not stick to jobs; has varicose veins.

4. Age 40; labourer, but no regular earnings; wife chaps; two young children; one room, 4s.; has been agricultural labourer and carman; demoralized by indiscriminate charity of old ladies who support him entirely, except for caddying.

5. Age 35; carman discharged for cruelty; wife chaps; seven children; unsatisfactory home; two rooms; bad health and blind in one eye.

6. Age 13; son of a labourer sometimes earning 26s. per week but generally out of work; mother dead; one of four children; a fairly satisfactory home, but rent in arrear; boy has been convicted of stealing potatoes; has been at a working boys' home; is to go to Australia shortly.

II. From a large club ten miles to the south-west of London. Here opportunities of employment are generally good, the chief occupations being those connected with market gardens, factories, gravel pits and gas works. There is not much demand for errand-boys. The caddies are practically all under eighteen.

1. Age 15; father a painter, £2 10s. per week; six in family; a respectable home, five rooms at 8s. per week; boy attained seventh standard and was a satisfactory scholar; he would like to go in for electrical engineering; attends an evening school; he "has gone down since he took to caddying."

2. Age 14½; father a jobbing carpenter, £2 10s. per week; six in family; a respectable home, 8s. 6d.



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per week; boy attained seventh standard; attends an evening school; would like to join the navy; "a nice boy."

3. Age 14; father a painter; total earnings of family, £2 4s. per week; six in family; respectable home, four rooms, 7s. per week; boy attained seventh standard; would like to be a motor engineer.

4. Age 16; father does yard work with Gas Co.; he and two sons earn £2 15s. altogether; six in family; house, five rooms, not good; boy attained sixth standard; no occupation in view, but would like to be a carman; has always been a caddie.

5. Age 15½; no father; two brothers at work, total earnings, £1 16s.; respectable home, five roomed house, 7s. per week; would like to be a painter.

III. From a fair-sized club ten miles north-east of London. The locality is a village swamped by villadom. There are no openings locally except for gardeners and painters, and no opportunity for boys, except for a limited number of errands. Caddies are not much wanted except at week-ends; half are school boys and half adults.

1. Three youths aged 24, 22, 20 respectively; father a plasterer regularly earning £3 per week; they have no home; various lodgings in winter, sleep out in summer; one is epileptic, one has heart disease, the third is very steady and most anxious for regular work.

2. Age 22; a tailor out of work; was in good work

Notes on Cases

till the police found him gambling on the course; lost job through this; has three infants; very poor home, but respectable.

3. Age 20; father a labourer, used to be employed by the Gas Co. till companies amalgamated; has a large family, and good home; caddie does not care for work.

4. Ages 28 and 24; father old, cadges and sells ginger beer; a rough lot and drifted into casual caddying; also hawk small goods; one of them boxes a little.

IV. From another club in the same neighbourhood as last, also semi-suburban. Half the supply is local. Caddies are boys. Most of the men are casuals of all classes. A good deal of market gardening, especially in summer. Of the boys in the neighbourhood 30 per cent run errands, some work in market gardens.

1. Age 14; father a casual labourer, about 24s.; one brother a green-man, another (an ex-caddie), a butcher boy; reached a low school standard; the authorities of an institution where he worked last summer are trying to get him into the navy, but he has bad sight.

2. Age 16; father a farm labourer; there are older and younger brothers; a bad home, worthless people; boy attained a low school standard; has been a cow-boy, and is going on a farm.

3. Age 16; father a farm labourer; two older brothers the same; a good home; low school standard; has been a cow-boy and gardener's boy; intends to farm.

4. Age 16; father a foreman plasterer, occasionally earns good wages, but drinks and goes away;

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one daughter employed at local Hippodrome; two other children; has no other occupation in view; his earnings are badly needed.

5. Age 16; father a carman, earning 35s. per week, and steady; several in family including one schoolboy; very good home; will probably take up his father's work; is caddying mainly for pocket money; stammers; caddying till stronger.

6. Age 18; father a district council road-man for many years at 25s. per week; brother has been a caddie, now a gardener; a good boy at school, but generally tired with errand work; just gone into a market garden; was always inclined to that work.

7. Age 18; father a plasterer out of work, kept by married sons, who have large families; lives in brother's house; total earnings of household about 28s.; is flat-footed, but well grown and intelligent; sent away by Country Boys' Society but returned owing to illness; would like to farm.

V. From a large club five miles to the north of London.

1. Age 60; a pensioned drover, 4s. 6d.; has two children; very honest and obliging, and popular with members.

2. Age 40; a grave-digger out of work; wife earns very little; has four or five children dependent; two boys caddy on Saturdays; is looking for work through Labour Exchange.

3. Age 25; a railway porter discharged through slack times; single; a good caddie and obliging.

4. A meat porter; has had a serious operation;

Notes on Cases

wife and son both earn something; three rooms, 7s. 6d.; is now unfitted for heavy work; does light work and errands to supplement.

5. Age 19; father a policeman out of London; three of the children have been caddies and are now doing well in other occupations; boy lodges with a friend; has no other occupation in view.

VI. From a fair-sized club thirty miles to the north-west of London, many of whose members come from London. It is a country neighbourhood, but there are factories and a brewery which absorb a good many of the local boys.

1. Age 14; father a coachman, brother a policeman; only a small family; five roomed house; boy attained seventh standard; intends to go as a stable-boy.

2. Age 14; father in chemical works; four in family; six roomed house; boy attained seventh standard; is going into paper mills.

3. Age 15; father a bricklayer, with variable earnings; three in family, dependent; boy attained seventh standard; has no other occupation in view.

4. Age 14; father an agricultural labourer; home, four rooms, in a very poor street, 2s. 10d. per week; boy only attained fourth standard; has no other occupation in view.

5. Age 16; one of a small family living in four rooms at 4s. per week; attained sixth standard; goes to carpentry classes; wants to be a carpenter.

6. Age 15; only boy in family; six roomed house; attained seventh standard; would like to be a motor driver.

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APPENDIX C.

THE MID-SURREY CADDIES' CLUB.

The history of the Mid-Surrey Caddies' Club is very interesting, as also are the opinions of Mr Srodniski, its real founder. He is the caddie-master, and an ex-naval man.

Twelve years ago he founded a little club for caddies with the assistance of one of the members. A few of the caddies met together in a room at the National School once a week. This member was much interested in boys' clubs generally, and he was instrumental in founding a larger club not confined to caddies, in which the latter were for a time absorbed. The caddies, however, were at that time of a lower class than the other boys; they were looked down upon by the latter and gradually dropped out of the club.

Then Mr Srodniski thought that the caddies ought again to have a club of their own and be independent. He arranged for a little room in a coffee-house at 3d. per head per member for a session of six months. Fifty caddies joined this and became accustomed to the club idea.

With these early efforts went also the establishment of a savings bank on the understanding that withdrawals were to be reserved for hard times. The caddies had to pay in at the rate of 6d. a week, and could draw 3d. a day in such hard times, enough to get food with. Mr Srodniski himself gave 25 per cent interest.

Mid-Surrey Caddies' Club

About four years ago the Golf Club Committee awoke to the fact that a club had been established which was doing something for the boys. Once they realized it, they contributed very handsomely indeed to its progress, building a fine large room and coffee bar at the cost of £600. Very wisely they decided to give Mr Srodniski a free hand in its development; and he, while in fact guiding its destinies, encouraged the boys to run the club as much as possible themselves. He chose a committee at first, but now the boys themselves do this; the rules are, in theory at least, the boys' own rules and they see that they are observed.

Fines were imposed for filthy language, spitting, etc. At first these brought in a steady income of 3s. to 4s. a week, at 1d. an offence; nothing comes in now from this source.

The club embraces all the regular caddies—about eighty. Mr Srodniski is dead against the system of an inner circle of good boys with the black sheep outside. If a boy isn't good enough to belong to the club, he isn't good enough for Mid-Surrey.

He is not against training, indeed has encouraged his boys to work on a piece of ornamental garden under his charge in slack times. The economic position of the caddie, however, is one that he is not himself in a position to improve by regular training, though he is convinced that the caddie is not incapable of being turned into a good worker, and tries personally to get any deserving case at least one chance of other employment. But what he

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has shown during these twelve years is that the caddie is not necessarily an outcast. When he set to work the caddies of Richmond had a universally bad name, just as they have in too many other places still. He saw no reason why that should continue. Out of them he proposed to make, if not men in better grades of employment, at least live conscientious caddies, taking a real interest in what they have to do, and trying to do it as well as possible; fellows that keep themselves clean and wholesome, and are willing to take good work if offered. He has tried to give them self-respect and mutual respect and an enlarged horizon.

That he has succeeded anyone who goes to Mid-Surrey can see. Caddies have no longer a bad name in Richmond—there is no reason why they should have. They work well while they can, have shelter, good food, intelligent amusement while waiting, their own club three evenings in the week, and another linked up with it on the other three.

Mr Srodniski began with a belief in the caddie; he declares that the people who say nothing can be done for the caddie are talking nonsense; and he probably knows a good deal more about it than they do.

In his time he has got more than a hundred boys into the army or navy, and most of them are doing well.

