

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF
GREAT BRITAIN

(FEDERATED TO THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN, 1897).

REPORT
OF THE
ANNUAL MEETING
AND
CONFERENCE

HELD IN
BIRMINGHAM

20th to 24th September, 1925

PAMPHLET

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PART I.—ANNUAL MEETING.

ANNUAL COUNCIL MEETING IN THE TOWN HALL, BIRMINGHAM.

MONDAY, 21st SEPTEMBER, 1925.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

BY THE LORD MAYOR OF BIRMINGHAM, ALDERMAN PERCIVAL BOWER.

In rising to extend to your Council a welcome to our city, I desire as far as I can to remove any misunderstanding that may arise in consequence of our decision to do so. May I be allowed to say to you, Madam President, that one of the greatest traditions associated with the office that I have the privilege to hold is the fact that the office is not, and should not in my judgment be, in any way associated with anything savouring of party politics. This great tradition I shall faithfully endeavour to observe. For my part I have always regarded your Council as a purely non-party organisation, but I regret to say that it would appear that this view is not entirely shared by all political parties, hence my difficulty. I might very well content myself by extending to you a welcome and leaving it at that, but as I believe that the success of your work depends upon your ability, as a body apart from party politics, to mould public opinion in favour of reforms upon which you as a Council are agreed, I think it is as well that I should tell you quite candidly and frankly what is in my mind. For my part I have lived too long in public life—I have been in the vortex of matters upon which public opinion has differed very acutely too long—to care very much about being misunderstood. So long as I was convinced in my own mind and my own conscience that the point of view I was upholding was what I believed to be right, I cared very little for what other people thought; but whilst I hold my present official position you can readily imagine that I am keenly desirous of ensuring that no one shall with any degree of justification be in a position to state that I have departed from the great traditions I have referred to. Those familiar with the history of your Council know the tremendous influence you have been able to exercise in moulding public opinion in favour of the many measures of social reform, and

continued good work can be done in that direction; but you would, I am sure, be the first to agree with me that the success of your work in the future entirely depends on your capability of maintaining the non-party character of your Council. Anyone who sits down and brings into review the position with which we are confronted both locally and nationally must feel perturbed. There exist and there await solution many social problems. May I be excused for a moment if I say that I regard two of the outstanding social problems that face us to-day as being those of Unemployment and Housing, both of which problems are eating like a cancer into the body politic of our local and national life. Unfortunately unemployment is speedily increasing, when I had hoped I should have been able here to escape the obligation of doing anything more to prevent it in this city. The housing conditions of many of our citizens locally as well as nationally are a disgrace to present day civilisation. Many of the reforms for which your Council stands will only come, and can only come, with a cultivated public opinion, and it is because I believe that your Council can very materially help in cultivating that public opinion that I am here this morning to welcome you to our city and hope that your Conference will be a success. There are two ways in which the reforms that we desire can be accomplished; may I venture to express the opinion that the only safe way is by the process of educating our people to a sense of their responsibilities and of the opportunities they have of securing such social reforms as they desire. In times of stress such as the present moment when social conditions seem to press so heavily that any means would seem to justify the end, there arises a very great danger. We have both a local and a national responsibility in seeing that the burdens of life do not press unduly heavily on those who may feel that because of this pressure they have a grievance against society and seek perhaps not the best way of rectifying their position. There are social reforms awaiting our immediate attention and your Council can assist considerably by cultivating public opinion in favour of such reforms. What we locally, and particularly nationally, have to guard against is the long-continued existence of problems which might inspire an attempt to apply a drastic remedy, which in its application might well prove to be worse than the disease itself.

I desire to extend both personally and on behalf of the city of Birmingham a very sincere and cordial welcome to your Council. I desire to express the sincere hope that your Conference will prove in every way to be successful. I feel sure when you have had an opportunity of discussing problems from very different angles, that whatever agreement you may

arrive at, you will all go forth determined to work wholeheartedly to secure their accomplishment.

My wife and I look forward to meeting you again this evening. I am asked on her behalf to say that both she and I hope that when the time comes for you to leave our city you will do so carrying with you memories not only of a successful conference, but also happy memories of your visit to our city.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

MRS. MORGAN: In thanking you for the gracious words you have spoken to us and for coming this morning to bid us welcome, I am sure I have the whole Council behind me when I express our appreciation of the very great service you have rendered. I cannot say too emphatically that this Council is a non-political body, and we realise that the strength of our organisation is in having the expression of all parties here before us, so that we may come to a just conclusion. May I say to your own party that if they will join us and come here they shall have the fullest freedom of speech. That has been our aim from the beginning. It was the aim of the women who founded this Council and will, I hope, be our aim in years to come. We as a council have been able to give practical help in the directions you have mentioned, and several of our Branches have been able during this year to get housing schemes carried out by their local authorities, while some have even undertaken housing schemes themselves. It may seem a small thing, but every little helps. You can depend upon our recognition of the great need and upon our whole-hearted support of any schemes which will tend to lessen the deadly danger of the present time. I ask you, to accept this assurance and our most hearty thanks for coming here to-day.

Fellow workers and comrades, it is my privilege to speak to you this morning upon the title of our Conference "Practical Idealism." I seem to hear the scorn with which such a combination of words would have been received fifty years ago. Idealists and dreamers were classed together, and certainly not considered practical persons, yet to-day we are beginning to understand that the idealist is really the practical benefactor of the race. The great and wonderful thing about idealism is that it is so eminently practical: it is impossible to over-estimate its value. But for our ideals we should never launch out into the unknown, but for the dreams of men and women seeing a great aim in front of them which for the moment seemed impossible, we should never have

attained the reforms which we rejoice in to-day. Therefore in working for ideals we are doing the sanest thing. Captain Cody, when first he spoke of his dreams of flying, was the object of ridicule in the comic papers, yet the result of his labours is the daily air service between the nations, though we can hardly expect that he or those who worked with him, saw that vision at the time. This Council was formed by great pioneer women about 27 years ago, but it is doubtful if they saw the full result of their effort to link together women who were interested in similar work. It was much more difficult in those days than it is now to lay a foundation of union on the broad, wide, sane lines they laid down. I want therefore to speak to you to-day on the practical Ideal of Union.

We hear to-day a great deal about Union; there are Unions of every kind linking together those who think alike, or specialise in some branch of work, but it has been the privilege of this Council to achieve a higher form of Union, binding together in one body women who differ in political and religious views, and who approach a problem from various angles, thus enabling it to solve some of the most difficult questions by having full access to all shades of opinion. Thus, thanks to the foresight of our founders, there has never been any barrier to the highest office, or indeed, any office in this Council on the score of faiths or political belief, and I believe, if such were ever introduced, it would destroy a large part of the influence and the power of this great Council.

What then is the practical value of such a Union? It enables us to ascertain the truth. You have only to attend one of these Conferences to realize how many sides there are to every question. This is not shown when people who belong to the same school of thought or who work in a groove meet together; they all say "Aye, aye," but that does not mean they have found a solution or the truth, and unless we get that we cannot progress.

Three blind men were once asked to describe an elephant, the first said it was like the trunk of a tree, the second that it was like a tube, and the third that it was like a wisp. The first was feeling the animal's leg, the second his trunk, and the third his tail. It was only when they got together and each explained why he thought as he did, that they began to get some idea of the real creature they were describing. So we gather here to listen to all points of view, and I submit to you that this is not only a vital thing for us as a Council, but is equally important for every society affiliated to us.

I am quite sure that you all desire to find the truth, and if we are to do that we must come with open minds, not empty ones,

but equally ready to receive as to give evidence, to weigh and consider the arguments on the other side, and if necessary, re-adjust our own position by throwing out the false and conserving the true. Thus we return to our own society with a wiser, saner judgment than was possible without such an interchange of thought.

There are seven primary colours in light, each has its special use, but it is only when merged together they give the pure white light which enables us to do our work. It is essential then that we give full credit to this side of our Council's work, in fact if it were the only work it would be of inestimable value to act as a clearing house for the various opinions placed before us.

Again, if we are to have real Union it will mean some sacrifice. There are some people, and dare I say even societies, who think they lose kudos if they do not retain leadership in a cause. But surely that is a small point of view. If we look back over the past 50 years in our own country we can gauge more accurately the relative value of the contributions made; and there is practically no great reform which can be claimed by one section of the community; but from all kinds of unexpected quarters help has come, and when the final success is achieved the victory belongs not to one person, or one organization, or even one nation, but to hundreds of contributory influences. When we were travelling over the Rockies our train halted at the Great Divide, from which issues the Bow River in the heart of the mountains. The little stream is so small you could easily turn it in any direction, but when it reached the plain where it had been strengthened by hundreds of small streams and rivulets, it became a great river, which flowed through the country cutting its own course and carrying refreshment and joy to many a lonely farmstead.

Every little stream could rejoice in the great river making its way through the country because it had put its best into it.

So we want to have the joy of knowing that we have had some part in the great reforms which go to help the mass of the people.

Let us then approach the problems which we are to consider in this spirit and I feel sure we shall gain fresh inspiration for our work.

It has been suggested that perhaps the work of the Council is over now that the inequalities between the sexes have been readjusted, but although we rejoice in the progress made we cannot yet sing our *Nunc Dimittis*. Our work in the past was necessarily confined to laws affecting women and children; but that was only the prelude to the great fugue which we hope to play in the future, when we unite our forces with the men, whom we heartily thank for their championship of our cause when it was

not an easy matter to declare themselves on the side of the women. To-morrow we hope to walk side by side in the greater fight for the uplifting of the world and perhaps in the wider field of citizenship we may help in finding a solution to some of the great world problems which seem to be hopelessly puzzling the best brains in the Governments of the nations. Yesterday we had to fight a lone hand, to-morrow we see men and women who desire truth working together, gathering inspirations and knowledge from each other, and so achieving the final victory.

Take the question of penal reform which is on our agenda; this does not concern one country alone; you will find everywhere a new ideal of penal reform, the old conception that punishment of the offender acted as a deterrent is passing away and dying out. What we want to-morrow is the regeneration of the criminal, to raise him and not drive him further down. In order that we may arrive at the wisest method of dealing with this class it is essential for us to study the methods used in other countries and adopt those which seem likely to suit our own conditions.

When women had the honour conferred on them of becoming magistrates our Council established a Justices of the Peace Committee in order that they might confer together on their new duties and if possible bring some new light on the questions submitted to them. One of the questions which came before that Committee was what answer should be given when magistrates ask that all women shall leave the Court because disagreeable evidence has to be given; and some have gone so far as to say that only prurient-minded women would remain. Now I have no hesitation in saying that women must remain, not because we delight in vulgar and horrible details, far from it, but because it is only by remaining that we can understand where reform is needed. You cannot deal with a subject you do not understand, whether it is good or evil, and because women have stayed in Court against their natural inclination, we have been able to bring in new measures which have helped the women and children involved. I do hope it will be made clear that it is from no desire for sensational details but purely from our sense of duty to the women and children that we have to remain and to stand side by side with those who have gone under.

Another of the great world questions is that of the League of Nations. I think we can hardly realise the tremendous power which would come into this movement if everyone of us who believes in the League of Nations would show our belief by joining the League of Nations Union. There must be millions in this country who in their heart subscribe to that great Ideal which is the heritage from the War, yet they take no stand in its behalf.

I ask you then in your Branches to organise for peace if you want it. We have to study its work, to speak about it, to put our back into it and so try to achieve our Ideal. That is the only way in which any great Ideal has become a reality. Our work is not confined to our branches or our various societies, but it reaches out to the nations of the world as well.

We all know the poet's words:

‘I will not cease from mental strife
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand
Till I have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land.’

But it would not suit even our National Council of Women if I said that comprised our aim; I should have Lady Frances leading out her Scottish Battalions and asking what Scotland was to do; and I am sure I should hear from Ireland! If it does not suit us here to think of one country alone, don't you realise how impossible it is when you remember the crown of our work is the International Council of Women. We can only obtain peace through a world peace which affects every nation.

During my years of office it has been my privilege to have to attend two of the meetings of the International Council of Women—the Executive in Copenhagen last year, and this year the great Quinquennial Meetings in Washington, and you cannot overestimate the tremendous value of this part of our work. It is essentially the crown of our work here to-day, the final link of our union. If you are to accomplish that union of which I have been speaking, it is not sufficient to work for it here in Great Britain, though by doing so we can be an inspiration and help to those who have not yet arrived at that standard, because the world is all one. It is essential that we should get the point of view of the union of the whole race. There was not a single person at those meetings who did not realise that there was a great movement which was bound to have an enormous influence on the nations of the world. Therefore I want you to understand that part of our work and to realise that there is not a single problem on our agenda which is not really a vital matter for the women also of other countries. It seemed like being at home, because the same great problems were considered—capital and labour, industrial problems, the moral code, new methods of dealing with the great freedom of youth and the call to the young—all these things came forward—the terror of war, the agonising desire for peace in the little countries—all had their echo there. We could not touch one nation there, without finding the same desires, hopes and aspirations that we have. Here, then, is the final act

of this union. Let us remember the way in which God move among us creating a desire for union in all these different countries. Union is there, but there still remains much to be accomplished before the final victory is won and we realize that we are all children of one Father.

I ask you then to take back with you a strong determination to make your work and your lives worthy of the great times in which we live. If you feel that your work has slackened, reorganize it, if you have had defeat, take fresh courage to renew your attack, if you find overlapping seek to unite for greater strength. And remember the darkest hour comes before the dawn, and that this great age calls for our highest powers and our deepest sympathy with others' needs, and if we live near to the source of all strength we shall attain the victory.

30th ANNUAL REPORT.

BY MISS NORAH GREEN, GENERAL SECRETARY.

During the past year the National Council of Women has continued its work quietly and obtrusively, but none the less surely. To understand how far-reaching this work is would mean to trace not only the reforms definitely accomplished by the Council itself, but also the splendid work of the innumerable women who, thanks to its efforts, now find their place on public bodies—on Town and County Councils, Watch Committees, Housing Committees, Boards of Guardians, and on Magistrates Benches throughout Great Britain. For the purpose of this report, however, the simplest method may be to group the work of the year under the objects for which the National Council of Women exists.

1. The first object "**To promote sympathy of thought and purpose among women**" permeates all the work of the Council, for in order to sympathise we must understand the point of view of those from whom we differ, and for this the National Council of Women affords abundant opportunities by bringing together at its meetings women of very varying political and religious denominations.

The Council has lost one of its earliest and most distinguished members in the death of Lady Frederick Cavendish. Its heartiest congratulations were sent to Dame Millicent Fawcett on the well-deserved honour which was conferred upon her; and the Public Service Committee was proud to be able to congratulate three of its members on becoming mayors of their

respective towns—Mrs. Hartree, of Cambridge; Miss Wix, of St. Albans, and Miss Maude Eve, of Stoke Newington.

This year our President has visited a number of the branches, including some in Scotland and Wales, and her inspiring addresses have resulted not only in renewed enthusiasm and fresh activities but also in increased membership.

2. The second object is "**To promote the social, civil, moral and religious welfare of the community.**" Under this comprehensive head we have considered Health, Temperance and Housing, Penal Reform, Vagrancy, Solicitation and Night Clubs; work to promote peace, work in factories, in the catering trade and in domestic service; as well as various Parliamentary Bills dealing with social questions.

In considering the **Health** of the community Dr. Walker, who has been succeeded as Convener of our Public Health Committee by Dr. Boyd Mackay, gave an interesting account of the Mental Hospitals she had seen in America, and as a result a recommendation was sent to the Lunacy Commission that they should consider the possibility of occupational therapy in mental hospitals, on the lines carried out at Gowanda, New York State.

As regards **Temperance work**, three members of our Temperance Committee attended a successful conference on Local Option called by the Temperance Council of the Christian Churches, when it was resolved to endeavour to present a united front should a temperance bill be brought forward. With regard to the teaching of the Hygiene of Food and Drink in schools, on learning that the Teachers National Committee formed for this object and the National Union of Teachers were opposed to this teaching being made compulsory, the Temperance Committee unanimously agreed not to press for it.

The serious effect of the **Housing Problem** on the social well-being of the people has been taken into consideration by our Housing Committee, which is unfortunately at present without an Hon. Secretary. As the result of this Committee having called attention to the scheme of the Caterham Urban District Council, it has been adopted in Durham, Bromley and Hornsey. A letter has also been sent to the Ministry of Health stating that, while expressing no opinion with regard to any special type of houses, the Council was glad to learn that they were making experiments with a view to solving the housing problem.

The question of **Penal Reform** received special consideration in preparation for the International Prison Conference, which met in August and was attended by delegates from the National Council of Women. Mrs. Keynes, J.P., has succeeded

Mrs. Gray as Convener of the Public Service and Women Magistrates' Committee, at which Committee interesting particulars were given regarding modern methods of dealing with women prisoners by the Chaplain of Holloway Prison and with young offenders by Mrs. Le Mesurier, prison visitor at Wandsworth, where 2,500 cases are dealt with in the year.

With regard to the unfortunate women who are confined in police cells for the night, your committee was not satisfied that they were under the whole-time care of a woman, either a policewoman, police matron or a policeman's wife, since according to the number of police stations furnished by the Home Secretary in 1922, this would appear to be a physical impossibility. As however the Departmental Committee were not prepared to accept Mrs. Wilson Potter's evidence on this point, the National Council of Women decided to take up the challenge and a special sub-committee is collecting further information. Since this report was written, a new order has been issued by the Home Office that immediately a woman prisoner is brought to one of the Metropolitan police stations a matron must be called and must be in constant attendance.

As regards the **Vagrancy** question, the Public Service Committee have urged the Government to deal with it with a view to securing national uniformity. They were glad to receive Mrs. Bramwell Booth's report, confirming the great decrease of women vagrants in the casual wards in London.

The Magistrates' Committee had reported to them two cases of **Incest** in which the Public Prosecutor had not seen his way to take proceedings and members were asked to send in particulars of any other cases coming to their notice.

It is claimed that in New York the streets have been cleared of solicitation and disorderly houses by the establishment of special **Women's Courts** and we have been represented at meetings called by the London Public Morality Council to consider their introduction here. The general concensus of opinion, however, appears to be that their establishment in this country would be neither practicable nor desirable.

With regard to the undesirable conditions in some of the **Night Clubs** in London, the National Council of Women was represented by Lady Emmott on a deputation to the Home Office, when it was urged that these clubs should be registered in the same way as licensed houses and open to police inspection.

The **Peace and League of Nations Committee** has been fortunate in being able to welcome visitors from other Councils and to hear accounts of their work for peace, and the petition prepared by the National Council for the Prevention of War in favour of arbitration has been circulated to our Branches.

Factories. The question of the prospective Factory Bill has been discussed, and a resolution on the vexed question of protective legislation for women has been drafted for consideration by the Council.

Catering Trade. In view of the low wages and long hours of work of some women in the Catering Trade and the disparity which exists in their conditions of work, the establishment of a Trade Board for this trade has been urged upon the Minister of Labour.

Domestic Service. A Sub-Committee has been set up to co-ordinate the work and schemes of organisations dealing with domestic service and is now collecting information with regard to the training available throughout the country, since opportunities for training girls in large establishments are now very few.

As regards **Parliamentary Bills** dealing with social measures, on the suggestion of Lady Steel-Maitland the Council circularised the Members of Parliament urging them to introduce such bills, should they obtain a good place in the Ballot.

Widows Pensions. In view of the resolution passed at Brighton calling upon the Government to establish an adequate system of Widows Pensions as part of a scheme of National Insurance, the Committee welcomed the introduction of the Widows, Orphans, and Old Age Contributory Pensions Bill and many meetings have been devoted to its consideration. The National Council of Women is glad to note that the concessions made by the Minister are very much on the lines of those which it advocated.

Among the Bills supported by the Council are the Guardianship of Infants Bill, the Summary Jurisdiction Bill, the Performing Animals Bill, and the Theatrical Employers Registration Bill. These have now all received the Royal assent. The principle of the Nursing Homes Registration Bill and the Judicial Proceedings Bill have also been supported by the Council.

3. "To co-ordinate both nationally and locally organisations in harmony with these purposes." On the **Executive Committee**, which has met 9 times during the past year with an average attendance of 47 members, there are now 62 representatives of local branches which have qualified for representation by a membership of not less than 100, and 16 representatives of 143 affiliated societies. To these societies have been added during the past year:—

The Association for International Understanding,
The Scottish Council of Women Citizens Associations, and
The Women's Unionist Organisation,

while the British Women's Patriotic League has withdrawn from affiliation. The Bath Women Citizens Association now ranks as a branch of the National Council of Women and an encouraging example of local co-ordination is found in the amalgamation of the Worthing Women Citizens Association with our local branch.

