

*P. Stacey*

The NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN  
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND  
(FEDERATED TO THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN, 1897)

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REPORT  
OF THE  
ANNUAL MEETING  
AND  
CONFERENCE  
HELD IN  
BRIGHTON

6th to 10th October 1924.

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PUBLISHED AT THE OFFICE OF  
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN  
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## PART I.—ANNUAL MEETING.

TUESDAY, 7th OCTOBER, 1924.

ANNUAL COUNCIL MEETING IN THE DOME,  
BRIGHTON.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

BY THE MAYOR OF BRIGHTON, ALDERMAN H. MILNER BLACK, J.P.

MADAM PRESIDENT AND LADIES: It is with the greatest possible pleasure that we are here this morning to give you a welcome to Brighton. It is one of the last privileges which will fall to me during my year of office and it is always the thing that is best which is reserved to the last! I am glad to say that there has always been a close association between the history of the women's movement and Brighton. One of your Presidents and most esteemed workers, Mrs. Henry Fawcett, was the wife of one of Brighton's Members of Parliament. In the world of the stage, Eva Moore has gone forth and won golden opinions throughout the country. In the singing world, who is more loved than Clara Butt? In the political world there is Miss Bondfield, the eloquent woman speaker, who has a very close interest in Brighton and was long resident in our midst. The last I will mention are those ladies who established what I think at the time was almost a new form of girls' education, the Misses Lawrence, long connected with Roedean. Woman's place has to me, personally, always been on an equality with man's place. My first public act as Mayor was on Corporation Sunday to attend the service conducted by the official chaplain, and for the first time in the history of the town my wife walked side by side with me, leading the procession of Councillors. And so we have kept it up. The other day we had the pleasure of opening two parks, at the one my wife opened the gate and I planted the tree, and at the other I opened the gate and my wife planted the tree.

Brighton has always been regarded as a lady, the "Queen" of Watering Places. Just as you ladies are hardly typical of the early Victorian women—sedate, modest, retiring women, who were always thought of as being worthy to occupy a pedestal—but enjoy a more modern, robust and active co-partnership with

men, so Brighton has developed from the staid and starchy town of 70 to 100 years ago and has become, just as you have become, with a trace of devilry in it, a modern and up-to-date resort. On behalf of all the people of Brighton we give to every Conference welcome, but thrice welcome are the modern women whom I see before me to-day."

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY MRS. GEORGE MORGAN.

MR. MAYOR AND FELLOW-WORKERS.—

During the last year I have often been asked what is the work of the National Council of Women; and I think it may be well at this great Annual Assembly to review some of its activities. It is divided into two sections, which may be likened to the harvest-field—first, sowing the seed of new thought, and then gathering the harvest by getting through Parliament reforms which represent the forward movements of the time.

It is not an easy matter to get laws dealing with social reforms passed through Parliament. In the old days it took many years of arduous labour; but since the granting of the vote we have had our power greatly increased, and our deputations carry considerable weight with whatever Government is in power, especially as we are able through our Branches to bring pressure to bear on individual Members of the House.

The other section of our work is even more important, as we are planting new seed and demonstrating by pioneer work that the reforms we are asking for are not only desirable, but practicable.

We, as a nation, are slow to move and we like to look well before we leap. Therefore our Council has not been able in the past to accomplish at once all it wished for. But it has steadily pointed out the new way, educating public opinion, and finally using its united force to get the desired reform passed into law.

In 1900, twenty-four years ago, this Council, under its old title of "National Union of Women Workers," held its annual meeting in Brighton, and I want to give you one or two illustrations of these two methods of work from the Report we have of that meeting.

In those days one of the reforms the women were asking for was the prevention of the sale of drink to little children. Some of you will remember seeing little mites of four, five, and six years of age, going into public-houses to buy the dinner beer for their fathers and mothers.

We know that this was creating a habit that was detrimental to the child; but it was not an easy matter to get them protected. However such efforts were at last successful, and long ago a Bill was passed prohibiting the sale of drink to children. This was followed by further legislation preventing parents from taking children into public-houses, and to-day we rejoice in Lady Astor's Bill which forbids youth being served with drink under the age of 18 years.

Again, take the Factory Laws in 1900. The N.U.W.W. were asking for the regulation of child-labour; and you know how that question has been superseded by the recognition of the fact that if a child came to school wearied by previous toil, it was unable to benefit by the education given by the State, and therefore all child labour has been abolished.

Following on these reforms, we have before us to-day the great Children's Charter, which owes so much to Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon. That Charter does not only consider one part of a child's life, but safeguards it from infancy right through the years of adolescence.

Step by step I want you to see the progressive work of this Council. Not all at once do we attain that which we desire, but each thought, as it comes, is taken hold of and a law passed, making the foundation for others which follow in its train. In regard to elections, I do not know, Mr. Mayor, whether it is because women were only accorded the vote in 1919, but since that time we have had the opportunity of doing about twenty-five years' work as electors! We are threatened to-day with another election, and we are getting quite *au fait* with the way in which they should be carried on. What does the Council do? We are not a "party" political body, and yet we most certainly are political in working for social reforms for the well-being of the nation as a whole. To every candidate we send out questions. They have to decide whether to say "Yea" or "Nay," and the answers of the successful candidates are tabulated in our office. Then when they secure a seat in the House, our local Branches ask them to carry out the promises they made at election time. I hope, therefore, that everyone of you will realise that in this part of our work we are really making for a strong, stable and moral House of Commons.

Then we have the second part of our work, that of sowing the seed for the future—the pioneer work. In 1900, Mrs. Humphry Ward gave a report on the Invalid Children's School which she had started in connection with the Mary Ward Settlement, and which demonstrated, what was not believed before, that the little invalid child was capable of being trained to become a citizen that

could earn its own bread. Before, they had just been a burden upon their parents and upon the community, losing that self-respect which is the right of every child. Now to-day that piece of pioneer work has been followed by the State Special Schools, which open a way of education for any handicapped child in the nation.

Nearer to our day, and much more rapid in its development, has been the work of the Women Police. Now I know that some of you have said, when you saw "Women Police," on our Council Agenda: "Oh, dear! Women Police again!" But it just proves another thing which is the backbone of our Council—that women never take "No," for an answer when they are on the right line! But for that persistence, the Women Police would have been swept away by the Geddes Axe, and a great step forward would have been frustrated. The Women Police sprang entirely from the work of the N.C.W. during the War time! They are in apostolic succession to the Women Patrols, those women who went out as voluntary workers to safeguard the *morale* of the youth of our country during those perilous years of War; and by that work demonstrated to the police authorities that there was a place for women in work which was formerly supposed to belong entirely to men, and some portions of which women could do better than men. We have had our set-backs. What good work ever does go forward without set-backs. We have seen women patrols recognised by the police authorities, then paid by the Government, and finally appointed as part of the Police Force. Then came the Geddes Axe and the Women Police were doomed to go. The N.C.W. said: "We will not let them go" and under the leadership of Mrs. Carden and Mrs. Wilson Potter, backed by the united force of this Council and its Affiliated Societies, we were able to maintain that position. We had demonstrations and deputations, and finally we were able to save a little nucleus of Women Police, twenty women for the great teeming metropolis of London. It is so ridiculous to have twenty women for the work that has to be done, that I am certain the day is not far distant when an adequate force will be reinstated. To-day we rejoice in a report that has been issued by a Special Committee, which was formed after a deputation from the Council to the Government, and that report concedes in every particular all that we asked for. It says most clearly and distinctly that not only is there a place for women in the Police Force, but that they are needed for work that men cannot do. There is a recommendation that in all police forces there shall be women working alongside the men. Thus step by step we set out upon a new line, we carve a way through the wood, and then at last a highway is

made for the feet of the paid women workers to follow where we have led.

I have not gone over these past successes just to pat ourselves on the back and rest from our labours, but in order that we may gain fresh inspiration for the more difficult problems which face us to-day.

There never has been a time in the history of this nation or of the world when there was more need for the united force and power of those women and men, who have a high ideal of what national life should be than at this present moment. Take, for instance, the great Housing Problem, which has baffled Government after Government. I would suggest to you that the solution will only come when each person realizes his or her own personal responsibility to remove a condition which is the source of incalculable evil. A man said to me a short time ago: "This problem of housing will never be settled until it is burnt into our souls that we must each do something to meet the demand; and I am going to build four houses as my contribution this year." The enormous figures representing the need of the whole country stagger us; but when divided and sub-divided, they become more possible to deal with. The Malvern Branch has given us a lead in this matter by forming themselves into a Public Utility Society and building flats for professional women. This has been a financial success, not paying high dividends, but not losing money; and what one Branch has done others can do. It is a marvellous thing how we women, who are supposed to have no knowledge of finance, somehow manage to keep out of debt! Do not forget that the housing problem is no new one: it was engaging the attention of this Council in 1900, when an excellent paper was given by Mrs. Ramsay Macdonald. But it has never yet been solved. Are we to say it is incapable of solution? Surely not. But because of the urgency of the demand, I urge you to take it back to your Branches, and see what you can accomplish in your own districts. One thing is certain, that if you persuade your Branch to undertake some work in regard to the housing question, gathering together those who are keen to help and those who have ability, your Branch at the end of your task will be a thousand times stronger than it is to-day. Remember that the reason we have Branches to bind us together is in order that we may accomplish work which we could not attempt in isolation.

There is another subject I would commend to your attention, that of Children's Libraries. When I was in Holland I saw the little children carrying home after school a library book neatly covered in paper, and I longed to see our children provided in the same way with good class literature. No one can over estimate

the value of good reading. When once children get the habit of reading those spicy horrors which are so easily obtained to-day, it is difficult to get them to enjoy good literature. We ought to have a Children's Library near to every school—the poorer the district the greater the need—and this work, which would be of incalculable value to the next generation, offers a sphere of service to the educated girl of to-day, so that she may pass on to others what she has herself received. She could help the little ones in choosing books, guiding them to read the best works and so developing a taste for real literature which they have never known in the past. The provision of suitable books for such libraries would not offer any difficulty, as the great Trusts which are already formed would gladly supply this need. But the call is for organisers who would make it their business to see that in all districts this good literature shall be readily available.

Another opportunity for service is in connection with the Cinemas, which we all realize have come to stay. It is not the least use for us to say we do not like them, they are here; and they are a great educative force (if they show the right kind of films), or a great power for evil. In Manchester, when a Watch Committee grants a license to a Cinema House, they say that no films shall be shown there which have not been passed by them. We want more of this work and then we shall have the presentation of films which are going to be a help to the nation itself; for it will not pay to produce films which are prohibited in several towns.

It seems a big thing for us to change public opinion, but it is not an impossible thing when we have the Council behind us, representing not only our own branches but all the Societies which are affiliated to us. By this means, we are able to represent thousands and thousands of women, each one with her own personal influence, joining together to make a great force for bringing a newer and better state of things into the country we love so well.

In conclusion, I want to remind you of three definite notes which have been sounded this year. The first came at the commencement of the Empire Exhibition from a group of international societies, which had decided that the note which they could strike together would be the one of Peace. It was a Conference which to me was an epoch-making occasion. There were gathered together men and women of many nationalities, all speaking on the same subject, the horror of war, and the need for preventing the causes of war in the future. We know that all other reforms which we hope for in our own country will be swept away, smashed to pieces, if war comes. The war of the future will be a different thing from those of the past; therefore we have to provide for something that will help to prevent war. The great

thing we have to realise is that quarrels between nations are bound to come, and that quarrels between nations will lead to war unless we provide some method that will satisfy them that justice will be done. Therefore we again re-assert our unhesitating support of the League of Nations. We cannot change an age-long custom just by saying that war is bad, but we can change public opinion; we can change it by hard definite work, by study, which will enable us to grasp the subject in its entirety, and by standing for the inter-dependence of nations, one with another. The truth which never emerged before the war except in a very weak and incomplete way, and which was the note struck at Wembley, is that we are linked with the world and that we live or die together. What I ask you in the Branches to do is to make it a definite study throughout this winter, so that you may understand the inter-relationship of nations, and the fact that no nation can rise to its highest unless it gives to others, and receives from others what they can give in return.

Then there was the little note of hope that was struck by the N.C.W. in the Conference upon "The Good Old Days and Now." I do not think that anybody who went to that Conference could return a pessimist. We looked back for 50 years and it really made one's blood boil to think that anybody could have lived in those 'Good Old Days' and not have been moved to instant action on behalf of the helpless little children.

Lastly, the greatest note of all was sounded in that wonderful Conference of C.O.P.E.C. at Birmingham, which showed to us that God claims the whole of our life; bodily, socially, economically, politically, the whole of men's and women's lives are claimed for the highest. That note is a re-echo of the great faith of the women of the past who founded this Council, because they said: "If thy Spirit go not with me, carry me not up hence," as they faced the great work. So it is only in the Spirit that we can attempt to do the tasks which face us to-day. But if we have that faith; if, with the same courage, the same unselfish devotion, the same service that was given by the women who have now gone to their rest, we take up our task to-day, we need not fear the result. For the light will dawn and the hour will strike when the peace of the world shall have become an accomplished fact.

## 29TH ANNUAL REPORT.

BY MISS NORAH GREEN, *General Secretary.*

During the past year the international aspect of the Council's work has been very much to the fore, and the British National Council of Women has been glad to welcome the many visitors from other Councils of Women, especially from the Overseas Dominions, who have come to England to see the **British Empire Exhibition**.

A special **Pavilion** has been erected at the Exhibition by the International Council of Women and has served, under Miss Zimmern's expert management, as a place of welcome for overseas visitors and a centre of information regarding the work of the Affiliated Societies. The Council was represented on the Committee of arrangements by its President and Secretary. Many members have been enrolled as Fellows of the British Empire Exhibition; a band of lady guides to the Exhibition has been organised by Mrs. Field, Hon. Secretary of the Emigration Committee, and a list of women's Societies in London has been compiled for the use of visitors.

The protection of women and girls at the Exhibition has received your Committee's serious consideration, the Exhibition authorities having been approached on the matter and questions asked in the House. Four of the women police were finally appointed to work in the Exhibition, but your Committee considers this number quite inadequate. The Executive Committee has also been concerned regarding the conditions of work of the women and girl employees there. Recent reports, however, show some improvement in these.

The National Council of Women has taken an active part in connection with three weeks of meetings at Wembley:—

(1) From 2nd to 8th May a **Conference on the Prevention of the Causes of War** was organised by a committee of several of the largest of the women's international organisations, with Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon as Chairman. The Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair presided and addresses were given by men and women experts of many different nationalities. An abridged report was immediately issued, and the full report is now ready, price 5s. A resumé of the chief points raised, made by Miss Sharples, Hon. Secretary of our Peace and League of Nations Committee, is on sale in the bookroom. This Committee keeps the question of world peace constantly before the Council and reports a remarkable growth recently in the Peace Spirit. The National Council of Women continues also to work in close co-operation

with the League of Nations Union, on the General Council of which your Secretary has been appointed to serve. Your Committee learned with satisfaction that effect is at last to be given to the request made at the Council meeting in Edinburgh that **Nurse Cavell's** last words should be inscribed on her statue:—  
“Patriotism is not enough. I must have no bitterness or hatred for anyone.”

(2) During the **N.C.W. Week** from 16th to 21st June a series of addresses were given in one of the Conference halls at the Exhibition, comparing the life of women in the “good old days” at the time of the first Exhibition with life at the present day. These showed the great advance which had been made by women, more especially as regards their position in industry. The numerous attractions of the Exhibition however made it difficult to secure a good attendance at the conferences held there.

(3) In July a **Women's Week** was arranged by a Sub-Committee of the Women's Section of the Exhibition, under the Chairmanship of Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon, each of the Overseas Dominions being responsible for one day. A message from H.M. the Queen was delivered at the Conference each morning by Princess Helena Victoria, Princess Marie Louise, and Lady Patricia Ramsay respectively, while entertainments and receptions were given in the afternoons. The N.C.W., which was represented by its President on the Women's Section, assisted in giving publicity to the meetings and in distributing tickets, and also undertook the stewarding of the hall during the week. Mrs. Maurice Bear, Hon. Secretary of the London Branch, acted as head steward, and a grateful letter of thanks has since been received from Lady Galway, President of the Women's Section.

On 28th July the Executive Committee gave a **Reception** to overseas visitors at **Leighton House**, when there was a good attendance and much appreciation was expressed of this opportunity for friendly intercourse.

**International Council of Women.** The Committees of the International Council of Women met in Copenhagen from May 20th to 28th and were attended by a full delegation from the British Council. A number of resolutions were considered for the Quinquennial Meeting in Washington in May, 1925. The delegates were most hospitably entertained and were honoured by being received by the King and Queen of Denmark at their palace, at Sorgenfri.

The vacancies on the I.C.W. Standing Committees for 1925 have been filled as follows:—**Suffrage Committee**—Miss Tancred; **Peace and Arbitration Committee**—Miss Mabel Sharples. As the journey to Washington will be costly, the Executive Committee



asks the Council to consider starting a fund to assist suitable delegates.

**India.** As a result of the meeting called by our International Committee in 1923, a Provisional Committee has now been formed in London, to work for the establishment of a National Council of Women in India. One Indian lady from that Committee has been invited to attend each of our Sectional Committees next year as an honorary member in order to gain some insight into the work of a National Council. We are glad also to welcome representatives of that Committee here to-day.

The Executive Committee has met nine times during the past year with an average attendance of 56. It has to report with regret the loss by death of two of the founders of the N.C.W., Mrs. Alfred Booth, who presided at the Conference held in Liverpool in 1891, and was elected as President of the whole Council in 1898; and Mrs. Arthur Phillip, who was also connected with the N.C.W. from its earliest days, and represented the Haslemere Branch on the Executive as recently as 1923. The recent death of Mrs. Clark, who represented the Salisbury Branch on the Executive, deprives that city of one of its first women magistrates.

The Committee has been glad to welcome as visitors Mrs. Sanford, Hon. Treasurer of the I.C.W., and Miss Carmichael, President of the Canadian Council, on her return from Geneva where she represented the Canadian Government at the International Labour Conference. The Executive, which had urged the appointment by the British Government of a woman at that Conference, noted with satisfaction the appointment of Miss Constance Smith, as adviser to the Government delegates and of Miss Bondfield as adviser to the Workers' delegates.

**General Election, 1923.** In connection with the General Election, a list of questions for submission to candidates was drawn up by our Parliamentary Committee and the replies given by 53 of the successful candidates have been tabulated for future reference. Lady Astor urged upon the Committee the supreme importance of securing more women in the House of Commons, and the election of eight women, representing all political parties, was hailed with much satisfaction. Lady Astor and Mrs. Wintringham already serve on the Executive and the Duchess of Atholl, J.P., Lady Terrington and Miss Jewson have accepted office on certain of the Sectional Committees.

Among the resolutions referred back by the Council at Edinburgh for further consideration were those dealing with Old Age Pensions and Assaults on Children.

On 16th January Old Age Pensions were discussed at a joint

meeting of three sectional committees. Mr. Henry Lesser, Vice-Chairman of the National Conference on Old Age Pensions, spoke, and advocated the total abolition of the means limit as the only way to remove the penalisation of thrift. The matter was further considered at two meetings of the Executive and the following resolution was forwarded to the Minister of Health:—

“The Executive Committee of the N.C.W., realising that the present system of administering the Old Age Pension Act penalises saving and thrift and is open to other very serious objections, believes that the only way of removing these objections is to abolish the means limit.”

Mr. Snowden's Old Age Pensions Bill, which has since become law, retains the means limit but alters the method of computing it, the full pension being now given to persons having 15s. a week unearned income, and 10s. a week from other sources; in other words £39 a year is deducted from unearned income before the usual calculation is made.

The question of Assaults on Children and Young Girls was fully discussed at a meeting held in March at the Caxton Hall under the presidency of Lady Emmott, when it was thought advisable, instead of pressing for any particular reform, to urge the Home Office to appoint a full Committee of Enquiry. Two conferences have since been called by the Home Office and the desired Committee of Enquiry was appointed on 28th July. We are glad to find three of our members included upon it:—Miss E. H. Kelly, J.P., Councillor Miss Clara Martineau, J.P., and Mrs. Rackham, J.P. The N.C.W. urged that Scotland should be represented on the Committee or a separate Committee for Scotland appointed, and is informed that if thought necessary a separate committee will be appointed.