During the progress made by the club some intercourse has sprung up between it and other boys' clubs, and mutual visits have been arranged.

Mid-Surrey Caddies' Club

At first the other clubs stood off. Mr Srodniski used to tell them that his members were a lot better than theirs, and he appealed to the caddies not to let him down. Now it is a compliment to be entertained at Mid-Surrey.

The internal discipline of the club is quite simple. It is based on public opinion among the caddies. They take their turn in keeping things straight and clean, and the boy committee is hard on dirt or dirty habits.

In the way of entertainments the caddies are keen about concerts, or anything they can join in themselves. Formal lectures are not so well attended.

Mr Srodniski's standpoint is that of enthusiasm and common sense combined. He knows that the caddie is a human being, and in one way or another must himself be got hold of, in connexion with any scheme for his benefit.

APPENDIX D.

SUNDRIDGE PARK GOLF CLUB CADDIES' ASSOCIATION.

Extracts from Report and Balance Sheet for 1911.

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"The objects of the Association, as laid down in the first circular, were stated to be:

"(1) '*To inquire into, and improve the condition and surroundings of the caddies.*'

"The Committee feel that the present building known as the caddie house can never be made a

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comfortable place, and to provide a separate club-room, as is done at some clubs, was altogether beyond their means. The caddie house must necessarily be a place for the work of cleaning clubs, and can never be made clubable on account of the constant coming and going of dirty boots. At their suggestion, however, the Committee of the Club have recently improved the washing arrangements.

"During the winter months the Committee have arranged for a supply of soup from the club kitchen, which is sold to the caddies at a penny a bowl.

"They have also entertained the caddies at tea on the occasion of the opening of the gardening class, and propose to give them a supper and concert during the month of January, when they hope that many of the subscribers will be present.

"(2) '*To provide in case of need and subject to investigation, clothing, boots, etc., to be sold at low prices to the caddies; also suitable magazines and journals for placing in the caddie house.*'

"This department has been worked by the Ladies on the Committee with considerable success; its institution has proved that there was a want, and the result has been a sensible improvement in the clothing and shoeing of the caddies.

"In all 144 articles have been received from Members for sale to the caddies, and 88 have been sold at a gross profit of £7 4s. 9d. The caddies are allowed to pay by instalments, and the Committee are glad to be able to report that they are fulfilling

Sundridge Park G.C.C.A.

their obligations in this respect very honourably. It has been a principle that no articles should be given free.

"A new departure has recently been taken in buying wholesale a number of strong boots for sale; the boots are of an exceptionally good type, and are on sale to Members at 15s. per pair, and to caddies (for their personal use) at 10s. a pair payable by instalments.

"The provision of magazines and journals has been merged into the lending library.

"(3) '*To assist in finding employment for those caddies who are old enough to commence regular work.*'

"The Committee have been able to make little progress in this department, principally on account of the fact that few of the caddies know any trade. They are endeavouring to remedy this by means of the classes, which will be dealt with in paragraph 9. When this system is more fully developed, they look to being able to recommend lads who have some knowledge of gardening as under gardeners. It must also be remembered that the ground staff is largely recruited from the caddies, and that the ground staff from time to time furnishes green-keepers to other clubs, and so there is a flow of promotion in this technical trade which will be further stimulated as the ground staff and caddies get better trained by means of the gardening classes.

"The Committee have recently appointed Mr Hay to look after the question of recruiting for the

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Royal Navy, the Regular Army and the Territorial Force; any caddie who may think of enlisting can obtain full information as to the conditions from him.

“(4) ‘*To assist in paying the passages of those wishing to emigrate.*’

“The Committee have had no applications from caddies wishing to emigrate.

“(5) ‘*To provide bounties for those serving in the Territorial Force.*’

“The Committee have offered to each caddie who is a member of the Territorial Force 10s. a week if married, and 5s. if single, if he attends for 14 days, during the Annual Training, and give each member of the Force 2s. 6d. for each day on which he attends the range for official musketry practice, as the distance of the range from Bromley precludes their earning anything on such days; of course no compensation is given for prize shooting.”

Of the newer developments of their work the Committee report as follows:

GARDENING.

“Negotiations between this Committee, the Committee of the Club, and the Bromley Local Higher Education Sub-Committee of the Kent Education Committee, with reference to the gar-

Sundridge Park G.C.C.A.

dening class, were commenced in the spring, with the result that the many difficulties were overcome, and the class was started on the 16th October.

"The bases of the arrangement were that the Higher Education Sub-Committee should provide the salary of the instructor, tools and appliances, and a certain sum for plants and seeds; they also agreed to provide the gate to the garden which the Club required. They have also, with the approval of the Trustees of the School, allowed the lectures to be held at St Mary's Schools, Plaistow, which is a very convenient centre, and is well provided with seats and appliances.

"The Club were good enough to give us the use of a piece of land in the horse field rent free, subject to three months' notice, on condition that it should be fenced on the side nearest the field and a gate built. To assist in this the Club have also given the class some 90 yards of disused fencing material, which is now being put up. They have also allowed the Class the use of one of the loose boxes as a potting and tool shed. They have sanctioned the appointment of their green-keeper as instructor to the class, which involves his absence from the course for one hour on two mornings in the week; they have also allowed those members of the ground staff who are members of the class to work in the garden for one hour in the week.

"Your Committee pay the fees to the Education Committee, and have supplied the fittings for the tool shed and manure for the garden. They have

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offered prizes for the following: regular attendance, essays, best kept note books, and best kept plots.

"The work consists of one lecture a week from 6 to 7 p.m. each Monday, and practical work in the garden (or the potting shed on wet mornings) from 9 to 10 a.m. on Mondays and Wednesdays. The class is divided for this purpose, so that only half the members are withdrawn from the course at one time; this arrangement also gives opportunity for more thorough supervision. Members of the class can also attend and work on their plots at other times when not engaged in carrying.

"The Garden measures 110 yards by 30 divided into a common plot and individual plots. On the common plot sample trees and plants will be grown, and pruning, budding and grafting will be taught.

"Each member of the Class will have an individual plot of 10 yards by 10, the produce of which he will be entitled to retain.

"The average attendance has so far been:

" Monday evening lecture	.	.	15
" morning work	.	.	9
Wednesday "	.	.	13

CARPENTRY.

"... five members of the ground staff and caddies are attending this class at the Sherman Road Institute, this being one of the classes under the Higher Education Sub-Committee.

Sundridge Park G.C.C.A.

PAPERING AND PAINTING CLASS.

"In the same way five are attending the similar class at the School of Art in Bromley.

"These two later classes will, it is hoped, lead in time to a more permanent employment by those who attend them, and afford useful evening recreation for those who have not a gardening bent.

LENDING LIBRARY.

"The library, which is open to the whole staff of the club in addition to the caddies, is, by the kindness of the Trustees of St Mary's Schools, held in a room at the schools on the same evening as the Gardening Class.

"There are at present 287 books in the library of which 66 have been taken out by 24 individuals in six weeks.

PENNY BANK.

"The Chairman and Secretary are the Trustees of the Bank which is under the Post Office Savings Bank. There are eight depositors, which is a disappointing number. At present the caddies can deposit their small sums with the Caddie-master, and for each account open the Committee have promised to contribute 1s. and to make up the interest from the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent given by the Post Office to 5 per cent."

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR 1911

RECEIPTS

To Subscriptions and Donations . .	£	s.	d.
116 " Special Donations	45	2	0
" Profit on Sale of Clothes, Boots, etc.	13	10	6
	7	4	9

EXPENDITURE	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Purchase of Clothes'						
Cupboard	2	12	6			
" Purchase of Book Case						
for Lending Library	2	7	6			
" Purchase of Soup						
Bowls and Spoons . .	0	4	9			
" Territorial Camp Ex-				5	4	9
penses	2	15	0			
" Do. Range Practice .	0	7	6			
" Education fees for				3	2	6
Gardening Classes .	5	6	6			
Do. for other Classes .	1	19	0			
" Gardening Books .	2	10	6			
" Wood, Nails, Zinc						
Labels, etc. . . .	0	19	7			
" Manure for Gardens .	2	0	1			
" Railway Carriage on						
ditto	0	19	4			
" Caddies' Tea at Golf				13	15	0
" Club				1	6	2
" Hire of room for Cad-						
dies' Clothes				4	4	0

Gratuities:			
Caddie-master	0	10	0
Caretaker St Mary's			
Schools	0	2	6
Savings Bank Bonus			
Printing	2	2	10
Stamps	1	0	0
Stationery	0	6	4
Cash in hand of Treasurer	33	6	5
At Post Office Savings Bank	1	13	6
Less due to Caddies	1	5	9
	0	7	9
	33	14	2
	£65	17	3

SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNT

	£	s.	d.
To Amounts paid in by 11 Caddies .	1	9	8
„ Bonuses	0	9	0
	<hr/>		
	£1	18	8
	<hr/>		
By Withdrawals			0 12 11
„ Balance in hand			1 5 9
	<hr/>		
	£1	18	8

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APPENDIX E.

BIRKDALE GOLF CLUB CADDIES' ASSOCIATION.

Extracts from the Committee's Report (September, 1911).

