Veteran Unemployment, the Embankment Fellowship Centre and ‘The Downgate Twenty-One’
by Peter E Hodgkinson

In the quiet graveyard of St John the Baptist, Tidebrook, East Sussex, is a unique memorial bearing seventeen small brass plaques. It is not a war memorial, rather it bears the legend: ‘The Embankment Fellowship Centre in memory of those who served in the Great War 1914–1918 who lived and died at Downgate and are buried here’. Each plaque bears a name, a regiment, a date of death and an age.

Collision
The Embankment Fellowship Centre became the Ex–Service Fellowship Centres in 1969 and since 2007 has been known as Veterans Aid. Its foundation had roots in the collision of the motor boat from HMS Calypso with HMS Venomous in Valetta Harbour on 2 November 1924. On the Calypso were Major Charles Gilbert Dingwall Huggins, his wife Gwendolen, and their 11-year-old son Ulric. HMS Umpire, a destroyer with the pennant number H10, rescued the Huggins family and crew. Mrs Huggins was trapped in the boat for some 10 minutes — breathing from an air pocket at 12 fathoms — before she broke free and surfaced. She was uninjured, as was her son — her husband nearly drowned.

Returning to England, a grateful Mrs Huggins, ‘Prayed daily that some work which needed doing might be shown to her. However, none of the projects which came her way appealed and it was not until 1930 when, on visits to London, she was stopped frequently by down and out ex–servicemen asking for help, that a scheme to help them began to formulate in her mind’. She established a canteen and recreation room for destitute ex–servicemen at 59, Belvedere Road, Lambeth in London in January 1932 and appropriately named this ark ‘H10’. A hostel opened and a night shelter was established in co–operation with other charities (the YMCA set up an employment department which claimed to have found jobs for 38,000 ex–servicemen in the inter–war period) and in 1933 the title Embankment Fellowship Centre (EFC) was adopted. Its objectives were to assist ex–servicemen and ex–merchant seamen ‘of all classes over the age of 45 and who are in distress by providing food, accommodation, and clothing. The Centre also helps find employment’. In addition to its Lambeth base, Downgate, acquired in October 1939, was a Victorian mansion in Tidebrook acting as a rehabilitation centre accommodating forty men, and was used until 1956. A permanent home, Hollenden House at Bexhill, was also established. As now with Veterans Aid, the focus was not on matters such as mental health, which might lead to economic hardship, but on homelessness and unemployment itself.

Depression
The 1920s had been a period of unusually high unemployment in Britain, averaging 1.5 million out of work. In 1932, however, the number out
of work reached 3.4 million, one in six of the workforce. The Great Depression beginning in 1929, although experienced far more savagely in America than in the UK, had caused significant additional unemployment leading to homelessness and hunger, particularly in the northern industrial areas of Britain as demand for traditional products reduced. The extent of the effects of the Depression have, however, become the subject of myth. In the less industrial Midlands and Southern England, the effects were short-lived and the later 1930s were a prosperous time. As jobs were created, manufacturing of new products such as electrical goods and cars increased, and even agriculture saw a boom. Recent views on the sustained high unemployment of the period also emphasise the growing size of the workforce – 1.4 million individuals entered it between 1932 and 1938. As younger individuals entered the arena of work in increasing numbers, veterans were bound to suffer.

Practical goals

In 1939 a 10-minute film entitled Smith was made for the EFC, a fund-raising venture shown in local cinemas. Directed by the renowned Michael Powell, it starred major British actors Ralph Richardson and Flora Robson in the tale of a lower middle-class Great War veteran losing his job and achieving rehabilitation via the EFC. Applicants for assistance were interviewed, and there was a waiting list for admission, newcomers sleeping in dormitories until a cubicle became available. Restoring ‘self-confidence and self-respect’ was the personal goal, and proper clothing, received via donation, was provided to enable the rebuilding of self-image. Health was the first practical goal, three good meals a day leading to recovery in general health, and ‘The Ward of Hope’ allowing those admitted from hospital to recuperate. Employment was the second practical goal. Occupational training in the workshops (instructors being provided by the London County Council) encompassed carpentry, ‘housenests’ (especially for men who had no chance of returning to their former trades), handicrafts, and boot and shoe repair. Many were retained as cooks.