In view of the recent closing down of the Women's Local Government Society, which has done such splendid pioneer work in the past, the branches have been urged to see that this work, which is already carried on very successfully by many of them on non-party lines, is not allowed to lapse. The recent election of Miss Theilmann, as an independent candidate run by the Hull Branch, on the Hull Town Council is a case in point. Where the elections are always run on party lines suitable women should be encouraged to stand for election, but they would then have to form their own Committee quite independently of the Branch.

4. "To promote such conditions of life as will ensure to every child an opportunity for full and free development."

The Children's Charter. The joint Children's Charter for Great Britain, drawn up by the National Council of Women and the Save the Children Fund, which sets forth the rights of the child, was approved by the International Council of Women at Washington and other countries were urged to draw up similar joint charters. At the Joint Meeting with the Save the Children Fund held in International Week, the Declaration of Geneva, which embodies the preamble to this Charter, was signed by the Presidents or official representatives of 30 of our affiliated societies.

National Playing Fields Association. In this important national movement the Council was able to assist by securing Lady Mellor's help as chairwoman at the first informal gathering of the women's societies. These societies expressed their desire to co-operate, provided they were given adequate representation on the Executive and Council of the new body, and the National Council of Women has since been invited to appoint a representative on the Committee.

Education. The desirability of teaching domestic science in the schools has been further considered, but the teachers' associations are not in favour of its being made a compulsory subject. Particulars of the home training courses for unemployed women and girls under the Central Committee for Women's Training and Employment have also been sent round to our branches.

Food. In connection with the Royal Commission on Food Prices it was thought desirable to obtain evidence as to the effect of high prices on the health of the children and a number of

weekly budgets were secured from various parts of the country, together with the prices actually paid for such necessaries as milk, meat and bread, etc. Miss Grindle, B.A., acted as secretary for the special Food Sub-Committee and Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon gave evidence on behalf of the National Council of Women before the Royal Commission on Food Prices on 18th February, when the Chairman stated that the Council had sent in an extraordinarily interesting report.

Child Assault. A statement prepared by Lady Mabelle Egerton gave details of an alarming number of recent cases of child assault, with the ages of the children and the sentences. On 25th February Mrs. Keynes, the Convener of the Public Service Committee, and Mrs. H. P. Marsh of Sheffield, gave evidence before the Home Office Committee on Assaults on Young Persons. Among the recommendations they made on behalf of the Council were probation for young offenders; the total abolition of fines; and the desirability of the girl's evidence being always taken by a woman and preferably by a policewoman.

5. "To work for the removal of all disabilities of women, whether legal, economic, or social." **Married Women** in particular still suffer certain disabilities, and the question of the dismissal of married women by the London County Council has been under consideration. The National Council of Women was one of the Societies represented at the meeting called by the Six Point Group, when a joint letter was sent to "The Times," and it is hoped to follow this up by a deputation to the London County Council to urge the rescinding of their Standing Order 346 which prohibits the employment of married women.

A resolution has now been carried without a division in the House of Commons to the effect that a British woman shall not lose her **nationality** by marriage with an alien but that it shall be open to her to make a Declaration of Alienage, and the 41 women's organisations in the Dominions which signed our Nationality Memorial have been urged to induce their Governments to pass a similar resolution.

The case of a married woman poor law officer, who had lost her **superannuation pay** including her own contributions on account of her husband's default, came before the Public Service Committee. The Committee drew the attention of the National Poor Law Officers Association to this hardship in the case of the joint appointment of husband and wife which does not occur in connection with other joint appointments, and the Association undertook to bear it in mind in connection with any amendment to the Superannuation Acts.

Women Police. The resolution passed at Brighton, urging the Government to give effect to the recommendations of the Departmental Committee on the Employment of Policewomen, was sent to the Home Secretary, and a letter asking their sympathetic support to 615 Members of Parliament. In reply the Home Secretary wrote on 16th December that the attention of the police authorities had been called to the report of the Departmental Committee and that an immediate increase up to 50 in the number of the Metropolitan Women Police had been sanctioned. He did not however feel justified in making regulations as to conditions of service of women police in the County and Borough Forces, but he had recommended that policewomen should be available to take statements from women and children who had been criminally assaulted.

At the Congress for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children at Gratz, a most interesting discussion took place on the report on Women Police which had been drawn up by Mrs. Carden; while at the meeting of the International Council of Women in Washington the following resolution proposed by the British National Council was carried:—

“The International Council of Women urges the institution in all countries of Women Police with the same status and responsibilities as men in the same service.”

6. “To collect and re-distribute information.” The is effected chiefly through the “N.C.W. NEWS,” thanks to Miss E. M. Eaton, its indefatigable Hon. Editor. A report of the Conference and a Handbook, containing committee lists and rules, are also published annually. At the request of the International Council of Women we hope shortly to publish “*Women under English Law*,” compiled by Mrs. Crofts, a solicitor of the Supreme Court, with sections dealing with women as citizens, as wives, as mothers, and as workers, and an addendum giving a few points of difference in Scottish law. The Stansfeld Trust has chosen the National Council of Women as the society to administer its income, and has thus enabled us to bring out this book.

The National Council of Women brought before the Empire Press Union the desirability of including one or more women journalists among those appointed to attend the **Empire Press Congress** in Australia, and it was on its nomination that the late Miss Billington, whose loss we deplore, had been appointed to attend.

Especially useful information regarding **Opportunities for Emigrants** has been available this year, and Mrs. Britomarte

James of Victoria has spoken of the excellent work done by the New Settlers League, while Mrs. McCallum, President of the Council of New South Wales, has emphasised the fact that women emigrants must be prepared for really hard work. Mrs. Bright, Convener of our Emigration Committee, has been appointed to represent the National Council of Women on the **Empire Community Settlement Scheme**, which hopes to facilitate the settlement within the Empire of professional classes and others with small fixed incomes.

7. “To form a link with the National Councils of Women in other Countries through the International Council of Women.” The meeting of the International Council of Women in Washington in May was attended by a full delegation, in addition to a number of visitors who also enjoyed the most generous hospitality of the various local councils of women on the trip through Canada. A party of 87 sailed in the “Montcalm” on 18th April and as the result of meetings held on board an invitation was extended by Colonel Victor Spencer to three of the British delegates to visit Vancouver and hold meetings there at his expense. This was accepted by the President, Miss Tancred and Miss Spence Allen, who feel that the results fully justified their lengthened stay.

The following were the British delegates:—

<i>Delegates.</i>	<i>Proxies.</i>
Mrs. George Morgan	Mrs. Lyon Bowley
Mrs. George Cadbury	Miss M. Sharples
Miss Knight-Bruce	Mrs. Hensman
Miss Cecile Matheson	Mrs. Hay
Lady Trustram Eve	Mrs. T. Davidson
Lady Nott-Bower	Dr. Boyd Mackay
Miss Tancred	Dr. Stacey Cleminson
Dady Salvesen	Miss Sandilands
The Lady Mabelle Egerton	Lady Darwin
Lady Adam Smith	

The Executive Committee decided not to accept the kind offer of help from the fund raised in the United States of America, but itself raised about £448 to assist towards the travelling expenses of some of the delegates.

On their return to London, an **International Week** was held, in order to give members and others an opportunity of meeting them and hearing a first-hand account of their work. This opened with a Drawing Room Meeting by Lady Trustram Eve, the Hon. Treasurer; two Public Meetings were held

in Westminster; evening receptions were given by the Forum and Pioneer Clubs and a luncheon at the Lyceum Club at which the Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair presided, while 20 of the delegates spent a pleasant afternoon seeing Eton College and Windsor Castle by kind invitation of Mrs. Cyril Butterwick. In addition to members of the British National Council the following overseas delegates spoke at the various meetings:—Miss Kane (President) and Mrs. Carmalt Jones, of New Zealand; Mrs. Scandrett, S. Africa; Madame Kallas, Estonia; Fraulein Zellweger (President), Switzerland; Miss Larusdottir, Iceland; Miss Glaesel, Denmark, and Miss Cornelia Sorabji, India.

For the next quinquennial period 1925—30 the following have been appointed as the representatives on the International Standing Committees:—

Finance .. .. .	..	Lady Trustram Eve
Press .. .. .	..	Miss Norah Green
Peace and Arbitration	..	Miss M. Sharples
Laws and Legal Position of Women	.. .. .	Mrs. Keynes, J.P.
Suffrage and Rights of Citizenship.. .. .	..	Miss Tancred
Equal Moral Standard	..	Mrs. George Morgan
Public Health .. .. .	..	Dr. Boyd Mackay
Education .. .. .	..	Hon. Mrs. Franklin
Emigration & Immigration	..	Mrs. Allan H. Bright
Trades and Professions	..	Miss Cecile Matheson.

The International Council of Women Executive and Standing Committees will meet in Paris in 1927; they have accepted our invitation to meet here in 1929 and the full Quinquennial Meeting and Conference in 1930 will be held in Austria.

The Executive Committee has continued to take a keen interest in the work of the **League of Nations**. It has urged the appointment of a woman assessor to represent the women's international organisations on the new section for the Protection of Women and Children of the re-constituted committee of the League dealing with Traffic in Women and Children, and Miss Eleanor Rathbone has been appointed. It has further urged the appointment of a woman on the **Slavery Commission** and has asked the National Councils of Women in the Dominions to bring this question also before their governments.

The **Council for the Representation of Women in the League of Nations** has continued to meet in our offices and at its Annual Meeting passed a vote of thanks for this permission.

It is of opinion that "we still have to travel a long way before the equality between men and women foreshadowed in the Covenant of the League becomes an accomplished fact."

A new society, to be known as the **British Commonwealth League**, has recently been formed by the Overseas Committee of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. In the hope that it would confine itself to work for woman suffrage the National Council of Women agreed to appoint a representative. As however its aims appear now to be almost identical with those of the National Councils of Women in the Dominions and the President of the International Council of Women foresees the danger of grave overlapping, the National Council of Women has withdrawn its representative.

Women's Memorial. Mrs. Edwin Gray acted as co-secretary with Mrs. Little who conceived the idea of the women's memorial to the 1,450 women of the Empire who gave their lives during the war—the restoration of the Five Sisters Window in York Minster. On Mrs. Gray's suggestion memorial services were held simultaneously by the National Councils in our overseas Dominions in South Africa, Canada, Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand, and we were thus brought into the closest bonds of sympathy with our sisters throughout the whole British Empire.

PRESENTATION TO THE GENERAL SECRETARY.

MRS. MORGAN: It is my very pleasing duty to express on your behalf our appreciation of the services of Miss Norah Green, our Secretary. Sometimes we withhold our praise until the person has passed beyond our ken and throw wreaths upon their graves in token of the appreciation which they cannot hear. But to-day we are able to throw our wreathes before Miss Green while she is still with us and to say how much we feel the value of her services to this Council. In the past I have had to raise funds very often—and we all know the difficulty of raising funds—but here the money came in so easily and with expressions of thanks for being allowed to give. We have here in this book, which we have had bound for her to keep, unsought appreciations from societies and individuals, saying that they are so thankful to be allowed to give. Miss Eaton, who has done all the hard work, felt with me that it would be of value to Miss Green to receive these testimonials; they would open any door in the world! Now that, Miss Green (giving the book) is just the first appreciation. Then we wanted to give you a thankoffering (giving the

gold watch), not because we wanted to keep you "on time," because you always are "on time," but to show you the love and appreciation of all who have worked with you. Last but not least, I have to hand over a cheque to Miss Green, amounting to £500, with the heartiest appreciation and most loving wishes she could have.

MISS GREEN: I really do not know how to thank you, you have quite taken away my breath! I had never imagined such beautiful things as you have showered upon me and I am sure I am utterly undeserving of them. It is quite impossible to find words to express my feelings. I feel so proud of having been allowed to work for 21 years with such wonderful Presidents and such a splendid committee. As I look back over them, I realise that they have been very happy years of work—there may have been difficulties, but in all the time I do not think there has ever been a dull moment! I have always been taught to put by for a rainy day, but in giving me this cheque you must have been thinking of all the rainy days we get in our English summers! I shall always remember with gratitude Miss Ella Pycroft, for it was she who first told me of the vacancy with the N.C.W. She said: "I am sure you would find the work delightful, but I do not know where the funds will come from for their Secretary's salary." So as unfortunately a salary was a *sine qua non*, I put away any thought of applying for the post, and it was quite a week later when sitting at my typewriter that suddenly I felt I must apply. And although it was long past the date, I was told the Selection Committee would see me with other applicants next day. My astonishment at being selected may well be imagined, but instead of rejoicing I wept with terror that night at my temerity in having dared to apply for such a post! Then when I came to the office on that 1st January, 1904, dear Miss Janes welcomed me and helped to smooth out all my difficulties, and from that day onwards I felt encouraged. I cannot tell you how much I appreciate the honour of having been permitted to work with such splendid women as our Presidents, and the pride with which I look through the long list, from dear Miss Mary Clifford, my first, whose beautiful face was a true index to her beautiful character, to Mrs. Morgan, our present beloved President, and I look forward with great pleasure to my next year of work with Mrs. Franklin, our President-elect; for I hope you don't want me to resign just yet! Still I have tried to take to heart Mrs. Creighton's wise words "On Growing Old," and I hope that when the time comes I shall be ready to give up my work for the N.C.W., though to do so will leave a very great blank in my life.

FINANCE REPORT.

BY LADY TRUSTRAM EVE, Hon. Treasurer.

After all our excitement it is very dull to come down to mere figures, but I would remind you that behind all the things we have heard there is always the question of finance. You have the Statement of Accounts in your hands (see p. 90), and I would ask you to look especially at one item, that is the balance of £300. Considering that for several years we have found great difficulty in obtaining a balance, we must congratulate the Council on seeing its way through the dark days of the past to the sunny days of the future. We have always meant to have a separate fund for organising work and we are now on the way to accomplishing that desire. This year the Branches have on the whole paid their fees very well; there is a short unpaid list, but I am sure in a few years time there will be no unpaid list at all. This is the list:

<i>Unpaid.</i>	<i>Part Paid.</i>
Barrow-in-Furness.	Thetford.
Coventry.	Banffshire.
Leeds.	Highcliffe.
<i>Excused.</i>	Andover.
S.W. Ham.	Grantham.

In future we want to put down this £5 as the "Annual Fee" because it is not a donation; that is the wrong word for it. I must also ask incidentally that Treasurers should pay their fees to me *at the office* and not at my private address, because sometimes I am abroad, as I was in August, and they will not then get their receipts.

There are two points of interest to be noted; we have had our office redecorated throughout in renewing our lease and we did not pay for it. We have secured a lease for 5 years at a slightly advanced rent, so that you will not see it going up year by year. Another point of interest is that we have been able to raise the salaries of half of our staff last year and this year we are hoping that the others will be raised. It was only financial caution which prevented our raising them all at once.

The Council authorised us to raise a fund to help delegates to go to Washington for the International Council Meetings, and £448 was collected. From this fund the President's expenses were paid and 4 other delegates were helped. On the return of the delegates we organised an "International Week" in London and we were able to help the International funds by collections at meetings, amounting to about £12.

The International Council of Women hopes to put its finances upon a very much better basis than before, and we are hoping that every Council will be assessed at a certain amount. But I will hasten to inform you that as Great Britain has paid more than the full assessment in the past, it will not mean more than we paid before. I think it only fair to tell you that, as far as the Sub-Committee were able to work it out, it will mean paying less than we have paid already.

I want once more to congratulate the Council on having now arrived at the finances that are necessary to carry on, and now that our path is smooth we hope to go right ahead.

HON. EDITOR'S REPORT.

BY MISS E. M. EATON.

Dear friends old and new, in olden times before women had the vote—and it seems a long time ago now—it was said that “women could never stick to their point.” I *can* but I am not going to! My special point is on the “N.C.W. News,” but before reading my very few notes I want to tell you that I joined the National Council of Women—then the National Union of Women Workers—here at the Conference in October, 1905, just twenty years ago, and was co-opted to the Executive Committee soon after, but not elected as Hon. Editor until two years later. At that Conference we had a great many fine women speakers—Miss Clifford, Mrs. Creighton, Lady Battersea, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, Mrs. Ramsay Macdonald, Mrs. George Cadbury, Mrs. Edwin Gray, Miss Emily Janes and many others, and as I have mentioned Miss Janes, I may tell you that I received a letter from her a few days ago in which she sent her love to her old friends here and said how much she would like to be with us. She has had a very bad operation recently, but in hospital when we visited her she was always bright and cheery and very interested in N.C.W. news of all sorts. With the President's approval I should like to send her a message to let her know we are thinking of her. After all, the National Union of Women Workers was Miss Janes' baby, and it will be a delight to her to hear that the baby is “sitting up and taking notice” at Birmingham.

Now as to the “News”—the balance sheet does not look as satisfactory as last year, but last year we had the Exhibition number which we sold for 1s. a copy, therefore, though there is an increase in the number of copies sold and though—thanks to Miss Kirk—we have had more and better advertisements, there is

still a drop in receipts. As I said last year at Brighton, the circulation is not what it should be for this great Council, and I would suggest that if the Branch members generally and some of the Branch Secretaries in particular would take a little more trouble, we might easily work up the circulation to at least what it was before the war. Of course I know it is a paper of interest principally to social workers and perhaps somewhat dull for the general public, but I think you will agree with me that an article on present day dress, or some cross word puzzles would not make it more saleable or help on N.C.W. work. Some Branch Secretaries have been very good and successful in selling more copies—others not so good, and it is a little trying when Secretaries write to the office to say that two subscribers have left the neighbourhood and therefore they will only want four copies instead of six. If *all* made up their minds to push the paper we should soon increase our circulation.

I have again had very cheering news *re* the paper from members of the International Council of Women; the delegates to Washington from New Zealand, Australia and South Africa all told me that it was of great use to them. They seemed to appreciate the articles by experts on different subjects which they found useful to quote from at their meetings.

I am continually getting requests for reprints of articles and until now I have been very nice about it, but in the back of my mind I feel that though we cannot expect those people to order, say, 100 or 150 copies of the paper in the same numbers as they order reprints, N.C.W. members really should support the paper, and I suggest that each delegate here should buy a copy and leave it with her hostess or give it away to someone who is interested in social work. I am asked by Miss Kirk to say that she would be glad of help with the advertisements, suggestions as to new, or help in getting local advertisements, and we are always glad of suggestions for making the paper interesting to the Branches. I hope there will be a great increase in the number of orders after this Conference.

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN.

On Wednesday, 23rd September, the afternoon session of the Council was devoted to the consideration of business connected with the International Council of Women.

Interesting reports of the various sessions they had attended were received from the delegates to the meeting of the I.C.W. held in Washington, in May, 1925, the President, Mrs. George Morgan, having opened the meeting by reading the following

letter from the Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair, President of the International Council of Women :—

September 21st, 1925.

Dear Mrs. Morgan,

I greatly regret being unable to attend the Annual Meeting of the National Council of Women at Birmingham and more especially its International Session.

I should have liked to have been able personally to thank you and the British National Council for the splendid service rendered to the International Council of Women at its Quinquennial meetings at Washington by your delegation.

Reports will doubtless be submitted to your meeting at Birmingham regarding the harmonious character of the proceedings at Washington, the interesting character of the representatives who attended from 35 out of our 39 affiliated National Councils, and the high level of excellence attained by these speakers of many races and languages, and the gratifying reception which we received from all sections of the official world at Washington, from the President and Mrs. Coolidge downwards, and the splendid hospitality accorded by the National Council of Women of America.

I am sure too that the wonderful week spent in Canada by a large number of our delegates as the guests of the National Council of Women of Canada will not be forgotten, nor how the Governor General and Lady Byng, the Government of Canada, and the Municipalities of the various cities we visited, vied with one another in showing their appreciation of the work we are endeavouring to accomplish.

But you will also doubtless be questioned as to the meaning of certain allegations made against the I.C.W. by a section of the Press, some of which have found their way into some British periodicals and have even been re-printed in leaflet form and sent to individual members of the British National Council.

I hope you will not find it difficult to re-assure those who have been perturbed by the character of these missives.

It is very easy to misunderstand the aims and the methods of work of the International Council of Women whose Constitution adopted in 1888 so curiously resembles that of the League of Nations.

We can but repeat and emphasise the fact that the International Council of Women is a federation of 39 National Councils of Women, each of which Councils are again a federation of women's organisations formed to promote the welfare of the

community in various ways and bound together by the acceptance of the Golden Rule as the guide regulating all our relations in life, whether personal, national, or international.