"The club-house in Brighton Road has again proved a great boon to the boys, more particularly during the winter months, and the provision for their comfort and improvement has been much appreciated. Books and magazines have been in constant use, whilst the Wednesday evening lectures, concerts, etc., have been a great source of pleasure and profit to the boys. For these special evenings the new recreation room has been invaluable; in addition to which it has been utilized for drill and singing classes, and has also been specially serviceable for the practical instruction given in boot making and repairing. A number of boys have become quite proficient in this occupation, and have turned out really first-class work. The Committee would be very sorry to discontinue these classes, as also to abandon the idea of instruction in other useful forms of employment, but the financial support received from Members of the Golf Club has not been sufficient to meet the expenses incurred.

"Employment has been found for boys as they grow too old for caddying, and many lads have gratefully expressed their thanks to the Association for putting them on their feet, and saving them from drifting into loose ways. It is pleasing to note that

Birkdale G.C.C.A.

those boys who have gone to sea have proved a credit to the Association, some of them having specially distinguished themselves on trying occasions, and been reported to the Association for special merit.

“The clothing club has been a distinct success, and has increased in popularity with the boys, who not only pay for their outfits by weekly pence, but also, in many cases, have anticipated future requirements by advance instalments, a feature which is very encouraging.

“The employment of the caddie-master at the Golf Club as caretaker at the boys’ club-house has proved a move in the right direction, not only securing more control over the boys, and ensuring their better appearance on the links, but also serving to strengthen the friendly feeling existing between the Golf Club and the Association.”

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APPENDIX F.

FULWELL GOLF CLUB.

Report on the First Year's Working of the Caddies' Workshop.

"The Scheme started on November 1, 1910, with twelve caddies, and comprised practically all the boys on the regular list between the ages of fourteen and sixteen.

"An ex-pioneer Sergeant of the Queen's Regiment was engaged as caddie-master. He is paid 25s. a week by the Club, and the Caddies' Committee pay him a further 5s. a week for instructing the caddies.

"The instruction in the shop consists solely in carpentering and joinery. The caddie-master, with the help of the caddies, enlarged a shed which was formerly used as a professional's shop, and the caddies work in it under the supervision of the caddie-master when not engaged in carrying clubs.

"The 1st class caddies are paid 5s. a week, and the 2nd class 4s. a week, and a rise of 6d. a week has been given on satisfactory service. The money received from members for their rounds goes to the Caddies' Committee.

"The hours of attendance are from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. in winter, and 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. in summer; in addition to the carpentering the caddies are employed, as opportunity occurs, especially during the very hot weather in the summer, in assisting in the Club garden.

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"The shed has a window, facing the first tee, at which members engage their caddies, and the caddie-master is thus enabled to book out his caddies without leaving the shed or materially relaxing his supervision.

"Of the twelve boys comprised in the scheme, one left of his own accord during the year, and four went to situations. Of the remaining seven, three are 1st class and four 2nd class caddies; four are sixteen years old, two are fifteen, and one is fourteen.

"One boy was taken into the professional's workshop, and one went to a local firm of carriage builders. In each of these cases the work done by the boys in the shed may be said to have assisted in placing him. Another boy went into the service of a railway company, and a fourth was taken into the clubhouse as a page.

"The five vacancies have not been filled up, and the Caddies' Committee are considering on what system boys shall be recruited for the scheme.

"The capital cost of starting the scheme is shown in the following statement:

Dr.	£	s.	d.	Cr.	£	s.	d.
Tools	33	8	8	Donations from			
Wood for extension				Members	72	2	0
of shed.	19	16	4				
Balance Cr. . . .	18	17	0				
	<u>£72</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>		<u>£72</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>

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“ The maintenance account is as follows:

Dr.	£	s.	d.	Cr.	£	s.	d.
Wages:				Subscriptions from			
Caddie-master . . .	13	0	0	Members . . .	25	10	6
Caddies . . .	115	5	9	Grant from Middle-			
Wood and materials.	54	10	5	sex Education			
Balance Cr. . .	42	4	4	Committee . .	12	10	0
				Receipts from rounds	177	13	2
				Sale of articles made			
				by caddies . .	9	6	10
	£225	0	6		£225	0	6

“ The articles sold include screens, garden seats, boot lockers and notice boards sold to the club, and seats, and a dog kennel, etc., sold to members.

“ It will be observed that £62 7s. 4d. has been received for rounds in excess of the wages paid to the caddies. Though the caddies appear to have lost to this extent there has been no grumbling since the first few weeks, when, owing to favourable weather, the boys carried many more rounds than was represented by the wages paid to them. As soon, however, as the bad weather came they realised the advantages of the fixed weekly wage. It should be noted that these particular caddies through being at the head of the roll in each class do more rounds during the week than they would do if they were not included in the scheme.

“ The Committee intend to take more boys into the scheme, which will tend to equalise the amounts received and paid. At the same time they do not regard it as an obligation to establish this equality

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since the Committee are not only providing instruction, but hope, if the excess of receipts continues, to form a Benefit Fund to help in placing caddies in situations. It may also be pointed out that this year has been quite experimental and has proved an exceptionally fine year for golf; a normal year would have greatly reduced the excess of receipts.

"The boys are not required to attend on Sundays, but if they do so they draw the whole of the money they earn and as they are on the head of the roll they are practically certain of two rounds each. This, with their 6d. lunch money and tips brings their receipts each week to a sum approaching 10s., which compares favourably with the wages given in the district to errand boys, van-boys, etc.

"Much of the sum expended on materials during the first year has necessarily been unproductive, as a good deal of wood has been cut to waste in teaching the boys the use of planes, saws, etc. This wastage should be less in future. On the other hand there may be a difficulty in finding a market for the work done by the caddies, since the club has not often got work to give them, and though members are urged to give them orders there are probably only a few things they require which the caddies are able to produce.

"The Committee are considering possible methods of extending their market.

"Notices are exhibited in the club-house asking members to give what orders they can for simple carpentering work, and to assist the Committee in finding employment for caddies who have reached a suitable age, either in their own service or business or elsewhere."

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APPENDIX G

MR J. STUART PATON'S LETTER

To the Editor of "The Spectator."

SIR,—

The letter in your last issue regarding employment of caddies deals with a somewhat important subject. Your correspondent rightly says: "A heavy responsibility lies with all golf clubs. . . . The evils of a caddie's life are these: it is unskilled and almost worthless as a training of the intelligence; it leads nowhere; and it is undisciplined"; and he refers to "the hours of lounging from which no caddie is free." Unfortunately this is only too true as regards the system of employment adopted by the golf clubs in general. I would, however, venture to draw attention to the practice which has been in force for some ten years in the club to which I belong, and which has produced sufficiently satisfactory results to justify its recommendation to other golf clubs as a mitigation of the evils indicated by your correspondent. The essence of the evil lies in loafing and lounging about waiting for employment.

In our club the regular caddies are all boys, about twenty-five in number, who come to us when they leave school. They are not kept on after the age of eighteen, as we consider the work of a caddie is essentially work which a boy can do with advantage to himself, but a man cannot. They have regular hours of employment, and earn on an average about 15s. per week, the greater part of this in fees for caddying,

Arrangements at Woking

the club paying a small amount in return for work which they do upon the green. They are under the strict supervision of the green-keeper (who is also the caddie-master) and his assistants, and when not carrying clubs are hard at work on the upkeep of the course. This arrangement has in our experience resulted in discipline and industry, and has imparted to the boys quite an advanced knowledge of the laying out and upkeep of turf at all seasons of the year, and of the treatment of various weeds, worm-killing, the handling of mowing-machines and tools, and has in most cases ensured for them a good start in life as under-gardeners and other kindred employments. As a general rule, these boys obtain situations in neighbouring market-gardens and private gardens, starting at about 15s. per week, and they are much sought after owing to the discipline and elementary knowledge they have acquired. We have a steady supply of younger boys whose parents are only too glad to place them under the care of the green-keeper when they leave school. On Saturday afternoons and Sundays, when more than the regular staff of caddies is required, we find that many of our old boys come, and in their spare hours add to their earnings by carrying clubs, and it is only to a small extent that we have to rely upon the man loafer, who is, unfortunately, the standard type at so many clubs. At the present time we are considering the question of giving lessons in rudimentary gardening and agriculture in order further to equip the boys for the start in life.

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The Surrey County Council are endeavouring to initiate a system of indoor technical classes on general subjects for caddies at the various clubs, but with this I am not in accord, as it seems better to use the advantages at hand and to train the boys for an outdoor life as gardeners and agriculturists—a class which the country urgently requires. We have found that our club has benefited in a very high degree from this inexpensive and efficient labour of the boys, which is most advantageous to the efficient upkeep of good putting-greens. These boys, working in gangs under supervision, do work which the same number of men could do no better, and at a small fraction of the cost. In the long summer evenings they are encouraged to, and do, play the game amongst themselves, and in the result we have a body of caddies who are civil, intelligent, keen, and competent.

I am, Sir, etc.,

J. STUART PATON.

Woking Golf Club.