Statistics concerning the early work of the EFC are few. During the winter of 1934–35, the Fellowship provided 23,091 nights of shelter and 53,382 meals for destitute former servicemen. The 1939 Smith film describes the EFC as ‘aiding nearly 3,000’ in ‘less than four years’ and how the previous year, 548 men with an average age of 53 years had been found work. The average stay in the Centre at Belvedere Road was about six weeks until a job was found. There were those, however, who were older and infirm and could not expect to find work either in six weeks or perhaps at all. Downgate and Hollenden provided a mixture of more prolonged rehabilitation and care in old age. A 1949 EFC brochure states: ‘These two homes have accommodated through the year, an aggregate of 62 men. Some men are there only for a limited period for rest and recuperation … 120 have passed through in the last 12 months in this way’. Some achieved local work and contributed according to their means to the £2 17s 6d a week it cost to keep them. In January 1944 there were thirty residents, with an average age of over 70. Twenty-two were unfit for employment, or even work in the garden.

The ‘Downgate’ twenty-one

No records remain of the residents of Downgate. The seventeen listed on the Tidebrook memorial and the four others buried there but who are not commemorated, are all that remain to give us a snapshot of unemployed, homeless ex-servicemen of the Great War who remained and died in a residential setting. Of these, thirteen can be identified with certainty from medal cards or rolls, and service or pension records.

Charles T Bartlett

Charles Theodore Bartlett (born 1877) was an unemployed engine driver who had served for four years with 2nd Tower Hamlets Royal Engineers. He was married with four children. He attested on 11 September 1914 in the Middlesex Regiment (Private, no. 1266), landing in France on 2 September 1915, which makes it likely he served with 13/Middlesex. He was wounded on 24 January and 19 September 1916. Indicating his health, he was transferred in March 1918 to the Royal Engineers (Sapper no. 359510), serving in 154/Field Company, the Water Boring section, and finally 368/Forestry Company. He was demobilised in February 1919, medical category B2, fit for ‘Labour Service Abroad’ being ‘able to walk five miles to and from work, see and hear sufficiently for ordinary purposes’.

John Clifton

John Oliver Clifton (born 1899), a glass beveller, attested on 12 June 1915 in 3/7 London (Private, no. 5315), was transferred to the 2/7 Battalion, and was discharged on 5 November that year for giving a false date of birth (he was in fact 15 whereas he had stated he was 19 years 8 months). His mother had written to his unit, providing a birth certificate. He was described as ‘painstaking and well-behaved’.

Solomon Cowan

Solomon Cowan (born c1875), first attested in 1893. A cabinetmaker, he was then serving in the Militia (5th Royal Fusiliers). Suggestive of a robust character, he had a scar on his head, forehead and nose, and was tattooed ‘Buffalo Bill clasped hands Crown & cross rifles left forearm’. He joined the Medical Staff Corps (Private no. 10275). Promoted corporal in 1899, he served in Jamaica (1895–8) and during the Second Boer War (1899–1902), with ‘Distinguished Conduct in the Field’. He attested again on 30 June 1915, an unmarried hospital attendant, and was immediately promoted sergeant (no. 60674). He served with the RAMC in Egypt from July 1915 to June 1919, probably in the base hospitals for
the Gallipoli and Palestine campaigns. He was court-martialled for drunkenness in February 1916. Invalided home from Alexandria in June 1919 having fractured his left tibia tripping over a drain in camp, he was discharged two months later, no longer fit for service. He was admitted to the Royal Hospital Chelsea for those ‘broken by age or war’ in 1943, aged 68.

Jeremiah Hennessy
Born 24 May 1873 in Cork, Ireland, Jeremiah Hennessy attested in the Royal Engineers (Sapper no. 95946) and entered France 28 September 1915. There is no record of his being wounded or applying for a pension.