The fact that our Constitution prohibits discussion of controversial subjects in politics and religion affecting the relations of two or more countries, and that it is expressly laid down that we are to be wedded to no one propaganda, increases the difficulty of understanding our "*raison d'être*" for those who have not attended our International gatherings, for to them we can only appear as an inchoate mass.

But let those workers speak who have been brought into personal touch with fellow workers of other nations engaged in promoting the cause of Peace through arbitration; equal justice and rights; an equal moral standard for men and women; equal opportunities for all children, co-operation in matters of education, and public health; interchange of ideas between professional women and women engaged in industries; and *then* the potentiality of our Council idea will be realised, and how the findings at our Council meetings can be held to be the considered voice of the womanhood of the world, having passed through the sieve of so many diverse races and classes, and put to the same test of the Golden Rule.

We are under pledge not to interfere with the internal affairs of any National Council, and our international work of promoting good-will and co-operation amongst the Nations is based on the patriotic work of each National Council for the welfare of its own country in co-operation with their respective Governments and local authorities.

The fear therefore expressed by some of our critics that our influence would tend to be revolutionary in character and that our "mothering of the world" savours of communism is almost too laughable to be mentioned.

We believe we have a great mission in awakening women citizens all over the world to a sense of their wonderful responsibilities as citizens and as those who above all others are bound to protect and develop the lives of the future generations who owe their being to them.

All admit that the world is crying aloud for peace, security, and opportunity to work and live in quiet and happiness—and the fact cannot be gainsaid that if the women of the world will unite to protect the world's children against the causes which lead to war amongst classes and amongst nations, that they have the power to bring peace to this distracted universe.

This is the high adventure to which the International Council of Women and its affiliated National Councils have pledged

themselves, and therefore are we not right in abiding by the old motto engraved on the doorway of Aberdeen University:

“They Say. What Say They? Let Them Say”!

Wishing the Birmingham Conference every best blessing,
I remain,

Yours very sincerely,

ISHBEL ABERDEEN AND TEMAIR.

RESOLUTIONS

PASSED BY

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN.

Chairman: MRS. GEORGE MORGAN.

1. Industrial Situation.

“That in view of the present menacing industrial situation, the National Council of Women—an organisation representative of the general public—desires to direct public attention to:—

1. The right of the community to consideration, as the third party vitally affected in industrial controversies; and

2. The need for more general recourse to methods of conciliation and arbitration, the machinery for which exists and can be called into immediate operation.”

2. Judicial Proceedings Bill.

“That the National Council of Women records its conviction that sensational and suggestive reports and illustrations of criminal cases in the public press are conducive to the encouragement of crime and tend to lower the standard of morality, especially amongst the young; and it begs His Majesty’s Government to provide facilities for the early passing of the Judicial Proceedings Bill and urges the Press to consider their responsibility in this matter.”

3. Payment of Fines.

“That the National Council of Women urges the Home Secretary to consider the desirability of abolishing fines as a penalty on persons charged with offences against morality, and requests that the Committee of Inquiry promised by the Government be asked to consider the whole question.”

4. Humane Slaughter.

“That this Council urges that the Government shall without delay introduce a Bill, making humane killing compulsory for all animals in licensed or unlicensed places.”

5. Juvenile Offenders.

“That this Council urges that steps be taken to prevent newspapers from publishing the names of juvenile offenders, tried or convicted in Juvenile Courts, as well as those of children innocently involved in criminal cases. And, further, that the names of children and minors giving evidence in cases of sexual offences coming before adult courts shall be similarly withheld, together with all means of identification.”

6. Employment of Married Women.

“That the National Council of Women protests against the continued practice in the Civil Service and under local authorities of restricting the right of married women to work, holding that women should decide for themselves whether or not they should carry on paid work after marriage. It demands that all regulations of national and local authorities debarring married women from employment should be withdrawn.”

7. Administrative Officials.

“That the National Council of Women calls upon the Government to take steps to secure that more women officials shall be associated in the administration of legislation affecting women and children.”

8. Equal Moral Standard.

“That this Council, believing that the laws and their administration should uphold the equal moral standard, asks the Government to appoint a Committee of Inquiry for Great Britain into the whole subject of the laws dealing with street solicitation; and is further of the opinion that the sections specially directed against ‘common prostitutes’ should be repealed and an equal law be substituted, applicable to all persons who annoy or molest others in streets or public places.”

9. Clubs.

“That as the legislation towards the reduction of public houses is being counteracted by the marked increase of clubs where alcoholic liquor is supplied, this Council begs the Government to take immediate steps to counteract this evil by legislation.”

10. Temperance Reform.

“That, as a practical contribution to achieving the ideal of temperance reform, the National Council of Women urges His Majesty’s Government to promote legislation, giving to localities power to adopt the principle embodied in the Carlisle system of disinterested management of the liquor trade, as one of the options in a Local Option Bill.”

11. Protective Legislation.

“That the National Council of Women is of opinion that protective legislation should normally be based not upon sex but upon the nature of the occupation. At the same time, pending the legal regulation of hours of work for men, it is not prepared to advocate the abolition of the principle of protective legislation for women, as laid down in the Factory Act.”

12. Electrical Scheme.

“That this Council urges on the Government the importance of developing a comprehensive electrical scheme for the whole country, which, while eliminating waste, will stimulate industry, afford domestic light and heat for towns and villages and will help to abate the smoke nuisance, thus adding to the efficiency and health of the nation.”

13. Sex Disqualification.

“That the National Council of Women demands the actual removal of sex disqualification in all branches of the political, social and economic (professional and industrial) life of our country, as the first step towards practical idealism.”

14. Peeresses in the House of Lords.

“That the National Council of Women warmly supports the claim of peeresses in their own right to sit and vote in the House of Lords, and urges the Government to further legislation to remove the political disabilities of such peeresses at an early date. In the view of the Council the question is one that should be considered upon its merits, and not in connection with the problem of the reform of the Second Chamber.”

15. Ministry of Women.

“That this meeting respectfully urges the authorities of the churches to do all in their power to secure that a vocation to the Ministry of Religion shall receive official recognition, whether its possessor be a man or a woman.”

AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION.

“To insert under Article XIII. after No. 3 :—‘Each Branch, each Affiliated Society, the Executive and the Sectional Committees shall select from all the resolutions circulated on the Preliminary Agenda the eight they prefer, and the eight resolutions thus chosen shall be notified to the General Secretary of the N.C.W. not later than the end of July.’

The eight resolutions receiving the highest total number of votes from Branches, Societies and Committees shall be printed on the Final Agenda Paper, on which a line shall then be drawn; the next four resolutions being printed to be taken only if there is sufficient time at the Council Meeting.

PART II.—CONFERENCE

ON

“PRACTICAL IDEALISM.”

SERMON PREACHED IN THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH,
BIRMINGHAM,

ON SUNDAY, 20th SEPTEMBER, 1925.

BY THE RIGHT REV. E. W. BARNES, Sc.D., D.D., F.R.S.,
Lord Bishop of Birmingham.

Col. 4, 11. “Fellow-workers unto the Kingdom of God.”

It is a pleasure to me to-day to welcome the National Council of Women, which this year meets for its Annual Conference in the City of Birmingham. I offer the welcome primarily on behalf of the Church of England; but I am sure that practically all citizens of Birmingham, men and women alike, whose lives are moulded by serious religious convictions, approve the spirit which animates the Council. They cannot but wish success to its endeavours to promote sympathy of thought and purpose among women and to advance the social, civil, moral and religious welfare of the community. It is to me a cause of special satisfaction that the Council consists of women holding very divergent political and religious opinions. True progress, national in its range, can only be obtained if differences in outlook form the subject of friendly discussion. It is bad when principles or prejudices are concealed beneath a morose and suspicious silence; it is worse when they flame out into furious and bitter invective. None would deny the earnestness which results from sectarian or sectional enthusiasm; but legislation, and the temper of public opinion which makes legislation effective, can only be gained by slowly forming a unity of ideas and ideals among those who lead the community. For such a unity the National Council of Women works. All its members are sensitive to admitted evils which injuriously affect the welfare of women and children. But they are not always agreed as to how those evils may best be remedied. So they seek by conference to diminish the range of disagreement and to formulate practical proposals which shall embody a wise and sober idealism. It is a great aim, singularly valuable and especially necessary at the present time.

We are living in an epoch when, owing to the war, social

unrest and moral disorder are serious. After every great emotional disturbance such evils appear. Probably not since the Black Death in the 14th century were our people subjected to so severe a strain as during the recent war. The Black Death led to religious decay, to social demoralisation and to peasants' risings. It also produced Wycliffe and the religious movement which he inspired—a movement which with its characteristic combination of freedom of thought and religious earnestness has since persisted among the English people. Our own age needs ideals which shall overcome disruptive forces. As we seek to create steady influences, we must do all that we can to make it possible for men and women to live godly, righteous and sober lives. Revolution is a council of despair, the product of social distrust. Most vice results from lack of personal self-respect. We need to spread ideals of social sympathy and personal wholesomeness, and to this end we must do all that is possible to preserve the beauty and purity of family life. When a man feels his home menaced by low wages or insecurity of employment he is attracted by the delusive hope of social upheaval. When boys and girls have not got a decent home in which they can find wholesome pleasure, when lack of houses is such that they cannot hope to make a good home for themselves, they turn to exciting amusements or sordid immorality.

Every economist knows how difficult it is with our present financial embarrassments to find money to build an adequate supply of houses. He warns us also that foreign competition drives wages down. None the less by better organisation, by hard work all round, by thrift, we ought to be able to make things better than they are. Though taxation is heavy, inequalities of fortune among us are dangerously great. Unemployment and bad housing lead to recklessness, to a temper from which thriftlessness, drunkenness, disease and vice are bred. The cost to the community of these evils is immense: and a wisely expensive social policy would greatly lessen this cost.

I put these considerations before you because they are fundamental. As women you know the paramount importance of the home. Good homes make good citizens. Evil homes are the source of nine-tenths of the social miseries which you wish to abolish. The nation which can rejoice in a healthy, stable family life is profoundly strong.

I have said that the recent war makes the creative idealism of the National Council of Women of peculiar value at the present time. There is also the fact that women have so recently been enfranchised that their direct political influence is only just beginning to be felt. I am not one of those who hold that there

must always be antagonism between the sexes. I think it foolish to say that when women had not votes they had no power. It is wrong to pretend that man-made legislation was designedly unjust to women. But the wearer of the shoe best knows where it pinches; and undoubtedly the direct political influence of women will remove disabilities which should not exist now that the women of the community are as well educated as its men. Experience has already proved that there is no need to fear the political power of women. The whole community will gain by the fact that not only the needs of women, but those of the children of whom they are the natural protectors, will henceforth be considered more fully from the woman's point of view.

The National Council will this week debate a number of resolutions dealing with the administration of the criminal law and the powers of the police. I rejoice that some of your members are concerned to protest against highly spiced press reports of unsavoury judicial cases. Newspaper proprietors and journalists of the better sort deplore the competition in filth which has markedly increased during the last quarter of a century; they recognise that such competition lowers the standard of public morality. The liberty accorded to the press has in this matter degenerated into licence. For the sake of our adolescents, and I may add, of our good repute among civilised nations, legislation restriction is urgently necessary.

Other resolutions which will be brought before you aim at securing that, in regard to breaches of sexual morality, women shall not suffer from an unfairly adverse discrimination. It is right that the legislature should assume an equal moral standard for men and women. In this connection I would maintain that the value of women police has been amply demonstrated. It is, moreover, obviously right that women should investigate sexual offences against children and young girls. I am glad that it is to be urged in your Conference that the names of all juvenile offenders, and of children involved in cases of sexual offences, should be withheld from publication. Much of the work of the police and the police-court magistrates is unpleasant. To prevent abuses of administration the unceasing vigilance of good men and women is necessary. It is a source of satisfaction to all social reformers that juvenile courts have been established and that women now serve as magistrates: but more might be done than at present to protect children and the innocent from a painful and sometimes harmful notoriety.

Quite clearly there will be a gradual increase in the number of women employed in the administration of the laws affecting women and children. The work done by them in connection with

shop and factory legislation and in connection with public medical service has proved as valuable as that done by women teachers. The state gains greatly by such service. As the rays of women's activities extend, we may hope that the pathetic and useless old maid of the Victorian era will be forgotten. But I confess that it seems to me to be, in general, inadvisable that married women should be permanently engaged in work that takes them from home and children. Yet it is probable that in the end public bodies will have to allow to each woman employee freedom to choose whether on marriage she will give up her work. If a woman marries when she has achieved economic independence, she must judge for herself whether she will relinquish such independence for the sake of her children and her home.

I have alluded to a number of issues which will be the subject of your discussions. Behind them lie other graver, more complex problems, which are not absent from your thoughts. Your movement has an international character and therefore you are gravely concerned with questions connected with population increase and the prevention of war. We all realise that an overpopulated world must live under the shadow of ambitions and fears that will lead to war. Like other peoples we do not wish our good stock to decrease nor our lands to be flooded by alien and, in our judgment, inferior races. No one, I venture to think, sees the issue of the present world-situation. But we shall best prepare for an ominous future by seeking to make this country an example to others, by raising the moral standards and social health of our people, by breeding strong and clean citizens who will face the difficulties of their time with insight and courage.

You will—I think—permit me to say that such citizens cannot be produced unless religious idealism flourishes among us. Men and women need to be inspired by the thought that their lives are held in trust for service to a God Who is both righteous and loving. They must restrain their appetites and passions by the knowledge that goodness and truth are of eternal value, that evil corrodes personality as rust eats into iron, that eternal life is the reward of righteousness.

I would further urge that agnostic stoicism is a false view of the universe in which man finds himself. There is a purpose running through the slow process of which man is at present earth's highest product. Our Creator has given us our highest faculties that we may be loyal to His purpose, as we realise His Nature and seek to do His Will. Moreover, there is a Kingdom in the Heavens of which the earthly kingdom of our present aspirations righteousness and is a blurred image. As we try to create a reign of

peace upon earth, we make ourselves fitter for life in the eternal city. Jesus, when He preached His gospel, put the Kingdom of God in the forefront of His message. We can, I believe, all join together in praying 'Thy Kingdom come!' Yet it is hard so to live that by all that we do the kingdom is brought nearer. Let us discipline ourselves. As we remember our own frailty, let us shew sympathy and patience with that of others. In short, let us seek to do God's Will as Christ revealed it. Then, though social progress be slow and our unselfish efforts seem wasted, we shall be fellow-workers with Christ, in Whom God manifested His Spirit. And for this end we were made.

MEETING FOR GIRLS
ON
"COMRADESHIP."
SUNDAY, 20th SEPTEMBER.

MRS. W. A. CADBURY, who took the Chair, said:—It is a great pleasure to me to welcome so many girls here this afternoon. During the next few days the Conference of the National Council of Women will be held in this hall. Many visitors from all over the country will meet and discuss the many subjects and far-reaching movements affecting our religious and social life, and more especially those dealing with women and children. We are gathered here this afternoon at the first meeting of this Conference and it has been specially arranged for girls, the future women of our nation. I feel that your presence here this afternoon is a joy and encouragement to us older women, because it shows loyalty to those doing the work to-day and also a desire to take your share in the work of the future. We have as our speakers Mrs. George Morgan, our national President, and Miss Dewar, the Warden of our Birmingham Settlement, and I see by your numbers that you realise that we are very fortunate in having them here to speak to us. Twenty years ago when the Conference was last held in Birmingham one of the subjects for the girls' meeting was "Comradeship," and I wondered if Mrs. Morgan knew this when she chose it for this afternoon. I am glad she chose it—very glad—because it is one of the big things which affect us all so much in our own lives and also affect the life of the world around us. If we look around we see many others working with us for the same things, for there is no loneliness in the divine comradeship

of service. We are all working under the same great Designer and we must be loyal to the design as we see it. We only see one little bit of the pattern, others see another little bit, yet both are right because we each see our own side only. So you see in our National Council, and in the Councils of the other nations, we have all creeds, classes and nationalities united as one in the beautiful comradeship of Service. I hope that this afternoon we shall each leave this meeting with a fresh inspiration of joy, and be a better comrade in the future, not only to those near to us, but also to the other peoples of the world.

MISS K. C. DEWAR, M.A., Warden of Birmingham Settlement, said:—I feel honoured to have been asked to speak at the Conference of the National Council of Women, and as the subject is "Practical Idealism" I was asked to speak on the practical side of comradeship.

If we are going to be comrades, we have first to define to ourselves what that is. To be a "pal" means that a person is never going to change whether you are good, bad, or indifferent, she is going to stick to you right through everything. We have to give the very best of ourselves—anything won't do—and we must give it individually, and individually to each person, for each person is different and calls out a different part of us. There is a story of a revival meeting when the congregation was asked to stand if it wanted to go to heaven—the whole congregation stood except one man, and they were perturbed at this because he was a very old man. So they said to him: "Don't you want to go to heaven?" and he replied, "Aye, but no wi a trip!" Now that is the same with comradeship, you cannot do it with a trip. That is my own opinion of comradeship, but we must each think it out for ourselves.

I want to tell you one or two of the practical ways in which I think we can show ourselves good comrades; and remember that unless we have true comradeship in the home, we shall never have it in the world at all. We must learn to be comrades to our mothers and brothers, to take but two relationships. We often forget to be proper comrades to our mothers. We expect our mothers to do all the darning of our stockings or whatever job it is we most detest doing ourselves, and it is rather hard on them, but sometimes we think that is what mothers are good for. We think of our mother as being suitable to entertain our friends and to have all the fag of getting the party ready, but we forget to bring her into the party. Darning stockings may not be the thing you ask your mother to do, because you may not mind doing that, but we have all got to think out these things for ourselves.

And then there are our brothers, I should like to tell you of my experience in taking a mixed club of boys and girls for a sea-side holiday. We who were in charge of the club decided to divide the different duties between everybody: to let the girls set the tables, wash the dishes and do out the rooms, and the boys wash the potatoes and do the errands for our large family of forty or fifty, and we also asked them to clean the girls' shoes. Now some of those boys were terribly indignant about the shoe-cleaning. They said they had never been asked to clean their sisters' shoes at home. But after we had pointed out to them that the girls were doing their fair share of the work and were making their beds and doing other things for them, the thing that annoyed me most was that, having got the boys screwed up to seeing that there was no indignity in doing their sisters' shoes, I found some of the girls stealing down quietly to do the shoes themselves, because, they said, it was not boys' work!

And then people talk about men being selfish! If they are treated like that at home of course boys will grow up unconsciously selfish. Is it their fault if they make selfish men, if mothers and fathers and sisters spoil them like that? There is nothing to choose between boys and girls in the matter of selfishness, and if boys have it pointed out to them—judiciously and in an attractive way—that they ought to take their fair share with their sisters in helping in the home, of course they see it and those boys are not the ones who grow into selfish men.

Then I think in work in the factories we want the spirit of comradeship. It is a very terrible thing when you get the kind of spirit which, when a new girl comes into the factory, says "Let her find out for herself." Some girls have a terrible time when they first go to work because no one has told them what they ought to do: no one has helped them. We should try to help people when they are starting new work in fresh surroundings. We do not want to see them doing the same stupid things we did when we first came.

Then, too, we want comradeship in our Clubs, and Guides and all our associations of that kind. The difficulty in Clubs is that we are apt to get into such cliques. We all need to look into this and try and make our circles as wide as we can and be friendly with everybody. We had a little difficulty in a Club we ran, when we tried to widen the Club and get new girls in. On the night we started this fresh move some of the older girls came in rather late, and as they strolled through the room one of them said, "A lot of new tarts here to-night, the Club isn't what it was!" Now no Club is going to flourish if we are going to have in it that feeling of the "new tart"; if you are not going to get

in the "new tarts" you are going to die as a Club, because you need to get in new ideas and new thoughts. If ever you feel that spirit of the "new tart" coming into your Club, say "This won't do, I'll go out and get a new Club member in to-night."

We must have the spirit of comradeship in our international relations also. We do not only want to be friendly with our own people: we would never have had the world war if we had had true comradeship in the world. We ought to try and find out about some other nation, try to get to know about its Government and its ideas. We need to have "centres of goodwill," as the Quakers call them, dotted all over the world: centres of fellowship and kindness. We can try and get to know, through the League of Nations and the Save the Children Fund and in other ways, what are the needs of the smaller and poorer nations and to help them in whatever way we can. We cannot always give money, but there are small ways in which we can help.