The Rescue and Preventive Committee report that some of the difficulties in dealing with breaches of the regulations in Parks and Open Spaces arise from (1) the different authorities concerned, and (2) the great reluctance of individuals to bring forward definite complaints or when necessary to appear in court. It is stated, however, that, though more women police are needed, conditions in the parks have improved very considerably and a high tribute was paid to the men caretakers there.

**Women Police.** In October, 1923, a Conference of affiliated societies was called by the N.C.W. to consider the whole question of women police. A list of questions had been circulated to all Police Authorities employing women, and the replies received from 28 Chief Constables were tabulated for the Conference by Miss Tancred and form a valuable record. (Price 2s. 6d. from the

bookroom). On 26th March a deputation organised by the N.C.W., on which 52 societies were represented, was received by the Home Secretary. The deputation was introduced by Lord Ast and urged that effect should be given to the recommendations of the Home Office Committee of 1920. The Home Secretary stated that another Committee would be set up to review the experience gained in the employment of women police during the past three and a half years and to make recommendations, and added "the principle of women police is taken for granted." This Committee, before which Mrs. Wilson Potter, Mrs. Carden and Miss Tancred gave evidence, has now presented its report and recommends the appointment once again of at least the original number of women police in the Metropolis. The Council may therefore feel that its strenuous efforts to secure the reinstatement of the women police have not been in vain. At the same time it is most desirable that the Committee's recommendations should be endorsed by the Home Secretary and issued as statutory regulations. A letter has therefore been sent to the Home Office to that effect.

The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene drew the attention of the Executive to the conditions in Hong Kong, where there are admittedly 296 tolerated houses, and in consequence the following resolution was forwarded to the Prime Minister:—

"That the N.C.W. calls upon the Government to bring the Crown Colonies into line with the British law in regard to the penalties for brothels and disorderly houses, and, particularly in the case of Hong Kong and the Straits Settlements, to break up and abolish all existing vice areas or streets where brothel-keeping is at present allowed."

Lady Astor also organised a deputation of Members of Parliament to the Home Office, and as a result an enquiry is being conducted into this matter.

**Bills before Parliament.** An unusually large number of Bills of special interest to women have been before Parliament during the past session, but it is not yet known which of these will become law.

The bills dealing with children include the **Guardianship of Infants Bill** introduced by the Government in the House of Lords. The Council has supported this Bill as, though it does not give the mother equal guardianship rights with the father as Mrs. Wintringham's Bill would have done, it contains many necessary reforms. The **Legitimacy Bill**, which will legitimate a child on the subsequent marriage of its parents, has also received the Council's support. There is, however, a strong

division of opinion with regard to the amendment introduced into this Bill in the House of Lords, which provides that the subsequent marriage shall not legitimate a child one of whose parents was married to a third party at the time of its birth. An urgency resolution on this point has, therefore, been framed by the Executive Committee for your consideration. The Government has promised to give facilities for this Bill, provided the promoters agree to accept the Lords' amendments.

Another Bill of special interest to the younger women is the **Representation of the People Act, 1918, Amendment Bill**, which provides for the enfranchisement of women at the age of 21. The **Summary Jurisdiction (Separation and Maintenance Orders) Bill**, among other provisions, gives a woman the right to apply for a separation order before she has left her husband's house; while the **Criminal Justice Bill** makes the appointment of probation officers compulsory and abolishes the presumption that a wife, committing a crime in her husband's presence, is coerced by him. Your Committee is glad to report that the Government has promised to give facilities for the remaining stages of the last three bills.

The N.C.W. has also urged its Branches to approach their Members of Parliament in support of the **Judicial Proceedings (Regulation of Reports) Bill**, which will prevent the publication of undesirable and injurious details in connection with reports of divorce cases and other judicial proceedings.

The interests of the child and the young person have been considered from many points of view. At one of the meetings of the Maternity and Child Welfare Committee the qualifications and training of **Health Visitors** were discussed and a letter was afterwards addressed to the Minister of Health urging that the certificate of the Central Midwives Board, or some similar certificate should be made compulsory, and that the minimum age of entrance to the qualifying examination should be raised to 20. Two years ago a **Children's Charter** was drawn up by the International Council of Women and a similar charter has since been published by the Save the Children Fund International Union. On the initiative of the Child Welfare Committee, meetings of the two Committees in this country have recently been held and have resulted in one **Children's Charter for Great Britain**, which it is hoped will be approved by both societies. (Price 2d., from the Bookroom.)

Again it was the welfare of the child which largely influenced the Temperance Committee in opposing the attempts made at the Brewster Sessions to secure the **later closing of public houses**. On this Committee Mrs. Henry Pearson has succeeded Lady

Horsley as Convener. The Executive also approached the London County Council, expressing the hope that in the interests of young people the request for licenses for about eighteen places of amusement would not be granted and later learned with satisfaction that these had been refused.

The question of **Unemployment among Juveniles** has been considered by the Industrial Committee and a letter has been addressed to the Prime Minister, and also to the Board of Education, urging that part time education should be made compulsory for all boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 16 during their periods of unemployment.

An interesting address on adult education was given at a meeting of our Education Committee by Dr. Albert Mansbridge of the World Association for Adult Education.

In connection with the new **Factory and Workshops Bill**, your Committee decided to support the six points drafted by the Y.W.C.A., including a 48 hours week, a minimum standard of temperature, a fixed standard of lighting, the closing of underground workrooms, the improvement of welfare provisions and an increase in the number of men and women factory inspectors. They further added a seventh point, urging that the work of certifying surgeons should be extended to all workshops and that more women surgeons should be appointed. A letter embodying these proposals was forwarded to the Home Office and it is satisfactory to note that most of these reforms are included in the present Factories Bill.

At meetings of the **Public Health Committee** Dr. Walker, the Convener, gave an account of her recent visit to America, where she was very favourably impressed with some of the mental hospitals, and Dr. Helen Boyle, of the Lady Chichester Home in Brighton, in her address on "Mental Treatment, Institutional and Otherwise," impressed the Committee with the urgent need for more such small homes for poor patients. Miss Cree has been appointed as Hon. Secretary of this Committee. The Executive noted with satisfaction the appointment of the Royal Commission on Lunacy and Mental Disorder, on which two women are included:— Mrs. C. J. Matthew, J.P., an alderman of the London County Council, and Miss Madeleine Symonds. The Committee urged the addition of a medical woman with expert knowledge, but the Minister of Health could not see his way to add to the Committee.

**Seventy Women Justices of the Peace** have this year joined the **Women J.P.'s Committee**, which now numbers 200 members.

The **Emigration and Immigration Committee** has been fortunate in hearing first hand accounts from many of the

visitors of life in the overseas dominions, and at an open meeting in the Caxton Hall Sir Edward Grigg spoke to a large audience on "Some Principles of Empire Settlement."

**Housing.** The vexed question of housing is receiving the consideration of a Special Committee on Housing, which has been formed at the request of our London Branch. The Countess of Selborne is acting as its Convener and Councillor Miss Stafford Smith acted as its Hon. Secretary *pro tem.* A revised List of Hostels for Professional and Business Women, including Scotland, has been published, price 1s.

The office returns for the past year are:—

Letters in	.. .. .	7,720
Letters out	.. .. .	10,845
Agenda and Minutes out	.. .. .	11,805
Leaflets and Pamphlets out	.. .. .	8,318
Handbooks and Conference Reports	.. .. .	1,441
'N.C.W. News' (including copies sent direct from printers)	.. .. .	26,625

Miss Kirk has been appointed as Assistant Editor of the "N.C.W. News" with regard to which the Editor will be able to present a very favourable report.

The following **Societies** have been affiliated to the Council during this year:—

- House of Education Teachers' and Old Students' Association.
- Society for Prevention of Venereal Disease.
- Brotherhood Movement (Sisterhood Section).
- Temperance Legislation League.
- League of Skilled Housecraft.
- Save the Children Fund.
- The Order of Divine Compassion.
- Beckenham Women Citizens' Association.

bringing the total number up to 152.

**Branches.** An interesting bequest has been made by Mrs. Langstaff, late Hon. Secretary of our Southampton Branch, who has left £30,000 to found a home to be known as Langstaff House, for distressed gentlewomen of Southampton.

**Conference in 1925.** Your Committee has accepted an invitation from the Birmingham Branch to hold its Annual Meeting and Conference there in 1925. The meetings will be held during the week beginning 22nd September, as provided they take place during the vacation the University halls have been placed at our disposal free of charge.

## HON. TREASURER'S REPORT.

BY LADY TRUSTRAM EVE, L.C.C.

It is with great satisfaction that I am able to announce this year that, instead of the usual deficit, we have a balance. I congratulate the Council on this. The responsibility was laid upon their shoulders two years ago and it is therefore the Council which has to be congratulated. You have the figures before you. Roughly speaking, we have £100 on deposit for Special Work and a balance after paying amounts due in September of about £40, so that at the moment we are in a comfortable position. I say "at the moment" because what we are aiming at is to increase this £100, so as to have a fund at the disposal of the President and Executive for organising work. We have felt for years that we need a fund to enable us to send someone to help a weak Branch to become a strong Branch: unfortunately you cannot do that without money. Now that we have just been able to collect this £100 I hope that it will go on increasing so that we can draw upon it for emergency work. We have this year an increase of about £14 on the total sum received from the Branches and a substantial increase on the "N.C.W. News" that has been a very great help to us; without it we should not be in nearly as good a position as we are to-day. In spite of the very great success of Miss Garrett's appeal, we have only a little more on donations than we had last year, when we received £150 from the Cambridge Conference. People have been extremely generous but donations should really be for special work and should not be needed for our bread and butter.

Now we come to the list—a small one indeed but it *is* a list—of those Branches that have not paid their £5.

Coventry.	<i>Excused.</i>
Grantham.	S.W. Ham.
Southampton.	<i>Part Paid.</i>
Southport and Birkdale.	Andover £2.
Banffshire.	Highcliffe £2 2s.
Merthyr Tydfil.	

We know that some of these Branches are not very much alive: if a Branch wants to be alive it must live in the spirit of the Council and keep its rules. It is those Branches which pay up regularly that are the most alive. I look forward to the day when I shall be able to stand here and say there is no list of defaulting Branches. Where there are special circumstances these are brought before the Committee and are taken into account. I want to urge again what has already been pointed out by our

President, that this special £5 effort is a help to the Branch itself; first of all because part of the money goes to them, but chiefly—and this is far more important than money—because it means an increased interest in Branch work. I don't want you to look upon it as a terrible burden, but as a great opportunity.

There is one other point to mention and that is the Melting Snowball scheme. Personally I am thankful that it is a *melting* one, because there is an end to a thing that melts! It starts with ten people, going down to eight, then to six, four and two—and that is the end of it. I am perfectly convinced that if you will all work it, we shall get money from it and shall be very much helped by it. You know quite well that we have to try all the ways we can think of to get money.

MRS. GEORGE MORGAN: I am certain that this is an easy way of getting £3,800. Everyone is responsible for 1s. only. I need offers from twelve people to start the scheme in the country. Now I want you to realise that this is a means by which we shall put this Council upon its feet and all to take part in it. It can be done by shillings, though it cannot be done by pounds.

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## HON. EDITOR'S REPORT.

BY MISS E. M. EATON.

First, I want to call your attention to the Special Number of of the "N.C.W. News" which was brought out for the Exhibition and is a very interesting number, with two illustrations by Mr. Reed; and also to the September issue, which contains all the Committee Reports.

You will notice from the Balance Sheet that the paper has more than paid its way this year. Last year was the first year that there was no deficit, and the profit was £29. This year the profit is £86 (less postage £21.) I should have retired some time ago, but having said that I was sure that the paper could be made to pay, I thought it right to hold on until it did pay! The circulation is not yet what it ought to be: for such a great Council as this the circulation is very small. Of the Branches, Bromley is still the shining light, with an order of 140 copies of each issue. This year we are inserting an index in the November number, which should help to make the paper more useful.

People abroad seem to be taking more interest in the paper than some of our own Branches, and I have had charming letters from Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. In

India, a Calcutta paper had a verbatim report of an article on Penal Reform.

If we can increase the circulation, we shall be able to improve the paper and it will be much easier to get advertisements; I want the circulation doubled and I am sure it can be done. I have accepted nomination as Editor for another year, and I shall then be able to retire gracefully, having worked for the N.C.W. since 1905.

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## RESOLUTIONS

PASSED BY

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN,

AT BRIGHTON, OCTOBER, 1924.

Chairman: MRS. GEORGE MORGAN.

### 1. Legitimacy Bill.

To consider the following proviso which was inserted in the Legitimacy Bill in the House of Lords on July 29th, 'Nothing in this Act shall operate to legitimate a person whose father or mother was married to a third person when the illegitimate person was born.'

"That in view of the strong divergence of opinion in the Executive Committee no action be taken by the Council on the above proviso."

### 2. Marriage Bill.

No vote having been taken in the Executive Committee on the Marriage (Prohibited Degrees of Relationship) Bill, which legalises marriage with a nephew or niece by marriage, in order to ascertain the opinion of the Council, it is proposed:—

"That the National Council of Women support the Marriage (Prohibited Degrees of Relationship) Bill."

### 3. Women Police.

"That the National Council of Women welcomes the Report of the Departmental Committee on the Employment of Police-women set up to 'review the experience in regard to the employment of women police in England and Wales, and to make recommendations as to their future organisation and duties, and urges the Home Secretary, in consultation with the Secretary for Scotland, to give effect to these recommendations by issuing them as statutory regulations, as laid down in the Police Act, 1919, Section 4, clauses 1 and 2, and Section 14.'"

### 4. Sale of Liquor in Clubs.

"That the supply of intoxicating liquor in any club should be made subject to the grant of an annual permit by the Local Justices and to the same supervision as licensed premises.

### 5. Affiliation Orders Act, 1914.

"That the National Council of Women strongly urges the Home Office to enforce the appointment of collecting officers to all petty sessional courts, as enacted in Section (1) Affiliation Orders Act, 1914, and is of opinion that the duties of collecting officer may well be entrusted to any suitable person appointed by the Court. The Council further recommends that Sub-section (5) of Section 1, limiting the remuneration of collecting officers, be repealed, so that each court may have power to pay its collecting officer adequately for carrying out all the duties which should be imposed under the provisions of the Act."

### 6. Care of the Mentally Deficient.

"That, in the opinion of the National Council of Women, in view of the danger to the individual and to society of mentally defective persons being inadequately cared for, the attention of Local Authorities should be called to the need for early diagnosis and full provision of facilities for early education and for supervision and institutional accommodation."

### 7. Equal Moral Standard.

"This Council urges all its branches and affiliated societies to consider what steps should be taken to secure the loyal adherence of young people to a high and equal moral standard and, in particular, to study how the reasons for good morals and good citizenship may best be presented to them."

### 8. Housing Committees.

"That as, in view of their experience of actual domestic requirements, women are valuable members of Housing Committees, the National Council of Women of Great Britain and Ireland considers that every Housing Committee should include women members."

### 9. Press Reports.

"That in the opinion of the National Council of Women, it should not be lawful to print or publish the name or address, or give any information calculated to lead to the identification of any child or young person coming before a juvenile court.

### 10. Training in Domestic Science.

"That the National Council of Women endorses the opinion of the Domestic Service Enquiry Committee that 'training in Domestic Science should form an integral part of the education of every young girl, no matter what her station in life,' and urges

Local Authorities to provide such instruction in their Schools, both Elementary and Secondary, together with an additional training, examination and certification of those desirous of taking up a career in any Branch of Domestic Science."

#### 11. Equal Franchise.

"That the National Council of Women records its conviction that the age and other qualifications for the Parliamentary Franchise should be the same for both sexes. It holds that this is necessary in order that:—

- (a) The training of young women in political responsibility should not lag behind that of young men.
- (b) Women engaged in professional or industrial work should have the same means of influencing legislation as their male competitors.
- (c) The point of view of the home-maker and mother should have its full weight in the Councils of the Nation.

#### 12. Littering Public Parks, etc.

"That the National Council of Women of Great Britain and Ireland, realising the great and increasing nuisance and cost to the community caused by the littering of streets, parks, commons and the countryside generally with waste paper, empty bottles, cigarette boxes, orange peel and other rubbish, and believing that the remedy for the evil is only to be found in the promotion of a healthy opinion resenting such practices, urges its Branches and Affiliated Societies to invite the co-operation of parents, teachers, Education Committees and other organisations dealing with young people in efforts to preserve the decencies of civilised life and the beauty of the countryside. And, further, this Council is of the opinion that receptacles for refuse should be provided wherever necessary."

#### 13. House Property Management.

"That in view of the rapid development of housing estates in all parts of the country the National Council of Women urges the employment of trained women for the work of rent collecting and management on the methods of Octavia Hill, which demonstrated the value of women rent-collectors in encouraging hygienic and orderly methods, together with the education of the tenants in the care and preservation of their homes; and, since this is one of the most valuable ways of serving the community, holds that it should especially attract those who are completing their general education and are able to take the special training required."

#### 14. Training in Skilled Trades.

"That it be a recommendation to the Branches to inaugurate conferences between their local Education Authorities, Juvenile

Advisory Committees, Trade Union Executives and social workers, with a view to:—

- (a) Pooling the district facilities for training in the skilled trades;
- (b) Stimulating the craft ambition of the young people and their parents"

#### 15. Widows Pensions.

"That the National Council of Women calls upon the Government to establish an adequate system of pensions for widows with dependent children as part of a general scheme of National Insurance."

#### 16. Women in the Civil Service.

"That in view of the need for providing careers for the younger generation, this Council considers that the time has now come when recruitment to the Clerical, Executive and Administrative Grades of the Civil Service and of technical officials should be by open competition for both sexes, and that the recruitment of women only to the Writing Assistant Grade should be abolished.

#### 17. Equal Pay.

"That the National Council of Women of Great Britain and Ireland urges the Government to establish the principle of Equal Pay for Equal Work—which already operates among Members of Parliament—for all employees in the service of the State, irrespective of sex."

### AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

#### 1. Ireland

*Article I.* "That in par. 1 the words '*and Ireland*' be deleted. This will then read as follows:—

"This Council shall be called The National Council of Women of Great Britain."

*Article VII.* "That under par. 2, dealing with the Constitution of the Executive Committee, Clause (b) read as follows, the words '*two in Ireland*' being deleted:—

"Twenty-four members nominated by members of the Representative Council and elected by ballot. . . . Of these twenty-four, at least four shall be resident in Scotland and two in Wales."

#### 2. Organisation.

*Article I.* "That par. 2 read as follows:—

"This Council is established in the interests of no one particular social, political or religious organisation. The

Council has no power over the organisations which enter into affiliation with it." The words '*Organisations which enter into affiliation with it*' are substituted for '*organisations of which it is comopsed*' as being clearer. The last clause is deleted, as it is already included in Article XIII, 10.)

### 3. Women Members of Parliament.

"That Women Members of Parliament shall during their tenure of office be eligible for election as Honorary Members of the Executive with power to vote; these members to be elected in addition to the twelve ordinary members."

## INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS.

### Washington Fund.

"That a fund be started towards the travelling expenses of suitable delegates to the meeting of the International Council of Women in Washington, and that an *ad hoc* Committee be appointed to allocate the fund, taking into consideration the needs of the elected delegates in the order in which they appear in the ballot."

### Ballot.

The result of the ballot for the election of delegates and proxies to attend the Quinquennial Conference of the International Council of Women in Washington was announced as follows:—

#### *Delegates.*

Mrs. George Morgan.  
Mrs. George Cadbury.  
Miss Norah Green.  
Miss Knight-Bruce.  
Miss Cecile Matheson.  
Miss Eleanor Rathbone.  
Lady Trustram Eve.  
Lady Nott Bower.  
Hon. Mrs. Franklin.  
Lady Cowan.

#### *Proxies.*

Lady Askwith.  
Miss Helen Ward.  
Miss E. M. Eaton.  
Miss Tancred.  
Dr. Jane Walker.  
Mrs. Forbes of Rothiemay.  
Lady Salvesen.  
Mrs. Percy Bigland.  
Miss Rosamond Smith.  
Mrs. Neville Rolfe.