Robert G Hough
Robert George Hough (giving his birthday as 26 December 1881), a blacksmith’s assistant, first attested as George Robert Hough on 10 December 1915. He was mobilised on 27 March 1916 (Private no. 5274) and posted to 25th then 26/Middlesex (3rd Public Works Pioneers). This unit arrived in Salonika in August 1916. In 1918 he was in No. 63 Field Hospital with malaria, his 1920 Statement of Disability noting six attacks since 1918 lasting two hours each. He was demobilised 10 September 1919 (when he gave his birthday as 26 December 1879), but re-enlisted under his correct name in 47th Royal Fusiliers three months later (Private no. 140551), probably having made a poor re-adjustment to smithing. He was attached to 21/Hampshire in January 1920 and then No. 20 Graves Registration Unit, ie on battlefield clearance duty. His character was described as ‘very good’. He was discharged in November 1920 but attested yet again in April 1921 in 10/London Regiment. He was discharged the following July, medical category A1 despite his history of malaria. He appears never to have married.

Robert A Innes
Robert Arthur Innes (born 1879), was working in the shoe trade in 1914 in Northamptonshire. In 1911, however, he had been a stage manager working at the Apollo Theatre in London, having been married for a year. In 1914 he gave his wife Florence Isabel’s address as Manchester – she died in 1917 and he never remarried. He was conscripted into the Royal Field Artillery (Territorial) on 24 July 1916 (Bombardier no. 150885), and with a category B2 fitness rating was attached to the home service 65th Division at Caterick. He was discharged in February 1919. In 1926, applying through the Artillery Memorial Association ‘for a billet’, he requested details of his discharge from the army (he had to do so again in 1938), describing himself as ‘by no means affluent’. His employment and residence issues were clearly of longstanding.

Albert J Kingwell
Albert James Kingwell (born c1893), a printer’s assistant, attested on 10 April 1915 (Private no. 59821/Middlesex). He was married with a son who was born the day before war broke out. He landed in France on 26 December 1915, and was discharged on 27 May 1917, no longer physically fit for service. On 1 July 1916, at Fricourt (when he must have been serving with 4/Middlesex) he sustained a ‘gunshot wound’ leading to a right–sided head injury and compound fracture of the left shoulder. He was one of the unit’s 337 wounded that day. In addition he sustained ‘accidental wounds’ to abdomen and thigh in hospital. He had suffered Jacksonian epileptic fits to his left face and arm (indicating a frontal lobe brain injury). He remained with a stiff shoulder, and evidence of trephining (ie his skull had been drilled to release fluid compressing his brain). He was discharged medical category C3, fit for ‘Sedentary Service at Home Camps’, but ‘Free from serious organic disease, able to stand service conditions in garrison at home’. He and his wife Henrietta had no more children, Henrietta dying in 1939 and his son Albert (Royal Artillery) becoming a casualty of the Second World War, dying in 1945.

Frederick S McManus
Frederick Sydney McManus, (born c1878) served with the Labour Corps (Private no. 235164). There is no record of his being wounded or applying for a pension. He was resident at the EFC Belvedere Road Centre in 1938, and appears never to have married.

George Russell
George Russell, a hawker (born c1876), first attested in 1898 (Private no. 56741, 1st/Sussex). Another of robust character, he was tattooed with blue marks on his right arm, and on his left arm with a ‘ship bracelet’ and a cross and blue marks. He deserted in January 1898 for 25 days, again in March 1899, and yet again in 1905. He served in Malta (1899–1900); the Second Boer War (1900–02); then in India for two years with the 2nd Battalion; returning to Malta (1904–05) and then Crete (1905–06). Returning to civilian life as a hawker then quarry man, he attested on 29 August 1914 in the South Wales Borders (Private no. 13416), curiously denying previous service. He was posted to 9/Battalion, promoted Sergeant on 11 June 1915, and transferred to 2/Battalion, landing on Gallipoli on 1 September 1915, returning with his unit to France in March 1916. He was awarded the Military Medal for actions during a raid on the Hawthorn Redoubt, Somme.