London Trades

APPENDIX H

The following details as to the commoner London trades of a more skilled kind are taken from *Trades for London Boys* (Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Association) and from a report of the Labour Department of the Board of Trade intended for the use of Juvenile Advisory Committees.

I. *Building Trades*.—In these apprenticeship is unusual, premiums vary from nothing to £50. There is generally an informal period of probation for a year without craft training. The hours per week are fifty in summer and forty-four in winter.

—	Age of Entry	Period of learning	Starting wage	Finishing wage.
Bricklayers	15-16	4 years	6/-	16/-
Masons	15-16	4-5 years	4/- 8/-	15/- 21/-
Plasterers	14-16	5 years	5/- 7/-	15/- 20/-
Carpenters and joiners	14-16	4-5 years	5/- 8/-	16/- 20/-
Painters and decora- tors	15	5 years	4/- 8/-	14/- 18/-
Plumbers	15-16	5 years	5/- 8/-	14/- 18/-
Smiths	15-16	5-7 years	5/- 6/-	20/-

II. *Mechanical Engineering*.—In this apprenticeship is usual, premium very variable, sometimes £20-£25, hours about fifty-four per week. The

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learning period is about five years, wages beginning at 5s. and increasing to 15s.

III. *Printing and Allied Trades*.—These are said to provide good openings for intelligent boys. In the compositors' trade apprenticeship is usual. The hours are 52½ per week, the period of learning about seven years, and wages begin at 5s. and increase to 20s.

IV. *Woodworking Trades*.—In these apprenticeship is not very usual, but for the wood-carving a premium of £15 to £20 is generally expected.

Coopering.—Wages begin at about 6s.

Cabinet-making.—The period of learning is five years. Wages begin at 5s., increasing to 15s.

Wood-carving.—The period of learning is four to five years. Wages begin at 5s., increasing to 12s. 6d. to 15s.

Methods of Training Regular Caddies

SOME SUGGESTIONS ON METHODS OF TRAINING REGULAR CADDIES.

FOR the following views and suggestions the writer assumes sole responsibility.

The Boy Caddie Problem, as explained in the Agenda Club Committee's Report, differs in several essential points from the problem of Boy Labour as it usually exists in towns.

The regular caddie earns high pay for a boy, has few hours of work and none after dusk. He has about five hours' leisure five days in the week, but nothing to do to fill them except idling or gambling. Surely these are conditions that really offer a great opportunity to try in actual practice some of the educational and social reforms so much advocated at the present time.

We find in the recommendations of the Majority Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws (page 266) the following summary:

THE EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF THE YOUNG FOR INDUSTRIAL LIFE.

"(1) The education in our public elementary schools should be made less literary and more practical, and better calculated than at present to adapt the child to its future occupation. To this end the curriculum should be revised.

"(2) We regard with favour the suggestions:

"(a) That boys should be kept at school until the age of fifteen instead of fourteen.

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“(b) That exemption below this age should be granted only for boys leaving to learn a skilled trade.

“(c) That there should be school supervision till sixteen and replacing in school of boys not properly employed.

“(3) There is urgent need of improved facilities for technical education after the present age for leaving school.

“(4) With a view to the improvement of physique a continuous system of physical drill should be instituted which might be commenced during school life, and be continued afterwards.

“(5) In order to discourage boys from entering uneducative occupations which offer no prospect of permanent employment, there should be established, in connexion with the Labour Exchange, a special organization for giving boys, parents, teachers, and school managers, information and guidance as to suitable occupations for children leaving school.”

All that is here recommended for the period after leaving school can be done by organizing the use of the caddie's spare time, and engaging him on the condition of fixed hours of work and compulsory attendance at evening classes. The money he earns by carrying clubs is sufficient, when dealt with systematically, to give him a good regular wage, and, together with grants from the Education Authorities, is probably sufficient to pay for his training and education as well.

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The usual difficulty encountered by the advocate of the continuation school, the technical school or agricultural school is "in arranging with the employers to spare the boys, and with the parents to forgo their wages for a portion of the week."*

It should be possible at many golf clubs to start a continuation school that would be entirely self-supporting as far as running expenses go, without calling on the members of the club to make any payment (leaving out the capital cost of starting the scheme) beyond what they pay at present for the services of their caddies.

The skeleton of a scheme for the organization and training of caddies has been outlined in the Report on pages 13-15. The details have still to be considered and must in any case be worked out to suit local conditions at each club. It may, however, be of interest to put forward some suggestions for consideration.

GARDENING AND AGRICULTURAL TRAINING.

Perhaps the most promising proposal is to teach the boys some of the many branches of gardening and agricultural work. The reasons for choosing these trades are as follows:

(a) Spare land is often available on golf courses, the use of which could be obtained rent free for the boys, as is the case at the Hanger Hill Club. Failing this, land near the club-house might be rented.

* Report of the Rural Education Conference on "A suggested type of Agricultural School."

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(b) The regular employment of the boys on or near the golf course ground would enable them to be called up at short notice when required as caddies. They would not have to hang about the club-house waiting to be taken on.

(c) The boys are often drawn from country villages and if taught gardening and agricultural work would be likely to stay on the land and in the country. It has been found by actual experience that even town-bred boys take to country life very readily.* If they are unable to find employment in this country the teaching would be the best possible for their success in the Colonies.

(d) The work is varied, some of it being admirable for the development of the lads' strength and endurance. Other parts require intelligence and dexterity of hand. Its variety is valuable as likely to awaken the interest and intelligence of the boys.

The reason for starting gardens at elementary schools is their value in training the powers of observation and in making the children think for themselves. "School Gardens have only within the last four or five years been brought into prominence, and yet cases are not wanting of manufacturers and merchants deliberately choosing to employ boys who had been to a school provided with a garden, because they considered that the powers

* Evidence by Mr. T. D. Robertson. Report of the Rural Education Conference.

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of observation and general intelligence of such boys were greater than in others who had not enjoyed this advantage."*

Referring to the value of these elementary school gardens Mr Christopher Turnor says, "This rightly rural spirit in the school is the beginning of all things. It will in no way hinder the progress of those who intend to follow other avocations than tilling the soil, and it will so stimulate those who mean to remain in the country that they will be interested in land itself, and will be ready to avail themselves of every opportunity (such as evening schools, continuation classes, etc.) of acquiring advanced instruction with a direct bearing upon agriculture."†

(e) There is an acknowledged want of such teaching at the present time in this country. "The interest in land aroused in the pupils by the right school atmosphere must not be allowed to drop when the elementary school course is done—on the contrary it must be fostered by every means of continuation instruction, until the youth will find himself at the age of eighteen equipped with such practical knowledge that he will be able to lead the most useful life possible."‡

An immense amount of food, such as vegetables,

* "Land Problems and National Welfare," by Christopher Turnor, p. 161.

† Ibid, p. 163.

‡ Ibid, p. 165.

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fruit, eggs, poultry, honey, etc., is at present imported which could be produced in this country. Much is being done to organize this production on co-operative lines, but to attain success the workers must have a knowledge of the right method in order to compete with the highly trained worker abroad. Intensive culture is held out as one of the ways of reviving agriculture, but it is a highly skilled trade for which a four years' apprenticeship may be none too long.

(f) The produce is of real value. One of the chief difficulties of the trade or technical school is the sale of the articles made. In gardening and agricultural schools the produce is, no doubt, not equal either in quality or quantity to the best in the market, but it is all good food and can be used or sold. The quality depends far less on the skill of the worker than in purely manufactured articles. The cabbages, eggs, poultry, honey and flowers are the same to the ordinary purchaser and consumer, whether grown and produced by skilled or apprentice hands. By a little organization it should be possible to use such produce at the club-house, in feeding the caddies, and to sell it at good prices to the members and their friends. The country hamper is a recognized method of supplying many town houses with fresh vegetables, flowers and food. Why not a hamper from the club's garden? This method of disposing of the produce is in successful operation at Hanger Hill. The difficulties and cost of marketing small quantities are avoided. The money that would be paid to the

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middleman at the market goes instead to pay the expenses of the garden and the teaching.

(g) A knowledge of rough carpentering and of the right methods of using and sharpening tools, including saws, axes, bill-hooks, etc., such as could be taught in the carpenter's shop, is of more use to the handy man working on the land than it would be to one following other trades.

(h) There is probably as good an opening, with the chance of permanent employment, for those who are willing to work on the land and who have a real knowledge of the work as there is in any other class of work.

To summarize:

- (a) Land can often be obtained rent free.
- (b) The boys are available when wanted on the course.
- (c) Work on the land helps to keep the boys in the country when they grow up.
- (d) Such occupation develops them physically and mentally and teaches them the habit of regular work under proper discipline and control.
- (e) The produce of the garden, etc., is of real value.
- (f) The work in the carpenter's shop forms a useful adjunct to the garden training, and the articles made can be such as are actually required for the gardening and agricultural work.

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- (g) The chance of subsequent employment is good, either in this country or in the colonies.

Assuming that it is agreed that such training is good for the boys and likely to turn them into hard-working, steady men able to support themselves, let us consider how the details might be arranged.

The Work.—The following are some of the things that might be taught. A selection of suitable combinations would be made to suit the local conditions.

Market gardening.

Nursery gardening.