I think also in Clubs and such organisations we should try to get abroad sometimes. Birmingham is a long way from the sea, but in our Settlement Club we have twice gone to Paris and stayed in a Club there, meeting the French Club girls, and the French girls came and stayed with us in Birmingham. When they came to us we took them to the theatre one night and I said to our boys that it would be very nice if they would bring a little bunch of flowers for the French girls, something small and artistic, because French girls like dainty things. When we got back from the theatre a lot of our girls and boys were there to welcome them. We were walking up the little path to our front door when from the shadow two figures emerged and drew out from their coat tails two tight little bunches of carnations, which they bashfully presented to the French girls, and the French girls were delighted and said "Comme ils sont gentils, comme ils sont charmants, ces garçons anglais."

That is the sort of thing that makes us understand each other better, and if there is any Club here in Birmingham that would like particulars of how we managed our trips, we shall be very glad to give them all the hints we can. The last time we went we spent a whole week in Paris and it cost us £6 15s. 9¼d. a head. We went to France because I can understand French best, but there are heaps of other countries you can visit.

In all these ways we can show ourselves good comrades, and remember that the thing the world wants more than anything else is "Comradeship," for without it we shall perish.

MRS. GEORGE MORGAN, President, said:—I am sure that you who have been listening to Miss Dewar's speech have felt what a

true comrade Birmingham has in her. I met a band of girls from Glasgow and Edinburgh at one of the first conferences in connection with the National Organisation of Girls' Clubs and Miss Dewar was with them; I became a comrade of hers then and I hope to go on being one for years to come. When I heard she was leaving the north and coming here, I felt sorry for Glasgow and thankful for Birmingham.

When I was thinking what I should say about comradeship, I began to wonder what sort of a comrade I should like to have myself. A comrade is rather a different thing from a friend—you can have a friend across the sea and can come into touch with him or her by writing to them. But comradeship means seeing things through, shoulder to shoulder, facing difficulties, trials and also joys and happiness together, making the voyage of life that lasts for many years along with one another. Therefore, if you want to think what sort of a comrade you should be, you must imagine what sort of a comrade you would like to have. The first thing we should wish for is a comrade we could trust, one we could rely upon. When we undertake a job with another person we like to be sure they will do their part as whole-heartedly as we shall do ours. Then we do not feel anxious: we are sure it is all right: he or she will do their part satisfactorily. There is a great deal in being a trustworthy comrade, everything depends upon it. I once saw a diver going down into the sea. There were two men together in the boat. The diver got out and went down into the sea and all one saw was a tube on the top of the water; the second man remained in the boat to watch the tube. If he failed to do his part, it would be a matter of life and death for the diver. That is just as true in little things as in the bigger ones. All departments of life are made up of people doing little bits of things which are eventually all brought together. We are all comrades working to get these things completed and carried through successfully.

Another quality I should want in a comrade would be cheerfulness. I could not do with a long-faced comrade. There was a dear boy whom I knew very well who got the name of "Cheerio" in the army for always being happy and cheery. When ever there was a bad bombardment or a time of difficulty he was always happy and cheery and came along with his happy smile and jolly laugh. Cheerfulness makes life a much easier thing. If you get out of bed on the wrong side with a long face, it means that you turn everyone else out on the wrong side too. There was a little girl once who complained that her mother was very cross to-day, and her aunt said to her, "All the more reason for you to be pleasant and cheerful." The little girl wondered what her aunt meant by this and went away into the fields

and began to think it over. Then she remembered that the baby had been crying all night and she began to wonder what her mother was doing and if she was still working; when she got home she found her with the poor crying baby on her lap. Mary got a bunch of keys and rattled them in front of him to amuse him, and immediately he brightened up and tried to catch them. Then she offered to take him out in his pram, and as she turned round to say goodbye she saw the tears come into her mother's eyes: "Go and rest mummie and I'll keep baby happy;" she said. The tired mother smiled back and this little bit of cheerfulness made all the difference in her hard day. It is the greatest fun in the world to cheer people up: you can make a game of it and try to see how many cheerful people you can make in a day. Go and help people who are down and depressed because they have had some trouble that has taken the heart out of them. They want someone to come and cheer them on. That is a job you can do: you can face the difficulties of life and make them easier because of the lighter hearts you have made.

Yet another thing we need is a comrade whose opinion is worth having. There are some people you would never think of consulting, "What is the use of asking them? They know nothing about it," And they *don't*. I am afraid there are a number of people in this world who are beginning to think it doesn't matter what they do or think. What we need to-day is to have people whose opinion is worth having. To get that we have to train ourselves to be able to help our comrades with advice that is worth having, and to have something to give which will carry weight. We must not drift through life doing nothing and making no progress, but as every year comes along we must have marched a little further forward and have something more to give. If we are to have a clearer vision and a truer idea of how to tackle this or that emergency we must work for it. It is a great joy, for it brings not only joy to others' hearts but to our own also, because we have overcome difficulties for their sake. It is so much easier to face difficulties with a comrade by our side. It must be hard work for many people who have to face life quite alone—to face difficult and hard circumstances with no one to go to or turn to for help—to have some great sorrow and no one able really to sympathise with you. Perhaps you can be comrades to people like that. You will find there are plenty of lonely men and women: they want someone to cheer them up. Often a little child can be a better comrade than anyone else: you have youth and cheerfulness and that rests the souls of people who have never been happy for years. I want you to try and carry out the

Guides great principle of doing some kind action for somebody else every day of your life. Try and do it for the people who want it most.

Then if we are to be real helps we must remember to play fair. We have to play the game. I think here in Great Britain we have a fine ideal of playing the game. Perhaps we carry that standard almost higher than any other country—the standard of playing fair. I feel sure that this ideal will be brought more and more into the great relationships of life. We want to see fair play for everyone from the lowest to the highest. When you come into your citizenship—a citizenship which has been bought for you by the tremendous work and sacrifice of the women of the past—I want you to make a resolve to see that there is fair play all round and to look at things from the other person's point of view. Try to find the truth in everything—I say to you with all my heart that it is only the truth that is worth having. You mothers of the future who hold in your little hands the future of the race, what are you going to do with your lives? Are you going to make yourselves worthy of being comrades?

There is another great comradeship which you are going to have which has not been the privilege of the past generation in the same sense—you are going to be the comrades of the men of the future—real comrades. You are not only going to be the comrades of your brothers and relations, but the comrades of your men friends. It is going to depend upon the women of this country what the aim and object of the whole country is going to be. You cannot realise the tremendous influence that a good woman has upon a man. We don't hear them say it, but if you get a heart to heart talk with any man he will tell you that in his highest moments he has been inspired by a good woman, and also the man who is pulled down is very often pulled further down by a woman.

You, who have come to this citizenship by a thousand hard and difficult roads which women have had to tread to win it for you, honour it! Take it as a great and precious trust. If you live up to the highest and make yourself worthy to be a comrade, you will be an inspiration to the men who work with you. A man steers his bark and makes for the haven which he has in view. Through the life that lies ahead of you, you will have to meet difficulties and obstacles, but I want to tell you that these are the biggest things that come into your life: the obstacles of life are the stepping stones that will make you better women and call out your highest powers. They will show us how to get strength to overcome them—but for that strength we should never be able to use our lives. If you are going to be the inspiration and help that

I hope, you will find that you cannot do it in your own strength. I was reading one of Shackleton's books on one of his last voyages and he said:

He had no doubt that Providence guided them not only across those snowfields of Southern Georgia but on that long and terrible march of thirty-six hours across the uncharted mountains of Georgia, for he was conscious very often of a fourth companion who walked with them and although he said nothing to his comrades about this feeling it was corroborated by them. W. said to him after their effort was over: "Do you know Boss it seemed to me we were four, not three, on the march," and Crea acknowledged to having the same feeling. He said the story of their journey would not be complete unless they acknowledged this Divine guidance, which was a very real and sacred remembrance to them.

The Other Comrade! Yes, standing close beside each one of us is that Great Comrade Who makes it possible for us to rise to the highest, to give of our best, to play fair, to keep cheerful in difficulties, to lift up the race, to be men and women who shall be made in the likeness of the God Who made us. And so I say to you, you girls who are looking out on life, it is not enough to have high ideals unless you recognise that they can only be obtained with the help of the Great Comrade, Who left this message with you: "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." For there are heights of comradeship that you will never reach, visions of service that you will never see: there is a peace in sorrow that you will never know and there is a joy which no man can take from you, which you will never attain to, unless the vision is given you of the Comrade Who walks by the side of each one of us through life and leads us for ever upwards, until at last we attain the hills of the City of God.

DEBATE ON FAMILY ENDOWMENT.

MONDAY, 21st SEPTEMBER.

Chairman: THE HON. MRS. FRANKLIN.

MISS ELEANOR RATHBONE, C.C., J.P., stated the case for Family Endowment as follows:—

"That since the existing system for providing for the maintenance of children is ineffective, wasteful and inequitable, it should be replaced by some form of direct provision through Family Allowances or Family Endowment."

Let me begin with a definition:—By Family Endowment we mean providing for the financial cost of rearing children *directly* instead of (as at present) *indirectly*, by assuring that through the interplay of economic forces and the rough and tumble of wage negotiations, men's earnings will be somehow sufficient for the support of families. But this general statement may not by itself convey much to your mind. In order therefore that you may see from the beginning what I am working up to, let me say briefly that there are various possible methods of making direct provision for children, but that those I propose to outline to-day, as representing the three possible alternatives which hold the field are:—

First, National Family Endowment, paid for out of taxation; secondly, an extension of all-in insurance requiring the State, the employer and the wage-earner each to contribute to a common fund, out of which allowances would be paid for children; thirdly, Family Allowances supplementary to wages, paid for by employers through a system of Equalization Pools—a plan actually in vogue throughout a large part of continental Europe to-day.

I hope in a few moments to say a few words about each of these schemes, comparing their respective merits.

But first it is necessary to go back to the beginning and ask: "Why Family Endowment at all? What is wrong with the present system of providing for children? The resolution I have to propose gives the answer. The present system is "ineffective, wasteful and inequitable." It is up to me to justify this charge. It is utterly impossible to do this adequately in twenty minutes; the time barely suffices to draw out a kind of table of contents of the case against the present system and for Family Endowment and trust that you may be stimulated to study the matter for yourselves.

Briefly then, the economic case against the present system rests on the following facts:—If the cost of rearing children has to be met through a wage system which takes no account of the actual number of children in each family, it can only be met *adequately* if the general level of wages payable to the rank and file of normally efficient and industrious workers is adequate to the support of a family. This is so obvious that few people, whether employees or employers, will be found to deny that an industry if it is in a healthy condition ought to be able to pay "a living wage" and that at least in the case of adult male workers, such a wage ought to mean one on which a man can maintain not only himself but "a wife and family at a standard of decency and frugal comfort." But these are vague expressions. They ignore the facts; first, that the number of children

in a family may vary from nil to 10 or 11; secondly, that the period during which a man's children are dependent on his wage covers only a part, usually the lesser part, of his working life. Try saying to yourself the words "a wage-earner and his dependents" and visualize their content. There will rise before your mental vision not a fixed group, but a moving picture of

A bachelor living with his parents or in lodgings.

Husband and wife.

Husband, wife and baby; two children; three children; four children; five children. Then the children begin to pass into the Labour market. Four children and one earning; three children and two earning; two children and three earning, etc.

Then the children begin to marry and leave the parental roof. Gradually the circle shrinks till we get again:

Husband and wife;

Widower or widow.

Now then, you say a man's wage ought to support a family? What family? At what point are you going to poke your stick into that revolving wheel and say: *this* size of family is the one for which the living wage should be adequate?

Custom has answered that question for you. Not only in the wage negotiations, the Courts of enquiry, the sociological investigations in this country, but in practically all countries there has grown up the fiction of the *standard*, or *normal* or *typical* family and its composition is everywhere the same, man, wife and three children—the five member family—and not only of this country, but of all countries, I will venture dogmatically and without fear of responsible contradiction to make three assertions:

(1) A living wage in the sense of a wage adequate to support a five member family in decency and frugal comfort has never yet been achieved as a working minimum in industry;

(2) It could not be achieved out of the present wealth of the country, even if that wealth were redistributed between rich and poor more drastically than even the extremist socialist thinks practicable;

(3) If it were achieved, it would not be a living wage in any living sense of the words.

It is utterly impossible in the time at my disposal to give you the statistical basis of these assertions. It is set forth fully for this country in my own book, "The Disinherited Family", for Australia in Mr. Piddington's book "The Next Step"; in the U.S.A. in Professor Paul Douglas's newly published book "Wages and the Family." If these three comparatively wealthy countries cannot afford a "living wage" on the flat rate

basis, it may be safely asserted that no other country can. As to our own country, the facts put into a nut-shell are these:—

Before the war roughly about three-fourths of adult male wage-earners in employment were earning less than the sum estimated by Mr. Rowntree as necessary to keep a five member family at a standard of frugal working class comfort. To raise this under-paid three-fourths to the required standard could only be achieved by the expropriation of all rent and interest and an impossibly drastic cutting down of all the higher earned incomes. If it were achieved, the practical effect would be that while providing for over three-times as many children as really existed, we should be leaving over half the real children insufficiently provided for at least for five years of their childhood, since this proportion, for this number of years, belong to families having more than three dependent children. These figures I believe have never been challenged by any responsible statistician. This is the economic case against the present system.

What of the feminist case? Wives and children under 14 together form nearly half the entire population. The children are the future workers and citizens; the mothers who are rearing them are performing a service as valuable as that of any ordinary wage-earner. Is it just or fitting that this vast army of human beings, who may be called the reserve force of the nation, should have no share of *their own* in the community's resources: should have to be kept out of the wages paid to men for *their* services to production, so that what one man spends on keeping a wife and family, his neighbour has as pocket-money to spend on his amusements? Does not the economic status thus assigned to mothers and children, or rather the lack of any economic status, react on their moral status? Does it not encourage the coarser type of man to regard his family as a sort of appendage to himself, part of the "comforts and decencies" to which he is entitled? In every discussion on "the living wage" this view invariably crops out, as for instance in the letter of a schoolmaster who recently wrote to a Liverpool daily paper to demand a scale of salaries which would enable the male teacher "to keep a wife and family, perhaps even a little car."

Again, how does the present system work out socially? Is it not partly responsible for the inordinate expenditure on luxuries, especially on drink and betting, which takes place even in times of trade depression and in the class which can least afford it. During his care-free bachelor years, the years when habits are being irrevocably formed, the young wage-earner has usually as much to spend on himself as he will have later to spend on himself, his home, his wife and his children. Is not this fact partly

responsible for the short time, the refusal to do their best or to turn out on a Monday, which employers often urge as reasons for decreased production and loss of trade to foreign competitors? An examination of these charges will usually reveal that so far as they are justified at all they apply chiefly to the young men who can satisfy their standard of life by working less than a full week, and to some of the older men who have been unable to shake off the habits acquired in their earlier days.

So much for the case against the present system. What of the alternatives? I return to my three possible methods of Family Endowment:—

National Family Endowment, though to many of us it seems likely to prove in the long run the most thorough, just, and economical of the three methods, is clearly not practical politics at present. No Chancellor of the Exchequer would face so great an expenditure all at once. But to those who argue that this method is permanently impossible, I would say: "Look at our national drink bill!" In 1921, a year of depressed trade, the expenditure on drink was £404,000,000, or after deducting the sum paid in taxation £212,000,000. To have paid an allowance of 7s. 6d. a week for every child under 14 in Great Britain during that year would have cost roughly about £209,000,000. Can it be said that this country is permanently unable to expend on the primary needs of its entire child population a sum less than it expends on one of its little luxuries? To pass the sum through the coffers of the national exchequer would not be a real increase to national burdens. As much or more than that is or should be spent on the children at present; to provide for it through Family Allowances would be for the most part a redistribution on more equitable lines of an existing charge.

But as a first step, a more possible method of family endowment would be by means of an extension of the familiar system of compulsory, contributory insurance. The advantages of the method are obvious:—

The whole machinery of collection and distribution is already in existence. The system, if not popular, is a well established and accepted part of our economic structure. It would distribute the cost of maintaining children among the three parties interested in their welfare:—The actual or potential parents, who now bear the whole responsibility; the employers, to whom children are the future workers; the State, to whom they are the future citizens. The cost would of course vary with the scale selected. If, for example, it were desired to begin modestly with the scale established for widows' children under the new Pensions Act—5s. a week for the eldest child and 3s. for each subsequent child—

the cost of paying such allowances for the children of the insured population up to the age of 15, if distributed equally between the State, the employer and the employed worker, would probably involve a payment by each of about 1s. per week per worker, women and young persons contributing at half rates.

The disadvantages of this system are those common to existing insurance schemes, that it leaves out considerable sections whom it would be desirable to cover, that it places a burden on industry which might be more equitably spread over the whole community, and so forth.

The third method—Family Allowances paid wholly by employers—has the advantage of being actually in existence, to a greater extent than most people realise, in many European countries. For the facts about these countries I must refer you to the publications of the Family Endowment Society. I can only give them in the barest outline:—

Family Allowances abroad are most prevalent in the national and municipal services. So far as I can ascertain, Great Britain, Spain, Portugal and Italy are the only European countries which do not recognise the principle in some form. Denmark and Norway give merely an extra bonus to married officials; all the rest pay allowances for children and some for wives, the children's allowances usually continuing until education is complete, even if this includes University education. Next to the public services, the system obtains most widely in the mining industry, including that of France, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Sweden—all the countries whose mines are threatening to compete successfully with our own. For other industries, the countries where Family Allowances are most strongly developed are France, Belgium, Germany, Austria and the two Slovakias. The French system is perhaps the most firmly established and completely successful. There it already covers over three-fifths of those employed otherwise than in agriculture and is spreading so rapidly that it bids fair to become universal. It is to France that we owe the system of Equalization Funds or industrial pools which offers an entirely satisfactory solution of the question:—“How, if employers are asked to pay allowances for their workers' children, can they be prevented from discriminating against married men as an expensive form of labour?” Under this system, the allowances are paid for not by the individual employer, but out of a pool or fund to which each employer contributes in proportion either to his total wage-bill or to the total number of his employees, whether married or single. In neither case has he any motive to economise by the dismissal of married men. Although Family Allowances in

France were introduced by the employers without consultation with the workers, they have now won such favour among the latter that the declared policy of French trade unionism is to demand that the system should be made universal and compulsory. When the payment of children's allowances was made obligatory on firms undertaking Government contracts, the principal federation of French trade unions declared:—

“Now that the Decree has been issued, employers will not be able to withhold Family Allowances on any pretext; the workers' right to them has been admitted, and the trades unions will see that it is respected.”

The attitude of Belgian trade unionism is equally favourable, though the system there is of later growth and less widely extended.

In Austria, most poverty stricken of all countries, Family Allowances are universal and compulsory. In Germany, they are probably nearly as general as in France, but public opinion is more divided as to their merits, partly no doubt because the Pool system is much less general. Lastly, in our own Dominions a beginning has been made. The Australian Commonwealth and the Irish Free State have introduced the system into the public services. The Queensland Government has promised a Bill extending it to all industries.

Are we prepared lightly to set aside the example thus set by our foreign competitors? Much attention has lately been drawn to the fact, or alleged fact, that though wages in this country are higher than anywhere else in Europe, there is more sympathy here with extreme and revolutionary opinion. May not the explanation be that we have hitherto turned our backs on the device by which other countries have blunted the sharp edge of poverty for those who feel it most—the fathers and mothers of young families?

There are many who, when first confronted with the proposal for family endowment, feel for it a strong dislike. They attribute this to instinct or intuition. But no instinct is worth much if it cannot stand the test of reasoned investigation. If you are willing to undertake this, you will no doubt find that you are able to justify your dislike by pointing out that the proposal is open to certain disadvantages and risks. Some of these no doubt will be raised in the course of the debate. At its close, I will endeavour to answer them. But suppose my answer fails to satisfy you. Do not imagine you have thereby disposed of the case for Family Endowment. You have not done that by pointing out that the proposal has some disadvantages, is open to some risks. What part of our economic structure is free from disadvantages and risks? You have to prove that these are so great

as to outweigh the enormous disadvantages and risks of the present method of providing for children. What is your answer to the facts and figures which shew that under that system the payment of a living wage—on any scale which can or ought to satisfy an intelligent and self-respecting people, is impossible. Can you disprove the facts and figures? Not long ago I heard Sir William Beveridge the Director of the London School of Economics and one of the sanest exponents of "Practical Idealism in Economic Affairs" say that without Family Endowment, he saw "no possible remedy for poverty." Have you a remedy? Or are you content to say that poverty is inevitable; that it is inevitable that a large proportion of the wage-earning population should be for ever obliged to rear their children under conditions and amid surroundings which you could not bear to contemplate for your own children—not for a single month. Beware of the danger of preaching to others contentment with conditions which you have never endured yourselves, which would never content your own family or friends. Beware of it if for no other reason than that your sermon will fall on deaf ears. The days are over for ever when the wage-earning class will be satisfied with the present huge inequalities in wealth and in the standard of life. Theirs is the political power; theirs if they choose to exercise it the physical force wherewith to overthrow the present structure of society. Great is the responsibility which will rest on those who by refusing such a "reasonable revolution" as the proposals for Family Endowment involve, fail to see that they are heading straight for a very different kind of revolution, one which may end in submerging the civilisation of this country as it has, for the time being, submerged that of Russia.