The recommendation reads:

On the night of 29/30 April, Sgt Russell was in charge of the wire cutting party of the raid party. His party advanced in front, immediately behind Capt. Byrne commanding the raiding party. The party came under heavy shell fire on the way to the German wire, and 7 out of 10 were killed or wounded by the time the wire was reached. Sgt Russell and one man whom he called to follow him, cut the wire between two trestles, pulled the trestles out and cut a way through the trip wire. It was at this time that 2Lt Granger decided to give up the raid owing to losses. Sgt Russell was of great assistance in collecting wounded and in helping to organise parties for carrying them off, and he also did a lot of good work searching the shell craters along the front of the German wire. All this was done under fire alone in front of the trenches and while the party was fully exposed under the continuous fire.

The Twenty–One Men Buried at Tidebrook

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Regiment</th>
<th>Death</th>
<th>Age</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charles T Bartlett</td>
<td>King’s Royal Rifle Corps</td>
<td>14/01/1948</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrick Campbell</td>
<td>Royal Engineers</td>
<td>01/06/1951</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Clifton</td>
<td>7th London Regiment</td>
<td>08/03/1951</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soloman Cowan</td>
<td>Royal Army Medical Corps</td>
<td>11/05/1948</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Fry</td>
<td>Middlesex Regiment</td>
<td>18/10/1945</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah Hennesssey</td>
<td>Royal Engineers</td>
<td>13/07/1940</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert G Hough</td>
<td>Rifle Brigade</td>
<td>10/11/1947</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert A Innes</td>
<td>Royal Field Artillery</td>
<td>29/09/1948</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert J Kingwell</td>
<td>Middlesex Regiment</td>
<td>08/03/1951</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Major</td>
<td>CD</td>
<td>07/11/1953</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederick S McManus</td>
<td>Sussex Regiment</td>
<td>20/04/1943</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Russell</td>
<td>South Wales Borderers</td>
<td>26/03/1946</td>
<td>70</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alfred H Searle</td>
<td>Royal Army Service Corps</td>
<td>11/12/1939</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Smith</td>
<td>Royal Field Artillery</td>
<td>04/05/1944</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Soar</td>
<td>Grenadier Guards</td>
<td>24/01/1944</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Symons</td>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>29/01/1944</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfred G Vere</td>
<td>Royal Marines</td>
<td>31/01/1945</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Ainsworth</td>
<td>Not on memorial</td>
<td>05/10/1955</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert James Barr</td>
<td>Not on memorial</td>
<td>03/02/1955</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Herbert Davies</td>
<td>Not on memorial</td>
<td>21/01/1955</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Edward White</td>
<td>Not on memorial</td>
<td>10/01/1952</td>
<td>72</td>
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</table>
Very lights which were fired from the German lines. Sgt Russell showed great courage and dash in the way he advanced through the shell fire to the German wire.\(^{12}\)

He was also awarded the Croix de Guerre. His military career came to an end when he was wounded (gunshot wound, right arm) by heavy shelling of his unit during a relief in Gueudecourt Wood on 20 October 1916, when twenty were killed, fifty-eight wounded and forty-five missing in two days of trench duty. With 'marked loss of power' in his arm, he was discharged in October 1917. His character was described as 'good'. He was admitted as a Chelsea Pensioner in May 1945.

**Alfred H Searle**

Alfred Harold Searle (born c1876) was a managing salesman for Singer, and married with three children. He had attested on 10 December 1915 and was conscripted on 1 June 1916, promoted to corporal in the Military Foot Police, Ports Section (no. 3324). He was diagnosed with neurasthenia (anxiety neurosis) on 1 May 1918, and discharged in February 1919.

**Samuel Soar**

Samuel Chaplin Soar (born c1867), a clerk, attested on 30 September 1914 in 9/East Surrey (Private no. 1097). He had previously joined the Grenadier Guards in September 1885, serving in 2/Battalion (Private no. 2893) until June 1888, re-enlisting in August 1892, with two periods of AWOL in 1895 and 1898. He served in the Second Boer War (1899–1900), and was finally discharged in August 1904, his character described as 'good'. He was, however, discharged from the East Surreys after seventeen days' service in October 1914 as 'being unlikely to become an efficient soldier'. The reasons were not given, but were unlikely to be medical. He appears never to have married.