French gardening.

Fruit growing and bottling.

Preserving, drying and storing fruit, vegetables and eggs.

Bee-keeping.

Poultry-rearing.

The management and feeding of pigs and goats.

Hedging and ditching, thatching, hurdle-making, etc.

Where members are driven to and from the course one trap at least might belong to the club, and the money earned by it help to pay for the keep of the horse required for the garden and other work. One or two of the boys would thus learn something about the feeding and handling of horses.

There would be a workshop near the club-house where frames, bee-hives, hen-coops, hen-houses,

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etc., would be made for use on the ground and also possibly for sale outside. The boys would be made to erect and build all sheds and other houses required for carrying on the work.

One of the most important parts of the training in the workshop would be the teaching of the grinding and sharpening of tools. Not only the carpentering tools, but axes, bill-hooks, scythes, and the special tools used by woodmen in making hurdles, etc., and the overhauling, sharpening and setting of lawn-mowers used on the greens. A knowledge of rough smithing work, including the tempering of steel, the setting of scythes, etc., is most useful, particularly for the colonist.

Teaching.—A man skilled in market gardening, or in whatever branch was chosen as the one most suitable to the locality, would be engaged by the club at a salary, with, no doubt, a commission or bonus depending on the success of the boys and of the undertaking as a whole. This man would devote his whole time to teaching and to managing the scheme so as to relieve the club of all such work other than control by a committee of members.

It is probable that a carpenter and handy man would have to be in charge of the workshop. Beyond this, the whole of the work would be done by the boys.

Evening Classes.—Evening classes and occasional lectures would help in teaching the theoretical side of the work such as:

The nature and value of manures.

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The effect of working the ground.

Practical botany and the knowledge of insect and bird life as it affects agriculture.

The keeping of accounts and proper records of the effect of different manures and treatment.

The care and feeding of poultry, pigs, etc.

The recognition of illness or disease in such animals: methods of isolation and disinfection.

Co-operation in buying and selling.

The market prices of produce sold and bought, etc.

The proper methods of preparing, grading and packing produce for market.

Objects in view.—The first object in view is to teach the boys the habit of regular work, and the second object is to teach them a *trade* by which they can support themselves by the time they reach the age of eighteen to twenty. Certain parts of the work that have to be done with regularity every day, such as feeding and tending animals, would be done as far as possible before play begins in the morning, about 9.30, or after it has ended in the evening. The bulk of the work in the gardens and workshop would be done during the day at such times as the lad was not engaged on the course. It must be arranged so as to give employment to all regular caddies throughout the year and in all kinds of weather. The boys must, of course, be free

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to be called away from the work at any time when required to carry clubs. Foresight and a proper consideration of the probable demand for caddies on different days of the week and at different times of the year should enable the work to be organized to suit these conditions.

TRAINING FOR WORKS

Golf clubs situated near shipbuilding yards, engineering shops and such works, find that their regular caddies are often boys only marking time between leaving school at fourteen and entering the works at about sixteen.

In such cases an agricultural training would be of little use, but surely good use can still be made of the caddies' spare time. The teaching and training of the caddies should be directed to the carrying on of what has been taught at school but specially in the direction of the particular trade that the boy will follow in the works.

For engineering works, for example, he can be taught in a carpenter's shop the practical use of a foot rule, to measure by inches, eighths and sixteenths, also by tenths and hundredths; to understand and use all the scales in common use on drawings made to less than full size; to read and understand mechanical drawings such as he will meet in the shops; to use a slide rule. On the Continent most mechanics carry and use a slide rule just as they do a foot rule or its equivalent. A practical knowledge

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of thermometers and how to read them and convert from Fahrenheit to Centigrade, how to read pressure gauges, electrical instruments and such things, would be of real use, so that the boy may understand what they mean more or less when he is put to work with instructions to follow their indications and act accordingly.

The details must be arranged to suit the particular work to be done later, and it should not be difficult to get advice and help from future employers, who would, no doubt, be only too glad to have their boys properly grounded in the work.

Gardening may still come in as something to awaken the boys' intelligence and as the beginning of the allotment gardening that gives the workman a useful hobby later in life.

EXISTING INSTITUTIONS

It has been suggested that there are many existing institutions for training boys that might take advantage of the peculiar conditions of employment of boys as caddies. The proposal is that the institution should start a country branch beside a golf course on the understanding that the golf club would employ the boys as their regular caddies and pay the institution the money so earned, the institution being entirely responsible for the teaching, training and control of the boys when not employed as caddies. The money earned in this way would go far to pay the cost of feeding, housing and training

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the boys, seeing that there would be a sufficient number to enable the expenses to be kept fairly low—say, 6s. a week for food, washing, and housing, leaving 4s. or 5s. a week for clothes, teaching, pocket-money, etc. The chief difficulty appears to be that the boys would be required to carry clubs on Sunday. But this objection could be removed if religious services were arranged in the morning or evening before or after the time for golfing. Again, it is surely better for the boy to be able to earn his own living and teaching even if he has to work on Sunday than that he should have to depend on charity for it. He is only employed for his own benefit and not to make money for anyone.

Such a scheme is likely to be tried shortly, at a new and important golf club, which has offered to provide the necessary building for the institution. It seems an excellent method by which a golf club can get rid of all responsibility for the boys beyond a proper control of them while actually employed in carrying clubs, and at the same time help some institution doing valuable work, but handicapped by having to depend on charity for its funds.

EMPLOYMENT OF MEN

The employment of men as regular caddies offers much less chance of making use of spare time than in the case of boys.

With the ex-sailor or ex-soldier, however, much might be done. For instance, soldiers are now being

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taught gardening in some of the camps with a view to their taking to such work regularly when their time expires. Such men might be glad of the chance to learn something more at the golf club school and garden before embarking on the work as their sole means of making a living, either in this country or the colonies.

The following extract, with reference to training of emigrants, is of interest:

“With regard to the previous training of emigrants, and the use to be made of farm colonies for that purpose, we would call attention to the Report of the Department Committee appointed in 1906 to consider Mr Rider Haggard’s Report on Agricultural Settlements in British Colonies. The following extract indicates the proper functions of farm colonies in this connexion:

“‘ . . . There are, we believe, many cases in which persons who might be very suitable for emigration, and who would be likely to become successful colonists if they were in good condition, could not, temporarily enfeebled as many of them are, be advantageously sent out, without a period of physical training in the country. Moreover, a farm colony offers, perhaps, the most suitable means of subjecting applicants for emigration to a test of their willingness to work and to face with courage and energy the inevitable hardship of an emigrant’s life. We anticipate, therefore, that the farm colonies conducted in connexion with committees under the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905, or with philan-

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tropic societies, will be found of considerable value in the working of any organized system of emigration from this country.' ”*

CONCLUSIONS

In making the above suggestions I have endeavoured to show how the caddie problem offers a real opportunity for dealing with a blind-alley and unsatisfactory occupation on the lines recommended by the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into such questions. The golf club is not asked to alter anything as far as employing men or boys to carry clubs is concerned, nor is the golfer asked to change his habits or do anything to spoil his game. In most cases he will not need to pay more per round for his caddie than he does now, though he may be asked to limit the amount of his tip to a reasonable recognized maximum.

What is asked is that the golfer shall give his support, either actively or sympathetically, to the organization of a scheme for using the caddie's spare time and distributing his earnings so that the caddie may benefit by the game as much as he does himself.

A certain amount of money will, of course, be required to provide proper quarters for the caddies, a workshop and tools. This will be in the nature of a capital expenditure which, once made, should enable the scheme to pay its own way with little or

* The Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, p. 551.

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no further calls on the pocket of the golfer. Whether the scheme can best be worked out by a committee of the golf club, or by some independent committee working in harmony with the club, or by some existing institution, or possibly by some local or Government authority, must remain to be seen, and will probably depend on local conditions. That there is nothing absurd in the idea of attempting most of the things that are here suggested is shown by the fact that the several parts of such a scheme are already in successful existence at some one or other of the clubs. For example:

Wages are regulated or guaranteed successfully at Sunningdale, Walton Heath, Sandy Lodge and Fulwell.

The boys' club and provision of food are a success at Mid-Surrey.

The value of discipline in obtaining after-employment is proved at Woking.

The provision of land on the course and the possibility of getting the boys to work and of selling the produce is proved at Hanger Hill and, to a certain extent, at Sundridge Park.

That evening classes are attended even when not compulsory is shown by Sunningdale.

That the boys can be benefited by a clothing club and by an association outside the golf club is proved at Birkdale.

That the boys' spare time can be used in a workshop is proved at Fulwell.

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The parts having been successfully demonstrated, the whole should not be an impossibility.

There is one other aspect that is worth the consideration of those who are not golfers. At the present time there are many societies and persons keenly interested in rural revival. The Agricultural and Horticultural Association Limited, the National Land and Home League, the Rural Co-partnership Housing Association, the Rural Development Society, the Educational Colonies Association, are some that occur to one.

Is it not possible that they might take advantage of the caddie's spare time, or, where a scheme may be started, of his school and club-room as the nucleus from which to build up a better knowledge and understanding of what can and should be done by those who work on the land? It is surely for these societies to come forward and show us what the training should be for these boys whose spare time is at present their undoing. They are the rising generation in the country, and if there is to be a revival it must be in that generation rather than in the generation already confirmed in its habits and views.