### Resolutions.

Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon, First Vice-President of the International Council of Women, submitted to the Council the resolutions adopted in Copenhagen to be placed upon the Agenda for the meeting of the I.C.W. in Washington in 1925, copies of the resolutions having been previously circulated to all Council members. It was generally agreed to instruct the delegates to support these, with the exception of the resolutions on:—

### 1. Nationality of Married Women, which was amended to read as follows:—

"The Standing Committee on Laws, having carefully studied the question of the nationality of the married woman and the legal and practical difficulties of adapting the laws of all the countries which relate to this subject, asks the I.C.W. to co-operate with the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in *urging the calling of an International Conference of Government representatives to consider the adoption of an International Convention giving to a married woman the same right as a man to retain or to change her nationality.*"

### 2. International Disarmaments, which was amended to read as follows:—

"The International Council of Women while recognising that simultaneous general disarmament is the ideal to be aimed at, realises that it might be preceded by a *gradual reduction of armaments.*"

It was agreed that the explanatory notes by Mr. H. G. Alexander, M.A., on the resolution dealing with the subject of **Opium and Dangerous Drugs**, should be printed in the "N.C.W. News" for November, 1924.

### Children's Charter.

Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon reported, in connection with the resolutions on this subject, that meetings of the Maternity and Child Welfare Committee of the National Council of Women and of the Committee of the Save the Children Fund had resulted in agreement on a joint Children's Charter for Great Britain, to be published in the name of both Societies. The Charter was submitted to and approved by the Council and a vote of thanks to Mrs. Gordon and to Miss Zimmern for their work in this connection was proposed from the Chair and carried.

## Private Conference of WOMEN JUSTICES OF THE PEACE, Wednesday, 8th October.

A Private Conference of Women Justices of the Peace was held in the Royal Pavilion, to consider whether preventive detention of men charged with more than one offence would be a suitable remedy for Child Assault.

Mrs. Keynes, J.P., occupied the Chair, and the discussion was opened by the Countess of Selborne. It was agreed that the various recommendations made be referred back to the Women J.P.'s Committee to take action, if thought desirable, and that members be asked to send in any further information on the subject to that Committee.

## PART II.—CONFERENCE

ON

“THE CALL TO THE YOUNGER GENERATION.”

### MEETING FOR GIRLS.

MONDAY, 6th OCTOBER, 8 p.m.

THE VISCOUNTESS ASTOR, M. P., who took the Chair, said:—

I think we should be very proud of so splendid a meeting here to-night. If we can succeed in inspiring just the girls in this room the meeting will not have been in vain, because it takes a very few people to change the world if those people are desperately in earnest and if their ideals are high enough.

“The Call to the Younger Generation”—a call to Youth! The world needs the younger generation to help it on, with its hope, zeal, generosity, confidence and blissful ignorance! Poor youth, burdened with the sins of its forefathers, has got to save the world. I think a lot that people say about youth is nonsense. They talk about the courage and vision of youth: well, youth may be bold and dashing, but it is not courageous. It is the middle aged who are courageous, because they *know* and yet go on, and courage commences when ignorance ceases! Youth dreams and it has visions—I am not so old that I forget my own youth and I remember that I used to dream dreams and see visions—but the visions of youth are always woven around themselves, they are always the centre of the picture. The selfless vision comes with middle age, or shall we say—for no one is middle aged in these days—with advanced youth!

The only vision that has ever helped the world has been that of those men and women who have put away self and listened to the call of something higher and better. Middle age may go on calling to youth, but youth will not listen. The only way we can influence youth at all is not by what we *say* to them, but by what we are. I am sorry for youth because it cannot take advantage of our experience, it has got to learn for itself. It is fortunate in having a future but unfortunate in not having a past; but after all it is not very strange that youth will not profit by other people's experience, for so few people learn even from their own experiences. They go stumbling along the broad highway and

refusing the narrow straight path, which is the only one worth taking. There are courageous people who have trodden that narrow path and those are the people who have made the whole difference to the world. We should be very grateful to them: they have been the leaven that has leavened the whole lump.

It is not a very good world, but it is a much better world than it was, and it is getting better every day. The torch which, as Sir James Barrie puts it so beautifully, the older generation hands on to the younger generation, has a far better chance of being kept burning now than ever before, because it is being handed on now not only to young men but also to young women. I have an unbounded faith in my sex. I truly believe that women coming into the public life of the community is the greatest spiritual step forward that has happened for generations. If you look around the world you will see that the most selfless service comes from women. The people who are giving that service possibly do not know anything about it, but I think it comes nearer being like the mind of Christ than anything we have got in human consciousness, and the mind of Christ is the only thing that has ever helped the world along or ever will.

I want to ask you this evening to do one thing—think for yourselves, and in thinking read the 5th chapter of Galatians—and you will see a picture of two minds put there, choose which kind of mind you are going to strive for. It is a free choice and no one can decide for you. If you take what St. Paul calls the carnal mind, you are going on with your old wars and strifes and injustices; but if you choose the spiritual mind you will get peace and joy, and joy is what youth wants.

There is a great talk in the newspapers that the young people are not going to church in the way they used to do. I do not believe it! I believe that the young people who are thinking for themselves may be far nearer the Kingdom than those who accepted blindly the faith of their forefathers. Blind faith is not Christianity: it is what our Lord came to protest against. I do not believe for one second that, in an age when so many people are thinking for themselves, young people will reject Christianity. Do not think that anything else that anybody does can stop you, if you make up your mind to go forward. I do beg of you, not for the world's sake but for your own sake, choose the right kind of mind for your own. If you do that, the rising generation when they get to my age will not have to call upon the younger generation to save the world.

MISS ISHBEL MACDONALD said:—It is said that the young women of to-day do not take their responsibilities at all seriously.



I am not old enough to compare them with young women of yesterday, but I do not believe that they are any less responsible than young women of the past; so I expect that you have long ago thought out all that I am about to say, but hope that, if that is the case, you will forgive me for saying it.

I think that if we realised the amount that we can influence, for evil or for good, everyone we meet, we would be more careful of what we say or do.

“Our echoes roll from Soul to Soul,  
“And grow for ever and for ever,”

says Tennyson. This is a big responsibility. Just imagine what it means! It means that every act or remark of ours is like a stone thrown into a pool. It sends out ripples in all directions—ripples which have some effect upon everything with which they come in contact.

Looking at this the other way round—it means that we are being influenced all the time by our surroundings. Don't interpret this as meaning that you should go and sit in a spot with ideal surroundings, and never move from that spot. Choose all kinds of surroundings and friends, so that all sides of your character may be developed. Longfellow said:

“Whene'er a noble deed is wrought,  
“Whene'er is spoken a noble thought,  
“Our hearts in glad surprise  
“To higher levels rise.”

But we do not want only to rise to higher levels through watching the noble deeds of others, and through hearing their noble thoughts. We must reach higher levels by living nobly ourselves and in that way we raise others also. “The highest path is that pointed out by the pure ideal of those who look up to us, and who, if we tread less loftily, may never look so high again.”

When you look at a picture you do not criticise it until you have seen it in a good light, Why not do the same with people? It is just as easy to draw the good out of people as the bad, and this is done by making a great deal more of our right to praise the good than our right to blame the bad; for the good is then encouraged to become top-most.

You are wondering why I am standing here giving you this sermon. It is because I think it so important that everyone should realise how much she can improve the world. To-night, and at the conference during the week, speeches on many subjects in which women are especially interested will be delivered. Women of great experience will speak on the different branches of women's national life. I am trying to make a background for

those speeches: for personal character comes into every branch of life.

The characters of the individuals make up the character of the nation, and women take the chief part in character-making. They have to mould the characters of the next generation. You will hear in other speeches of the wider opportunities that are gradually being given for the better bringing up of children. At present many mothers cannot mould the characters of their children in the way in which they should like, because they have not the right surroundings and opportunities; or they have not the knowledge.

The most important part of education is done by the influence of surroundings. You may not have control over all the surroundings amongst which your children are brought up, but you have control over your own character, which the children will take as their example.

While you are at school you can help to make your generation, and even the older generation, a little better than it might have been. If you can do no other good (I am sure you all can) you can bring happiness to other people's lives and “Mankind is always happy for having been happy,” so if you make them happy now you will make them happy twenty years hence by the memory of it.

You may say that you don't want to have this burden of responsibility pointed out to you but want to live a free life; but I think you will really agree with me that Charles Gore was right in saying that “Freedom is not the power to do what we like, but to be what we ought to be.”

#### “OPENINGS FOR SOCIAL SERVICE, PAID AND UNPAID.”

BY MISS C. T. CUMBERBIRCH, B.A.

*Principal of Hull Municipal Training College.*

There are many ways of classifying individuals, and all are interesting since they bring to light the endless possibilities of the human temperament and personality. There are the idealist and materialist—the dreamer and the practical man—the adventurous and the cautious, and so on. I will make another pair of contrasts: the receptive and the active, representing the two capacities of absorbing and of giving found in such varying degrees in different temperaments. Much could be said of both—the importance of environment and influences in connection with the former—but it is our capacity for giving which I would think and speak of now.

“God made man in His own Image: in the image of God created He him.” Man, poor spoilt reflection of the Creator, still possesses the God-like gifts of his Maker—he can create. Each individual has within, either latent or active, the power, physical, mental, spiritual, of creation in work, of making, of doing. Be that labour manual, intellectual or of the spirit, an influence—he can give to the world *his* own creation and in the doing of it can find the one true fulfilment of himself, the one *reason*, satisfying and complete for his existence. No man is born into the world whose work is not born with him.

Our platform represents a great variety of things made, thought, done, and many ways of service. Our Chairman is in a special way a servant of the public, others here with her give thought and work, directly or indirectly, in the service of the High Court of Parliament of this realm—and our pride in them is great: there are some who with me are trying to serve in the greatest cause of all, education—and I know there are many too whose active powers are being given to the many sides of Social Service.

This actuality is great, but it is nothing to the potentiality of what is before me now. In every one in this vast crowd there is a force and power to do and to serve and when all this is put together it will make a stupendous gift. Then if we add to you all the youth of this land, we are breathless before the picture called up of an innumerable host of the potential doers, makers, creators, givers, the servants of humanity.

This actuality is great, but it is nothing to the potentiality of what has been realised. A great many will be the Home-makers. A home is a lovely thing to make, with its possibility of beautiful relationship between wife and husband, parents and children, and of the creation of good and happy influence. Every home-maker would long to know that of her home it can be said that “Joy and gladness shall be found therein.”

In the great host, we shall find many whose vocation is that of domestic service—so often the Cinderella of the workers, because the attitude to the idea of ‘service’ has been wrong. As a rule ‘service’ has a fine meaning—in the phrase “in domestic service” we do not find that. So long as this is looked upon as just a means of earning money—and a poor one at that—then there will never be a happy spirit between servant and served. Looked on as a possible life work it has as noble possibilities as other vocations—the home made by a wife can be totally unmade by a bad servant and the resulting effect on all is impossible to measure: a good servant is one of the best of gifts, and the work calls into play high gifts of temper, character and intelligence.

Next in the picture of national service we find a great number

among whom there is (nor should be) no greatest or least, but complete equality of value—I mean those who choose the vocation of Teaching. Here I must pause, for this direction is specially dear to me. In no profession is there so much room for *giving* and *making* and so much risk of missing both. In all its branches the demand made upon spirit, intellect and physical strength are enormous, but also the power of the individual to withhold these selfishly is equally great, and therefore in no profession is a lofty ideal of service and intense zeal so essential. The moment teaching becomes a mere makeshift for earning money, the value of the teacher becomes a mere makeshift for earning money, the value of the teacher is at zero—better would it be to find some humble task of manual labour than continue in it. But when the ideal of service and the zeal are there, there cannot be over-estimated the value of the teachers of a nation. Teachers and parents can make the life of a nation’s children full, rich and happy—it is they who choose the kind of foundation for the next generation: it is they who give the child’s soul its chance—and set free the ideal human being lying hidden within him. The branches of teaching are many: in addition to the Elementary and Secondary Schools there are Evening Continuation Schools, Literary Institutes, Nursery Schools, for which the happiest combination of the spirit of nurse and teacher and mother is needed—the schools for the Deaf, for the Blind, for those who are crippled in body, the Open-air Schools, and schools for those who are feeble in mind. If you have never been into a Special School (as these last are called) go, and you will come away with a great reverence for human service. I always feel when speaking of teaching that one ought to make the point of one special gain to the teacher in her work. It is the only profession that works among children all the time—a privilege which takes with it a blessed gift for those who will reach out for it—the gift of never growing old.

The teachers in the picture remind us of the great crowd of University graduates who choose differing ways of service. We know and value the great work done by Women Doctors in the last 50 years—as practitioners or as Medical Officers of Health, who give their service to Clinics and Welfare Centres, to Poor Law Institutions, Asylums, Fever Hospitals; a smaller number of women are turning to the Law—a larger number to administration, organisation, factory inspection and welfare work. This last is proving quite a wonderful avenue of service for University women. The welfare worker has great opportunities; her work is a link between the employer and the worker—it is she who engages the new workers and who places them in their department and then has their welfare in her keeping. She needs very special qualities and gifts: her University Course of Social Study (which

can be followed at most of the Universities) will have prepared her theoretically in questions of industrial finance and history, social economics and so on. She must understand psychology and medical science and she must understand *people*: she must have both good sense and sympathy. It was said in a Welfare Work magazine that the recipe for a welfare worker was complex: "Take the organising power of the manager, and the patience of the teacher. Mix well with a kindly spirit and add a pinch of humour. Stir with tact and sociability. Bake in life's oven for 25 years."

I must not mention in detail any more professional workers in the picture, though it is difficult to leave out those who give to the world beautiful craftsmanship—and it is difficult to omit to show how Nursing has changed in character. Also there is a lamentable shortage of suitable candidates for training. The value of probation officers and women police, clerical work, the practical arts of cookery, dressmaking, and so on, have all gained also by the enterprise of intelligent and cultivated women.

But I must pass on to another kind of social service and ask you to realise how many in the great host will be voluntary servers. Their circumstances are easy and leisured, but they share the same active, creative capacity with the others. Their activities are various.

Here is an Evening Play Centre in a slum district: the school is crowded with children who have come to play or to be taught how to—and among the helpers are often unpaid voluntary workers. The chief qualification is to know how to play oneself.

There are waste places in Stepney and Deptford which have been reclaimed and turned into children's gardens and playgrounds.

Do you think the next kind of service sounds dull—Committee work? The Council responsible for this great Conference has its Committees which meet and discuss every question dealing with social welfare, send forward recommendations, bring corporate influence to bear, and see things are carried out.

There are Committees which deal with questions concerning Industry, Legislation, Public Service, Emigration, Women Police, Housing, Guardianship of Children, Unemployment Insurance, &c.

Perhaps you think that work with the Girl Guides or in a Girls' Club sounds more attractive than Care Committee work, but both may be giving service in the same area of need. Every L.C.C. School has its Children's Care Organisation and its voluntary Committee who see to the well-being of children in the way of good food or medical attendance or work, and the Care Committee uses the same spirit of friendliness as the Guider

and the Club Leader. May I say in passing how much crippled the Girl Guide work is in certain areas for the lack of officers?

The need of the world still cries out for this great host of unpaid servers to be increased. If our eyes and ears are open, needs large and small are to hand. I know a young girl who teaches two or three crippled children in a Workhouse twice a week—there have been many who have helped with children in creches (as at Wembley) and last week many blind visitors were taken to Wembley.

In all this we have spoken of work, activity in some cause, and service, and I have spoken of it as satisfying part of our nature in a way nothing else can. What happens then when work becomes toilsome and effort bitter?—for this does happen. It is when the meaning of it all is lost: when the farther goal towards which the faithful labour of countless multitudes is lifting humanity is *lost*—lost in the nearer perspective of gain or immediate result and desolation that apparent failure can bring. Sometimes the work and the service are like fighting a battle—and we have to remember that no fighter *in* the battle can see the way it is going, no toiler in the dust can see the light in the sky above and beyond the enshrouding cloud: only in gleams can the far horizon cheer, but between the gleams we can keep the memory of them.

A meeting like this is a responsibility to those who listen. At the beginning it can be said to you "Ye have not passed this way heretofore"—at the end of the meeting you will have passed and met this chance, and things are not the same as if you had not passed.

Here are my last words, from two poets, Browning thinks the unforgiveable thing in anyone is "the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin." The lamp is there, with all that power and activity within. What shall to-night ensure? That we pledge ourselves to acknowledge the lamp, to see in what way it is to be used, then to light it and to lift it high—for others to share. Perhaps we shall give more than we take from life.

Newbolt sees the use of this power as a building of the great Palace of Life.

What shall to-night ensure? That we know we *must* build whoever we are—and that the whole building "fitly framed together" shall be both beautiful and permanent—

"Let us build for the years we shall not see.  
Lofty of line and glorious of hue  
With gold and pearls, with the cedar tree  
With reverence due  
And with service free  
Let us build it forever in splendour new."

MRS. WINTRINGHAM, M.P., said: In listening to the speeches we have heard to-night and in seeing before me this crowd of girls, I feel that this is no ordinary occasion and no ordinary audience. I look at you young folk very much in the light of a large army of explorers. Most of you have been to Wembley and seen that wonderful Exhibition of our Empire and you have read all about the great adventurers and explorers in the history of the past, of Drake, Raleigh and Columbus, and I feel that, though you are perhaps not going to explore new lands and found colonies, you are going to explore the future of this country. Think of this country a hundred years ago and of the position of women and girls then, and compare it with the position of women and girls to-day. In 1864 woman made her first attempt at individuality by trying to be included in the Reform Bill. Soon after that the colleges were opened at Newnham and Girton, and now the world is waiting for future developments.

You are the women of the coming time, the explorers, the citizens of the future. Upon you rests a great responsibility. I hope you will look to your equipment. Look back at the wonderful pioneers, see what they have done, and remember that all you have is due to them: look forward and see the land in the future which is there for you to conquer. I want to pay a tribute to those pioneers, the wonderful women who have gone in front of us: but there is still much to be done and we want to go forward and secure the full emancipation of women. And we want our girls of the present time to be prepared to take their place as citizens of the future, for just as woman helps to make the home, so has woman got to help to make the country in the future.

#### “THE SPIRIT BEHIND WORK.”

BY MRS. GEORGE MORGAN,

*President of the National Council of Women.*

If you are going to have a good spirit behind work you have got to like work. Now some of us do not like work; when I was a little girl I did not. I was very lazy when it came to school work, but we had such dull school work in those days. Your work in school is so interesting, so in touch with real life: but how is it that you have got that new method of teaching in your schools? It is just because of the spirit the teachers have put into their work, to try and make the thing they taught *live*, so you are taught like that, you realise that the subjects you learn about are part of yourselves. Now every bit of our work should be like that: it is part of ourselves: it is essential to our life. When

you do gardening you know that a plant has to be planted deeply down in the earth if it is going to be a strong plant, so that it has to struggle to get up into the light; and that fight and struggle will make it strong. Last autumn I planted sweet peas in my garden, and everyone said: “They will not come up, they will not survive the winter, you should have waited until the spring.” But they did come up, and I had the finest sweet peas in the neighbourhood! The struggle to survive through the long, cold winter, and to come up to the light, had made them into fine strong plants. That is the spirit that you must have: something that faces difficulties and rejoices in them, knowing that by overcoming them you are going to be stronger to-morrow than you were yesterday; knowing that others will have a better outlook upon life because you have captured some stronghold and made it yours.

Lady Astor has said that the dreams of young people always centre in themselves. Well, I want you to be the centre of your dreams, not picturing yourselves in the chief place, but seeing yourselves forging through life and clearing a path for somebody else to come after you, because you have chosen a difficult thing to do, and you will need all your energy to win through.

If we are going to do our work in the right spirit, we must have our brain working with our spirit, and I want to tell you a story to illustrate that point. Over in America a farmer had an old hen that he called Em’ly, because she had such a quaint way of ruffling up her feathers. This hen would always sit, but she never bothered what she sat on. She would gather a few sticks together and sit on them, or a few dry onions, but she never thought about laying any eggs to hatch. One day the farmer put a live egg from under another hen, among the sticks and the onions, and the next morning he found Em’ly nearly mad with excitement, careering round the yard, because she had hatched a chick. The following day she died from over-excitement! Now there are a good many people like that. They do not bother about what they work at, they just want to work; but you need to have your brain working with your spirit, and the two are then linked together to produce something that is really useful; otherwise you only have the onions or the sticks.