MISS HELEN FRASER, in opposing, said:—I want you to review again with me the proposals that have been put before you by Miss Rathbone, and to let us consider what are the soundest lines for doing our best for the children of our country to-day. We would all be agreed I take it, that women who are devoted to public service are like the mothers, most deeply concerned with that question.

In considering the first proposal put forward of *State Endowment* I must begin by saying that I think the use of the word "endowment" is misleading. I want first of all to point out that the children of this country are heavily endowed now, and on lines that are sounder and more valuable than mere allowances could ever be. Let us take first the position of the child in what might be termed "abnormal" conditions. The facts are that we in this country deal with abnormal conditions on a gigantic scale

—we give relief, we note the presence of the child in our unemployment schemes where we give small allowances, we have just carried a big insurance scheme for the orphans and widows, and the question of the wife and child in sickness is now being considered in connection with reforms in our Health Insurance Acts. The abnormal, therefore is on the lines of being covered.

Then when we turn to the provision made for the "normal" child, leaving out the millions that are spent on Housing, taking the figures for education alone, we find that in the year 1923—24 we spent in England and Wales £76,726,219, and in Scotland £11,502,735, making a total of £88,228,954, directly benefiting just under eight million persons. Our expenditure on health measures for children including health visitors, day nurseries, clinics, welfare centres, etc., amounts to about £2,000,000, while in addition there are grants made by the authorities to other voluntary organisations amounting to over £180,000. So that altogether the children of this country, if we make some allowance for convalescent homes, orphanages, holiday funds, etc., are already endowed to the amount of between ninety and one hundred millions a year. This means, reduced to practical terms, that no person in this country of small means is asked to bear the whole burden of providing all that is needed for the support of his family and, the bigger the family, the more the endowment:—the bigger the need, the greater is our response in this kind of endowment. I contend that the finest endowment you can give a child from the State is endowment in kind. Let us continue to give our endowment so that we know the child gets opportunities of culture through education, so that it gets medical care, so that we know it gets the full benefit which we want to provide for its physique and character.

I am all for the endowment of children, but I am convinced that endowment *in kind* by the State is the most valuable and soundest endowment, and we would be well advised to keep our eyes on this fact when we are asked to endow in money.

In view of these facts should we be wise to give a direct State endowment? I contend that there is no question in my mind, personally, that the State can give its endowment in kind far better than in handing out a few shillings a week.

If instead of giving to them your endowment in kind, you decided to give it in a few shillings a week, I want to put a few practical questions to you. What guarantee have we, suppose we pay that money from the State to a man with children, that the mother is going to get the money to spend on the children? What guarantee have we that any child so paid for would get the full value for itself? It is just the very child who stirs our pity

most with regard to whom it is questionable whether it would ever get the full value of the money spent on it. There is one practical question. Where is your guarantee, with the law as it is?

Secondly, I do not believe that you can isolate a question like this and regard it apart from industrial conditions any more than from your whole idea as to how the State should be run. Such questions as emigration, population, and responsible parenthood come into it. You must fit this question into the background of your ideal of the State, and I want to say that if you are going to talk about State allowances just because there are too many in some cases, are you not being unfair to responsible parenthood?

When we come to the second proposal of *Employers Schemes*, are we prepared to change our present system of paying wages? A very great deal of the case for endowment is made on the ground that the man's responsibilities increase, but his wages remain the same as when he was a young bachelor. Now let us examine this position. You will find in professions in general, and I see no reason why you should not improve the incidence of it, if it would be more helpful, you will find in the Civil Service, in teaching, in banking, and in many other similar employments that salaries rise year by year until they reach a maximum, so that speaking generally more money comes to a man as the responsibilities of life increase. That is an essentially sound system; it means the recognition of the value of increased skill and experience. And in regard to this I would like to remind you that people in the professions need our consideration in the bringing up of their children just as deeply as poor people do.

The State too is quite awake to the needs of the married in other ways. It gives marriage concessions and exemptions in income tax to help the man who has responsibilities, and it is just as well to remember children are not the only ones.

Then we come to the question of this margin of wage which Miss Rathbone regards as so bad a thing. She seems to think that life and people's money are in watertight compartments. She says young men have a margin. People who do not have children have a margin under our present wage system and she wants it taken away. But surely a young woman and a young man do not always spend that margin wastefully. It is used to buy furniture for the home, to begin small businesses, to fit them for professions or trades. They do not qualify themselves for parenthood only by the wages they get when their children are born, but by action and saving before. Again the margin is used, by many people for good, in very many cases for other people's children. There is luxury, it is true: things done and spent that anyone can criticise; but is Miss Rathbone's contention, in giving these drink

figures, that we should introduce prohibition, and should make everyone give us what they formerly spent on drink, and hand that four hundred millions over to the children? I do think that you need to examine a little more into whether your margin is as dangerous as has been suggested. And there is another point. Are children always to be regarded as a burden? I would have said that some people are entitled to some margin to compensate them for the fact that they have no children!

Then with regard to the advisability of our taking action to make still more fixed this flat rate of pay, you and I know that the skill of a man and the experience of a man does increase and should be paid for in increased wages, and if this acceptance of the flat rate means that an experienced skilled man will get just the same for a shift as a young miner, are we really serving the cause of the married man as well as if we point out that this question of the dead flat rate is one that should be carefully looked into? I would counsel the workers to consider whether family endowment will not encourage the tendency to reduce all wages to a mere subsistence level, because it would be said in defence that help was given to a man with dependents. I think we need to get down to the question of why our industries do not produce enough to give a good wage to all the real workers in them. I regard it as retrogressive and damaging to accept a doctrine that lays down as its root a profound belief that there cannot be enough money in industry to provide this. I feel that the remedy does not lie along lines like those suggested, and I venture to say that endowment through pools, unless you have established something like co-partnership in industry in this country on a much larger scale than it is at present, might be a greater curse to the worker than the present conditions.

If we oppose the taking of money from the State Exchequer directly and giving it in money instead of in kind, and if we reject the "pool" system in industry, we have to consider lastly whether some scheme of insurance for Family Endowment would be advisable or useful.

And if, as I suggested before, we are going to regard the child as another insurable risk, it might be quite useful to consider whether it would be wise to make provision in this way, where you have the principle of contribution.

Personally I should say an insurance scheme is very much more on lines of possible acceptance in this country.

But until this country reviews fearlessly and fundamentally the real evils and causes of its industrial depression, this would merely be another smoke-screen obscuring realities. I desired this afternoon to review the position fairly and moderately, and I

shall sum up by saying that to my mind we would be very ill-advised, as a country, if we were to adopt any system of State allowances. We can give children far better and finer things on the lines we are going at present. Industrially we and the workers would be equally ill-advised to adopt it.

It takes considerable courage at the present time to get up and oppose any demands made anywhere in this country. It takes far more courage than should be necessary in any free country. It would be better for us if one could do it without being gravely misrepresented. But at the risk of such misrepresentation I give you part of the case against the proposal.

CLUBS, THEIR LICENSING AND SUPERVISION.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 22nd.

Chairman: MRS. HARTREE, Mayor of Cambridge.

MRS. HARTREE: I wish first to tell you how very sorry Mrs. Keynes is not to be here this afternoon. May I also remind you that this meeting has been arranged by the Public Service Committee, of which Mrs. Keynes is Chairman and Mrs. Barrow Cadbury, Vice-Chairman. The subject we are to discuss is the licensing of clubs and I shall ask the speakers to deal with it from the point of view of magistrates. I only wish Mrs. Wintringham were here, because she has spoken of the great danger she sees coming in the villages of Lincolnshire, where clubs are springing up and practically becoming drinking houses without the regulations enforced on the public houses. In my own town the Farmers' Union asked for special hours in the public houses, which were refused. Very soon after the Farmers' Club was opened. It is a great pity that the idea should be prevalent that it is impossible to run a club without drink. A new Labour Club is being started in Cambridge and I have begged the leaders to have the strength of mind to run that club without any drink at all and have drawn attention to a certain little Club which is being run quite well without. But the Club secretary said it was impossible to manage without, as the drink would pay for the running of the club. Then a case of licensing came up at the Quarter Sessions a little while ago in connection with the People's Refreshment Houses Association. Our Quarter Sessions decided that they were not capable of forming any opinion on this subject and held that they were not a competent body to deal with it. I said I considered myself fully competent, but their decision had to go through. Many people do not realise what is happening and we shall be glad to learn about it from the two speakers to-day.

MR. GEORGE BRYSON, J.P., Chairman of the Birmingham Licensing Committee: Definitions are proverbially difficult, but it will be well if we clearly understand one another as to the meaning of the terms we use, and I therefore propose to begin my paper by explaining the nature of Clubs and the method adopted to register them.

The Licensing Acts attempt no definition, and in any concrete case brought before a Court, the Court would have to decide whether the association in question is or is not a "Club." The dictionary gives as a definition—"A select number of persons in the habit of meeting for the promotion of some common object, as social intercourse, literature, science, politics, etc."

The Clubs we are to consider are those coming within the Licensing Acts, that is those which occupy a house or part of a house or other premises which are habitually used for the purpose of a Club, and in which intoxicating liquor is supplied to members or their guests: and the secretary of every such Club must cause the Club to be registered in the manner provided by the Licensing Consolidation Act, 1910.

It is precisely laid down that registration does not constitute the Club premises licensed premises nor does it authorise any sale of intoxicating liquor therein which would otherwise be illegal.

The sale mentioned in the Act is such a sale as takes place between buyer and seller in ordinary shops. Where there is a Club the committee of which buys liquor for the whole body and then distributes it among the members according to rules, this is not a "sale." It has been described as "a transfer to one member of the interest of the other members for a money payment." If, however, the liquor is not the property of the members, the member who consumes the liquor is in effect buying it, and there is a "sale," within the meaning of the Licensing Acts.

In a case brought in the High Court in 1882 (*Graff v. Evans*) the Judge described the transaction in these words:—"The legislature have come to the conclusion that it is inadvisable that intoxicating liquors should be sold anywhere without a licence. The enactment is limited to sales of intoxicating liquors, and only seems aimed at sales by retail traders, because the wholesale trader is not touched. The question here is—'Did Graff, the manager, who supplied the liquors to Foster (a member), effect a sale by retail?' I think not. I think Foster was an owner of the property together with all the other members of the Club. Any member was entitled to obtain the goods on payment of the price. There was no contract between two persons, because Foster was vendor as well as buyer. Taking the transaction to be a purchase by Foster of all the other members' shares in the

goods, Foster was as much a co-owner as the vendor. I think it was a transfer of a special property in the goods to Foster, which was not a sale within the meaning of the section.

On the other hand, where the Club is a sham one, or the transaction is in other respects not bonâ fide, the parties are liable to be convicted for unlicensed selling.

Thus, where a stranger entered a working man's Club and asked for ale and a member wrote his name in the visitors' book and took his money and the ale was then supplied, the member was held liable for selling without a licence.

Again, where the steward of a working man's Club was convicted for selling beer to a member's wife, who told the magistrates that she had been sent to the Club to get the beer for her husband, the Court, thinking that there was no bona-fide agency or supply of club property to the husband, refused to disturb the conviction.

Since 1902 it has been necessary in the case of every Club, whether a member's Club or a proprietary one, that the supply of liquor to it should be under the control of the members or of the committee appointed by them. The mode of registration of clubs is laid down as follows:

"The Clerk to the Justices of every Petty Sessional Division shall keep a register of all such clubs within the division. The register shall be in a form prescribed by the Secretary of State and shall contain:

The name and objects of the Club;

The address of the Club;

The name of the Secretary;

The rules of the club relating to:

- (1) The election of members and the admission of temporary and honorary members and of guests;
- (2) the terms of subscription, and entrance fee, if any;
- (3) the cessation of membership;
- (4) the hours of opening and closing; and the mode of altering the rules."

This register is open to the inspection of any Inspector or Superintendent of Police or an Officer of Customs and Excise without payment, and of any other person on payment of a fee not exceeding one shilling.

It will be noticed that nothing is said as to the character of the person or persons promoting the club, nor has the Clerk to the Justices any right to enquire into such matters. Indeed it is possible for a club to be promoted by a person against whose name serious convictions stand recorded, and he may gather

round him as fellow members others of like condition and character.

It is also provided that intoxicating liquors shall not be supplied in a club for consumption off the premises except to a member on the premises. The expression "on the premises" would seem to indicate that the liquor must be supplied to the member in person and that a duly authorised agent cannot lawfully act on behalf of the member. Therefore, if a member of a club wants to get intoxicating liquor for consumption at home, he must apply for it personally at the club: he cannot send a messenger.

Where a club has been registered, a court of summary jurisdiction, on complaint in writing by any person may, if they think fit, make an order directing the club to be struck off the register for all or any of the following grounds:

(1) That the Club has ceased to exist, or that the number of members is less than twenty-five.

A Justices' Clerk has apparently no authority to refuse to enter a club on the register, and still less to remove its name therefrom, because the number of its members is less than 25. All that he has to do is to satisfy himself that the return made to him is a return under the Act. Where a club has less than twenty-five members, it is entitled to remain on the register until it has been struck off by an order duly made.

(2) That it is not conducted in good faith as a club; or that it is kept or habitually used for any unlawful purpose.

(3) That there is frequent drunkenness on the club premises.

(4) That illegal sales of intoxicating liquor have taken place on the club premises. A single sale is not enough to bring the case within this sub-section: there must be "illegal sales." It is not necessary that there should be convictions for the illegal sales. If it is proved that illegal sales, such as sales to non-members, have in fact taken place, a ground for striking the club off the register will be established.

(5) That persons who are not members are habitually admitted to the club, merely for the purpose of obtaining intoxicating liquor.

(6) That the club occupies premises in respect of which, within twelve months next preceding the formation of the club, a justices' licence has been forfeited or the renewal of a justices' licence has been refused, or in respect of which an order has been made that they shall not be used for the purposes of a club.

(7) That persons are habitually admitted as members with-

out an interval of at least forty-eight hours between their nomination and admission.

An occasional admission of a member without an interval of forty-eight hours will not be sufficient to justify an order; persons must be habitually so admitted as members.

(8) That the supply of intoxicating liquor to the club is not under the control of the members or the committee appointed by the members.

In the case of an ordinary members' club the property in the liquor, as in everything else, is the members. Whereas in a proprietary club, the property in the furniture, etc., of the club is in the owner; but in order to meet the requirements of the Licensing Acts the supply of intoxicating liquor is generally under the control of a committee appointed by the members to act on their behalf. If the supply of liquor is not under the control of the members or of a committee appointed by the members, the club may be struck off the register. It is therefore doubtful whether a club can be effectively "tied" without the risk of being struck off.

A search warrant to enter a club may be granted if a justice of the peace is satisfied by information upon oath that there is reasonable ground for supposing that the club is so managed or carried on as to constitute a ground for striking it off the register.

There are also penalties for false returns by the secretary: and an annual statement of the purchases of intoxicating liquor during the previous year must be made and a duty of sixpence in the pound is payable thereon.

That then is the general law concerning clubs, and I now ask you to consider the present situation with regard to these places.

The Licensing statistics show that on January 1st, 1905 there were 6,589 Clubs in England and Wales. On January 1st, 1925, the number is given as 11,799, an increase of 5,210.

During that period 14,343 On Licences have been extinguished by the payment of compensation, amounting in all to £16,738,760. That being the position, I suggest it is high time something was done.

Let me say frankly I am not opposed to Clubs. Man is a gregarious animal: and clubs are a natural corollary. But there are clubs and clubs: some, against which no valid objection can be urged and some which are nothing but unlicensed public houses.

I have no desire to suppress the well-conducted club, but I would do all in my power to prevent the continued establishment of the second class I have named.

And one difficulty in dealing with the matter which must be faced, is the hostility of members of well-conducted clubs to any interference with their present liberty. To such, a club is regarded as a second home, and any interference with the club is regarded as altogether unwarrantable. But the law is a terror to evil doers only, and I cannot see why any member of a well-conducted club should object to regulations aimed at quite another class of institution, which by law come within the same category.

Let me lay before you proposals for dealing with the question: and I do so by stating the terms of a resolution which will, I think, commend itself to the members of many licensing authorities.

"That no new club shall be registered in future unless a Justices' license be granted for the purpose, after an application in open Court, in the same manner as the grant of an ordinary Justices' license."

This is in the nature of an emergency recommendation only.

We cannot proceed in advance of public opinion: and it has been publicly stated by the Bishop of London that the present Home Secretary had said to a deputation from the Temperance Council of the Christian Churches that, whilst he did not intend to tackle the thorny question of Clubs generally, he did desire to take steps to deal with the night club—a problem, be it noted, that chiefly affects the Metropolitan area.

But if any Home Secretary became aware that behind the agitation for an alteration in the law there is a solid body of public opinion, it would not be long before legislation was introduced. And that is where such a Union as yours is so potent a force for good. Through your branches you can collect and give expression to an opinion that no politician would dare to ignore: and if your support can be secured for the proposals of the various Licensing Authorities, its effect would be irresistible.

Let us then consider the lines along which we should desire to see legislation proceed: and I do so again by a series of propositions.

"That registered clubs wherein intoxicating liquors are supplied shall be licensed by the authority which now controls licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors."

Why should not a locality have the opportunity of expressing an opinion as to the necessity of the proposed club? Such an expression of opinion need not amount to a power of veto, but it is one which should be seriously taken into account by a licensing

authority. And why should a well-conducted club fear the publicity of such an application?

“That where a licence is refused, applicants shall have a right of appeal to Quarter Sessions,”

This is giving to an application for a club more than is allowed in respect of a licence for a new public-house: but it is one that would remove any suspicion of local favoritism.

“That registered clubs shall not be assessed for compensation, nor shall compensation be payable to them for loss of licence.”

This is obviously fair and right.

“That registered clubs be required to pay a licence duty calculated on the amount of intoxicating liquors sold.”

As I have already mentioned clubs pay $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ on their purchases. Why not put the sale of all intoxicants upon an equal footing?

“That registered clubs be open to inspection by police officers not under the rank of inspector.”

The police may well be trusted to exercise such a power with discretion. And again I would say that if nothing wrong is going on the possession of such a power by the police should not raise any fears.

“That the permitted hours during which intoxicating liquors are supplied in registered clubs shall be identical with those fixed for licensed premises in the same area, except that the Justices shall be empowered to vary such hours for clubs, where they are satisfied that special requirements render this desirable.”

At present, clubs may make their own regulations with regard to hours, provided they keep within the limits prescribed by the local authority and have no more than eight hours in the provinces or nine in the metropolitan area with an interval of two hours in the afternoon. And on good cause shown the Licensing Justices would be enabled to grant reasonable facilities to any club requiring a variation. I can imagine, for example, that the mid-day termination of permitted hours might very well vary according to the membership of the club concerned. But it is unsatisfactory, to put it at the lowest, that clubs should make it possible for permitted hours to be practically continuous from 10 to 10.

Then the interval of twelve months after a licensed house has been referred to the compensation authority before it can be

re-opened as a club is altogether too short. If the compensation authority cannot agree with the owners as to the value of the licence, it is often twelve months after the date on which the renewal of the licence was refused before the house is closed.

We have had an instance in Birmingham where £4,610 was paid by way of compensation for a poor house in a redundant area; and within a very few months after payment the premises were re-opened, without alteration, as a registered club. Such a state of affairs needs only to be mentioned to be condemned by all reasonable people.

These are then the proposals which I invite you to consider. If you approve them, I would beg you to do all in your power to support them. As I have already said, you can exercise a very great power in the way of moulding public opinion and so creating a force which is irresistible—a force which I am sure you will always desire to direct for the benefit of the community and the welfare of the nation.

THE REV. E. BENSON PERKINS, Temperance Council of the Christian Churches: I had no idea that I should be a resident citizen of Birmingham by the time I came to speak at this Conference. I am glad to have the privilege of being a citizen of the same city as Mr. Bryson, particularly as he is the Chairman of the Licensing Bench. I speak this afternoon as representing the Temperance Council of the Christian Churches and with a fairly wide experience of the national position.