THE INTERMITTENT CADDIE

There still remains the problem of the intermittent caddie. One can imagine how the boy scout might spend happy week-ends camping near the course, and pay his expenses by the use of his

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qualities of alertness and observation. This, however, though an interesting subject to pursue, is perhaps unsuited for inclusion in the present quite practical comments.

B. M. J.

“Fore!”

“FORE!”

THERE have been some optimists among us of late daring to claim that it is not callousness among the comfortable folk as to the sufferings of the less fortunate, and the very real, if unheroic, tragedy of narrowing means and widening aspirations, but rather a perplexed helplessness about the magnitude of the whole problem, which makes so many of us who have received so much give back so little.

Anyone who has taken any sort of pains to observe must admit that the sympathy of the average man has veered round in an astonishing way of late to the working man in his abrupt campaigns, and that, too, in spite of manifestations of an ugly and unreasonable side in that over-flattered and over-blamed individual.

We begin to realize as the facts thrust themselves or are thrust upon us (has not the paper with the largest circulation lately filled its columns with comments in the main extraordinarily sympathetic to labour ideals?), that there are a lot of fellows who have a very cheap time, and to whom life offers a succession of jolly rotten lies and unfair hazards between them and any sort of a green. And that does not seem to us, somehow, to be golf.

The spluttering Colonel before the club fire, explaining, between the drinks, what short sort of shrift he would give to such fellows as have the confounded impertinence to be discontented, no longer has it all his own way. On the contrary,

The Rough and the Fairway

our colonels have ceased to splutter. In any group of well-educated and well-paid men gathered together for golf or other serious business, one or more will be found to hold a brief, often to hold it passionately, for the under-dog.

All talk perhaps? Perhaps. But the optimists aforesaid claim that there are plenty ready to follow a decent lead, that indeed there are plenty who have given that lead, but that the others don't know about it; efforts are scattered and unrelated; experiments isolated and incoherent.

And, to talk generally, the present sociological problems are of an immense complexity, and you touch them at one point, only to find a hornet's nest, a succession of stinging points, about your head. But to talk specifically of Golf and Golf-caddies—one thing is clear and significant: that here you have that rare thing, the self-contained sociological problem.

I am assuming and must assume that there is a problem, and that a serious one. The untrained man is always a tragedy, properly viewed, and golf, as at present organized, does inevitably tend to add to the ranks of the untrained. Golf-caddying is a blind-alley occupation, and in the caddie, undisciplined and casual, there are always the makings of the loafer, the decadent, the criminal, according as environment decides. And it seems clear that you cannot pitch away the lives of men for a game, even a game royal, ancient, incomparable. Can anything be done about it?

“Fore!”

Your manufacturer, of course, is faced by a task of infinitely greater complexity. He may have convinced himself of unfair and intolerable conditions obtaining in his trade. Suppose him to raise the wages of his employees to what he thinks a decent standard, he may find himself undersold, his output diminished, his men first lacking work, then discharged, his own livelihood disappearing, and no good permanently effected, save the always fertile example of a quixotic chivalry. That is, of course, a hasty, but sufficiently faithful outline. And even if he could effect a general change in his particular trade he might find he was upsetting the delicate balance of a score of trades, parasitic or complementary. And so he stands helpless before the depressing magnitude of the thing, until matters get so intolerable that the Law steps in, and makes its periodic changes.

But in the golf problem there are no serious complications. That is not to say that the solution is easy, but that it is relatively clear and altogether detached. Partial experiments have been immensely successful, and what has succeeded here should, *mutatis mutandis*, succeed there; what has failed there may be avoided here.

After all, the occupation of a caddie is eminently healthy; there is no question of a bad physical environment, which so often aggravates the industrial problem. Granted the boy can be saved from the purely accidental but, in fact, disastrous demoralization of many unemployed hours, falling quite

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irregularly, he is in no bad way of life. And he can be so saved.

He can, as the preceding pages have shown, be trained for decent citizenship and independence with a little trouble and goodwill on the part of us, his employers. He will be not a worse but a better caddie for it. We can remove a reproach from the game which has condemned it in the eyes of many worthy people, and has made many among ourselves rightly uncomfortable. And, if we may look at it again from our own point of view, we golfers can put a new kind of interest into golf, which, like all such interests, fastens on the most unlikely people to become an absorbing hobby. Nobody can make a greater mistake than to suppose it a dull thing to help to convert a thoughtless, stupid and cruel piece of blundering into a kindly and rightly planned job of constructive work.

We once had an excuse for doing nothing—we did not know how bad the thing was, or how it could be righted. Now we have lost that excuse, and we shall not be altogether the kind of sportsmen we have fancied ourselves if we let the matter rest at that.

P.M.

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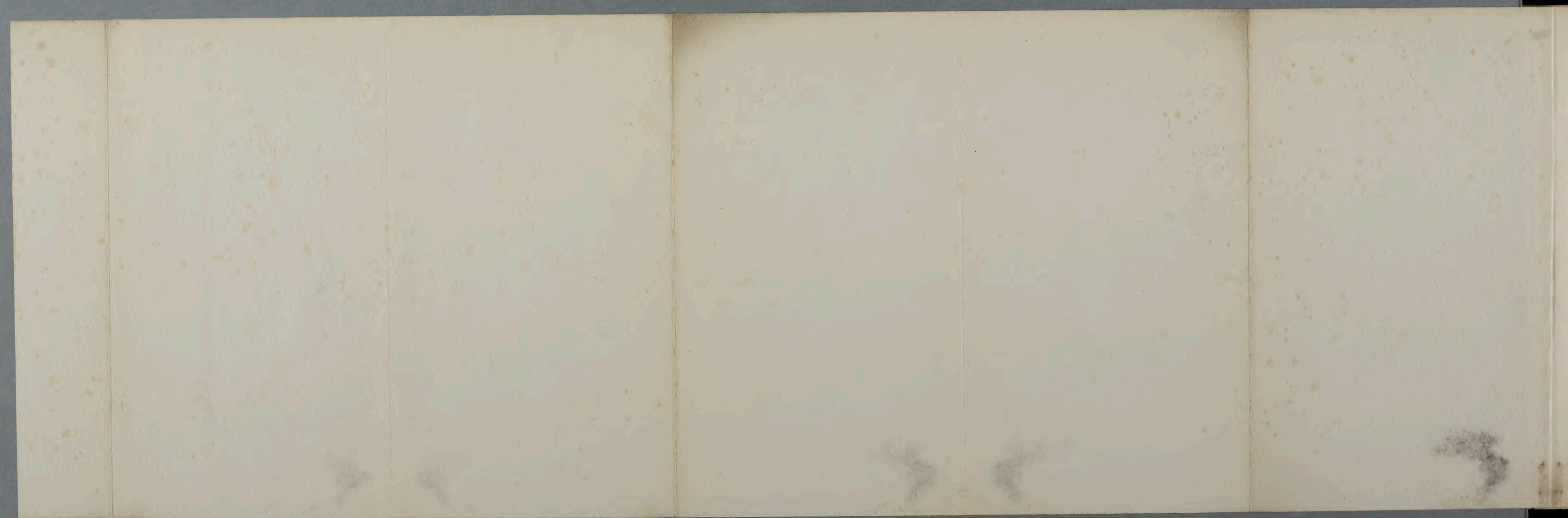
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REGULAR CADDIES' EARNINGS AND HOURS