When I was over in Italy some time ago, I was seeing something of the Old Masters’ work; and I was told that when some beautifully carved figures had to be taken down from their niches in one of the great cathedrals, the backs of the statues were found to be as perfectly carved as the fronts. Now the man who made those statues loved his work. He thought to himself that he was going to create something that he would love to think of, something that would live long after he had gone, and I say that was a sacred and a holy thing.

In one of the great churches of Scotland I was shown what is called "The Apprentice Pillar." It was carved by an apprentice boy and is one of the most beautiful things I have ever seen. That boy put every ounce of the talent God had given him into the carving of that pillar; and there it remains, an inspiration to hundreds, showing what a boy's work can be when the spirit works with the hand in creating something that is noble, good and true.

You may say: "Well, it is a great thing to be an artist—a sculptor!" But every scrap of your life is a sacred thing, there is no bit of ordinary common everyday life that is not just as sacred; there is nothing in our life that we cannot dedicate to the service of the Master of us all. If you take your life like that, I am not afraid of the future for you at all. Just as you take it and it is purified and made sacred, so this bit of work you are doing now is going to be a thing that will lead you on to do some great thing. I do not know whether it will be great in the eyes of the world, but I do know that it will be something that will contribute to the strengthening of the nation to which you belong. Every one of us must contribute the best that we have, and the best that we have to give is doing the work that comes to us day by day as well as we possibly can.

If you approach your work likethat, you are going to approach your leisure hours in the right spirit—not to think just of getting your work done and getting free for leisure and pleasure, but you are going to make your leisure time something that will be a definite contribution to the race. Why is it that we have so much that is wrong in our leisure time? Partly it is perhaps just reaction, the jumping away from the monotony of work. We must try to change the monotony of piece-work, in which the workers turn out thousands of things exactly alike, very often having no idea of what the little thing they are making belongs to. I once asked a girl in a large factory what she was making. "I dunno," she replied. "But don't you know what that little pin belongs to?" "No." "Haven't you ever asked anyone what it is?" "No!" So I went to enquire, and found that the little pin was part of a motor-bicycle. Now think of the difference it would have made to that girl if she could have seen the thing she was making *as a whole*. How she could have imagined all the jolly rides the person who bought the motor-bicycle could have if she made a good pin; and all the smashes that would come if she made a bad pin! We must alter things so that men and women are not made into machines, but enabled to put spirit into the work. This is already being done in some places. In Wills' great tobacco factory the work-people are changed

over, so that gradually they see the work as a whole and are able to understand how their part of it fits into the rest. At Cadbury's factories at Bourneville they will not even let a girl go on making the same kind of chocolates for very long, as they say that after a time she gets tired and does not make that particular kind so well.

Now the spirit of the workers is the life of the country and I want you to try and think out how we can so arrange things that the workers shall know what they are working at, and shall realise the importance of the bit they are doing, and so feel that they are taking their part in the whole work of the nation.

But however monotonous your work may be, you will all have a certain amount of leisure time which is your own, and you have there the power to do the work that you feel is just your own bit that you can contribute to the welfare of the community. Have your dances by all means, have your recreation to make you more fit for your life's work; but the real happiness and joy of life come from labour given to others; and what we want is to have the same spirit that made it possible for women of the old days to win for you the rights that you hold to-day—the same spirit of devotion to voluntary work—we want that spirit in our voluntary work, just as if it were paid work. Anyone who takes up a piece of work, and because it is voluntary thinks she can come at one time and not be there at another, has not the right spirit; she has lost the thing that is going to give to her the joy of service.

At a jumble-sale there was turned out from an attic an old violin with its strings all broken. It was put into the sale and sold for 5s. But the man who bought it sold it for £1,000 because it had been made by Stradivarius; and George Eliot, in her poem on Stradivarius and his violin-making, depicts the old man talking of the beauty of his violins and of how the master-hand would love to play upon them and it would bring fame to him. The friend says: "It is a petty kind of fame that comes from making violins," and the old man answers:—

"Twere purgatory here to make them ill and for fame . . .  
When any Master holds 'twixt chin and hand a violin of mine,  
He will be glad that Stradivarius lived, made violins and  
made them of the best.  
For while God gives them skill, I give them violins to play  
upon—God choosing me to help Him.

So you and I, whatever our work may be, can help God in carrying out his will for the nation. If you take your life and consecrate it to the welfare of the race, then the work that you do shall be a holy thing that shall live on long after you are gone; then the

sweet influence of womanhood will be what we always hoped. You are going out into the wide places of the world to work side by side with the men; they will be your comrades. You will have a better chance of working shoulder to shoulder with the men of your generation than there has ever been for women in the past. But you must carry to it the high ideals of womanhood; you must contribute your part as a woman, not as a man. Bring to the work for the community the other side that was not known in the old days, and so the perfect whole shall go forward to a better life than was known to us in the past.

Be thankful that you stand looking out over life to-day, with all its many doors open before you, and determine that you, with the man of old, will say:—

“For while God gives them skill, I give them violins to play upon, God choosing me to help Him.”

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TUESDAY, 7th OCTOBER.

THE CALL FROM THE HOME.

*Chairman:* MRS. GEORGE MORGAN.

HOUSING.

BY LT.-COL. CECIL B. LEVITA, C.B.E., M.V.O., D.L., J.P.

*Chairman of the Housing Committee of the London County Council.*

I feel considerable diffidence in addressing this audience for various reasons—first because I thought it was a closed meeting to members of the Council and I find it is an open one, and amongst the people I have already met are several formidable critics of housing methods. Your President hoped that I would talk on “how women can help the housing movement,” and that is the line I propose to take and to try to work in a few points of general interest not only to women but to men also, because the housing movement is one which needs the help of men and women. I find that there is extreme ignorance among people as to the housing question. I presume that I was asked to speak because I am the Chairman of the Housing Committee of the London County Council and I have served on that committee since 1911. How large a part we are playing in housing may be gathered from the fact that at present I am at the head of an administration that has already provided accommodation, working on the basis of two persons per room, for a population approaching three times that of Hove, or within 20,000 of the population of Brighton. At the present

moment we are handling propositions which when carried out, as they will be, will result in the London County Council housing more than a quarter of a million of people. Our rent roll for the year is estimated at £750,000. I do not tell you this in any spirit of boastfulness, but to show you that London is doing a great work. I hope that any remarks I make will be taken as those of one devoted to administration, with no *arrière pensée* of politics.

Now the question of housing has been spoken about so much, too much indeed; it has been spoken of in Parliament and volumes have been written about it. The amount done is quite incommensurate with the amount of talk. It astonishes me that a great nation like ours should have decided on a national policy many years ago, and that we should have to look ahead another fifteen years before we see the problem solved. I am doubtful whether some of the housing talk that goes on is very helpful to us who have to grapple with the problem. That sympathy is required to induce the legislature to move I admit, but once you have got it to move, the less sentiment about it the better. Housing is a business proposition and should be treated as such. The builder is not sentimental, nor is the purveyor of materials, and the labourer, the greatest of the three, is not; but the buyer is bubbling over, exuberating sentiment at every pore. It is a bad thing to go in for business, when the sentiment is on the part of the buyer only. Do not accuse me of being reactionary if I tell you things to damp your sentiment. I am going to do that as much as I can because I believe that we can get on better on that method. Talleyrand said: “*Mais surtout point de zèle,*” and that is what is needed to-day.

What is the housing problem? It really is an excess of population over the houses we have to live in and especially in regard to working class houses. Some ladies say to me “Do arrange a flat for me;” but that is not our problem: it is that of the working classes. Who are the working classes? We are all the working classes in one sense. Parliament has tried to define the term “working classes” on several occasions and has always failed, but we *do* know what a working class home is and that is what we are out to create. Why does the problem exist? Because our population has increased a great deal faster than the number of houses in the land. A hundred and twenty years ago you had a population of about nine millions, but it has gone on increasing about a quarter of a million a year until to-day England and Wales have a population of about thirty-eight millions. Thus you have the rapid increase of population and all our social problems are based on that. If it continues in this way the pro-

blem seems likely to be insoluble. The percentage of increase occurs most in the most densely populated places and where there are least homes. Thus the increase in Poplar is 12.4 per 1,000, as opposed to that in residential quarters like Stoke Newington, where the increase is only about 4.2. We know that the number of working class houses is not adequate for the population and it has not been adequate for a great number of years. When we are dealing with housing we cannot think of population by counting heads, but we have to consider families as the unit, and there has been a great increase in the number of families. In about 1801 there were some 320,000 families without a separate home, and the aim of all housing reformers must be to arrive at the single family standard in a structurally separate building. Of course we are a very long way from that at present and shall be for many years to come, and for a variety of reasons, but that is the aim we keep in front of us.

Some people think that this problem could have been solved by private enterprise. It is perfectly certain that private enterprise unaided cannot, and never could, overcome the shortage that exists, and it is nothing very new to expect the municipalities to do some housing. They have been expected to attend to the housing problem for some 60 or 70 years now. When the Royal Commission on Housing of 1884 was sitting it censured the local authorities. We have to face a period of national movement towards housing, just as in the seventeenth century there was a movement towards poor law reform. Then it was found that one must make some arrangements for people in the way of poor relief. Nobody could have foreseen when that movement started that the Poor Law burden would have reached such a figure as it does to-day. Then you had another national wave towards education prior to 1870, producing the Education Bill of that date. Education has now worked into such a groove that we can be satisfied that its foundations are sound and it is working well. That is the feeling we want with regard to housing.

Now at this point let me ask women, what do they do to take an interest in the work of their municipalities? The mass of working class accommodation is going to be provided by the municipalities. What do people do to ensure that proper men and women are elected, and to follow the course of their work with intelligent interest? I am afraid that the returns we have to face when election day comes show an astonishing apathy with regard to the municipalities. Those who are interested in housing must interest themselves in their own areas in that work. Housing is going to be a very important part of the work of the municipality; therefore interest yourselves in your municipality.

It is easy to get excited about politics, but that is not the only question. I admit that the work of the local authorities is dull for platform work and people do not get enthusiastic about it, but it is extraordinarily interesting if you go into it. Councillors come back for election every year or so. Too often their work is judged by how cheap it has been, and not by how good it has been. Mr. Snowden in an article in an American newspaper said this 1924 Housing Bill would put sixpence on the rates, but are you going to turn your Councillors out of office if they put sixpence on the rates when there is housing to be done? There are various voluntary associations assisting housing in some London boroughs in North Kensington a very active one exists. It is an admirable organisation, purely voluntary, and is doing a great deal by finding out about the homes and bringing things to the notice of the local authorities. That class of work can be done better by women than by men as we know from the records of Octavia Hill.

How do we know that this housing shortage exists? We have the census returns, we have the numbers of applications that come in for new homes, the returns of organisations such as the one I have just mentioned and the returns of the inspectors. We know there is a great shortage and that is what we propose to remedy. How are we going to do it? There have been Acts of Parliament for the last sixty or seventy years, but these Acts did not have to bridge over the gap between the cost of construction and the rent paid for the house. In pre-war days we could build at an economic rate, but since then there has been a gap which has to be bridged by a subsidy. The 1919 Act was that the Government would carry every expense over and above a penny rate in providing the houses, but that Act can only be written down as a failure from the housing point of view. It cost £190,000,000 to build 218,000 houses, many of which are still unbuilt! We should have done very much better with a less ambitious Act extending over a longer period. Then came the 1923 Act. This gave a small subsidy and extended it to private enterprise and largely looked to private enterprise to come into operation and provide the houses. The third Act, viz., 1924, is in a large degree the work of the local authorities; between us we brought up certain proposals on acceptance of which we undertook to work the Act. We laid them before the Minister, and they were accepted by him. This Act, then, was to do what the last one did not do. The former had not given sufficient subsidy to enable local authorities to do the work. The local authorities, in connection with the present Act, did something else which has been claimed as the work of one particular political party—they said that small authorities in the agricultural areas could not be expected to

produce houses on the same terms as the greater authorities and therefore we differentiated between them and gave them a larger subsidy. We have had these three Acts—each resulting from the experience of the other. Up to the present time the intention of all three Acts has been defeated largely because there is not the labour to produce the necessary number of houses. I could take you to Becontree and show you millions of bricks lying on the fields—and I have to build with concrete because I cannot get the bricklayers. I have had a standing advertisement in the press, “Wanted 100 bricklayers.” The crux of the matter has been the shortage of labour. It is a remarkable thing that when the whole country is crying out for houses it should be possible to have unemployed men about the country and a lack of labour for house building. The co-ordination is bad. Mr. Wheatley points out that the building trade is 50% weaker than in 1908; the building operatives are being attracted away overseas. Of course until we can amass enough labour, you must not expect to see the houses. The reason for a long period programme is only to enable the ranks of labour to be swelled to give us the output we require.

The costs of building to-day are very great. The question of cost is all-important if we are to get the work done. The country is not made of money—at present at any rate, and it is of vital importance that we should make the money allocated to housing go as far as possible. Now I find in housing that the too rapid raising of standard has forced up the price and I myself know of a considerable number of women who urge a large number of “frills” which are not essential for housing. Before I say more I want to justify my expression that you must not be sentimental, that you must be firm and develop a sixth sense, which women require in this matter—and many men also—the sense of finance. In all this stress of housing, don’t let us be carried off our feet. You must remember that the last available statistics show that 1923 was the healthiest year in the whole history of the nation. The annual average death rate in 1871-80 was 21.4 per thousand, but last year it fell to 11.6 per thousand; 149 out of every 1000 babies died before they were one year old in 1871-8; whereas last year the proportion was only 69. You have to remember this; although the density of our population is improving steadily, nevertheless the health of the nation is improving steadily all the way down; even the figures on tuberculosis show an improvement. Don’t think that I am trying to minimise the value of good housing, but I want to help people to keep their heads and not to put us in the position of rushing prices up again and so immediately stopping the work. The last census showed us very clearly that over-

crowding everywhere was infinitely denser and worse when there was a large margin of surplus accommodation, than to-day when rents are high and there is no margin of accommodation. We have to feel our way cautiously—but I want to be rapid in clearing some of the insanitary areas.

Being fortified by the fact that excess of zeal is not going to help us to carry out administrative work, I must deal with the practical side of the matter. I noticed a demand made in Parliament lately, which was vociferous, for larger houses; the epithets of “rabbit hutches,” “pill boxes, and so on,” were thrown at the houses being built. Come to London and let me show you some of our estates. There are several reasons why I say the present size is enough for the moment. Larger houses mean higher cost to the local authorities. They mean higher cost of maintenance both to tenant and to the landlord, more furniture, more work for the housewife, and so on. Remember the 1924 Act is so arranged that any increase in the cost of the house falls on the tenant. In the first Act the unknown liability fell on the State, in the second it fell on the rates. This time the local authorities and the state share the subsidy in certain proportions, but the unknown quantity goes on to the rent. Rents are too high already; they must go down. A fall in rent is a certainty sooner or later and that means that the local authorities will exceed the £4 10s. share of the liability with which they started. As any “frills” mean adding to the rent, you must think twice before you ask for larger houses. Every £10 that you add to the cost means a minimum of threepence added to the rent. Some people want to insist on parlour houses. Quite apart from anything else, 73% of the applications are for smaller houses and only 4% want the larger houses. Then there is also the extra cost incurred by the fittings. Some of my lady friends insist, when we are arranging the hot water supply to the bath, from the copper, so that it can be turned on to either, that we should put in elaborate and expensive plumbing with a boiler at the back of the kitchen fire. Now you can burn anything in a copper and that saves a good many pence all round. As I said, therefore, all points require very careful consideration as price must be kept down. You must learn to discriminate between the words “need” and “want.”

### GOOD HOUSING.

By

CAPTAIN REISS, *Garden Cities and Town Planning Association.*

I feel in some difficulty in opening what I have to say because with a very large proportion of what Colonel Levita has said I am



fully in agreement, but I do want for a moment to deal with one aspect of the question with which he has dealt and to make my own point of view clear. He says we have suffered from an excess of sentiment on the subject of housing and that the housing question is essentially a business question, but of course it is very difficult to define exactly what you mean by dealing with it from the point of view of sentiment, and personally I do not look upon the frills from a sentimental point of view; but I do feel we want some of the drive which sentiment gives, arising from a full realisation of what the housing question means. I believe that since the war, if the vast majority of the people of this country had realised what the housing conditions really meant from the point of view of the families who live under the worst conditions, we should have built a very large number more houses than we have. You can arrive at the same thing from the business point of view: we could have shown that a larger number of houses built would have been a good business proposition. This shortage is owing to the fact that a large proportion of the people living in better conditions have not appreciated what it means in actual family life not to have a house at all. Holland with her small population has built since the war a larger number of houses in proportion than have been built in this country: a similar proportion here would have solved our housing problem. She built 300,000 houses, whereas we, with six times her population, have only built 300,000 houses in England, Scotland and Wales. We have to avoid stupid sentimentality, but we must realise that housing is as necessary now as the provision of munitions was during the war. Just as we produced a big increase in the output of explosives then, if we really got a combination of public opinion believing that the housing question can and must be solved in our generation, we should get very much better housing. The Newcastle Corporation has built on an average within the last three years about 400 houses a year. There is an individual private colliery company outside Newcastle which has completed an average of 200 houses a year. It is nonsense to say that if this private company has built at the rate of 200 houses a year, Newcastle with all its resources could only build twice that number. We have got to recognise that we are going a great deal faster than we have done, but it all depends on the degree to which men and women can rouse public opinion. I heard from the Medical Officer of Health for Gateshead of a father and mother and six children, one or more of them suffering from tuberculosis, living in two rooms. In Newcastle a father and mother and ten children are living in one sub-let room, and I heard of another case of a father and mother and five children living in a hut a in

garden. If we could only realise that it is as important for us to produce houses quickly now as it was to produce munitions during the war, we could double and quadruple the number of houses built during the year. It is going to involve a change of attitude on everyone's part. It is largely a question of the drive which we can get by bringing home the facts to people. We want to try to build two and a half millions of houses during the next fifteen years. That is the programme laid down in the new Housing Act and we take it that the local authorities are agreed about it. That two and a half millions is designed to meet the shortage of 1,000,000 and to provide 100,000 per annum for the ordinary wastage.

It is very important that we should put the houses in the right place. If a local authority is going to build thirty or forty houses in a small town it will not matter much where they are put, but when you get to the problems presented by London and the other large towns, you have to bear in mind that the people who live in the houses have to get to work, the children to go to school and they will want recreation and various other things. Therefore it is of supreme importance that in connection with the development of the new housing schemes we should try to get them carried out, not merely as schemes for providing a number of houses, but for providing such homes for the people as will give the best conditions of life. In the past, in connection with the development of our towns, we have not provided sufficient open spaces. The London County Council, for every one cricket or football pitch it provides, has to-day seven applications from teams who want to play on it. If we had had regard to this before, we should have had many more playing fields than we have now. In exactly the same way, if a hundred years ago those who were responsible for the government of London had foreseen what would be the position and the development of London by to-day, they would have planned out London in a very different way from what it is at present. Of course it is impossible to pull down our towns and replan them, but it is possible in future development to avoid the mistakes made in the past. In new housing schemes you have to consider what are the surroundings of the houses, to provide a good garden, sufficient playgrounds and institutions for recreation. You will also be up against the tremendous problem of the great and increasing distances which people have to travel to and from their work. As London grows and people move further to the outskirts, you come to the position of people having to go longer and longer distances to and from their work. I calculated and obtained figures from the underground railways, etc., when giving evidence before the Royal Commission

for London, showing that workers in London alone spend thirty millions a year in going to and from their work. In Glasgow they spend three or four millions a year. This has become serious: so much time is wasted going to and fro. What we want is to get our local authorities to make full use of the Town Planning Acts, and so to plan out the growing margins round the towns as to consider the relation between industry and population, to have the factory areas away from the residential areas and yet near enough to get people to their work. In the case of the larger authorities, recognising the dreadful congestion we have, when children in some parts can only get into the country once or twice a year, we want to make fresh starts like that at Letchworth, where we can offer workers houses, and make arrangements for industries to be moved, so as to enable people to live near their work and near the open country.

Now I want to deal with one or two of the general aspects of the housing question as well. The point which Colonel Levita made with regard to women not setting too high a standard is one about which I should like to speak. We must realise that we have to hit a happy mean. I agree that it is a mistake to set your standard with regard to housing so high as to reduce the number of houses you can have built and add to the expense in such a way as to force the people to take lodgers. We want the parlour houses, but only for one family. We know that a large number of houses are inhabited by two families. I would rather have a non-parlour house than one inhabited by two families, but we ought to have something which is well above the standard before the war and yet not so high as to defeat our own aims.