The claim for legal equity in the treatment of clubs has been so fully stated that I have no need to touch that point. I entirely agree with Mr. Bryson. But there are other things to consider. The modern club in its popular form arose about the middle of the last century as a parallel movement to the rapidly developing ideas of popular education. There grew up a conscious need for social development as well as for educational opportunities. There you have the first beginning of the club movement in its popular sense. I am sure everyone here will support the right of men and women in all groups to have opportunities for social fellowship. Nothing that I may say critically weakens my affirmation of that right.

In 1862 the Working Men's Club and Institute Union was formed and in 1875 Sir Stafford Northcote, Chancellor of the Exchequer, said: “along with many *bona fide* clubs which have been recently established to the great advantage of the working classes, there have also sprung up some which are only public houses under the name of clubs.” What happened? There was first of all at the end of last century a Royal Commission of Enquiry, and in 1902 the Licensing Act was passed, which estab-

lished the principle of registration, later embodied in the Licensing Consolidation Act, 1910. In 1909 the Budget introduced a new provision, that all clubs should pay a tax of $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ on their purchases of intoxicating liquors. The Control Board during the War period found that it was little use establishing regulations expected to control drink in the public houses unless they were extended to clubs as well. In 1921 the passage of the most recent Licensing Act brought clubs under the regulation of hours on the same basis as the public houses. There for the first time you have the control of hours in clubs. It is of no use, therefore, saying that the idea of regulation is a new one. What we stand for is the development logically and reasonably of the principle, recognised all along, that you must control the supply of alcoholic liquor in clubs.

The growth of clubs has already been indicated. We have to-day one club to every 3,500 of the population, but that does not convey a definite idea of the position. Clubs are not equally distributed throughout the population. You find the problem most acute in such industrial areas as the West Riding of Yorkshire, Lancashire, S. Wales and Durham. In one Lancashire town the membership of the clubs equals half the adult males of the town and I do not need to explain what that means to the community. It is all very well to say the club is a private institution and therefore outside the licensing law. You cannot have half the male population of a town contracting outside the law. That is roughly the kind of consideration which presses home the question.

Now to go a step further: if the drink supplied in clubs were ancillary to the main purpose of the club our objection on the ground of equity could not be pressed, but there are many clubs which exist only for the supply of liquor. There is one town in the South of England with a population under 10,000, which has two clubs, one of them with a membership of over 1,000. This club has the brewers behind it. The total turnover in 1921 was roughly speaking £17,000, alcoholic beverages accounting for over £15,000.

Take the balance sheets of fifteen clubs which happen to be in my possession, and analyse the expenditure. The expenditure on drink represents 92% of the total expenditure—an average of £14 per member. We have been told this afternoon that there are 11,000 clubs in existence. They are not all drinking clubs but one-fifth of them are responsible for more than half the drink consumption. That makes us realise how necessary it is to differentiate between the clubs and brings us to the fact that drinking in some clubs is extraordinarily heavy. Then it is not

only the working men's clubs that are the trouble; there are others. For instance in one of the South Eastern Counties there was a "Literary Club." A certain resident had suspicions as to its use and asked the Secretary one day, "How is the Literary doing?" The Secretary, taken unawares, replied, "Oh, about twenty barrels a week."

What effect do these clubs have on the life of the community? Many of them are supposed to be centres of political activity. Really they are centres of political influence based on drugged thinking "The Labour Leader" some time ago said, "No honest and unprejudiced worker in the Labour Movement can deny that the drink-selling club tends to be reactionary in sentiment and materialistic in outlook . . . suffocating political idealism wherever it has been planted." Whatever our political views, we want true political ideals; the drinking clubs are suffocating idealism. Many members of the Labour Movement say they cannot run their clubs without the profit on drink. A Labour Club in North London was recently making £5 a week profit through the sale of alcoholic liquors. The Secretary, who was not a temperance man in the ordinary sense, said to his Committee, "The bar crowd is no good to the Labour Movement," and therefore he advised his committee that if they thought of the Labour Movement before the mere sale of liquor they could do nothing better than get rid of the club bar. It meant a loss of £5 a week, but the matter was put to the Committee and through it to the whole membership of the club. Just over 100 were present, a few were neutral, but over 70 voted for the abolition of the supply of drink. This Labour Club withdrew from registration solely in the interests of its political ideals.

The Club is also finding a place in the villages. There particularly it is having a very bad effect upon the women, in some instances a most disastrous effect. The club is without the supervision which ordinarily belongs to the sale of liquor.

We have had put before us by Mr. Bryson the lines of equitable and reasonable reform. Unfortunately that reasonable policy of reform is likely to encounter violent opposition. I was a member of a deputation which went to the Home Secretary under the auspices of the London Public Morality Council with regard to Night Clubs. The Home Secretary reminded us that there are 11,000 clubs, representing about 1,000,000 members, therefore controlling 2,000,000 votes. He said we must be careful not to do anything to upset 2,000,000 votes, but he went on to say that he would deal with the Night Club. This is largely a London difficulty and a very tragic one. It was proposed first that all night clubs in a certain scheduled area should not be

allowed to open without a permit; secondly, that such night clubs should be open to inspection by a police inspector. That proposal has thus far been blocked. It is a proposal guaranteed to protect our sons and daughters when they come to London. Why was it blocked? Because of the violent opposition brought to bear by the Association of Conservative Clubs and the Working Men's Club and Institute Union. They think that if once inspection is secured for night clubs it will be easier to get it for clubs in general. It is a perfectly intolerable situation. I agree with Mr. Bryson that no genuine club has reason to fear the entrance of the police inspector. It makes one wonder why these club organisations are afraid of proper inspection. What have they to hide?

I merely add in conclusion that, whatever our personal opinion may be, whatever our personal attitude to the temperance question in general may be, I imagine that everyone here, out of a sense of true equity and recognition of the fact that there is danger in the sale of drink, will be prepared to support the proposals laid before us. Speaking on behalf of the Churches, I say that we stand as Churches side by side with the Magistrates' Association in urging these proposals and expressing the hope that the community will realise their fairness and give such support as will enable them to be brought into law. I claim that drinking in clubs should be under the same equitable regulation as drinking in other places, and that such reform is made necessary by the facts of the situation.

"PENAL REFORM."

TUESDAY, 22nd SEPTEMBER.

Chairman: MRS. EDWIN GRAY, J.P.

MRS. EDWIN GRAY:—We have what to me is very likely to be the most interesting meeting of the whole Conference. I am speaking personally because as a magistrate I am most anxious to learn all that there is to be learnt with regard to possibilities of Penal Reform. By that I suppose we mean all the steps which can be taken to defend the community from evil doers and at the same time to find out how to treat them, so that by training, care and love, we may help them to become good citizens and prevent them from returning to their life of crime.

DR. HAMBLIN SMITH, M.A., M.D. (H.M. Prison, Birmingham):—I highly appreciate the honour of being invited to address

you to-night. Your subject is announced as "Practical Idealism." Now the feminine mind has often been described as being illogical and unpractical. I maintain, on the contrary, that women are, essentially, practical. It would fare ill with the world were they unpractical upon whom is laid the duty of managing a household and the task of rearing a family. Compared with women, men are but rank sentimentalists. And yet, with their practicality, there is also in women an idealism, which has kept their eyes, and through their eyes those of the world, fixed upon the things which are more excellent. These considerations tend to make me hopeful in speaking here to-night. And more especially so, because I shall endeavour to indicate certain possible reforms in our way of treating offenders, which reforms are not only commendable on account of their altruistic nature, but are eminently practical, and would, if adopted, result in considerable improvement upon our present most costly methods.

I desire to stress the point that I am dealing to-night with *penal* and not with *prison* reform. Improvements in our prison system, as in all other things, are, no doubt, quite possible. In my own time, many such improvements have been made. Such changes, which are largely matters of administration, are comparatively easy to effect. But we have tended to evade the far more important and far more difficult problem of making changes in the way in which an offender gets sent to prison, or is otherwise dealt with by a court. That is my subject to-night.

Society has, by slow and painful steps, evolved certain paths, certain folk-ways, in which it desires the herd to walk. These paths are entitled to respect. And, in the last analysis, it is upon the desire that people should adhere to these paths that our laws, criminal, social and other depend. For these laws society has endeavoured to obtain every possible sanction, religious and other. Most people are willing to keep in these paths; it is the easiest way, it is the most comfortable way. Society resents, and necessarily resents, any divergence from these paths. Such divergence always produces some sense of insecurity, and so long as it is alive, society is bound to react against those who so disturb its sense of security. Yet in every form of society there have always been those who have tended to diverge from the folk-ways. It is against these persons that the reaction of society occurs. A number of acts have been, more or less arbitrarily, selected, and have been prohibited by the criminal law. Transgressions of these prohibitions are known by the name of crimes and produce the reaction known as punishment. And the transgressors are known as criminals.

Crime and its appropriate treatment has been the subject of consideration for many thousands of years. And we might, perhaps, have expected that there would be some general consensus of agreement on this head. But so far is this from being the case, that there is, I suppose, no subject upon which more fundamental differences of opinion exist. Crime has been ascribed to almost every conceivable cause, to the absence of religion, of education, and of discipline, and to the influence of heredity, of alcohol and of many other things. There are, also, many different theories of punishment. Volumes have been written upon these subjects without any agreement. And why? Because the subject has been envisaged from the wrong angle. We constantly talk about punishing crime. There is a phrase in the Anglican Prayer Book, which asserts one of the duties of law makers and administrators to be "the punishment of wickedness and vice." If this could be done, many of our difficulties would vanish. Unfortunately wickedness and vice are simply abstract terms, and have no meaning except as applied to acts committed by individuals. It is not crime which is punished, but the person who commits crime, the criminal.

It is the overlooking of this point which has produced that attitude on the part of courts which may be described as the framing and applying of what has well been termed a "tariff for crime," the assigning of some definite penalty to each delinquent act, irrespective of all other considerations. This attitude is far too prominent, even to-day. But it is altogether contrary to the views of modern criminologists. The idea that an act can be taken as standing by itself is now abandoned. A delinquent act is really a problem in conduct. We have to discover, if we can, why a man has acted in a certain way, and to prevent him, if possible, from so acting in the future. Now while modern science has made many things plain which were obscure before, it has also shown that much which was formerly thought to be simple is really most complex. And we have but just begun to realise how complicated a matter human conduct actually is. Merely to name the offence which a man has committed tells us practically nothing. It does nothing to characterise the offender, or to explain his action, or to suggest the most appropriate form of treatment for him. We have attempted to explain crime. Our real duty is to investigate the offender.

Now the science of human conduct is known as psychology, and it is from psychology that the light upon our path will come. There is much that is controversial in the findings of this science, but one thing is definitely established. Conduct is invariably the result of mental life. There is something in mental content

at the back of every action, whether that content be conscious or unconscious. No cause of criminality can possibly operate, unless and until it affects the offender's mental life. Consequently our primary step is to investigate that mental life. We must remember that there are such things as laws of human conduct. For example, the instinct of acquisition prompts both the financier and the burglar, although the manner of expression of that instinct differs, to some extent, in the two cases.

Regard is already paid to the mental causations of crime. For many years society has adopted a different reaction to those offenders who come within a rather rigid definition of insanity. And mental defectives are also considered, although the definitions in the Mental Deficiency Act are in urgent need of amendment. But these are not the only, nor even the most frequent conditions with which we meet. There are conditions known by the objectionable name of psychopathic states, cases of inadequate personality and the like. There may be irritation produced by circumstances in the offender's environment. There is often a lack of healthy mental interests. Above all, there is the vast subject of the unconscious mind. I wish to avoid controversy. I do not need to enter into the acrimonious disputes which have gathered round this subject. But the main features of the theory of the unconscious, and of the great influence of mental conflicts, are now accepted, by all who are capable of judging, as part of established knowledge. We have thus obtained an entirely new light upon the causation of many offences, and, as a consequence, of their correct treatment. Some comprehension of this subject is essential to all who would deal with offenders. The teaching of modern psychology is not that people should be allowed to do whatever their instincts prompt them to do, without let or hindrance. This notion is simply a travesty, invented by the opponents of psychology. In the interests of society, instincts must be controlled. Psychology teaches that instincts can only be controlled by understanding them.

It must always be remembered that he who would understand another's psychology must first understand his own. It is only when we have learned how the apparently unconnected, and seemingly inexplicable, events of our own lives fit into their places like the pieces of a jig-saw puzzle, that we are able to view the actions of another, not in any spirit of blame, but simply with the desire to obtain a scientific investigation of them and of their causative factors.

So our first necessary step is the examination of our offenders, and I have said enough to indicate that such examination is a highly specialized matter. The recent prison congress passed a

resolution to the effect that accused persons should be physically and mentally examined by specially qualified medical practitioners. Nothing short of this examination will be of any avail. And, as the resolution also said, the necessary services must be inaugurated for this purpose in our institutions. Such an inauguration implies a proper supply of expert workers. It is hopeless to expect this work to be done by those who have no special knowledge of, or interest in, the problems involved.

Having obtained this examination, we shall have gone some way towards comprehension of the mentality of the offender and an understanding of the causes of his offence. The court will then have a full report before it, and such report should contain full suggestions as to the most appropriate manner of dealing with the individual case. I may say, in passing, that such a scheme is sometimes objected to as being too elaborate for what are called "small cases." No case is too small to be worth examination, or if it is too small it is not deserving of being brought before a criminal court at all. But, in reality, there is no such thing as a small or a simple case. The starting point of many a delinquent career has oftentimes been such a so-called small case. The most apparently simple case may contain indications of the utmost practical importance.

And now a further step is needed. To comprehend the report, the court must have some knowledge of the matter therein contained, must be able to appreciate the value of the suggestions made. Another resolution passed by the Prison Congress laid down that magistrates before appointment should be required to attend lectures on these subjects. There is every reason to demand that a necessary preparation for all who deal with offenders should comprise a training in psychology, and in the applications of psychology to the study and the treatment of the offender. We demand, in short, that such persons should have some knowledge of what they are going to do before they set out to do it. That such training is needed is shown by the fact that some justices openly boast of their complete ignorance of, and indifference to, psychology. While others, and these are perhaps more dangerous, assert that they are able to elicit, by the light of their own unaided intelligence, all necessary knowledge of the offender, even if that offender be a frightened child, by talking to him from the bench in a crowded court room.

And so we see that delinquency is a psychological problem. Having made our diagnosis, so far as lies in our power after having explored every possible source of information, we then have to apply the appropriate treatment. Such treatment has to be individualised. There can be no such thing as a general system of

treating offenders. Samuel Butler, in his book "Erewhon," has painted for us a picture of a land in which our conventional attitudes towards crime and physical disease respectively are exactly reversed; a land in which the offender against the laws of the state is regarded as a sick man, and is treated in hospitals by healers, while he who has contracted physical disease is severely punished. This is, of course, a fantasy; although the absurdity of the fantasy is, perhaps, not much greater than that of some of our present customs. But without going so far into fantasy, we may, I think, draw an analogy from the art of medicine. Two men go to a physician, each complaining of a cough. The one is dismissed with a harmless prescription, a few words of good advice, and an assurance that he will be well in a few days. While the other is told that he will have to go to a sanatorium for a prolonged, and perhaps indefinite, period. He is further told that this is not only for the sake of his own restoration to health, not only because the community cannot afford the cost of a permanent invalid, but also because his state of sickness involves an active danger to the rest of the community. Treatment is, in short, adapted to the man and not to the symptom. Under an enlightened scheme there would be no such thing as a definite terminable sentence, although I am not suggesting that we are ready for this reform at the present moment. If a case had to be sent to an institution, the institution selected would be the one most suitable for the case. I would point out that it is as necessary carefully to examine persons before placing them on probation, as before sending them to an institution. Probation is not simply a good-natured plan of letting offenders off with no treatment at all. It can be, and it always should be, combined with active measures of a remedial nature. Suitable mental treatment should often be part of these measures. At the other end of the scale, there are certain persons who simply cannot be made to fit in with society's requirements. They have gone, perhaps I may say that they have been allowed to go, too far. These incurable patients, for such in fact they are, will have to be permanently detained, under non-penal conditions. The idea will be repugnant to many, but it is becoming realised that it will have to be faced.

I hope I have at least cleared from your minds the impression that, as is sometimes stated, my sole desire is to prevent offenders from having anything done for them, and that I wish to leave them at liberty to work their own will on society. On the contrary, I regard the protection of society as of supreme importance. It is just because I regard society as being, at present, most inadequately protected that I plead for a change. I regard

offenders as being worthy of the most careful treatment, and it may be that punishment is the best treatment in some cases. My point is that any treatment must be largely blind, unless it is based upon careful preliminary investigation. It is quite likely that many offenders would regard the scheme which I have suggested as being far harder than our present system; and it is certain that the scheme would occasion far more trouble to justices.

Reverting to our medical simile, modern medicine lays far more stress upon the prevention than upon the cure of disease, and so it should be with crime. Into the question of the conditions which produce crime, conditions which are at least in part preventible and for which society is at least in part responsible, I have no time to enter. Suffice it to say that our remedial measures must start in childhood. It is with the so-called "problem child" that our task lies, for he is the child who develops into the delinquent. So we must have an extension of psychological examination and treatment in our schools.

Some ten years ago, a phrase was invented by one of the popular newspapers, which ran "nothing matters, unless we win the war." And the problem of delinquency will only be, can only be, solved on those lines, namely, by ungrudging provision of the necessary money and by an unfailing supply of the best available men and women workers.

And from the world contest we also learned that "war" can never "end war." And we are making attempts to discover the causes which govern the outbreak of hostilities between nations with a view to the removal of those causes. And we see that our old methods of industrial strife are, at best, abominably wasteful, and appear only too likely to terminate in complete chaos. The more thoughtful of us realise that attempts at repression and palliation are alike futile. And we are striving to ascertain the causes of our present discontents, for only by the removal of these causes can the breakdown of society be prevented. But when we deal with the undying civil war which crime wages against society, is it not true to say that we are content with mere assumptions? Some of these assumptions are concerned with the supposed nature of the criminal, and some with the supposed effect of punishment; some are legacies from our prehistoric ancestors, some are relics from religious systems of the past.

The mass of human failure which is now repressed, at the cost of vast sums of money and of much unprofitable labour, represents a force which must be converted, if possible, from a destructive to a constructive force. The problem is complicated. But its true solution lies in the intensive individual study and treatment

of the offender. And the material for this investigation lies ready to our hand, in our law courts and at our prisons.

MRS. C. D. RACKHAM, J.P.:—It is a truism to say that the way of reformers is hard, and that reformers have to face a good deal of abuse. That, I suppose, is natural. It has been truly said that there is no pain like the pain of the birth of a new idea, and as reformers are bristling with new ideas, naturally that would cause a good deal of pain.

I doubt whether any reformers have come in for more misunderstanding than have penal reformers. We have always been called "sentimentalists"; it is pointed out that we consider the offender more than the danger that he is to society and we are told that our misplaced sympathy for the criminal, instead of for the forces of law and order, is nothing short of immoral. But I regard the penal reformer as one who has the power to reason and to be guided by his convictions, instead of only having the power to feel and to be guided by his passions. I maintain that history is on our side, and that the penal reformer has been proved to be right again and again. We have always set our faces against savage punishment as being not only brutal but futile.

Penal reformers have had to wage a long and difficult battle ever since the time when men had to pay the death penalty for such crimes as stealing and forgery. They had against them the official mind and, to a great extent, the ecclesiastical authorities of their day.

I have an account from the public press which describes how in the year 1826 an old bank clerk, of hitherto irreproachable character—a Quaker—was found guilty of forgery and sentenced to death. Some of the directors of the bank in which he had been employed went in person to the Home Secretary, then Sir Robert Peel, to beg that the sentence passed on their old servant might be commuted. The Home Secretary replied:—"I have listened to your hearts rather than to your understanding. If I were to comply with your request, the whole of society would go to pieces," and the old man was hanged, clothed in his Quaker dress. Now Sir Robert Peel was a great statesman to whom this country owes much, and yet he was capable, in connection with this subject, of talking such iniquitous nonsense as that. I wonder whether some of our statesmen to-day are not perhaps talking in what may in the future be considered in the same way as we to-day consider that statement of Sir Robert Peel!

Romilly said that "The laws of England are written in blood?" Much of that blood has been washed away, but not the

whole of it, and to my mind we have to apply the same principles as were applied by the penal reformers of yesterday and get the last traces of blood removed from our statute book. The debateable ground is constantly changing and every generation has its own problems to solve.