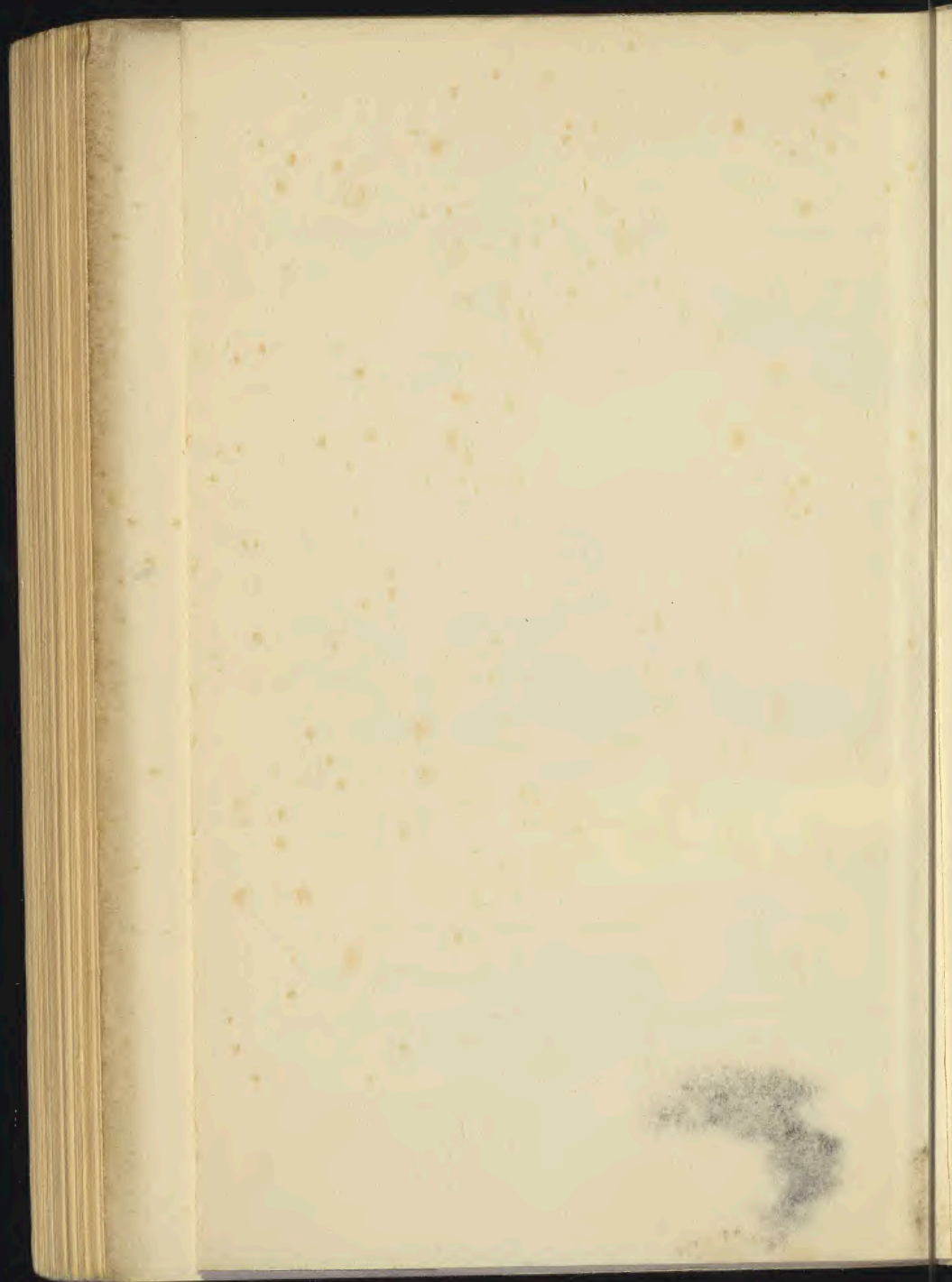
Period over which books examined.	CLUB.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
		Average Number of Regular Caddies given by Club.	Average of maximum number of Caddies employed each week from Monday to Friday.	AVERAGE SUM EARNED PER WEEK												Average earned per week over 12 months.	Payment per round.	Lunch	Tea	Tip *	Extras per week	Average Total earned per week over the year with extras.	Average No. of Rounds per week.	Average hours employed per week at 2½ hrs. per round.	Total earned per hour including extras.
				Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.										
Jan.-Dec. 1911 . .	Sunningdale . . .																								
	1st Class . . .	22	20	12/5	13/7	15/-	15/3	21/-	20/4	10/10	11/2	11/9	16/8	17/8	10/8	14/9	1/6	0	0	3	2/6	17/3	10	25	8½d.
	2nd Class . . .	22	20	8/4	11/10	13/10	13/6	17/2	12/2	12/10	9/9	10/4	12/5	13/-	8/10	12/-	1/4	0	0	3	2/3	14/3	9	22½	7½d.
	3rd Class . . .	12	11	9/-	9/9	13/10	13/10	11/11	9/6	6/3	6/1	7/9	12/4	10/9	7/9	10/-	1/3	0	0	3	2/4½	12/4½	9½	24	6½d.
June 1910-May 1911	Woking . . .	24 to 30	26	9/11	9/6	9/4	7/-	8/4	9/4	8/4	9/8	9/4	11/7	12/3	10/1	9/7	1/1†	4	2	3	4/6	14/1	9	22½	7½d.
Jan.-Dec. 1911 . .	Burhill.	20	30	9/-	10/1	12/9	13/9	13/8	14/4	13/-	9/1	8/2	12/1	13/8	8/7	11/6	a.m. 1/4 } 1/2 p.m. 1/- }	4†	-	3	2/6	14/-	10	25	6½d.
Aug. 1910-July 1911	Fulwell	13 1st } 10 2nd }	25	5/4	5/9	8/4	5/10	10/2	8/10	7/9	4/-	6/4	6/11	7/6	6/7	6/11	1st 1/- } 10½d. 2nd -/9 }	6	0	3	4/-	10/11	8	20	6½d.
Jan.-Dec. 1911 . .	Leamington & County	20	22	5/4	5/8	6/4	5/9	7/2	7/4	6/10	3/8	4/-	8/3	8/2	5/9	6/2	1st -/11 } 10d. 2nd -/9 }	0	0	3	1/10½	8/0½	7½	18½	5½d.
Nov. 1910-Oct. 1911	Hanger Hill . . .	28-35	35	5/2	6/5	7/6	8/-	9/-	9/2	9/-	7/9	7/6	9/1	10/1	3/5	7/8	1/-	4	0	3	3/4	11/-	8	20	6¾d.
	Composite Club (imaginary)		8)189 23·5	)64/6 8/1	)72/7 9/1	)86/11 10/10	)82/11 10/4	)98/5 12/4	)91/- 11/4	)74/10 9/4	)61/2 7/8	)65/2 8/2	)89/4 11/2	)93/1 11/8	)61/9 7/8	)78/7 9/10	8)9/0½ 1/1½				8)23/4 2/11	8)101/11 12/9	8)71 8·87	8)177·5 22·2	
Nov. 1909-Oct. 1910	Sundridge Park . . No Sunday play	24 1st. } 8 2nd }	23	6/-	5/5	4/8	7/1	10/-	5/6	7/4	3/5	6/-	9/5	3/6	4/3	6/0	-/11d.	6	3	3	4/0½	10/0½	{ 6½ 6 days.	16	7½d.

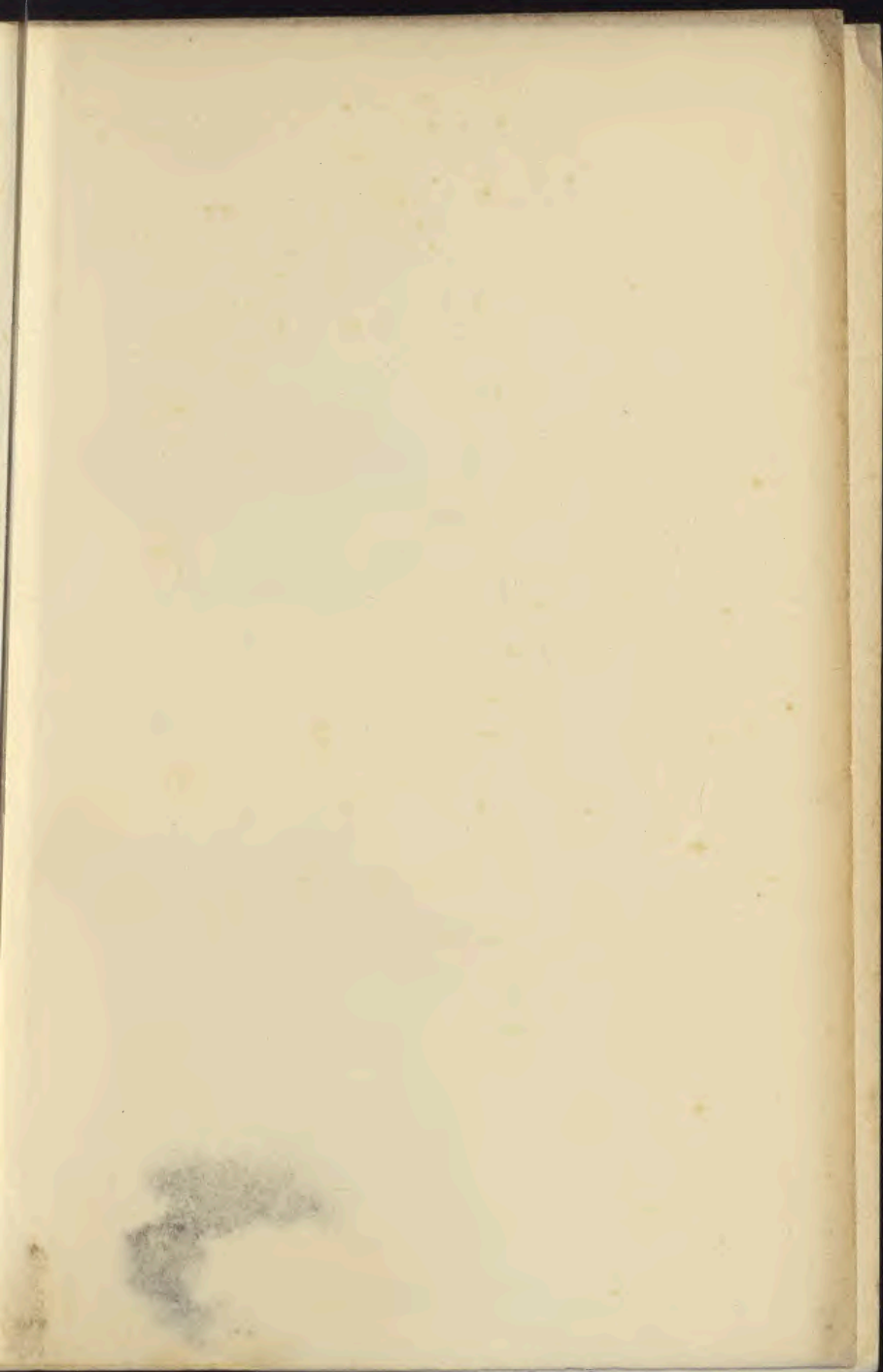
* A uniform tip of 3d. has been assumed as the minimum given, but it is often considerably more. † This figure is the average payment after deducting payments for lunch and tea, which are entered separately. ‡ This extra is already included in the stated morning payment.