With regard to the question of the shortage of skilled labour, the larger the house the more labour is involved in building it. I would rather have 100,000 houses of the non-parlour type than 60,000 of the larger size. First we have to take what steps we possibly can to increase the supply of skilled labour. We have a scheme by which the number of apprentices can be increased and lads can be taken up to 20 years of age. If you want the houses you must have the good will of the building trade, of the employers and of the operatives. In the first year or two under this scheme we shall not get the full advantage of the increase in apprenticeship. So during the first two or three years we ought to have the non-parlour house and in the fourth year we shall be in a position to build more of the parlour houses. At the present moment there is a shortage of 34,000 apprentices, even under the existing arrangement. One of the reasons for this is that people have not taken the trouble to find out those building trade employers who have not sufficient apprentices. Ladies can help

by getting the boys wanting employment into touch with the building trade employers. I believe that if such an organisation as this would take the job in hand, it would be making a valuable contribution to the housing problem.

The other point I would like to suggest, apart from the general attempt to rouse public opinion, is that you should consider whether it is not possible to form more Public Utility Societies for building. I find a lot of people who think building should be done by private enterprise, and I tell them they must be the private enterprise themselves. Under the new Act it is quite possible for a Public Utility Society to be formed to assist and supplement the work done by the local authorities. In Bradford a man was putting up 100 houses by the formation of such a Public Utility Society. I believe that if a number of people all over the country assisted in this way, we should get a very much larger number of houses built.

I would like to conclude by repeating what I said at the beginning: I am convinced that it is because we have not seriously taken up this question that we have not more houses.

## HOMES OVERSEAS.

BY THE REV. R. L. GWYNNE.

*Chairman of the Kent Migration Committee.*

I want you all to listen to the sound of the great exodus, that is going to take place in the coming years, of some of our best people overseas. We can already hear their countless footsteps tramping along the highways of the world. But that is a vision of the future.

Last year we only sent 172,000 people to the colonies, as against 350,000 a year before the war, for a great number of the people of this country who should be helping to people the overseas dominions are still here. This question of migration is most interesting from the historical point of view. This country itself was made by the migrating races, and we must do our part in this wonderful work in a quiet way. Nobody who has been overseas and seen the great dominions will forget that there must be some great purpose which we are gradually and slowly working out in the Divine counsels.

There is one thing—the link of our counties—that we might use to help us in making this transfer easier. It is a very difficult thing for families to undertake the sea voyage and we want to make it as easy as possible. You must remember that it is not a question of unemployment, it is a question of the equalisation of population, and in the hundred years that are coming the greatest

factor will be the regular exodus of people of all classes to the great dominions overseas. Every little bit of English land has a tradition attached to it. A boy in Perth, West Australia, told me years ago how he saved up his money to go home to his mother's county of Kent. I was staying in a hotel in South Africa and I found when the manager brought his bill that he had omitted to charge me for the drives that I had enjoyed. When I asked him why, he said that he had found out that I came from the same county and that he would like to give me the drives just to show how he felt. There is a great deal in this county patriotism, and I am convinced that the more we emigrate by counties the better we shall succeed. We must co-ordinate the transfer, so that it becomes a great family movement. I want you to help us in this way: there are so many ways in which you can help. Men can build the ships and boys can make the farms, but what only women can do is to make the homes. Men all by themselves are sometimes very miserable. What we want to do is to try and develop the home-making capacity of our girls.

I want you to help us in making our education far more practical than it is to-day. In big Australian schools the girls provide the lunch for the staff. There was a house next door to a school I visited once where the girls were trained in housewifery. Then they were sent into the infant school to be taught something about little children. That is a way of training girls for home-making. We have to train our girls to-day to make homes in four continents. You must remember that the diseases of to-day are largely caused by lack of oversight in our homes. I ask you to help us in making our education more practical. We may teach our girls many things, and I hope we shall always teach them music, but we must remember that a man cannot successfully manage his servants and his house.

The second thing I want to ask you is to try your best to understand what a group is. So much is being talked about groups; but remember what a group is. Think of the ideal little English village, and I do not think you will find any group more helpful than an English village composed of all classes. We want all classes to combine to help, and the little English village with its good traditions, and its diversities and its unity and its common worship is a picture of what we want. We have tried all sorts of things, but I think that for the future the county is the best unit of all. Now we in Kent have started under the Government a Migration Committee. We propagate our ideas about the country, but we feel there is a great deal in uniting all classes in this great cause. I hope Sussex will soon follow, and then we shall have county emigration as a real scheme. We want people

to understand what empire means: we feel it is a necessity. We should feel the call, "Get thee out. . . and I will make thee a great nation." Shakespeare said, "Home staying youths have ever homely wits." Lord Rosebery said it would be a good thing if we could send all our statesmen to see the empire. In Kent we are trying to capture a new class and teach it the historical side of emigration. For them we want some good lectures on the reasonableness of resettling an overwhelming population. We are trying to send families out together. Farmers are asking for three or four boys like the last we sent out from Kent. Pictures of what our fellows are doing in the dominions are supplied for the schools. I do not think that any subject is more important than this. You must remember that without a regular exodus of people overseas our empire will shrivel up and remain a prey to every nation. I ask you to find something to do to help forward this work. It is a great work and calls for sacrifice and for women's work and influence in making the future homes.

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WEDNESDAY, 8th OCTOBER.

THE CALL FROM THE NATION.

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Chairman: THE LADY EMMOTT.

CITIZENSHIP.

BY MRS. GEORGE CADBURY, M.A., O.B.E.

The subject of Citizenship is a favourite topic at the moment, and there are therefore two dangers besetting the path of a Speaker: Platitudes and Plagiarism. However, at a Conference, besides speaking from personal experience, one tries to assemble accumulated wisdom and knowledge, and if in the effort to do so, one is guilty of either of these two vices, one can only hope for indulgence.

We will endeavour to consider what we mean by Citizenship; what are the implications of Citizenship—its responsibilities, its limitations, its difficulties and its appeal.

Citizenship has been defined as "*the right ordering of our several loyalties.*"

To be the citizen of a noble or ignoble city, of a backward or progressive Nation, is an accident of birth; but to use our Citizenship worthily, to order our several loyalties aright, is a matter of choice, disposition and education.

From time immemorial there have been men and women who

have been inspired to serve their country in their day and generation.

"Time would fail me," says the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, to "tell of Gedeon, and of Barak, and of Samson, and of Jephthae; and Deborah, of David also, and Samuel, and of the prophets:

Who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, and out of weakness were made strong."

And similarly all nations can inscribe the names of great men and women upon their Roll of Honour.

"For such a City as Athens, men might well feel it was a privilege to die," said Pericles.

To perform civic duties was the highest honour to which an Athenian could attain: Citizenship carried with it political privileges, and only those of Athenian birth could participate. Foreigners who were admitted to the country could participate in Trades and Crafts, but had no vote nor share in administration; it is interesting to note exclusion of aliens from this responsibility was one of the causes of the eventual disintegration of the State.

To the *Romans*, Citizenship was more of an established order than it was to the Greeks; the conditions were more complex. A vast number of the people under Roman jurisdiction were outside the pale of Roman liberty, though some measure of Citizenship had been given among the Provinces.

"Rome and Italy," says Gibbon, "were respected as the centre of Government. A national spirit was preserved by the ancient, and insensibly imbibed by the adopted citizen. The principal commands of the army were filled by men who had received a liberal education, were well instructed in the advantages of laws and letters, and who had risen by equal steps through the regular succession of civil and military honours."

"Citizenship with the Romans," says Hadow, "was animated in its best days by a grave and unswerving love of country."

The Persians included the cult of Citizenship in their School subjects.

Xenophon reports:—"The Persians send their children to school that they may learn righteousness, as we do that they may learn letters."

And Herodotus notes that the Persian boys are taught "to ride, to shoot with the bow, and to speak the truth."

Sir Henry Hadow describes the Persian Educational System, which included children of 5 years, and men over military age. He says that in their Schools, Debates and Trials were conducted, dealing with the practical events of School life. "These Trials in which the Scholars took part were not imaginary displays but real actions for theft, cheating, assault, slander, and above all, ingratitude," the crime for which in general there is most odium and least legal remedy, because as they say, "the man who refuses to requite a service, is not likely to perform one, and hence will be unmindful of his duties to God, parents and country."

Other subjects of instruction were self-control, and a habit of implicit obedience.

Without being guilty of overweening national pride, we may agree that England in no way comes behind other great civilisations; from her earliest known history to the present time there have been a succession of honourable, intelligent, devoted men and women, ready to serve not only their country and their fellow men in big and prominent spheres, but also in small and obscure posts; and not only on interesting and exciting jobs, such as fell to the lot of some during the War, but in difficult, monotonous, and often unacknowledged tasks.

I noticed a paragraph in a daily paper the other day, recording the death of a London Citizen; there was a short summary of his life, and then these words:—

"London has lost one of those conscientious unself-seeking servants whom, by good fortune, she so often throws up."

A simple statement that could be attached to an obituary notice of thousands of our fellow-countrymen.

When the American Lawyers recently visited London, Mr. Hughes in the course of his speech at Westminster said:—

"The inheritance of English law is the inheritance of a moral attitude predisposing thought and feeling even in our own despite. From it descend a method of thinking, a method of society, and a method of politics. There has been no more powerful element—except the English Bible—in forming the characters of the two peoples on the same fundamental lines."

Those two elements, a moral attitude which implies an appreciation of the Divine attributes of Justice, Judgment, Mercy and Truth, combined with a study of, and general acceptance of the tremendously high ideal of Citizenship taught by Christ, and transmitted to us through the Bible, is not only a great national asset, but a great responsibility.

To-day we are supposed to be calling to the *younger generation*. I am not at all sure that an OLDER generation CAN effectively call to the Young! They look for prophets and leaders of their own age who have seen a vision; very possibly their Social instinct and aspirations are a matter of inheritance; they are probably in touch with, and admire the work of those who have already lived great lives: but the rank and file look to their contemporaries for direction and inspiration; and rightly so.

At the Olympic Games in Paris, a few weeks ago, Eric Liddell, son of a Missionary, and himself shortly going as a Missionary to Tientsin, won the final of the 400 Metres Race in the World's record time. He was asked to assist at the Scots Church the following Sunday; and the place was filled to overflowing with young people; he spoke on the words:—"Open Thine eyes that I may see wondrous things out of Thy law." Of course the place was crowded. Youth responds to Youth, especially Athletic Youth.

We may be tempted sometimes to say: "we have piped unto you, and ye have not danced," but that will not matter if the coming generation is busy thinking out methods of solving problems that have not occurred to us.

However we must not neglect to pipe, so what is our tune?

Burke says: "To be attached to the subdivision, to love the little platoon we belong to in society, is the first principle, the germ as it were, of public affection. It is the first link in the series by which we proceed towards a love of our country and nation."

A French writer asserts: "That the virtuous man will prefer his family to himself, his country to his family, and humanity to his country."

Granted that we assent to these propositions, though probably in less pedantic language; what outlet is there for the energies of the ordinary average citizen? And how may the Civic aspirations of Youth be encouraged and developed? We will take the latter query first.

Can children be caught while young, and taught to take an interest in public affairs? America replies in the affirmative:—

Recently in the U.S.A., a permanent Committee was appointed to work out a programme in Citizenship training for the American Public Schools. The Report on the subject set forth the menace of an indifferent Electorate, and an increasing foreign-born population.

"A country like America," the writer said, "invaded by an annual flood of emigrants belonging to every European

race and tongue, looks to the Public School as the great instrument for the production of American nationality."

In England however, there is considerable difference of opinion as to the efficacy of Education in Civics.

Some time ago a number of text books were prepared to instruct the young on the duties of Citizens; Graham Wallas pronounced them the most worthless collection of printed papers that ever occupied a bookshelf. Something more stimulating to the imagination is necessary to create enthusiasm for public work; still, there are some practical Civic lessons that can be taught; the War Savings movement taught the value of thrift, and visits of older scholars to City Councils and the House of Commons gives an idea of the machinery necessary to carry on the work of the State.

Mr. H. A. L. Fisher has written and spoken much on this subject. As President of the Board of Education, he was constantly urged to add subjects to the School Curriculum; TEMPERANCE REFORMERS desire that children should be taught that Alcohol is an evil; apostles of the LEAGUE OF NATIONS that they should be instructed in the Covenant and Principles of the League; strong IMPERIALISTS, that they should be well founded in Imperial Geography.

"That children should know something about the Hygiene of Food and Drink," he comments, "something about the history of their own country, something about the existence of other countries, and of their titles to respect as having contributed to the sum of civilisation, that they should not be wholly ignorant of the kind of polity in which they live, all this will be generally admitted. What however, most true educationists would dispute, is the contention that children should be educated in any school of Political and Economic opinion."

In Germany, before the War, instruction was systematically given both in Schools and Colleges, of their own special political philosophy. "The whole mind of the nation," says Fisher, "was trained to think of Germany, noble, magnanimous, envied by foes, but destined at the appointed moment to achieve its glorious destiny by War, or by a succession of wars, until at last the World Peace was realised under the shelter of the almighty Imperial Shield."

In one respect, this discipline in Civics was successful; it produced a patriotic nation; but it failed in obtaining an intelligent and critical public opinion. "When the defeat came in 1918, the Prussian Minister of Public Instruction issued a cir-

cular, recommending that the hatred of foreign countries should no longer be taught in the schools, but replaced by a policy of systematic amiability.”

On the other hand, we find Sir Henry Hadow advocating instruction in Civics. He described with approval the methods in a School he had visited. “Representations are given,” he reports, “of some of the ordinary facts of Civic life—the Class will give a rehearsal of Police Court procedure, or will draw up an advertisement for a junior clerk and interview the candidates, or will hold a Parish Meeting to elect a Councillor, so that by the time a boy leaves school he will have gained some familiarity with many of the questions by which he will subsequently be confronted. It will stimulate their attention, it will inform their minds, and it will unconsciously strengthen that sense of honesty and fair play which is of the very essence of Citizenship.”

It follows to consider how far the formal teaching of the School can be directed to a similar end. The most obvious channels are, History, Geography and Literature, and all these might be turned to better account than at present.

“One of the chief obstacles to Citizenship is our ignorance of recent history, and especially of a clear and well-balanced account of its social phenomena. To remove this ignorance is one of the prime duties of Civic Education.” (Hadow).

Another Educationist, Dr. W. Boyd, says: “Apart from the seeming remoteness of civil duties from the immediate experience of young people, and the lack of motive in learning about them, there is a complexity about social phenomena, except in their very simplest form, which makes it well-nigh impossible for the undeveloped mind to get beneath the surface to their real significance. If even well-educated adults find it hard to understand the factors that determine the prices of the articles they buy daily, or to comprehend the mechanism of trade or banking it is not surprising that children should only glimpse the system of public order that is behind the policeman, or the far extending methods of postal communication which the postman who brings the letters to the door represents.”

We may conclude that arguments for or against Education in Civics are about balanced.

When, either as a result of stimulating Education, or in response to a call, the young citizen proceeds, in Burke’s metaphor, from the love of his little platoon, to take an interest in National Affairs, *what can he find to do?* It seems almost absurd to enumerate the open doors, but it is part of our task to-night.

We will begin with the most obvious, and possibly the most exacting: membership of Municipal and County Councils. With the increase of Public Services, involving the expenditure of public money, and the health and well-being of thousands of our fellow-citizens, it is tremendously important that the right people should come forward as Candidates for Municipal posts; at the present time there are many schemes for developments in the promotion of health and prevention of disease, there is therefore special scope for the talents of capable women. It does not necessarily mean that they must be elected members of Councils. Many important Committees have co-opted members who can help in the administrative and detailed work connected with Child Welfare, Public Health, School Medical Service, the care of the Mentally and Physically Defective, Housing, and Recreation; there are opportunities also in all branches of Education, including Evening Schools, Continuation Schools, etc.

Then there is the important work to be done on the Board of Guardians. Our Poor Law Administration, while still leaving room for improvement, is, owing to public opinion, and the efforts of those imbued with what Burke calls “public affection,” more humane and just than formerly; but advance in this direction depends on a continued supply of the right kind of candidates for office.

There is work to be done in the cause of PRISON REFORM; in the Courts of Justice; in obtaining the Intelligent Treatment of the Youthful Delinquent; on Hospital and After Care Committees: work to be done on the many Societies for helping the general standard of Living and Thinking and Speaking and Doing; Clubs for Girls, Boys’ Brigades, Scouts and Guides, Y.W. & Y.M. Associations, Organisation of Camps, Country Holidays, Care of Crippled Children, the Deaf, the Dumb and the Blind. One could enumerate indefinitely possible channels of service, both for Public and Voluntary work. It is instructive and interesting to note that practically every form of Public Service had its origin in voluntary efforts.

But in spite of this wearying long list of opportunities, how comparatively few are willing to serve on either voluntary or public bodies. In Public Work how many important issues are determined by a few men vitally concerned. In Voluntary concerns, how frequently the same names occur in the composition of Committees. In the subscription lists of well-known Societies this is even more frequently the case.

Where are all the other people?

Whilst walking through one’s own town, or travelling about the country, do we not often soliloquise: Who live in all these houses? What do all these people do in their leisure time?

Or we stand on the platform of our great Railway Stations, and grow dizzy with watching the crowds swarming in and out of London and other great cities to their daily work, and returning to their homes with hours still to fill in some way or other.

In making this criticism, I must guard against misunderstanding by saying that honest work done for a livelihood, and the right upbringing of children, to become in their turn decent and industrious citizens, is the first and highest duty of the Citizen who has family responsibilities. And this daily work may quite rightly be considered a form of public service.

A hard-working and conscientious doctor is a type of the finest kind of Citizen, working for humanity whilst following his own profession and supporting his family. *But*, the hardest-working and most devoted doctor it has been my privilege to know, was also a keen citizen, and gave his few hours of leisure to public and religious work.

Further, there are a thousand unobtrusive kindly neighbourly ways of proving appreciation of our responsibilities. The amenities and thoughtfulness and self-discipline of everyday life, may be counted as tests of our right interpretation of Citizenship. The cultivation of flowers in the front garden, the clearing up of waste paper, and even the careful depositing of tram tickets in the boxes provided.

On the other hand, the horrible condition of the countryside, in any popular holiday resort, is a negation of the right-minded citizen attitude of mind. So are the hideous advertisements in the fields through which the railways pass. So is the horrible roar of the motor whose owner does not close the cut-out. The dangers on the roads, caused by the reckless motor driver, and the careless and aggressive cyclist, is typical of the Anarchist rather than the Citizen. I do not know what are the figures of the slain in England, but can quote figures from an American newspaper:—

“The battlefields of France are safer than the American highways,” remarked Mr. House, a Magistrate in the New York Traffic Court.

“I am disgusted and discouraged,” he said. “In 18 months the United States lost 48,000 killed in France, but in a corresponding period just closed, we had 96,000 persons killed by motor cars, including 25,000 children.”

To return to the positive side of worthy Citizenship:

With our great traditions, with our privileges as citizens of a great Empire, with the knowledge of the splendid work done by men and women, girls and boys, during the War, one would imagine that a very large percentage of our people would be engaged in some kind of useful and altruistic work. But what is

the case? Take the simplest form of Citizenship; sufficient interest in public or imperial affairs to exercise a vote at Election time: Graham Wallas says that in no County in England does the number of persons really active in politics amount to 10% of the Electorate, and in an average town, I read recently, about 5% take the trouble to vote at Municipal Elections. One finds the same apathy in all other branches of service.

The consequence is that some people have more work thrust upon them than they can effectively carry out; and thousands of leisured individuals, poor things, are forced to relieve the monotony of their lives by playing games morning, afternoon, and evening.

I am thinking of planning a scheme for rationing the number of Committees that any one person may attend; this can be done on the same principle as Food Control during the War, by the issue of Forms. Think what it would mean, if when urged to go on a new Committee, to be able to say: “So sorry, but I have not a form left”; or when asked to speak at a Meeting, or write a paper: “Most unfortunate; it is only June, but I have already used up all the number of words I am allowed to pronounce in public for the year.” Then some of the other 90% of the population would have to turn out from their little suburban retreats, and dig up their buried talents.