The early reformers were most troubled at the promiscuity of our prisons, the way in which the prisoners were herded together without any respect for the type of person and sometimes hardly for their sex, but though they were anxious about that, John Howard and Elizabeth Fry were never in favour of the system which was to follow the old jails—the system of separate, hard, solitary confinement. Mrs. Fry protested against it in her day and generation when she saw it coming in, and yet it prevailed. The official mind and the ecclesiastical dignitaries were united in imposing solitary confinement in this country: one because it would mean a saving of money, and the other because so many people took the view that if you shut a person up for 23 hours out of the 24 with his Bible, he must get good, and yet we know how the iniquity of that system burnt itself into the soul of the people.

Well, that system has, of course, been modified out of all recognition, and yet in my opinion there is still too much of it, and prisoners spend too much time—more than is good for them—in the stuffiness of prison cells.

We are tempted to feel that because so much has been done, therefore everything has been done. There could not be a greater mistake. Let me indicate one thing. In 1895 there was a Government report on the state of our prisons and certain recommendations were made. One was that a woman inspector should be appointed for women's prisons. That was thirty years ago, but we have to-day no woman inspector in our prisons; we have no woman Governor, with the exception of the Girls' Borstal Institution; and in all our men's prisons, where there are of course a good many people ill and in bed, we find not a single woman nurse. So with all that has been done there is still a good deal to do!

Havelock Ellis said "Prison is an incubator for those who are young in crime; a place of torture for those who possess the finer feelings of humanity; to habitual offenders it is simply a welcome and a comfortable home." There is a story of a prison visitor going into a cell in a woman's prison and asking the prisoner in a sympathetic voice how long she had been there. "Just a fortnight m'am" was the reply. "I have had a nice rest, and to-morrow I think I shall send to my husband to come and pay my fine."

Now "torture" may sound an exaggerated word to apply to present day conditions in our prisons, but when people look back in the future, they will, I believe, wonder what we were doing in 1925. When we think of the almost unrelieved gloom of our prisons, with no sound except the clanging of doors and the clanking of keys, the dullness of the prison Sunday, the poor-ness of the prison library, the inadequacy of attendance in illness, the little attention paid to the mental condition of the prisoners, we can realise that there is still much room for improvement.

Then there is the extraordinary treatment meted out to the unconvicted. Why their treatment should resemble so closely that of the convicted I have never been able to understand. The only object of keeping them in prison is to keep them safe. It may be said that this treatment is inseparable from the prison routine, but I cannot help feeling that its severity might be modified.

I would also ask people to consider well, before they condemn short sentences and extol long sentences, unless they have taken some steps to find out whether that theory is justified in practice.

A new idea came from the great American prison reformer, Mott Osborne, when he was speaking over here recently. He had himself been Governor of the two largest American prisons and had been able to carry out some of his ideas. Someone asked him, "Don't you think the great thing in prison reform is classification, to keep the bad from contaminating the good?" "Not at all," he said, "I must have the good prisoners to help me with the bad ones."

In all discussions on penal reform we must be careful not to exaggerate the power of punishment to put an end to crime. Every time we inflict a punishment we are creating another instance of the failure of that punishment either to deter or reform, and we know that the criminality of any community depends far less on the laws which determine crime than on the laws which govern the social life as a whole. It is those who are doing the infinitely difficult work of building up human character, teaching the children, steering lads and girls through all the manifold difficulties and temptations of their lives, who are doing the best work for the prevention of crime.

The last point I want to make is this—the part that the general public can play in the suppression of crime. And I would remind you in this connection of the carelessness of those who ought to know better. At a meeting of visiting Justices which I attend, the Clerk reads out to us a list containing items

like this:—A.B., age 16, stealing a bicycle—6 months. Now you and I and thousands of other people leave our bicycles about; we take the risks; but the boys who steal them get into that incubator of crime which prison is to young lads to-day.

Then another case—I was reading in the paper only yesterday the story of a man who, on the same day, in the same town, went into three shops, in all of which he was a perfect stranger whom the people in the shop had never seen before. In each case he ordered goods, handed a cheque in payment made out for a larger sum than they cost, and in each case was given the change on the cheque and walked out of the shop with the change in his pocket. The tradesmen were willing to run the risk of losing their shillings; the man ran the risk of penal servitude.

Then there is the case of the mistress who sends her young servant out to buy things, with no money and nothing to show from whom she comes. She says ‘Put it down to Mrs. So. and So’ and walks out of the shop with the goods in her hand. Is it not a great temptation to that young girl to do the same thing when she has left her place and has no connection with her late mistress?

And the lavish and flaunting exhibition of wealth and superfluities must always be an offence to those who are without the necessities or comforts of life.

For the magistrates the best penal reform is to try and keep people out of prison, and for the general public the best reform is to try and keep people from committing crimes.

MADemoiselle BERTILLON (Advocate, Paris):—I often quote to French women the heroic way in which you English women obtained your franchise, and this conference will enable me to tell my compatriots what use you are making of it.

Before attending this conference I was fortunate enough to hear the various speeches given at the 9th International Prison Congress, held recently in London. I will very briefly comment on the different questions which were examined by the Congress.

There were three different sections: a section for penal legislation, another relating to administration, and the last dealing with prevention.

The first question discussed by the section on Legislation was ‘When an offence has been committed, can the public prosecutor have free discretion whether to prosecute, or not? and on the same lines ‘When the accused is proved guilty, can the Court have free discretion whether to inflict a penalty on him, or not?’

In reply to these questions, the Congress recommended very full discretionary powers being granted in all cases where the

general interest would be better served by suppressing proceedings.

In addition, a very interesting suggestion was that, as a set off to the right given to the public prosecutor to prosecute or not, disinterested philanthropic societies ought to be enabled to take the place of the public prosecutor in cases where the real victim is not an individual but the community at large.

The second question discussed by the Legislation Section was as follows:

What measures could be taken, instead of imprisonment, with regard to offenders who have committed a petty offence, which does not constitute a danger to public security?

The idea was, to examine how a judge could avoid sending an offender to prison, because prison as a rule degrades the offender. The following resolution was adopted:

‘The system of probation should be extended to its utmost limit.

The power of the Court to impose fines should also be extended, and the machinery for payment of fines should be developed so as to eliminate as far as possible imprisonment in default of payment.’

My only remark about this resolution is that unhappily it does not contain the excellent idea expressed by the French judge, Henri Rollet, that not only probation, not only the power to impose fines should be extended, but that the judge ought also to have the right to send drunkards and druggtakers to appropriate hospitals instead of to prisons, and to maintain them there until they are totally cured.

The third question of the Legislation Section dealt with the indeterminate sentence.

In considering the indeterminate sentence, the recidivist is compared to an invalid and the judge is compared to a physician. And as the physician, as a rule, cannot say how long it will take for his patient to recover, so the judge cannot say how long it will take for the recidivist to become an honest man. And so, as a consequence of this principle, the judge does not determine how long the man will stay in prison. His sentence will depend on the behaviour of the man in prison and of what his supervisors think of him. Inspired by this idea, the Congress was of opinion that the indeterminate sentence is one of the most efficacious means of social amelioration and ought to be applied.

The fourth and last question of the Legislation Section regarded the judicious application of the principle of individualisation of penalty. And in answer to this question, the Congress gave the rules of a new criminal procedure:

(1) The judge should inform himself of all the material circumstances affecting the character, antecedents, conduct and mode of life of the offender.

(2) Penal law should give the judge a choice of penalties and should not strictly limit his power. It should only lay down general directions and so leave the judge free to apply the principle of individualisation.

(3) The Courts should be specialised as far as possible and, in particular, the Juvenile Courts should be separated from those for adults.

(4) All who wish to be magistrates should be compelled to attend lectures on psychology, sociology, psychiatry and penology.

(5) Enquiries about all the circumstances of the offender should be made before the trial. These enquiries should not be made by the police, but by the magistrate himself or by persons authorised by him for this purpose, who should be at his disposal.

(6) The trial ought to be divided into two parts:

(a) The examination and decision as to guilt;

(b) The discussion and fixing of the punishment.

This was the last resolution adopted by the most important section of the Congress, the section on Legislation.

To spare your time and patience, I will merely sum up the ideas expressed in the sections on Administration and Prevention.

The section on Administration dealt with the detention of recidivists and recommended that recidivists should be kept under special detention, where reformatory, educative influences should be exercised as far as possible. This detention would last until the recidivist was considered cured.

Then the Administration Section discussed whether all the accused should be examined medically and psychologically. The opponents objected to this suggestion as likely to interfere with the liberty of prisoners (which statement seems a paradox). So, by an overwhelming majority, the Congress decided that since it was necessary for the judge to know all the circumstances, it was, as a consequence, necessary that the accused should be physically and mentally examined.

Then the Administration Section discussed the classification of prisoners and whether they should be paid for the work they did in prison. The Congress decided that prisoners should be classified according to age, sex, character, ability and the length of their sentence, and further, that it was desirable that prisoners should be paid and that trustees should spend the money of the prisoner in his best interests.

The third and last section, the preventive section, discussed how to organise control over criminals conditionally discharged, and decided that this control should not be exercised by the police, but by private or official organisations.

Then it considered how the different States were to protect themselves against international criminals, the solution being that different States ought to allow direct intercommunication between their police authorities, with a view to exchanging information and to speeding the arrest of international criminals.

They discussed afterwards what was the best way to preserve the community from films which incited to crime or immorality. It was felt that there ought to be an effective film censorship, which would deal with all matters connected with the cinema which might harm or deprave the community.

Then the preventive section considered what measures ought to be taken with regard to abnormal offenders, and concluded that abnormal people should be sent by the judgment to non-penal institutions. Here they should be treated and when they seemed cured, they should be conditionally discharged and closely supervised.

Then the last question dealt with in this section was when should the judge in a Juvenile Court have recourse to the boarding-out system? The decision was that judges should have recourse to the boarding-out system when the parents of juvenile delinquents were unable to provide for their moral education, and that the foster family should be under public control.

Thus ended the Congress.

It shows that, as your President, Mrs. Morgan, stated, the old idea of punishment has now given place to the modern idea of reform and amendment. But this International Congress does not show that only. It shows also by the cordial way in which the 42 nations represented there discussed matters together, that the enemy is not any more France, or England, or Germany, or Italy, or Turkey, but that the only enemy left is crime, and that with such intelligent and sincere discussions as took place at this Congress—and as are taking place in this present Conference, we may hope that this enemy will soon be overcome.

EDUCATION FROM THE
INTERNATIONAL POINT OF VIEW.

THURSDAY, 24th SEPTEMBER.

Chairman: MRS. GEORGE MORGAN.

MRS. MORGAN: We have now come to our closing meeting and the subject is "Education from the International Point of View." I think that we are all beginning to realise that everything must be considered from this wider aspect—the international point of view. Yet when we come to education we are inclined to think it must be an individual thing relating to our own country. I believe that if you are going to make a good Englishman or a good Scotsman, the best education you can give him will be to make him realise his own place in the great international world. I believe that you will not get a really good, far-sighted Englishman, or man of any other nationality, until he realises that his own nation is only one of many nations. Therefore to-night we are going to have two great experts who will speak to us on these lines, and I feel sure that many of us will be given much to think about and perhaps a wider vision with regard to the education of our children. In this, like all great subjects, you can get a new vision and a wider one when you consider it as part of the world's history, and I feel every year that I live how more and more important it is for each one of us to try to understand our part in this great international life. Another thing is that Peace in the international world will only come when we train our growing boys and girls to realise their relationship with other nations, and to understand that by striving to conquer in an unjust war they will hurt themselves as much as anyone else. The great hope of the future lies with the young now growing up. If we strive to get a wider vision and to pass it on to them, I foresee a higher ideal of citizenship and patriotism, embracing not alone our own dear country but, in a truer and greater way, the whole world.

PRINCIPAL GRANT ROBERTSON, M.A., C.V.O.: Your President in her introductory remarks rather terrified me—first of all by one word that she used, and secondly by one idea that she threw out. She referred to me as an expert—now British men have a very healthy distrust of experts and I imagine that it is shared—and perhaps in an intensified degree—by British women. I want to efface at once any claim that I might have to be regarded as an expert, and secondly I want to remove from your minds

(I don't know whether Mrs. Morgan intended to convey it) that what I was coming here to-night to do was to present you with a nice neat syllabus of education in international matters, all properly divided up in paragraphs, sub-paragraphs and clauses, winding up with a series of resolutions which you would then be too exhausted to controvert and would be prepared to accept as one of the most convenient ways of getting on to the next subject!

Now Professor Cullis,—I am not going to say that she is an expert but she goes as near to it as anyone can with safety—will speak on some of the machinery and particularly on one important piece of machinery already in existence for bringing about greater co-operation from the educational point of view. I do not propose, therefore, to deal with that aspect. What I do invite you to do, in the limited period I am going to intrude myself upon you, is to consider this evening's subject from a very broad point of view; and what I want to submit to you are one or two important principles which any ideas about international education or education towards international relationships must imply and have as their goal. What does education from the international point of view really mean? What ought it to mean? All education must be directly related to a certain civic or individual purpose or it becomes an effete and unmeaning system.

The first thing we have got to bear in mind is the world we are living in, the major forces that are at work, and from that survey to draw certain conclusions as to what we want—if we can—to bring about, particularly looking at the world as a system of international relations. The first and most obvious point is, even compared with ten years ago, the extraordinary shrinkage, that is going on and that will continue, in the size of the world from the point of view of means of communication,—brought about mainly by the great advances in applied science. To-day, even if we only go back to 1913, we can see a very remarkable change. The broad conclusion is one we are all familiar with. Never before in the history of the world have we been able to communicate with each other so quickly as to-day, and in ten years' time I am certain that that shrinkage will have been carried a great deal further. There are possibilities, in other words, as regards telephone, telegraph and wireless, for minds to be brought into touch with each other, for knowledge to be conveyed in a way that is most remarkable, and that certainly was not true twenty years ago. There are possibilities of contact and above all possibilities of mental and spiritual intercourse. That cuts both ways; it is usually assumed that if we can know what is happening in New York, San Francisco, Delhi, Shanghai, it will make for understanding, and that you

have only to allow these changes to go on and their beneficial results will be very apparent.

Now I question this, because if it is easy to create understandings, it is no less easy to create misunderstandings. The fact that information as regards events at a distance, for which in the past we might have had to wait months, is now almost on us in the newspapers before they have happened, and especially the abbreviated way in which they are communicated, may lead to very serious misunderstandings. Possibilities of national conflict as between one State and another are really made greater in many ways by this shrinkage which has gone on, and we ought to remember that.

Though I am not going to say anything further about it from this point of view, surely it imposes two tremendous duties and responsibilities. One of these rests with the Press. The Press has got a power in its hands now such as it has never had before, and it is in its power, if it chooses, to abuse it and to make this great advance of modern science a positive curse. It has also got it in its power to make it a great blessing. When I was a young man I was once talking to the British Ambassador in Paris about the possibility of a grave conflict in West Africa between this country and France. That Ambassador said, "More than once we have felt that we should like to cut the cables. The governments in Paris and in London are trying to smooth out the conflict between the rival expeditions and pioneers in West Africa, but at any moment an incident may occur which, if it could be suppressed for a month or two, would not interfere with what we are trying to achieve." It is so easy when anything of that kind happens to appeal to national passions. To-day we have possibilities of contact and misunderstandings which were not granted to the generations before us. That is the first and most obvious point in the international world of our time.

Secondly, we are living to-day—not only in Europe, but all over the world—in an atmosphere of intensified and aggravated nationalism. So far from having mitigated the nationalist spirit, the war intensified it and the seven years that have followed it have not seen any diminution of that spirit. You have only to speak to anyone who is really dealing with international relations to-day in the government and they will tell you that the great difficulty of foreign policy at this moment is this sensitive, aggravated and intensified nationalism.

What is the remedy? I am going to suggest that in a moment, but at any rate don't let us make the mistake of running away from facts. In our own country—we must not denounce

the moles in other nation's eyes when the beam in our own eyes may be uncomfortably large and obscurantist—we British do not suffer from lack of nationalism—I won't put it any stronger than that! But there is always a danger that when a great issue is before our people, their judgment may be inflamed or obscured by appeals to that white hot nationalism which is in us all and can leap forth only too easily if it is provoked. Therefore, if we are to look at education from the international point of view, let us remember that this nationalist spirit is one of the difficulties to be dealt with.

Thirdly—and here I come to something equally obvious and no less formidable—cast your eye over any country over the whole map of the world, and it is a truism to say that you will be impressed with the fact that two-thirds of the internal strife and two-thirds of the external difficulties are economic. The war didn't create them; it aggravated them. To-day we are not the only country whose politics to a large extent are economics and economics to a large extent are politics—and where the great issues that are being presented to us are issues which are represented by the interests of differentiated groups. In other words to a large extent, and not only in this country, we find when we look into things that there is class warfare, accentuated and embittered by what has happened since 1914 and that there is a constant appeal in these differentiated groups, which are roughly called classes, to economic antagonism. This constant reference, this only too frequent appeal to class hatred, aggravating as it does the nationalist danger, is to my mind far and away the most serious feature in the world situation to-day. Without carrying that analysis any further—because I have no desire to give it in any way a political interpretation for our own country—let us assume that all classes are equally responsible and that it is not a case of imputing the blame to one class as against another. Class warfare has been carried into international relations and now from China to Peru, enormously assisted by the shrinkage of the world, you are at the present moment face to face in the international situation with this attempted solidarity between differentiated groups in Great Britain and similar differentiated groups throughout the whole world. In other words, the prospect that we are facing is, that what would be serious enough in one country, namely class warfare, is being turned into a great international class warfare in which the whole of the differentiated groups of the different countries will be ranged against the other differentiated groups, and that this bitter struggle is to be made world-wide and the Governments are to be dragged into it with these groups.

We are familiar with wars made for dynastic reasons, wars made by kings for their own selfish interests, but to my mind it is an absolutely terrifying prospect that this great advance of democracy is going to usher in a period of international class warfare in the alleged interests of democracy. Where that will end, who can say? But it is a really grave danger, and again I do not impute any particular blame to any one particular group: I am not thinking of capitalists or of labour. That the movement is there, that the forces of to-day are working in that direction I challenge anybody to deny. It constitutes a menace which may well cause us furiously to think and we may well say, "What can we do in education from the international point of view to minimise, possibly to dispel, these great menaces to peace and to civilisation?" For, believe me, if you get a great economic war, waged solely for economic purposes, no matter what those purposes are, in its effects it will be far worse than even that terrible catastrophe of 1914.

Now I would add to that analysis one further thing. Some of us have to give a considerable amount of our time to historical study; we are very familiar with the consequences and results of great wars, particularly when there has been a prolonged dislocation of economic machinery in consequence of the severity of the struggle. There was a period of moral lethargy and fatigue following the war of 1815, and of course the war of 1914 to 1918 was a far more terrible struggle. It was more serious in the economic prostration that it brought about and we can trace a tremendous moral lethargy since. Individuals and nations are morally tired, morally exhausted, morally disillusioned. That, I would maintain, is one of the most conspicuous features you can trace in the world to-day and it expresses itself in this way—in the belief that you are going to cure the evils which are so obvious by material methods and by reconstruction from the material point of view—everywhere a disbelief in the power of the ideal to accomplish that cure. To-day what impresses me most is the almost pathetic delusion that I find throughout Great Britain that somehow or other by material methods the redistribution of economic burdens will come about, that in this way you are going to cure the obvious evils from which we are suffering.

"Canst thou minister to a mind diseased—
And from the memory pluck a rooted sorrow?"

But the physician, confronted with the collapse of Lady Macbeth, knew in that tremendous scene that surgery or drugs were not going to cure and never could cure Lady Macbeth.

Something else—something very different was needed. And if the world is suffering from this obsession of nationalism, this class-war of economic interests, if it is suffering from this moral apathy, all these diseases belong to the sphere of the spirit and of the mind and they are only going to be cured by ideals and by mind—and not by material drugs.

The subject of your Conference is "Practical Idealism." I take it that that means that the National Council of Women is pinning its faith to the power of ideals as the great means of righting wrong and as the great instrument towards reform and progress; and therefore we can apply something of that leaven of "Practical Idealism" to the subject we are looking at this evening, the subject of education. What, in effect, can "Practical Idealism" mean, if you look at it from the international point of view? I would contend that it has only one object, though that object may be achieved in different ways—to create in the individual citizens of each independent state not merely knowledge of what is going on, important as that may be, not merely contacts, that is to say means of communication and communications themselves between groups, individuals and societies, important and desirable as these are, but something that must transcend them all and I would call that something an "international conscience." I would maintain that our first and last object must be a resolute effort to create an international conscience.