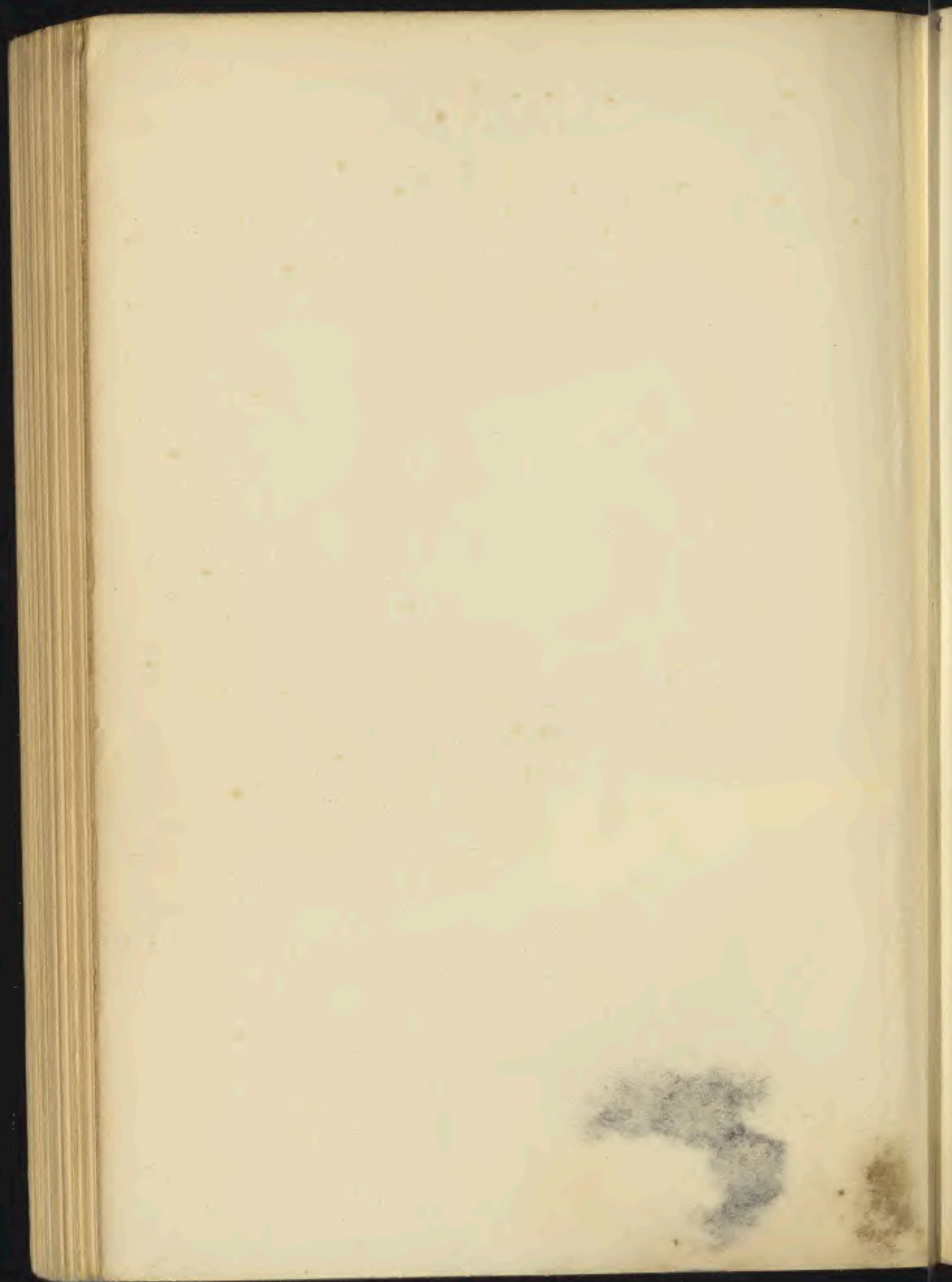


	17	18	19	20	21	
	Lunch	Tea	Tip *	Extras per week	Average Total earned per week over the year with extras.	Av N Re per
	0	0	3	2/6	17/3	
	0	0	3	2/3	14/3	
	0	0	3	2/4½	12/4½	
	4	2	3	4/6	14/1	
2	4†	—	3	2/6	14/-	
½d.	6	0	3	4/-	10/11	
od.	0	0	3	1/10½	8/0½	
	4	0	3	3/4	11/-	
				8)23/4 2/11	8)101/11 12/9	8)1
	6	3	3	4/0½	10/0½	{ 6

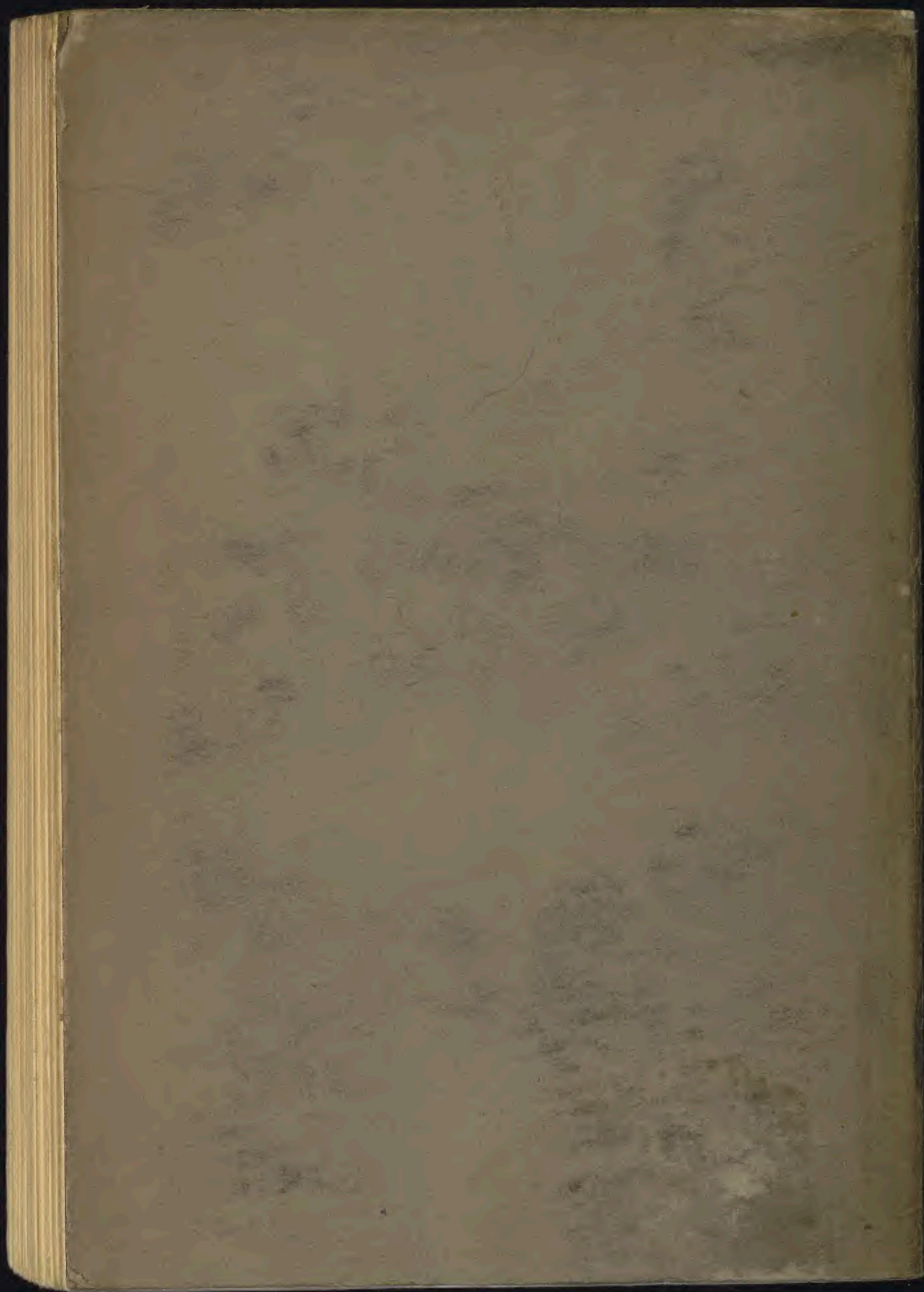
† This extra is already included in the stated













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