I believe however that the slump is over, that the demand will create the supply, and that the thinning ranks of workers will be rapidly recruited in the near future. At any rate, let us send from this Conference a clear call to men and women to exercise their Citizen's duty in the recording of Votes at Municipal and Parliamentary Elections.

A terrible thought occurs to one at this point. How many of us have sufficient intelligence to vote wisely and discriminately?

Mr. Fisher in a recent Lecture, quoted some disquieting figures with regard to *intelligence*: An American writer, Mr. Stoddard, he says, reports that of 1,700,000 young men examined in recent American Army tests, all physically fit, less than 4½% possessed really high intelligence. Exercise of the Vote is rather dangerous under those circumstances. *What about the attitude of mind in which to carry out our duties as Citizens?*

In Political, and unfortunately frequently in Municipal affairs, we are driven to work under different banners, we are divided into parties. Group movements are useful in many ways, but they can become harmful if they tend to accentuate unduly, difference of opinion, to generate suspicion and bitterness in consequence of variety of occupation, or position in the social scale.

Class Warfare will destroy the real spirit of Citizenship, and is opposed utterly to the spirit of our great Social Reformer, Jesus Christ. All our efforts will be hindered, spoilt, deteriorated, if they are not begun, continued and consummated in the Spirit of Him Who said that the First Commandment was to love God, and the next, to love our neighbour as ourself.

#### INTERNATIONAL.

Our interest in, and devotion to our own country, must lead us, as suggested earlier, to a concern for the well-being of the people of other countries, an appreciation of their good qualities and contributions to the sum of human knowledge and happiness.

There is a certain amount of sentimental propaganda connected with Internationalism that is calculated to defeat its own aim. But a desire to understand the problems, social, political and industrial, of foreign nations, to obtain a knowledge of their history, to appreciate their literature, to estimate rightly their expressions in art, to acknowledge their achievements in the world of Science, to endeavour to cultivate personal friendships, ought to be the concern of every true citizen. For surely such mutual understanding will help towards the establishment of World Peace.

To the Citizen to whom Committees and Blue Books do not appeal, may we recommend this bit of real Citizenship. When thoroughly interested in matters outside our Island or Empire, we shall make a point of voting for men and women to be returned to Parliament, pledged to give the League of Nations power and stability. We shall join and induce others to join the Societies (now existing in 28 different countries) formed to support the League.

Recently in a speech on the League, I heard a Labour Leader comment on the fact that there are four million Trade Unionists, and three million Co-operators, but only 300,000 members all told, of the League of Nations' Union, and he called on his fellow Trade Unionists and Co-operators to swell the numbers.

Let us do likewise, and call up all classes to back this tremendous experiment. The International Labour Bureau, the League Commissions on questions of health and morals and industry, etc., are all helping to break down barriers, and even speeding up National efforts. *Science* has a universal appeal, and requires International effort and co-operation. Our great doctors, such as Pasteur, Lister, Simpson, Koch, are citizens of the *world*, and have laboured for the good of mankind. All beneficial International efforts react to the advantage of the several Nations. Wireless Telegraphy, the motor car, the aeroplane, are breaking down physical barriers.

Are the majority of people, however, ready yet to respond to International interests, welfare, or do they still think that Patriotism is enough?

I read in an Educational Pamphlet the other day, an attractive little poem on the love of one's country, but two lines in it seemed to me to be out of date.

"I vow to thee, my country—all earthly things above—  
Entire and whole and perfect, the service of my love,  
The love that asks no question: the love that stands the test,  
That lays upon the altar the dearest and the best."

The date of the poem was 1916. This pamphlet is being circulated under the auspices of the Board of Education to the School children now! but surely the years have taught us a more discriminating love than a "love that asks no questions!"

A belief in the tremendous importance of an instructed, self-sacrificing intelligent love of country and humanity, is the vital force that brings this company together to-night.

Upon what foundation is built this love and desire to serve?

I ask Mazzini to tell us what he considers to be the basis of all true Citizenship:

"From the general formula that men call Religion," he says, "issues a rule of Education, a basis of human Brotherhood, a Policy, a Social Economy, an Art. It permeates politics in all questions of franchise, of the conditions of the masses, of nationality. I do not know," he adds, "a single great conquest of the human spirit, a single important step for the perfecting of human Society, which has not had its roots in strong religious faith. Without God, you may coerce, but you cannot persuade, you may be tyrants in your turn, but you cannot be educators nor apostles."

And again, "All humanity repeats under different formulas, and in different degrees, the Lord's Prayer of Christendom, 'Thy Kingdom come . . . on earth, as it is in Heaven'."

And from whom did Mazzini draw his inspiration? Surely from the same source as the ancient Seer whose song of praise stimulates succeeding generations to service:—

"Justice and judgment are the habitation of Thy throne,  
mercy and truth shall go before Thy face.

Blessed is the people that know the joyful sound; they shall  
walk in Thy light; in Thy righteousness shall they be  
exalted,

Thou art the glory of their strength."



MR. COPE MORGAN said: It is part and parcel of the duty of citizens and citizenship that you and I and all of us should take a real and live interest in political affairs. Speaking in the middle of a Conference of this description, I feel that one is speaking to the converted, because you have been laying down the law on matters connected with politics for the last two or three days, but many people outside are most astonishingly apathetic in regard to their part in political affairs at the present time. A vast number of people under twenty-five to-day do not care twopence for politics. We who are over twenty-five are largely responsible for that fact.

Now what is the reason for this state of affairs? I imagine that everybody naturally felt, when the war was over, that we had had our fill of big affairs, and men and women turned very naturally to their own particular business and allowed anyone who would to carry on the big affairs. The result has not been altogether happy, and whatever excuse there was for reaction, that is played out now, and it is definitely the duty of citizens to take part again in thinking and working out the affairs of our country.

Of course to the younger people, to whom after all England and the world have to look, the realm of politics at the present time is a very confusing one. In the old days it was roughly true that every little girl and boy was born into the world a little Liberal or a little Conservative, but now it is not so simple. People feel hopelessly at sea as to what we are talking about when we are talking about politics, and instead of seeing two comfortable little boats, into one or other of which they can get to sail safely across the political ocean, they see a veritable kaleidoscope of opinion, varying from your Die Hard Tory, Conservative, Liberal and Radical down to your Labour and Socialist at the bottom. There is that wide field of choice, with all sorts and shades of opinion, and they do not know where they are—and some of *us* don't either.

But somewhere in that kaleidoscope is to be found the true light so far as the politics of to-day and to-morrow are concerned, and when I say that it is the duty of citizens to take an interest in politics, I am saying that it is our duty for ourselves—and to try to teach others—to seek out truth in all the muddle of post-war politics and, having found it, to pursue it to the end.

Among the lessons we have learnt from the war, we have found that there is a very close relationship between the individual life of the citizen and political affairs; everybody knows now that it touches the very root and fibre of our life to-day as to how we are governed and how other countries of the world are governed.

It is your privilege and responsibility to work at politics with that fact in view, for into politics in this country women have come for good, and I believe they *have* come for good.

I was reading only the other day a novel which must have been written in the suffragette days, and which contains a very fine speech by a suffragette. She was imbued with a really passionate belief that the entrance into politics of women meant their coming in for *good*. I do not believe that that suffragette, if she is alive to-day, is really satisfied with the result of the coming of women into politics to-day.

The coming of women into the political arena is a really splendid venture, but it brings its responsibility, and there is a real fear as to whether intelligence and opportunity are running side by side in political matters. I believe that the person who is going to try and find out where the truth lies—not perhaps the absolute truth, but the truth as he or she may see it—is doing the right thing. The thing to aim at is to try and see what underlies policy, what principles are really firm and can be trusted to carry you through.

There is nothing more important now-a-days than that men and women should try to get down to the underlying ideas which are the foundations and basis for the groups and parties and the policies which underlie them. Underlying every party that has ever been known in the State—if it has been worthy of persistence, if it has had any history worthy of the name—has always been an idea. Parties and policies can only persist in honesty if they are based on a clear conception underlying them. The reason why we are faced at the present moment by three different parties in the State, is that they represent three fundamentally different ideas, and we ought not to be gulled into supposing that a party can be judged on any one party issue: but if the ideas that underlie the party issues are sound, then that party may hope for existence and success. Each person must, according to his or her light, judge which idea is the truest, and then support that one whole-heartedly.

Surely we do not need to be reminded at this time of the immense need that the world and this country have of intelligent men and women coming equally together, shoulder to shoulder, into the political field. There has probably never been a time when problems so pressing and so gigantic have faced statesmen as at the present day. We are seeking Peace above all, but the trouble is how to get it, and nothing but the deepest consideration will point the way. Then there is unemployment, which is so pressing an evil at this moment, and we know that it will never be remedied unless proper political methods are adopted for its

remedy. Then look at Housing, so closely linked as it is with moral problems, and we know that nothing except the proper method of governing will solve the intricacies of that problem. There is a great need at the present time for men and women to be up and doing in the political field. This generation of ours has chosen for itself a difficult period in the history of our country, so different from the Victorian days of quiet, placid, ease; but who, having heard the call to citizenship, having felt the joy of activity, of dabbling in big affairs, does not know that these strenuous days, making so great a claim upon citizenship, are infinitely greater and better than the dull days that preceded the war. There are men and women at this time who have learnt a lesson of citizenship that our grandfathers never knew. Ten years ago, in a new and startling form, the call to citizenship came to our ears, and to a man and woman nearly every citizen of England rose to their country's call. Think of the vast expenditure of effort then—but to what end? None of us knows, except that it was a thoroughly unsatisfactory one! But to what end does the call to citizenship come now? It comes, not that we may make war, but that we may make an abiding peace, and that we may take our part in making for England a place in the world comity which is worthy of the best that her sons and daughters can give.

That is the claim of citizenship, as I understand it, that calls us all to take our part—tired though we may be, but having in that tiredness gained experience—to take our part in thinking and working to bring about that which to us seems truest, for that is all we can do; knowing that, in so far as there be truth in us, by the conflict of opinion, by the ‘ragging’ out of problems the real and final truth may yet come to be applied. I believe that, for the citizen of to-day, there is a need to meet our real and pressing problems in a spirit which is nothing short of the spirit with which England entered the war ten years ago, the spirit of self-sacrifice, self-giving and State-service. If that spirit inspired our people during the next five years the face of England could be changed. Therefore it is for us, as equal citizens, to shoulder the burden, to play our part, to find out the truth and to apply it, as we can see it, to the vast difficulties and the appalling problems that lie ahead of us: to face them in something of the spirit of 1914 applied to 1924 and the years that are to follow it.

LADY NOTT-BOWER said: I think that we must, a great many of us, have had the idea that when women got their full citizenship we should see a great change in the working of politics and in public life altogether. And it is true that some of us have

sometimes felt a little disappointed with what has happened since women got the vote.

The world of women is still very definitely divided into two great classes, the smaller class who are keen and eager over great public questions, and the very much larger class, who are apathetic and bored by them.

I want to speak first for a moment about the first class, the keen and eager ones, and I think that among these we may venture to include ourselves. There are certain dangers for us which we should be wise to think about for a little while. I think at times that we are almost in too great a hurry to bring about the reforms for which we are so eager. Are we not sometimes too much in a hurry to pass resolutions, without knowing exactly where those resolutions, if they were put on the Statute Book, would land us. One example that comes to my mind concerns a resolution which we have been discussing at this Conference—that with regard to assaults on children. We all want to see the villains who hurt little children heavily punished, and one of the suggestions that has been much in the minds of women who are eager and interested has been to do away with the option of a fine and to give the power to the magisterial Benches to impose heavier penalties. Now, you must remember that you cannot give to men who are not trained lawyers the power to inflict heavy penalties and you cannot inflict them on men who are not tried by jury. If you are going to give heavier sentences, then you must ensure that the men shall be judged by their peers. Therefore we must be careful over this question of passing resolutions. I believe that we shall be on much safer ground if we take pains to see that such reforms as we already have on the Statute Book are well administered. That kind of work will be more helpful than continually passing resolutions on subjects which we have not fully studied.

It is a much more difficult matter to know what we can do to interest those women who find public work dull. That is our responsibility: but we ought to be able to convince them and it is our fault if other people find these things dull, and the people who do them dull! If we go about with our hats on one side and always in a hurry, we do not create as favourable an impression on people as we might.

People tell one that Town Council work is so deadly dull, but they call these things dull because they are spoon-fed. Everything has been made too easy for them. You do not call it dull if your drains go wrong or if you have to motor home in the pitch dark over roads full of holes; you may call it inconvenient, or you may call it a great many other things, but you do not call it dull! People are not at all grateful, as they

# NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF GREAT BRITAIN.

*President*—MRS. GEORGE MORGAN.

*Acting Vice-President*—THE HON. MRS. FRANKLIN.

*Hon. Parliamentary Secretary*—MRS. OGILVIE GORDON, D.Sc., F.L.S., J.P.

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*Hon. Editor*—MISS E. M. EATON.

*General Secretary*:  
Miss NORAH GREEN.

PARLIAMENT MANSIONS,  
ORCHARD STREET,  
VICTORIA STREET,  
LONDON, S.W.1.

## WASHINGTON FUND.

Dear Madam,

The National Council of Women, at its annual Meeting at Brighton, resolved that a special fund, to be known as "The Washington Fund," be raised, to enable the Council to be represented at the meeting of the International Council of Women in Washington in May next, by the women it had elected.

The very heavy expenses which will be incurred by the delegates caused the Council to pass this resolution, as the Council did not wish the delegates to be selected according to their ability to pay, but on the strength of their being representative women, understanding the work of the British Council.

Under these circumstances the Executive feel that all the Members of the N.C.W. would like to take a part in sharing the expenses of those members who are willing to give up their time and to incur the financial responsibility for this work, and they therefore appeal to you to give something towards this Fund. It is calculated that a sum of between £500 and £1,000 would be necessary to give some assistance to all the delegates. The Fund is to be administered by a Sub-Committee appointed by the Executive Committee.

Cheques or promises should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer at the office.

Yours faithfully,

E. C. MORGAN,  
President.

F. JEAN TRUSTRAM EVE,  
Hon. Treasurer.

I promise to { give  
collect } £....s.....d.

I enclose herewith £....s.....d.  
(Please delete unnecessary words).

Name.....

Address.....

Date.....

ought to be, for all the good work that men have done for them on their Town Councils. We ought to be able to make clear to our sisters outside how wonderfully interesting these things are.

Not long ago I was asked to go down to a girls' school in Kent, to speak to them on the need for women in Local Government: not a girl there was over sixteen: I was asked to speak for forty minutes and there was to be twenty minutes in which the girls might ask me questions. I ventured to suggest to the headmistress that twenty minutes was rather a long time to allow for questions, but she merely said "Wait and see!" Well, I spoke for the allotted time, and then there began such a heckling as I have never had from any audience anywhere. Not one of those girls had found it dull, and I am quite sure I did not. Now what one schoolmistress can do, others can do. We should try to make the effort, try to get hold of the older girls in the schools and let them come and hear about our work. It is only ignorance that makes things dull.

Cannot we try and impress our friends outside with the extraordinary and increasing power that is passing into the hands of the Local Authorities. Here we are, anxious for fresh and better legislation, and we scarcely ever get a new law on to the Statute Book in which the power of administration is not in the hands of the Local Authorities, and often there are only one or two clauses in the law that are obligatory, most of the clauses being permissive, that is they can be carried out or merely left undone. For instance, in the Mental Deficiency Bill which we have been considering, there are only three obligatory clauses, which are (1) that the Local Authority shall form a Committee; (2) that a list shall be made of the defectives in their area; (3) that the Committee shall present an Annual Report—no other work need be done, and the Committee need not even meet. So it is possible to do all that is made obligatory by the law, and yet not help a single mental defective, but you *can* do an enormous amount, and it can be done by those good and far-sighted people who have a sufficiently wide view to see that to care wisely for the mental defectives of this generation will mean an improvement in the next generation.

Then there is the Maternity and Child Welfare Bill—all that is obligatory in that Bill is that a Committee shall be formed, and there are some Local Authorities that will not do anything more than that.

To-day there are all sorts of opportunities for women but it is extremely difficult to get enough women to come forward and do the work. Could you imagine a better proof of citizenship than the chance of following in the foot-steps of the great pioneers? It

is for us to consider this weight upon our conscience. Surely we must be crassly stupid, more than the people who are outside, if we cannot help them to realise how interesting, how inspiring and how vastly useful this public work may be.

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FRIDAY, 10th OCTOBER.

THE CALL FROM THE WORLD.

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Chairman: THE LADY FRANCES BALFOUR.

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION IN TRADE AND FINANCE.

BY MR. S. N. KEEN, LL.B.

The existence of an economic interdependence among the different countries of the world is now a familiar and accepted fact. It has been fostered during the past century by a phenomenal growth of the world population, a phenomenal increase in scientific knowledge, mechanical invention, means of transport, and habits of travel and correspondence. That these and other causes were gradually combining together, so as to weld the world into an organic whole with closely interlocked and interdependent parts, was beginning to be recognised in pre-war days. It has been proved to demonstration by the incidents of the war and its aftermath. The process has not stopped and there is every reason to think that in the future it will become extended and intensified.

Something of this interdependence, so far as it concerns the sphere of trade and finance, can easily be pictured with the aid of a few simple illustrations. If you buy oranges in a fruiterer's shop in London you will find you can get them throughout the year, and that they have come at one time from Spain or Italy, at another from Palestine, then from South Africa, then from California, the West Indies or elsewhere. Through climatic and other causes these various countries can advantageously specialise in the production of the fruit at different seasons of the year. The collection in London of products coming from places so widely scattered is fostered partly by the desire of the consuming public to enjoy in the fullest measure all the comforts and conveniences the world can yield, and partly by the desire of the producing and distributing classes to earn the best livelihood they can by meeting the desires of the consumers. It needs little imagination to see that this process necessitates systematic machinery of a complex kind for transporting the commodities from producer to consumer, and for enabling an equivalent for their value to be transferred from consumer to producer.

Take another illustration, which does not leap to the eye in the London shops, but appears from press reports about the grain trade and crops. Through climatic and other causes some countries commonly produce grain in quantities more than sufficient for the demands of their own population, while the produce of others is commonly short of those demands. The motives of desire for food on the one hand, and desire for profit on the other, lead to the export of surpluses of grain from one country to another, and consequent provision of machinery for dealing with transport and payment. But the seasonal conditions of weather are very variable, so that both the exportable surpluses and the demands may be at one time abnormally large and at another abnormally small. Thus from time to time great changes are required in the movement of grain from one country to another, with consequent disturbance of the machinery for transport and payment.

As regards transport, it requires little imagination to realise that, if this is to be conducted with reasonable economy, the ships taking cargo from one port to another must secure cargo of something like the equal quantity to carry in the reverse direction.

As regards payment, it is easily understandable that, if the value of goods passing to and fro between two countries is fairly equal, ordinary banking machinery will, without any great difficulty, enable the resulting debts to be set off one against the other; but, on the other hand, if the values of goods passing in the two directions at any time show great disparity there will be a money balance requiring some further machinery of finance or transfer for its adjustment. It is clear that all the goods passing out of a country cannot be continually counterbalanced by money passing in, for money itself will not support life but is a mere token designed to be exchanged for articles of real value, and a country whose inhabitants spend their time largely in producing articles of real value for export must, sooner or later, and somehow or other, obtain articles of real value in return.

All this seems very elementary and obvious, but it indicates shortly and roughly how world trade proceeds, and what a close interlocking of interests, both commercial and financial, and how extensive a range of co-operative action it must involve when it develops on a great scale.

That there must be co-operation between individuals in the different countries concerned necessarily follows from the nature of the process.

That there are opportunities for co-operation through the medium of private groups and associations of traders and financiers is fairly obvious, and experience shows that many such

combinations are formed of trading concerns operating in different countries, with resulting benefit to their interests, and with benefit also, though not unmixed with some risk of detriment, to the interests of the bodies of consumers whom they serve.

But the question to which I am going to address myself relates, not to co-operation of individuals and private associations, but to the existence and possibilities of international co-operation, that is to say the co-operation of the nations themselves, acting through their governments, in matters relating to trade and finance.

If it is asked what does and can such co-operation do, I reply that it already does something, and it can render services of almost unlimited value, partly by operations directly assisting trade and finance, but in still greater measure by operations giving indirect assistance, through improvement of the conditions under which trade and finance are conducted.