**Alfred G Vere**

Alfred George Vere, an errand boy (born 1893), enlisted at Southampton in September 1911 in the Royal Marines (Private no. 17217, Chatham Division). He served on the battleship HMS Africa (1913–15), and the armoured cruiser HMS Cumberland (1915–16). From 1917 to the end of the war he served on HMS General Wolfe, a monitor, which bombarded the Belgian coast for several weeks in September 1918. Vere was then transferred to the 8th Battalion Royal Marine Light Infantry from 1920 to 1921, being discharged in October 1922. He character was throughout described as 'very good'. He appears never to have married.

**Albert James Barr**

Albert James Barr (born c1876) was a broker and Canadian baseball player, who arrived in England in 1912. He was gazetted second lieutenant in 23/Royal Fusiliers (1st Sportsmans) on 13 July 1915, and transferred to a Trench Mortar Battery on 20 July 1916. On 13 April 1917 he became adjutant and served in this role until May 1918. Promoted lieutenant on becoming adjutant, he became a captain on 5 May 1917. He was awarded the Military Cross: For conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty. He showed marked ability in organising bomb and ammunition dumps previous to the attack. On one occasion he went round all the dumps in broad daylight to satisfy himself as to their being correct.\(^{13}\)

There is no record of Barr being wounded.

**The Downgate twenty-one in a 'fit country for heroes to live in'**\(^{14}\)

In 1919, over four million men had been demobilised – by late June that year the army alone had returned 112,101 officers and 2,816,964 enlisted men to civilian life.\(^{15}\) The enormity of the task of re-absorption is indicated by the fact that this represented a fifth of the workforce. Estimates based on national insurance and unemployment payments suggest that up to May 1920, 70 per cent of the unemployed were ex-servicemen, a problem accentuated by civilians displaced from the war industries also seeking employment.\(^{16}\) In 1921, the British Legion claimed that 80 per cent of the unemployed were still ex-servicemen.\(^{17}\) The veteran unemployment problem, however, steadily improved during the next decade. In April 1936, however, there were still 410,689 unemployed ex-servicemen, a quarter in the south and nearly a half in the north,\(^{18}\) representing 22 per cent of the total of 1,895,100 people out of work that month.

What were the factors influencing veteran unemployment? Firstly, there were war-specific effects. Self-evidently, physical or serious psychological disability created specific problems for employment, if not impossibility. But in the supposedly unjured, the largely unrecognized psychological effects created by the bodily changes of post-traumatic physiological arousal (irritability, poor sleep, hypervigilance, poor concentration, and exaggerated startle) created a generalised difficulty. Thus in US veterans, unlikely to differ from their British counterparts: 'The general restlessness of the returned soldiers and sailors made it difficult for many of them to settle down to the humdrum life of their former jobs';\(^{19}\) but there were also specific attitudinal issues: 'Many returning servicemen felt that they were qualified for better positions than they had held before entering the service'.\(^{20}\) Secondly, there were negative employer attitudes towards veterans. This discrimination may not have been related to their veteran status, but to other features of this group, such as their age. Thirdly, there would be matters related to the varied characters of individual veterans. Fourthly, there was the issue of general health; and lastly, there were the compounding physiological and psychological effects of unemployment itself. The health of the unemployed is adversely affected through increase in cardiovascular disease\(^{21}\) and alcohol-related conditions;\(^{22}\) as well as depression.\(^{23}\) Older men were thought to be 'particularly vulnerable to psychological impairment'.\(^{24}\)

One of the group was an officer, Albert Barr, and the problems of 'temporary gentlemen' were unique, both practical, attitudinal, and in terms of opportunity. They were, for instance, excluded from the grant of free unemployment insurance. But more painfully, both their career aspirations and financial expectations were so often disappointed. 'Ex-officers who expected £400 to £500 a year as a matter of course were out of touch with market conditions', pre-1914 salaries no longer being sustainable. Officers were offered education and training schemes, but benefits were offset by the 'loss of critical years in or consolidating a career; the frequency of early marriage; the impact of 'neurasthenic after-effects' and the increasingly glutted clerical and professional labour market'.\(^{25}\)