Now what does an "international conscience" mean? There is nothing new about it. Its full context was laid down for us more than 1900 years ago: "Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you." And after having said that I think there is nothing more for me to say, because we must remember that that means sacrifice. It means the negation indeed of a principle which sometimes appeals to us so much, "My country, right or wrong." The international conscience will say, "we want to do things, not because they will pay, not because they will mean wealth, but because they are right." We want to bring back the teaching of one of the great thinkers of the 19th century—Mazzini. His philosophy is not popular to-day—we must go back to Mazzini and his school of thought, I am quite sure. "You have to think about what is right, not about rights." The international conscience will say, "I will have nothing whatever to do with reasons of state. What is wrong for the individual is wrong for the state." I want to bring into international relations the morality I would insist on seeing carried out as between one individual and another in the state to which I belong; and it cannot possibly be right for the state to do

things which would be morally wrong for the individual. Restore or create an international conscience and you will have restored the faith of mankind in the power of moral ideas to achieve. Let us remember, as an acute thinker said: "The world is always as near to barbarism as steel is to rust." There are corrosive forces always at work which, unless they are checked, will introduce elements of barbarism into civilisation. So that when we have got our international conscience, when our educational systems are working to create through study and to inculcate this international conscience,—it does not matter what the study is—we shall be working on the right lines. It is the spirit, not the facts, that tell in education. The atmosphere is more important than the knowledge.

No really great movement has ever been achieved without that sort of quiet yet white-hot enthusiasm which comes from conviction. Don't let us at any rate suppose for one moment that by working in this country for the creation of an international conscience in education and in politics through education, we need surrender one jot or one tittle of all the best elements of our national heritage and of the proudest claims of our national prestige. Far from it: this country has never been so great as in the times when its actions have been fired and inspired by a great moral faith; and if any of you have been at Geneva you will have found there proof of the truth that the power of a country, its capacity to achieve, does not rest upon armies, or fleets, or material things, but upon the ideals for which it stands and the sincerity and unselfishness with which they are advocated. To-day we have unrealised but inexhaustible opportunities of greatness. Never could Great Britain be so great as in the next ten years; never has it had greater power to achieve a greater place for itself, and at the same time unlimited blessings for the whole world. I believe in my countrymen and women; they are capable of great ideals; they are willing to follow a big lead. May I respectfully suggest that that lead at any rate can be given in the direction that I have endeavoured to indicate to-night by the National Council of Women, and that if they will do that they will more than justify their existence.

PROFESSOR WINIFRED CULLIS, O.B.E., D.Sc.: Principal Grant Robertson and I entered into a kind of compact when we were thinking of what aspects of this question we would deal with to-night, and I am very glad that we entered into that compact, since it has given me an opportunity of hearing a very great and very inspiring speech, dealing with this matter from a larger and higher aspect. Both your President and Principal Grant Robert-

son have made it clear that what matters is what we think, and I think that is to most of us one of the great truths—that if we can make people think rightly they will act rightly; and one of the great tasks, if we are convinced of that, is how we can help people to think rightly? Your President also in her speech mentioned another aspect of this matter, which is very dear and very near to the hearts of all women, and that is the maintenance of national and international peace. Those who lived through the war must feel that it is absolutely one of their greatest duties and responsibilities to do everything to prevent a repetition of that terrible time that we lived through, and it is particularly important for women to do that, because, though women suffer terribly during a war in losing their nearest and dearest, it is not they who are asked as a rule to make the supreme sacrifice of life or, what seems to me a greater sacrifice, of the loss of the power to live a perfectly normal life, as in the case of people who are disabled. If ever I am able to influence people towards international peace I know it will be very largely by the feelings aroused by one particular case—a man who was left without either of his arms or either of his legs. When I saw him I thought I should kill myself if this had happened to me, and then came the thought, "You *could not* kill yourself—you would be dependent on someone else for every single thing."

What can the education of the world do in reference to this question? I feel there is a great responsibility in the hands of teachers, and that means again very largely in the hands of women. Women form the greater number of the teachers in this country, and in many countries this is even more the case than in our own. In the United States it is stated that 90% of the teachers are women. Now what does that mean except that they have a colossal responsibility? It seems therefore to many of us that it matters a great deal what our women shall think and what our women shall know about international affairs and it is the duty of all of us to help give these teachers opportunities to learn the truth regarding other nations as well as regarding our own. There is only one solid basis for international friendship and that is sympathy and friendships between individual members of the different nations. That is not very easy to bring about; but if we have in mind that it is desirable we shall achieve it, because I believe in the power of thought—I believe that if a thing is intensely desired it will come about.

Principal Grant Robertson told us of another danger: that is from those people who tell us that if we know the other nations we are bound to like them. That is not always true. We may like an individual very much and, even if we do, still

think, "What a nice person; and how unlike such and such a nation!" There is a curious parochialism in the minds of some people; there is the kind of person you travel with who sees something different from her own country and says, "Oh, isn't that silly?" without trying to find out why that custom is different. If we are going to bring about international friendships we must abolish that attitude of mind. It is not so easy to get rid of it, you will have to work to do it. Equally I am convinced that if you really come down to the bed-rock in individuals from whatever nation, you will find that they have a great deal more good than bad in them, and if we find the real soul we shall find there is a great community between the nations of the world.

How shall we bring it about? My own idea is that the best method is to arrange matters so that we can go and pay visits to other countries and get working experience. If you live and work with people you will understand them much better than by paying a passing visit. There are many ways in which this can be encouraged. Men have such opportunities in their business relationships; they do travel a great deal in other countries on business, unfortunately that rarely happens to women.

Some of us felt that there were chances of arranging these visits as regards a particular group of women, and it is about that group that I wish to speak tonight, not because I think it better than any other, but because it is the group to which I belong and has easier ways of bringing about international relationships. I feel that I am coming down from the principles of which we have heard to-night to one small but important aspect of it, but I think it is one way of converting ideals into something practical. This undertaking is a practical step begun by the Federation of University women. Recognising the great community of interests and similarities of work done by University women all the world over, we thought it would be a good way of bringing women together if we could unite national groups of university women, and in 1919 the federations in our own country and the United States affiliated. That in so doing we did well, that we did something which fitted in with the spirit of the time was, I think, proved by the fact that at our last Conference in Brussels in July we admitted the twenty-first national federation—that was the Federation of Bulgaria. We have had a certain amount of experience now. There have been three biennial Conferences, in London, Paris and Christiania, and the spirit manifested is something so helpful that it has given me a faith in the possibilities of the peace of the future which I should never have had without these meetings. The friendships one

makes are so real and so lasting. In a very short time you find you have quite forgotten the nationality of the person you are speaking to; they have become people, not members of a particular nation. We cannot imagine that we should be quite as unreasonable in differing from these people, as from people we had never met.

Now, what are we doing to try to bring about the possibility of these comings together? We have two movements which we are starting. One of them you have heard of here in Birmingham—that is the formation of International Club houses where the university women of different countries can stay and mix with the people of the country they are visiting. We have acquired that historic building, Crosby Hall, in London. We have paid for it and we are now just recovering from the shock of seeing the estimates for the hostel. When we set out on this scheme we were satisfied that the cost of building would not be more than £35,000, and now, owing to increased costs of building and general rise of prices, we realise the cost cannot be less than £57,000. There is nothing for it, but to turn to and meet the increased expense. We hope to house at least forty university women there and we hope that at least half of the accommodation will be available for women from the British Empire, and we hope also to have students from other countries; we want them to come and know us. There are already such hostels in New York and Paris and we hope to have one in Athens and one in Rome.

The second movement is the establishment of International Fellowships and Scholarships. At first we said we would like to collect £200,000 for this, but that frightens a great number of people, so now we are altering our plans and saying we will just collect £6,000 first of all. Then we shall have one scholarship established permanently, and we can add on similar scholarships one at a time. The first International Scholarship was given by the British. Some friends at the Lyceum Club gave a matinee and we collected £350 and we finally were able to offer a fellowship of £300, which we decided should be open to the best candidate, irrespective of nationality. We had no idea what a popular thing we had started. It was a step most extraordinarily appreciated by the other federations. Several nations have followed on and we have had six other international prizes and fellowships, given by our own country, the United States, Sweden and Italy and various different nations have won them.

Then we have another scheme; in our own country we have had something on a very small scale but which has great value—

the scheme established to enable women from different countries to come to England and to attend the English Language Summer School in London. It costs very little for each student—£5 for residence and a £5 fee. We have always been able to offer hospitality for a fortnight or a month in some country or town house afterwards; it has never failed yet. Certain Federations have been asked to nominate students for this course. In the first year we had students from Czecho-Slovakia, Finland, France, Italy and Austria; this year we have had them from Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium and Holland. I have a number of quotations from remarks made by different candidates when they had just returned home after their visits. From Czecho-Slovakia we hear: "You made my visit to England so nice. I don't know how to thank you. England is a beautiful part of the world and the English nation so splendid." From Finland came a letter: "You have all made me feel quite like home. I got so used to your life and language that when I heard English I was almost so glad as when I heard my own language." Now this year we have had a letter from the President of the Danish Federation speaking of her candidate: "She has come home with a very strong injection of the international mind."

The last method is one we have again very much at heart, and that is the exchange of teachers. You can help us with that by creating public opinion in favour of it. There are a series of difficulties that come up—the interference with examination courses, the difficulty of language, the interference with the continuity of pension rights. That is a thing which we ought to change and we can do it by means of public opinion. It is wrong to take away pension rights because a person has done such an extraordinarily wise thing as a year's work in another country. If you can make the teachers think it a right thing the Board of Education will soon be made to think so. In France teachers are granted five years leave of absence with increment and pension rights to go abroad. And we have people ready and waiting to go here, if only our Government will allow them to exchange. All we want is just a little push behind the Board of Education.

The final thing I have to speak of is the great value of school training, and no one can speak more sincerely and in a more convinced manner than I of the effect of a school training because of the perfectly splendid education I received in King Edward's School, Birmingham. It is a wonderful school and wherever I go in the world, if I come across an old King Edward's boy or girl we have the same feeling that I have when I meet a Cambridge

student, only more intensified. A very great honour has come to the school now, and I am sure Miss Major will agree with me that it is a wonderful thing that from a school in this country should be selected the new Mistress of Girton. In that school one of the things put before us was an intense desire for truth. I do not mean the obvious thing, not telling a lie, but the real desire to get at the truth. If we can make people care about truth, which is the very basis of justice, then we shall bring about what we want—a mind which will lead to international peace, and one of the best ways to get at the truth is to go and learn more about the lives of others.

EDUCATION IN INDIA.

BY MRS. LOTIKA BASU.

India is the land of extremes. Even a casual visitor is struck by the fact. On the one hand there is extreme wealth of a few landed proprietors and capitalists, on the other extreme poverty of the masses. You see the big palatial buildings, the marble palaces of the rich and then the little one-roomed straw-thatched mud-walled hut of the poor. Again the big cities live the life of the most advanced of Western cities, but in the village you find yourself in the pastoral age with nothing to remind you of the 20th century. Expresses going sixty miles an hour connect the large towns, but to go to the smaller towns or villages you can get no speedier or better conveyance than the age-old cow-cart. One therefore often meets with the anomaly of the modern Oxford educated young inspector of schools being jolted along in one of these 3rd century B.C. conveyances, to examine a company of ragged peasant boys on Tennyson's "Princess."

These anomalies and extremes which we find in such a marked degree in other spheres of life apply with equal force to education. Before India came into contact with England she had a definite system of education of her own. In the ancient times of India's glory, the Vedic ages, or even in the time of Ashoka about 300 B.C., literacy must have been very common. For Ashoka erected monuments at the great crossroads on which his edicts were inscribed, and surely this would have been useless were the common man ignorant of letters. But later the Brahmins got a monopoly of scholarship like the ecclesiastics of the Middle Ages. Education in India was always closely connected with religion. The foundation of all culture were the two great Sanskrit epics of India, the Ramayana and the Mahabharatta. Great dramatists like Kalidasa drew upon these for their subjects. Lyric poets both in the Sanskrit and the vernacular sang with fervour of the

loves of Radha Krishna or the domestic life of the great God Shiva, etc.

The great schools of Indian philosophy were part of the Hindu religious system. Rules of sociology, hygiene, and economics were to be found in special books devoted to these subjects in the Hindu scriptures. The arts of music, singing and dancing were not divorced from the other arts such as poetry, painting, sculpture and architecture. The Hindu system of medicine, physics, chemistry, astronomy and mathematics, were all subjects which the Brahmin or religious teacher studied, and were part of his education. There were no schools on the Western model. Great teachers all over the country gathered pupils round them, and educated them free of cost. The pupils lived with them as members of their family. When the master was poor they would go and beg food for their master and themselves and perform all the menial duties. The master taught them all the learning he was capable of and the most brilliant of his pupils set up again as teachers. Technical schools were not necessary, for every man adopted his father's trade and naturally and easily learnt everything about it. The general mass of people were illiterate it is true, but were by no means uneducated. They knew long passages of the Ramayana and Mahabharatta by heart and could understand and follow such closely reasoned and difficult philosophic writings as the Bhagvat Gita.

The rapidity with which life has changed during the last two or three centuries would have called for a change in the educational methods of India. Left to herself she might have evolved an educational system which, while making use of the modern inventions, etc., of the west, would have suited her people. Instead, however, she had an educational system thrust on her which can only be compared to a lame horse halting after the swift courser of the west and satisfying only the professional needs of a small section of the people. Education in India to-day is used as a machine to manufacture a certain number of clerks, professors, teachers, lawyers and doctors. As a means of enlarging the minds of the vast majority of the people it is absolutely useless, nor does it fit the people of India to face the complexities of modern life. Compulsory education adopted so many years ago by the West, and even adopted by the conservative and backward native states in India, is unknown in British India. Government still pursues a mild method of encouragement by paying a subsidy to approved private or board schools. A few Government high schools and colleges are there to keep up the 'standard' as the educational reports tell us. How shockingly inadequate the education is can be seen from the fact that out of 200 millions of

people only eight millions are literate. The result is that out of every hundred men five can write their own names, and out of every hundred women only one can do so.

Further facts I shall tell you will show how shockingly bad the education given is.

Out of seven millions of primary scholars five millions read in the infant classes. This is due to several reasons. In the village primary schools the boys are only sent to school when very young and soon withdrawn. Again both the teaching and the conditions at these primary schools are such that it is impossible for the children to make any progress. When you know that the primary school teacher gets only four or five shillings a week, you can well understand how efficient a teacher it is possible to attract. A deputy Commissioner writes of such a teacher "The average normal pass teacher commands nobody's respect—neither that of the boys or their parents. His chief object is to absent himself as often as he can and be as unpunctual as possible. The teacher has little or no enthusiasm for his work and his influence for good is negligible." Added to this, the conditions under which the solitary teacher works are discouraging to the extreme. The primary teacher, ill-founded in vitality and learning and depressed by poverty, is in charge of a school with four or five classes which he has to instruct in a varied course. The lowest class which has the highest numbers is divided into little groups at various stages of advancement. After this there are three or four classes. Pupils come in month by month according to their parent's caprice or their horoscope. Unpunctuality adds to the difficulties, fresh arrivals coming in for a period of two hours. It is not strange that bad as the education is the majority of children lapse into illiteracy, which is helped by the fact that neither books nor papers come within the reach of the peasant boy and he scarcely ever sees the written or printed word. The conditions I have detailed give little encouragement to the fathers to send their children to school. Besides, small as the cost of education is, it is a consideration with the peasant living a hand to mouth life from day to day.

The secondary and high schools compare favourably with the primary schools, but they suffer from defects as deep-rooted as the primary schools. The whole atmosphere of the secondary school is tainted because the whole course of study is dominated by the shadow of the coming examination. This results in a very low standard of education, which is made worse by the fact that the medium of instruction is English and this is very poorly taught. The students therefore memorise their text books without taking an intelligent interest in the subject. There is also a uniformity

of teaching and an absence of any individuality which further repels the student from taking any interest in the subjects he studies. There is an absence of general reading as can well be imagined. Opportunities for games too are limited by the scarcity of playing grounds. Even where playgrounds are available, the organisation which would make the best use of them in the interests of the largest number of pupils is often lacking.

There are comparatively few girls' schools and in those that exist the same bad conditions prevail. Sports are still less encouraged in boys' than in girls' schools.

I shall quote the criticisms, which the Commission, headed by Sir Michael Sadler, made on the Bengal Secondary Schools, for they are of pretty general application.

"Except in a few cases the schools think only of the matriculation. They make it and it alone their aim. They are driven to do so because the boys and their parents feel that in the present conditions of life in Bengal success in passing this examination is the one essential reason for going through the secondary school course. The schools are so badly staffed that they fail to make the best use even of the course of preparation for this test, and fail even more in giving the rest of the liberal education which schools ought to give. The rush to the schools overcrowds their classes and makes their teaching even more inadequate. But every year the pressure grows greater and the schools are forced by it more deeply into the rut of the examination routine. Thus an education which has in it many elements of a generous purpose and great possibilities of public advantage runs in a wrong channel and fails to fertilise the intellectual life of the country."

The Indian Universities are fourteen in number. They are non-residential, with one or two exceptions. The various colleges are spread over a whole province sometimes, the bond of union being the university examination. The bulk of the teaching therefore is in the hands of the colleges. As in the secondary and high schools, the examination bogey crushes the individuality and vitality of the students. The narrow scope of the teaching has an adverse effect on the widening of the mental vision of the student. Passing of examinations depends more on memorising notes and text books than on individuality in the treatment of questions, the examiners scarcely ever basing their marks on the judgment of the mental calibre of the student. So vicious is the system that it is rare to find a college career inspiring the student with a love of learning. Once the examination is passed, in the majority of cases books are laid aside. The majority of graduates, broken in health, mentally atrophied, with neither interest in nor energy for anything, is as useless an individual as can be.

NATIONAL COUNCIL

Dr. Statement of Receipts and Payments from

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance :—						
At Bank, 1st September, 1924				144	11	3
Petty Cash					11	7
„ Subscriptions :—						
Members	440	3	0			
Branches (25%)	241	5	1			
Branches (£5)	379	2	6			
Societies	113	5	6			
				1173	16	1
„ Donations :—						
Brighton Branch	200	0	0			
General	33	14	5			
				233	14	5
„ Stansfeld Trust for Publication of Book ...				30	0	0
„ Sale of Badges				3	0	0
„ Hire of Committee Room				7	6	
„ Snowball Fund (per Miss Eaton)				169	16	1
„ N.C.W. Share of Collections in I.C.W.						
Week				6	10	9
„ Refund—Cash lent Snowball Fund, 1924 ...				5	0	0
„ Refund of Income Tax				4	13	0
„ *Sale of N.C.W. Literature :—						
Pamphlets	19	14	10½			
Reports	39	19	7			
N.C.W. News	356	17	8½			
				416	12	2
„ Interest :—						
National War Bonds	9	13	9			
Co-partnership Tenants, Ltd.	3	17	6			
				13	11	3
				£2202	4	1

SPECIAL FUND

Transferred from General Fund, 1924	100	0	0
Transferred from General Fund, July, 1925 ...	100	0	0
	£200	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, 1924, to 1st August, 1925.

Cr.

PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Salaries				776	3	11
Printing (general)				139	2	0
N.C.W. News—Salary	58	6	8			
Printing	235	13	2			
				293	19	10
Stationery				56	9	8½
Postage				109	9	2½
Rent				175	0	0
Office Expenses (coal, cleaning, furniture, &c.)				83	4	5
Telephone				14	17	10
Telegraphic Address				2	0	0
Press Cuttings				4	4	0
Committee Expenses				46	12	10
Hire of Halls				19	9	0
Travelling				19	6	4½
Pamphlets				3	18	9
Insurance				13	14	7½
Honorarium—Miss Kidd				5	5	0
Donation to Miss Janes				20	0	0
Subscriptions :—						
International Council of Women... ..	4	0	0			
International Officers' Travelling Fund... ..	2	0	0			
Consultative Committee	3	0	0			
Council for Representation of Women in League of Nations	3	3	0			
				12	3	0
Audit Fee				4	4	0
Bank Charges and Cheques				1	15	0
Transferred to Special Account on Deposit ...				100	0	0
				1900	19	6
Balance—Petty Cash				1	0	3
„ At Bank				300	4	4
				£2202	4	1

ON DEPOSIT.

Balance on Deposit Account 31st Aug., 1925...	£	s.	d.
	200	0	0
	£200	0	0

Examined and found correct,
PRIDEAUX, FRERE, BROWN AND Co.,
Chartered Accountants.

12, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.2.
8th September, 1925.

FORM OF BEQUEST.

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

.....
to be paid to the Treasurer for the time being of said National Council of Women of Great Britain, 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.....
.....

Subscription 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.

PAMPHLET