The co-operation of governments has this among other advantages over a mere co-operation of individuals and private groups and associations, that it can bring to its aid the compulsory authority which each co-operating government exercises within its own territory, and the knowledge and experience and outlook which governments must always tend to have in wider measure than any individuals or groups among those whom they govern.

Now let me come from the general to the particular, and endeavour to indicate briefly some of the concrete things which international co-operation can achieve. It will be found that some of the things most vital and fundamental to the interests of trade and finance are things that affect them indirectly, rather than setting out to deal directly with them. It will be found also that in this sphere, as in others, the most important things are often among those that require most time and effort for their attainment.

The easiest way of approach will be to think what are the great needs, and then consider what can be done to meet them. We can conveniently group the needs under four headings:—

1. Prevention of war and removal of the apprehension of war;
2. Security of internal order, financial stability, and administration of justice;
3. Removal of barriers, and provision of facilities;
4. Distribution of reliable information.

About my first heading I shall say little on this occasion. It has long been obvious to the intelligent, and since 1914 I think it has become obvious even to the fools, that war and the apprehension of it are the implacable foes of trade and finance. It is

equally obvious that without international co-operation there is no remedy. If anyone doubts whether, even with such co-operation, it is possible to abolish war, I will only say I am convinced that it is possible, and that whether the process proceeds quickly or slowly depends mainly on the grit and energy put into the movement for its abolition by the people in this and other countries. I notice with pleasure that the special subject of this conference of the National Council of Women is "The Call to the Younger Generation." One call to the younger generation may well be that they should throw overboard the timidity and conservatism natural to the old, and should go forward with vigorous steps, and with faith and hope and love in their hearts, to redeem the world from its slavery to war.

Coming to my second heading, no question can arise as to the importance of the need. It is almost a truism to say that you cannot effectively conduct trading or financial operations in or with a country where there is not reasonable security for internal order, financial stability, and the due administration of justice. Moreover, if you have any one country where these conditions do not obtain, you have a break in the connected chain with which, under modern conditions, trade encircles the whole earth, as with a girdle. It is thus an obstruction and an injury to the whole course of world trade if any one nation in these vital matters fails to maintain a reasonable standard.

But, it may be said, how can international co-operation help in matters of this kind? Are they not matters to be left to the sovereign control of the individual states, without interference or criticism from outside? My answer is, firstly, that at this stage of the world's development, with all the interlocking and interdependence of its parts to which I have referred, these matters are not, and cannot be treated as, solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the individual nation. If a nation fails in such matters it cannot limit within its own borders the effect of its failure, and the maintenance of a reasonable standard of internal order and good government must be regarded as not merely within the power, but as part of the international duty of the nation, for the breach of which it may be called to account by the community of nations. The growth of a larger sense of the responsibility of individual nations to the world at large for the regulation of important matters within the territories under their rule is well illustrated by the inclusion of the provisions as to mandates and some other provisions in the Covenant of the League of Nations, and by the clauses of the peace treaties protecting racial, religious, and linguistic minorities, and safeguarding conditions of labour.

My second reply is to point to what has already in fact been done by international co-operation. I need only mention the successful launching of the schemes of the League of Nations for the reconstruction of Austria and Hungary, in order to demonstrate the improvement of internal stability which can be produced, even under conditions of extreme difficulty, by effective international co-operation.

If the League can perform this service in the case of Austria and Hungary, why should it not perform parallel services in the case of other countries? In various quarters of the world there are countries having internal difficulties, economic, administrative, or otherwise, whose solution might well be achieved or advanced by the League, with results equally beneficial to the particular countries concerned, and at the same time facilitating trading and financial relations between them and other countries.

Long before the League came into existence international action for securing the reform of internal government had in various cases been found unavoidable. Turkey, Egypt, China, Morocco and other instances leap to the mind. The League should not wait until local conditions become so bad that a festering sore is produced in the world's body politic and panic steps have to be taken. The Council of the League should carry on a continuous observation and review of conditions prevailing in all parts of the world, and make it a matter of deliberate policy to find ways of bringing the helpful and fruitful influences of international co-operation to bear upon local troubles before they become acute and intractable.

My third heading—removal of barriers, and provision of facilities—is a very wide one and offers an almost limitless field for thought and effort. Let us see what are some of the chief barriers tending to impede the course of trade and finance.

First, there is the language barrier. This is the greatest obstacle to every kind of transaction which requires communication and understanding between people of one country and those of another. Cannot international co-operation do anything for that? Yes, it can do everything for it, if only the governments will display the necessary intelligence, foresight, and willingness to accommodate, and the people will support their governments. For thorough success the real need is that, by common international agreement, some language should be chosen as the universal auxiliary tongue, and that the language so chosen should then be taught in schools throughout the world, in addition to the national language of each particular country. By this means in twenty years' time everyone would be able to converse or correspond with foreigners of any country, because all would under-

stand the same auxiliary language. Who is there so devoid of imagination as to fail to realise what an incalculable impetus this would give to the world's trade?

We know it is not really difficult or burdensome for any mortal of ordinary intelligence to learn one language in addition to his own. A great part of the trouble to-day is that some learn one auxiliary language, and some another, in endless variety, while a few have a smattering of several. If there were agreement upon one, and a determined effort that that one should be universally taught, the aim would be achieved. The real obstacle lies in the necessity for inducing the governments of to-day to put their heads together, and, overcoming the force of national pride and jealousy, to make the necessary choice. Why should not a choice be made? There are definite and practical arguments that can be adduced for and against particular languages as auxiliaries. Why should not these arguments be frankly considered and reasonably weighed? And, if the balance of argument is found to point that way, is there really any reason why, for example, the British people should object to the choice of French, or the French people should object to the choice of English?

Take, next, the currency barrier. Cannot international co-operation rescue us out of the morass of pounds, francs, dollars, marks, lire, and all the rest, and place us on the commonsense basis of a universal currency, circulating and accepted throughout the world as a valid medium for payment of any debt? In this case also there surely can be no one so lacking in imagination as to fail to appreciate the immensity of the boon. Think of the facility it would give in fixing prices, arranging sales and contracts, making payments, and comparing costs. Think of the convenience to those who travel, whether for business or pleasure. Think of the relief it would give from difficulties in connection with the exchange of money between one country and another. Since the war we have had a plentiful dose of the troubles that can arise from fluctuations in the value of currencies as interpreted in terms of their exchangeability for other currencies. Think of the difference it would make if you had, freely circulating throughout the 55 countries in the League of Nations, a form of money the stability of whose value would depend not merely on the guarantee and the credit of one government, but on the combined guarantee and credit of the governments of all the 55 leagued countries.

You may say a universal currency is a difficult thing to bring about. Of course it is, but difficulties only exist to be overcome. What is the use of the League of Nations if it will not grapple with tasks of international co-operation because they are difficult? If

the elder statesmen will not, because there are difficulties involved, bestir themselves to put common sense in place of confusion in matters of everyday convenience in which the world has a common interest, the call to the young will have to be that they shall come and take the helm.

But are the practical difficulties really so colossal as they are often represented to be? We all know how the stability of the pound sterling, the management of the public finances, the credit of the government, and the working of the whole banking system of our own country has been advantaged by the existence of the Bank of England. Why should not the League of Nations issue a mandate for the establishment and regulation of a central banking institution at Geneva, which would discharge services for the whole world analogous to those which are discharged, with such benefit to this country, by the Bank of England? There is no lack of willingness shown on the part of members of the banking fraternity to lend their brains to the service of the League in other fields. Why should not the world's bankers perform a service which lies specially within their competence, and create a central banking institution, which could initiate and manage a universal currency, provide a common banking clearing house, and discharge other services helpful to the trade and finance of all countries?

I am told that bankers make so much profit out of the troubles humanity suffers through the necessity of exchanging one national currency into another that they would not give real help towards the replacement of the existing system by something more useful and intelligent. Frankly, I do not believe it. The benefit they would derive through the general increase of prosperity would more than outweigh any loss they would suffer through withdrawal of the profits on exchange. But even if this were not so, the adverse balance, such as it might be, could not successfully obstruct the road to so great and striking a reform.

I will only mention in passing the question of uniformity of weights and measures, which, like uniformity in currency, would obviously provide an immense facility for world trade, and necessitates, for its attainment, a great effort of international co-operation.

Let me next refer briefly to barriers connected with transport, such as inadequate provision of facilities for traffic by road, rail, ship, and air, inadequate right of access to such facilities, and excessive charges and unfair conditions attached to their user. It will not be disputed that this is an important field in which international co-operation can function. Indeed, it is a field in which the League of Nations has already done some of its most

useful work, by quietly setting about the negotiation of international conventions for securing improvement of traffic conditions, and customs and passport regulations. This is but the beginning of a work which will inevitably expand, as the benefits and possibilities are more widely realised.

The thorny subject of tariffs I will say little about, since it is so often a ground of controversy. There is no doubt of the seriousness of the effect of tariffs as a trade barrier to those against whom they are imposed. How far they really benefit those believed to be served by them is often a subject of dispute. Some people will say that universal free trade involves benefits so colossal and widespread that almost every other purpose should be made secondary to its attainment.

Whether the imposition of tariffs is a matter which ought to be regarded as within the exclusive discretion of individual states, or whether it is a matter proper for some kind of international regulation is often disputed. To me it seems a question of degree. Some measure of freedom clearly must be reserved to individual nations in determining what conditions shall regulate the passage of goods across their frontiers. On the other hand, if conditions should be imposed of such a character as to involve grave injustice and grave injury to the common interests of the whole community of nations, or, it may even be, to give rise to the menace of war, then, it seems equally clear, the matter ought, in some way or other, to be brought within the range of international criticism and modification. Where precisely the line should be drawn between the areas of national discretion and international criticism it is difficult at present to say.

It should not be forgotten that the principle of the open door has already been made the object of co-operative international policy in dealing with China, Central Africa, and some other territories. It has aimed at promoting equality of competitive trade, and reducing international jealousy and friction, by means of agreements prohibiting or limiting the levying of duties on the import of goods into the territories concerned.

The question of preferential trading conditions goes along with that of tariffs. The importance to be attached to these questions is well illustrated by the interest which is just now being taken, in several European countries, in plans for the negotiation of commercial treaties with Germany, to operate after next January, when the conditions imposed under the Treaty of Versailles for free importation of goods from certain areas into Germany will come to an end. I cannot help thinking that some kind of general regulation through international co-operation would be better and fairer than a mere struggle for commercial treaties.

The barrier of disease must receive a passing reference. The healthiness of the conditions of life in any part of the world, tropical or otherwise, is undeniably a matter of great importance to the development of foreign trade. The League of Nations has already demonstrated in this field also, by some of its most successful, though unsensational, work, that immense improvements can be secured through international co-operation.

There is one, and only one, other barrier to which I propose to refer. It is the barrier resulting from differences in the national laws and administrative arrangements prevailing in different countries. There has already been full recognition of the evils which many arise from disparities in wages, hours of labour, and other industrial conditions in different countries,—evils that affect not only the workers in countries where low standards prevail, but also the competitive trading interests of countries where the standards are high. A definite labour organisation was set up by the Peace Treaties, and works at Geneva in association with the League of Nations, for studying these matters, and promoting international conventions for securing some degree of uniformity of national laws; and it has done much valuable work.

There are various other branches of law, besides those relating to labour, which could most usefully, in the interests of trade, form the subject of a similar movement for uniformity. An example of what I mean may be found in the law and procedure with regard to bankruptcy and the winding up of companies—an unsavoury subject, but one of no little commercial importance. As a result of the wide development of world trade it has come about that, in these times, bankrupt estates often include property situate, and businesses carried on, and debts owing, in many different countries. The differences in national law and practice produce difficulty, confusion, and injustice in the administration of the estates, and the treatment of the different groups of creditors. To procure uniformity would mean a great gain. Examples could also readily be found in such matters as the law relating to patents, and trade marks, and certain branches of shipping and mercantile law. Bodies like the International Law Association have worked hard to obtain uniformity in some such matters, but the work will never be adequately and effectively done until the negotiation of international conventions for these purposes is undertaken systematically by the League of Nations.

In my fourth and last heading is the distribution of reliable information. The collection and circulation of trade statistics, information about markets, governmental regulations affecting traders, and other classes of information is becoming increasingly recognised as a service which trade requires, and which,



in relation to many matters, can only be supplied adequately with the aid of a government organisation. If such information is to serve the interests of foreign trade to the best advantage the governments of all countries must co-operate.

I have been dealing for the most part with international co-operation as a means of facilitating the work of those who are engaged in trade and finance, but, before concluding, I must add a word as to the possible need for it, in certain cases, as a means of limiting the actions of persons so engaged. The modern tendency is for the ownership and control of trades to become concentrated in fewer and fewer hands, and for the grouping of controlling interests to extend beyond national boundaries. As the area of control extends there becomes increasing risk that monopolies may be created, which will injure the interests of the general mass of consumers, by removing the check that competition affords. Therefore, the possibility must not be overlooked that international co-operation may have to be used by governments as a means of protecting the peoples they govern against the unfair working of widespread monopolies.

But whether we seek to protect the consumer against trading monopolies, or to assist the trader in serving the consumers to the best advantage, it is clear that we have, in international co-operation, an invaluable aid, and it is for the younger generation, looking to the future welfare of the world they will inherit, to see that this instrument is put to its best and fullest use.

#### “ THE WORK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. ”

BY VISCOUNT CECIL OF CHELWOOD.

We have listened to Mr. Keen with great interest and have gained instruction on a variety of topics. My topic is the League of Nations, which comprises all he said and a great deal more besides. I wish to talk to-night mainly about the proceedings at Geneva at the Fifth Assembly. Every assembly that I have ever had anything to do with has been described, before it has met, as a very critical moment in the life of the League, and in each case it was perfectly accurate because with a young thing in its very early infancy every year is a critical year. But this year it was specially true. Many people thought that the last Assembly was one in which a great shock had been given to the League; we had to deal for the first time with an international dispute in which one of the greater nations was profoundly interested—the dispute over Corfu. I am not going into the history of it now. Many people said the result had been to inflict grave injury on the League, that we had offended Italy and disgusted Greece. Though

I never believed that this was true, until this Assembly met we did not quite know how the League stood in the esteem of its members. I think we can now say with great confidence that this Assembly has shown that it stands higher than it ever did. As far as the nations concerned go, it was proved that they were each more anxious than before to work for the League and to conform to its ideals. The two gentlemen, who were the chief representatives of the two countries concerned at the 5th Assembly, showed this. Signor Salandra went out of his way to explain the anxiety of his country to conform to the principles of the League, and Monsieur Politis took a most active and definite part in every action of the League and showed how deeply interested his country was and how much it approved of the general attitude of the League last year. When you pass to the general body of the nations of the League, we shall all admit that its prestige rose higher than it had ever done, and every country thought it worth while to be represented either by its Prime Minister or by some citizen very high in the esteem of his countrymen. Therefore, as far as Corfu is concerned, we may say that the interests of the League have gained rather than otherwise.

But there was another anxiety. It was quite obvious that the great question, that of disarmament, would come up at this assembly to be dealt with. It is imposed on the League as one of its duties to formulate schemes for the reduction and limitation of armaments throughout the world. In its first year the League did very little. In 1921 it did begin definitely to grapple with the subject; it appointed a commission which sat during 1922, and presented to the Assembly of 1922 certain resolutions which laid down the principles on which the question of disarmament might be approached. There were three of these:

1. That disarmament to be effective must be general.
2. There are many nations whose situation is such that they never will agree to a substantial reduction of their armies unless you can give them some alternative guarantee of security. We have never realised what it is to live in a country with a land frontier, on the other side of which lies a nation which for historic or other reasons has shown itself a bitter enemy of the nation on this side of the line. It is quite useless to talk to continental nations of abandoning the defences of their armies, etc., unless you can give them some alternative security.
3. It was ridiculous to ask any nation such as ourselves to enter into any obligation of guarantee, unless it was obligatory on other nations to undertake a large measure of disarmament.

These were worked up to a proposed treaty considered in the Assembly in 1923. In fact that proposal was rejected by the

Government of this country and disapproved of by several nations. When its rejection became known, I was profoundly depressed. I did not care very much whether that particular scheme went through, but I felt that if the principles that were urged on the question of that reduction were really the last word of the British Government it was almost impossible that any scheme could be passed through. I met a very distinguished friend of the League last summer and discussed the situation and we then thought that we should be very fortunate if the whole subject were not shelved at this Assembly. I am quite sure that would have been a great disaster, not only to the League but to the happiness and welfare of the world. I felt that the Fifth Assembly was likely to be a very critical period for the League, and I really only dared to hope as the best possible result that it was reasonable to expect, that the question would somehow be kept alive at the Fifth Assembly.

Up to the meeting of the Assembly there was no indication of what our Government's policy was going to be or that of the other Governments represented. That doubt lasted for barely three days after the meeting of the Assembly. Whatever may have been the intention in the minds of some people to shelve the question, it melted and disappeared like the morning mist before the sun as soon as the delegates were assembled. The atmosphere of Geneva has a very powerful influence—I have seen it over and over again. Men come to deride and dislike the League, but before they have been there a week they are convinced that it is a really effective and efficient instrument for promoting the peace of the world and deserves their support. "Veni, vidi, vici." There are many men who must have said not "I came, I saw, I conquered," but "I came, I saw and I *was* conquered."

That was a great relief, and what has been the result? A very remarkable achievement—the acceptance by the representatives of 47 nations of this new Protocol of Geneva. It was accepted unanimously by the nations represented at Geneva. It was the work not of one nation but of several, who co-operated heartily in hammering out its details. It has already been signed by ten of the nations and it is certainly a very courageous and remarkable document. In form it proceeds as an agreement to modify the Covenant in certain respects. I am not sure if it is the best way of doing what has been done; it might have been better to proceed by an independent instrument rather than by modification of the Covenant, because there are considerations about the League which make me rather reluctant to alter the obligations of members of the League as such.

What does the document do? It first provides that every

international dispute likely to lead to a rupture is to be the subject of arbitration in some form or another. That in itself is not a very great change. Under the Covenant as it stands every dispute likely to lead to a rupture is to be arbitrated upon either by a court of justice, or a special court of arbitration, or by the Council of the League before any hostilities take place. Here arbitration is to take place in every case.

Secondly, there is an agreement to accept the results of that arbitration which all the parties to the Protocol undertake. That is a considerable change. Under the Covenant there is not that obligation. There is the obligation to submit the disputes to arbitration and not to fight against the result of the arbitration, but if the nations cannot agree then they are left to the old remedy. Here all the nations agree to accept the result of the arbitration and every dispute must be submitted to arbitration. It becomes compulsory in every international dispute likely to lead to a rupture. The results of this are as follows. If the parties will not agree to accept the court of justice or arbitration, the dispute, as in the Covenant, goes before the Council, but since they are now to be bound to accept the result of the submission to the Council one must make sure that some decision shall be given. It cannot be left to the chance of getting a unanimous decision. That was discussed very carefully. Some people wanted to accept the decision of a majority of the Council, but that was not agreeable to all. At last a very ingenious device was invented. In the event of the Council not being able to arrive at a unanimous decision they were to appoint arbitrators whose decision should be final. It seems to me that that may work.

Another result follows:—since you are to make these arbitrary awards compulsory, you must have some means of enforcing them. Two things were done in this direction—in the first place you find a prohibition against all aggressive war, and it is evident that when your decision is given any nation that resists it and goes to war against the decision becomes an aggressor and is subject to the penalties of aggression; and secondly, all the nations agree to defend the nation attacked against the aggression of the aggressor. When the old procedure of the Covenant is applied and is strengthened in detail in Article XVI, you still have to deal with the case of the country which does not go to war in spite of the decree, but simply refuses to carry it out and sits still and does nothing. That is the most difficult case. There would be great difficulty in making all the nations coerce such a country by force of arms. All that has been done is to say that the Council shall then consider what steps ought to be taken, and in effect

shall use its moral influence to induce the recalcitrant state to act, rather than take military or naval action.

These are the broad lines on which the problem has been approached, but of course these are only a means to an end. This is only the beginning of what is really necessary in order to provide peace, namely to reduce armaments below the needs of aggression. You have to reduce the armies of the world in the same direction as we have reduced ours and to set up the standard we have set up for the armament of the world. The provisions of the Protocol will not come into force until a further conference has been assembled (it is thought that this can be held next year) and until this new Conference on disarmament shall have agreed on a system of disarmament applicable to all the nations of the world.