One thing is evident from these thirteen identified soldiers – how little their military histories have in common. Three were veterans of previous active service. One, Cowan, was...
involved in hospital work, two were front-line soldiers. One, Russell, received bravery awards; the other, the ex-Guardsman Soar, although holding down a civilian job, lasted seventeen days before being discharged on efficiency grounds. Their records suggest that the three were 'characters', but their pre-war employment situation indicates good social adjustment. Four of the thirteen were wounded or injured, two with some limb issues, but only one, Kingwell, had a wound (brain and shoulder) serious enough likely to create marked difficulties in work. Nor were they necessarily men who had been traumatised by war. Four never served in an active theatre of war (perhaps reflecting health issues), and only one (who never saw active service) received a diagnosis of neurasthenia.

Dwindling chances

Three things are, however, significant. Firstly, from the positive point of view, nearly all were in employment in 1914, thus there is no reason to believe they had issues with work. Secondly, and from the negative point of view, half the group were unmarried and two were widowed at various points. A majority therefore had no immediate family in the form of spouse or children to assist them, whilst the families in which they were born would have been of an age where offering support would have been difficult. The 'Downdate Twenty-One' had, by definition, all become homeless. For some who were married, such as the neurasthenic Alfred Searle, it would seem family relationships had broken down to a point where none would could care for the down-and-out veteran – Searle's wife died in 1961, two decades after her husband. Of the widowed, the brains-damaged Albert Kingwell was only forced into care after the death of his wife and that of his only son in the Second World War. Others evidently had never had such support, and unemployment itself drove ex-servicemen away from other avenues of support – membership of the British Legion was lowest in the areas of highest unemployment, potential members simply not having the funds to pay their dues.20

The third significant feature, their age, was something they could do nothing about. Although two were in their 50s when they died (Clifton had a lifelong penchant for inflating his age, firstly on attestation, and secondly perhaps to get assistance from the EFC), the 'Twenty-One' would on average have been no younger than 60 when Downdate opened, let alone when they were admitted. The table below shows the aged-related long term unemployment figures for November 1936. The chances of a man of 62 getting back into employment once he had become unemployed were only a fifth of those of a youth of 19, a third of those of a man of 30, and a half of those of a man of 50.21 Age played a part in employer discrimination. Employers in new, expanding sectors preferred to take on young workers who did not 'bring to their new employment entrenched attitudes'. Similarly, employers turned away older men on the grounds that they 'had come to expect higher wages' (the average weekly wage dropped from 73.8 shillings a week in 1920 to a low of 53.7 shillings a week in 1933); 'might be more subject to illness' (a real issue in veterans); or might be 'disinclined to learn new methods'.22

Within these figures, the 'Downdate Twenty-One' are part of a group of older men whose chances of employment dwindled as each year passed. With an average age in 1914 of 36, they had lost four years of employment history to the war, and struggled unsuccessfully to reintegrate. An 'unemployment equation' no doubt exists containing at least the physical/psychological effects of war, the character of the veteran, the psychological effects of unemployment and homelessness, the protective presence/absence of family, physical health, and increasing age. For each veteran a different weighting would have to be given to each aspect of the equation, but for those who died at Downdate, the absence of the protective benefit of family and sheer age would have been significant. The Embalmment Fellowship Centre thus played an important part in helping the most disadvantaged veteran groups of the age. Veterans Aid continues this vital work today.

Acknowledgements

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References

7. Approximately £900 in 2015 values.
8. Canon Rev J James, sermon preached at Tidebrook Church, 12 November 2006.
28. Eichengreen, op. cit. p.3.

Long-term unemployment – November 1936

<table>
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<th>Age group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>No. per 1,000 at that age</th>
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<td>18–20</td>
<td>3,900</td>
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<td>21–24</td>
<td>23,500</td>
<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>25–34</td>
<td>59,900</td>
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<td>35–44</td>
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