There are many other provisions in the Protocol; those dealing with a country which appears to be preparing for war, or with one where war has actually broken out, or with nations which have made separate alliances for their own defence; and those dealing with questions as to how far domestic affairs are to be allowed to be brought in question before the organs of the League.

Now I do not pretend that it is a perfect document; I never thought that the Treaty of Mutual Assistance was perfect, and in some ways this is better and in some worse; it has errors, it has omissions. No human document can be expected to be free from error and beyond criticism. Still no one who reads it in an impartial way can doubt that it is a great effort towards peace. I observe among other criticisms a great talk about its compelling the use of the British Navy to such a degree that it will be of no use to this country. Now we are entering into a moral obligation to use such force as our country thinks should be available; no doubt the navy will be included as the French army will be included. I say boldly there is no higher function that the British navy can be called upon to perform than keeping the peace of the world. Broadly speaking, it has always been employed for that purpose and I hope it always will be. But it will always remain under the complete and undivided control of the British Government, except in so far as the British Government may allow it to co-operate with other nations. If there are other actual British interests which call for its services elsewhere, it will be for the British Government to say how much, if any, of it can be spared for its international duties. But after all our greatest interest must be peace; anyone who has the slightest imagination, who has considered what the British Empire means, must realise that peace is infinitely more vital

for us than for any of the other nations of the world. If, in the intemperate advocacy of the navy, we say that we want it for some other great purpose only, we shall regret it. Never forget that the navy exists primarily for peace.

Well, that is broadly speaking the broad lines of what has been done at Geneva. It is in some ways a considerable advance on what was proposed last year. It is substantially accepting the main provisions of the draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance as far as this dealt with security or the repression of aggression. It is in any case a very far-reaching and important document. I trust that there will be no attempt to rush it through, to try to obtain its acceptance by the people of the world without full and mature consideration. I am sure this is a case to which our old English proverb applies: "More haste, less speed." I am sure we ought to give it the most careful but, as I think, the most favourable consideration. I should like to see it examined not from a party or a political point of view, but from a national point of view. I should like to see brought together some great special committee representative of all those most entitled to speak on great international questions in this country and also representatives of our great Dominions, and that this document should be submitted to their careful and detailed consideration. It may be they will ask for some amendments. If so, it will be for the Governments of the day to say whether these amendments can be obtained by negotiation. It may need a declaration on some of the articles of the way in which we understand them to be read. Let us do our very utmost to put this great attempt through and make it effective in the legislation of the world. I am satisfied that we have now such an opportunity as we could scarcely have hoped for; it represents the opinion of 47 nations, and all the important nations have accepted this document; ten have signed it already. It would be criminal, it would be reckless, it would be wicked if we did not do our utmost to adopt and support such a proposal as this. We have a great opportunity and I trust we shall not cast it away and not imperil it by too great haste. We must advance cautiously towards the goal which everyone must passionately desire to reach."

FRIDAY, 10TH OCTOBER.

SERMON PREACHED IN HOLY TRINITY CHURCH,  
BRIGHTON.

BY THE REV. R. J. CAMPBELL, D.D.

THE MOTHER HEART.

“As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you.” (*Isaiah*, lxvi., 13.)

The precise period to which these words refer is not altogether beyond doubt, but most competent Old Testament scholars are of opinion that they relate to the reform of religion and morals and the reconstitution of Jewish national life under the leadership of the prophet Ezra about the middle of the fifth century B.C. If this be so, and we can almost take it for granted, the occasion presented features similar to those with which we are familiar at the present time. The land had been impoverished by a devastating war which had denuded it of its finest manhood and reduced it to a poor shadow of its former self. After the overthrow of the great military empire which had wrought this ruin, it was fully expected that prosperity would return. We can read some of the confident predictions of this prosperity in the middle portion of the great book whence my text is taken. But the recovery was long in coming; in fact it never did come in anything like completeness; war and internal feud had done their work too thoroughly. Demoralisation had taken place in the national manners; religion had become degraded; and bitter party spirit rendered nugatory every earnest effort at social reconstruction. It was a time of disappointment and depression, a time when idealism was discounted and long cherished hopes had ended in disillusionment. Yet, as we now know, there were those among the returned prisoners of war and others who were determined to bring about a radical change. They set themselves to rebuild their ancient capital and restore the temple worship that had fallen into abeyance; and to this end they insisted upon a return to simplicity of life, conformity to clean and wholesome standards of conduct, and to the ancient faith in God. That this programme was hotly opposed by the advocates of licence and the apologists of idleness and greed goes without saying. It is what has always happened after every period of world-shaking and moral collapse.

My text is the utterance of a preacher who, speaking in the name of God, seeks to put heart into those who are seeking to effect the specified reformation. In a beautiful metaphor he tells them that this work of healing is God's work and therefore must

succeed. It is maternal in quality—cherishing, nursing, conserving, up-building, “As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you.” This is an unusual turn of speech for an Old Testament prophet. It was never characteristic of Hebrew religion to associate motherhood with deity. Other ancient faiths made much of the idea, but Israel never. Nor does this passage actually ascribe motherhood to the divine being. All that it says is that God will behave to his children as a mother would; it does not say He is a mother. But it is no more adequate to describe God as a father than to describe Him as a mother. And this indeed we are entitled to say of the divine nature, that whatever is distinctive and specially characteristic of motherhood must have its source in God. Those qualities which we are accustomed to associate with the maternal relationship at its highest must be divine qualities; they derive from God or they could not be. We do no violence to religious experience at its purest and best if we boldly declare that there is something in the very thought of motherhood which is indissolubly allied with our spiritual healers. Abbot Vonier, of Buckfast, very rightly says: “True civilisation is easily tested by its attitude towards motherhood. There can be no real refinement of human feeling where man's heart is not full of delicacies for the dignity of motherhood; therefore there can be no true civilisation where motherhood is either shunned or degraded. If there is anything that belongs to the health of the nations that dwell upon the earth, it is a loving reverence for the burdens of human motherhood.” We cannot think rightly of God without thinking of Him in terms of that spiritual good which is part of the inheritance of the human race through the gracious influence of the element of the maternal in our common life.

But what is this element?

Before endeavouring to answer this question let me frankly state, though it be unnecessary to do so, that the maternal quality is not confined to actual motherhood; it is part of the spiritual endowment of every woman. Shall I go further and say that ideal manhood must partake of it in some degree? There is no good man without something of the woman in him. In speaking therefore of the maternal element in human nature let it be understood that I am speaking of a divine quality which is absolutely essential to the finest modes of character and the sublimest altitudes of spiritual attainment.

What then is it? Or perhaps it would be legitimate to put the question another way:—What are we entitled to say specially distinguishes the predominating constituents of the nature of a woman from that of a man? Here I am on very debatable

ground, and yet I venture to think that the only difficulty is that of stating satisfactorily what we all know already, just as we all have a fairly accurate general idea of what constitutes Christianity, though we might not be able to agree upon a definition of it. The principal psychological difference between the sexes I take to be that a woman's interest in life is more concentrated, discriminating, and particularistic than a man's—that is, it is less diffused and abstract, less an interest in humanity than in human beings one by one. The individual means more to the woman; the society to the man. It is said that men are more selfish than women, more egoistic, and perhaps that is so; the masculine function in human history has necessarily tended that way. But both are capable of the most utter self-sacrifice, only it takes different forms. Says an eastern proverb:

Man would sacrifice his home for the world's sake;

Woman would sacrifice the world for her home's sake.

I think this is true. A man will die for a cause or a principle, a woman for her child or her mate. Man talks about justice, integrity, retribution, social rights and wrongs; if woman thinks of these at all it is because of their bearing on the fate of loved ones. Not for a moment does she ever lose sight of the individual in the mass, and mankind may well thank God that it is so. Does it not suggest that there is something higher, more fundamental, more enduring, more essentially of the eternal than all righteousness which is merely of the law? Does it not point to values in human nature which immeasurably transcend all utilitarian considerations—an unforfeitable good? What would it matter to a true woman that the world condemned her child as a criminal or treated the man she loved as a pariah? She would stick to him just the same; and in this she gives a profounder revelation of the heart of God than any typical masculine trait has ever done. Humanly speaking, there can be no question, as I think Dr. Frazer has convincingly shown, that the conditions of woman's lot in the past have thus shaped her psychology. As the child-bearer she could not be the fighter, and yet the fighter was needed if she and hers were to survive in a hard world. It was hers to preserve, not to destroy; hers were the gentler, more gracious qualities, not the assertive and aggressive—the ideals of patient loving service, often to the extent of self-immolation, to save others from suffering, the very opposite of the impulse to tear down and destroy.

Let me go a step further. It is the feminine, not the masculine, virtues that have been chiefly operative in the up-building of human social order and the development of its spiritual sanctions. What is most worth having, best worth

conserving, in the life of to-day has chiefly been woman's work, not man's. Man has wrought on the outside, woman on the inside of the fabric of our common life; hence she has ever excelled him in the faculties of intuition, reverence, and morality; the conquest of the lower nature owes far more to woman than to man. Principal Jacks says: "These (women) have always been the superiors of men in the three qualities which are the main source of human progress—commonsense, kind feeling, good manners—and on discovering, as they soon would do, the deadly blight which 'politics' cast on these things, they might raise an outcry that would bring us all to our senses. This expectation has not yet been fulfilled, but perhaps it will be hereafter". In other words woman's chief power has ever been of the kind that cometh not with observation; it is a spiritual leaven. There is perhaps some danger at the present time of some of the more earnest and advanced champions of the claims of womanhood forgetting this and breaking away from the true line of progress. You gain nothing by becoming like men. Stay! Let me amend that sentence. You gain nothing by attempting to acquire distinctively masculine qualities and adopting characteristic masculine methods, for these are not so very admirable. Your own qualities are more potent and far more precious. It is the simple truth to say that you are in a special manner the guardians of the mystic chalice which will heal the world of all its woes. Keep your endowment untarnished in the new time. You have come into your kingdom. You are the comrade and the helper of man in all or nearly all the departments of our common activity; there are not very many from which you are still shut out. Take into them the treasure of which you have ever been the bearers; be not less feminine in the great arena of national and international concerns than you have been and are in the more restricted but not less sacred sphere that has hitherto been regarded as chiefly your own.

There is only one thing more I would endeavour to say to you this morning, and I do so with deep solemnity. We are often told that the mainstay of organised Christianity in this and other countries to-day is the women, and that if this were to fail the churches would have to close. It is said, no doubt correctly, that the great majority of the attendants at any ordinary religious service consists of women, and the fact is sometimes used as a reproach to the clergy. The men are alienated, we are assured, because the Christianity of the churches is not robust enough for them, and there is perhaps a little of the accent of contempt in the oft-repeated statement that the associations of public worship are mainly an affair of the women—as though there were some-

thing inferior in woman's mentality as compared with that of man. The reverse is the truth in this connection. One of the curses of modern industrial civilisation is the kind of mentality it induces. It narrows our spiritual horizons, concentrates interest upon material values to the exclusion of what is far more important, and it correspondingly diminishes our capacity for apprehending what is divine and eternal. In so far as woman shares man's life in the industrial field, she is tending to share his mentality too, and therefore his attitude to the claims of religion. May that never come to be true of your sex as a whole. You have a deeper sense of the mystery and sacredness of life, a more instinctive reverence, a less easily dimmed perception of the nearness and indispensableness of the supernatural order. You see more clearly what really matters and you are more faithful to your heavenly vision than those who have forsaken the altar and feel no need for prayer. Hold firmly to it, for it is a great trust. Keep your soul sensitive to the impact of supersensuous realities, and you will do more for humanity, more for the healing and the uplifting of the race, than by all other means put together.

Like Israel of old, this dear homeland of ours has passed, and is still passing, through a grievous time. The waste and devilry of war are not more the cause of this than the bad passions that provoked it and have survived the peace. The short-lived moral exaltation which impelled both men and women to give freely of themselves and of their best and dearest for what they conceived to be the cause of humanity at the commencement of the struggle has produced observable reactions. A mood of lassitude and disillusionment has to a large extent taken its place. Like the ancient people to whom the words of my text were originally spoken we feel that the better time promised is long in coming and that there is little in the spirit of the hour to encourage the hope that it ever will come. As the dying Anatole France said not long ago, few people find themselves able to believe that any great improvement in human nature is to be expected in the age to which we belong. The voices of discouragement and cynicism are to be heard everywhere around us. National and international politics are almost as much at the mercy of non-moral forces, as apt to be swayed by blind selfish human passion, as they ever were. Not quite, thank God; there are signs of something better making its quiet way into the common consciousness of civilised nations. But there is not much as yet to justify the confidence that sweet reasonableness will supersede the rule of violence, greed and fear. The present is not one of those periods in the history of mankind—periods

which come every now and then in the wake of some tremendous soul-stirring demand upon our latent spiritual resources—such as, say, the intensification of the national consciousness in this country which followed the overthrow of the Spanish menace and the rise of Puritanism in the latter part of the sixteenth century—when men take to thinking and feeling on high levels. If I read the signs of the times aright there is a good deal of the opposite in our midst.

But, am I wrong? There are the beginnings discernible of a newer, saner, soberer enthusiasm, especially amongst the young, for ideals which look farther than the service of merely utilitarian values. We are watching the trembling awakening of something that deserves to be called the mystical sense in the moral leadership of this and other countries. One meets it everywhere, in the most unexpected quarters, from the very heart of the most sordid and forbidding developments of the stifling materialism that has obsessed civilisation for so long. Nowhere is the new spirit more plainly observable than in the land where commercial success and material plenty are supposed to be given precedence of all else, the United States of America.

Suffer me, then, in one word to lay God's requirement upon every mother heart in this place to-day in view of these things? Above all things the world needs mothering now. In a very special sense the present hour is your hour, far more yours than that of the master of legions or the exploiter of nature's vast reserves. It is yours to nurse the new-born spirituality of our suffering race into imperishable strength. The world will believe in this just in proportion as it believes in you. Yesterday was ours, the day of man's rage and destructiveness; to-morrow is yours, the day of woman's faith and love. May it find you ready, one and all.

## NATIONAL COUNCIL

Dr. Statement of Receipts and Payments from

RECEIPTS.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Balance:			
At Bank, 1st Sept., 1923	.. ..	51 7 0	
Petty Cash	.. ..	6 3 1	
			57 10 1
,, Subscriptions:—			
Members	.. ..	504 3 0	
Branches (25%)	.. ..	249 15 4	
Branches (£5)	.. ..	413 13 9	
Societies	.. ..	110 19 0	
			1278 11 1
,, Donations:—			
Cambridge Branch	.. ..	26 1 0	
Lady Arnott	.. ..	25 0 0	
Mrs. H. Pearson	.. ..	25 0 0	
Mrs. Monk Gould	.. ..	25 0 0	
Miss A. Garrett	.. ..	25 0 0	
Miss M. Lees	.. ..	25 0 0	
Mrs. Silas Williamson	.. ..	25 0 0	
Per Hon. Mrs. Franklin	.. ..	20 1 0	
Edinburgh Branch	.. ..	10 0 0	
Mrs. James Gow	.. ..	5 0 0	
Lady Battersea (per Miss Eaton)	.. ..	5 0 0	
The Lady Emmott	.. ..	5 0 0	
General	.. ..	10 15 6	
			231 17 6
,, Donations to Special Fund	.. ..	1 10 0	
,, Donations to Leighton House Reception	.. ..	10 5 0	
,, Sale of Tickets, N.C.W. Week	.. ..	1 2 0	
,, *Sale of National Council of Women Literature:			
Pamphlets	.. ..	28 1 8	
Reports	.. ..	58 11 5	
“N.C.W. News”	.. ..	376 1 8	
			462 14 9
,, Sale of Badges	.. ..	1 19 11	
,, Hire of Committee Room	.. ..	0 15 0	
,, Interest:			
5% National War Bonds	.. ..	9 13 9	
Co-partnership Tenants, Ltd.	.. ..	3 16 10	
			13 10 7
			£2059 15 11

*Special*

August 31st, 1924.

To Donations:	
Set aside as above	100 0 0

Investments:—

National War Bonds 5%, 1928, £250.  
Co-partnership Tenants, Ltd., 10 £10 Shares.

\*This does not include the receipts from the Book and Pamphlet Department.

## OF WOMEN.

1st September, 1923, to 31st August, 1924.

Cr.

PAYMENTS.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Salaries	.. ..		768 11 2
Printing General	.. ..		185 8 9
N.C.W. News	.. ..		
Salary	.. ..	50 0 0	
Bonus	.. ..	5 0 0	
Printing	.. ..	282 6 7	
Illustration	.. ..	2 2 0	
			289 8 7
Stationery	.. ..		49 6 6½
Postage	.. ..		92 19 7
Rent	.. ..		175 0 0
Office Expenses (Coal, Cleaning, etc.)	.. ..		68 12 5½
Typewriter	.. ..		11 0 0
Telephone	.. ..		15 12 8
Telegraphic Address	.. ..		2 0 0
Press Cuttings	.. ..		4 4 0
Committee Expenses	.. ..		50 2 8
Hire of Halls	.. ..		16 6 6
Travelling	.. ..		25 18 4
Pamphlets	.. ..		3 3 7
Insurance	.. ..		18 8 11
Reception at Leighton House	.. ..		10 10 0
Subscriptions:			
International Council of Women	.. ..	4 0 0	
International Council Officers Travel- ling Fund (2 years)	.. ..	4 0 0	
Council for Representation of Women in League of Nations	.. ..	3 3 0	
Consultative Committee	.. ..	3 0 0	
			14 3 0
Hire of I.C.W. Pavilion, Wembley	.. ..		10 10 0
I.C.W. Conference at Wembley—Fee	.. ..		0 15 0
Auditors Fees	.. ..		4 4 0
Bank Charges including cheques	.. ..		3 7 4
Fund for Special Work	.. ..		100 0 0
			1914 13 1
Balance: Petty Cash	.. ..		11 7
,, At Bank	.. ..		144 11 8
			£2059 15 11

*Fund.*

August 31st, 1924.

Balance Cash at Bank	100 0 0
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Examined and found correct,

PRIDEAUX, FRERE, BROWN AND Co.,

*Chartered Accountants.*

12, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.2.

9th September, 1924.

## FORM OF BEQUEST.

*I bequeath to the National Council of Women of Great Britain and Ireland the sum of\*.....*

.....  
*to be paid to the Treasurer for the time being of said National Council of Women of Great Britain and Ireland, free of all deductions whatever, the receipt of said Treasurer to be an effectual discharge of same.*

---

**\*the sum to be written in full.**

*I desire to be enrolled as a Member of the National Council of Women and enclose £        :        s.        d. as an Annual Subscription to the Central Fund (minimum 5/-).*

*Name.....*

*Address.....*

.....  
**Subscriptions should be made payable to the Hon Treasurer, and forwarded to the Office of the National Council of Women, Parliament Mansions, Westminster, S.W.1.**



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HOVE BN3 2DL

Tel. Brighton 704753

HOVE BRANCH LIBRARY,  
WEST WAY,  
HOVE BN3 8LD



MRS. V. LIOIARI

114 PALMEIRA AVE

HOVE.

we regret reports for the  
years 1923, 1925 and 1926  
are only available for reference  
at the British Library  
Report for 1924

any reports published in the  
quarterly journal we have some  
copies of the journal in our collection  
we would be pleased to supply you with a copy if you wish

## HOVE PUBLIC LIBRARIES

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HOVE BN3 2DJ.

HANGLETON BRANCH LIBRARY,  
WEST WAY,  
HOVE BN3 8LD.

Tel. Brighton 70472/3

Tel. Brighton 47715

With reference to the undermentioned book:—

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF  
WOMEN OF GREAT BRITAIN  
Report of Annual meeting and  
conference 1923-25 and 1935

please see 5.

Received 1923  
1924  
1925 V. Lichard

1 It now awaits collection at the library and will be kept  
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Please bring this notice and a library ticket or a book  
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.....  
.....

5 we regret reports for the  
years 1923, 1925 and 1935  
are only available for reference  
use at the British Museum.  
Report for 1924

may be available at the Fawcett  
Society, London we have applied  
there for it and we will contact  
you again about it.

PAMPHLET