

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF SOUTH AFRICA

ALGEMENE VROUERAAD VAN SUID - AFRIKA

DOMINIONS CONFERENCE

REPORT

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

FIRST CONFERENCE OF WOMEN HELD
IN SOUTH AFRICA

Johannesburg, November 9th to November 14th, 1936

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REPORT OF DOMINIONS CONFERENCE held by the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF SOUTH AFRICA

10th to 14th NOVEMBER, 1936

The Conference was opened by Her Excellency the Countess of Clarendon. Mrs. Newman, President of the N.C.W. of S.A., in the Chair.

The Right Hon. J. C. Smuts, Minister of Justice, on behalf of the Government, welcomed the delegates and gave an interesting resumé of national and international affairs, and spoke of the influence of the home in public life.

Mr. Pentz, deputising for Mr. Bekker, Administrator of the Transvaal, welcomed the delegates on behalf of the Province.

The Mayor, Mr. D. W. Mackay, welcomed the delegates on behalf of the City.

Greetings were read by Mrs. Scandrett from: Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, Secretary of State for the Dominions; Mr. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada; Mr. J. A. Lyons, Prime Minister of Australia; and Mr. Savage, of New Zealand; as well as from the Patrons of the Conference and from other prominent women. During the Conference greetings were received from various women's organisations.

The business session of the Conference opened at the Conference Hall of the Empire Exhibition on Tuesday morning, 10th November, 1936, at 9.30 a.m.

Subject: The Status of Women.

Convener: Mrs. Advocate Bertha Solomon, M.P.C.

Chair: Mrs. Julia Solly, Hon. Life Vice-President of the N.C.W. of South Africa.

The first speaker was the Dowager Lady Nunburnholme. The second speaker was Mrs. Advocate Bertha Solomon, M.P.C. Mrs. Tawse Jollie, Rhodesia, then spoke.

Mrs. Esson read a paper based on notes received from Australia.

Mrs. Mackie, Canada, Miss Stops and Miss McLarty also spoke.

DOWAGER LADY NUNBURNHOLME'S PAPER FOR 10th NOVEMBER.

I.—STATUS OF WOMEN.

It seems fitting that this subject should have been selected for discussion, for both the independent status of women and your city have sprung up in the lifetime of many of us here

to-day. The year 1870 was a great milestone, so far as English women were concerned, for in that year the Married Women's Property Act was passed. This marked the emergence of women from the position of a mere chattel of her husband's to that of an independent personality with the right to hold property.

The position of women in the Latin countries of Europe is somewhat inconsistent, as shown markedly by the appointment of Women Ministers to the French Cabinet in a country where women has not the right to a seat in Parliament nor to a vote at an election.

Before talking of the future of the Feminist movement, we must consider how far women have advanced already. One of the most striking features of the last 70 years is the remarkable improvement in the position of women in many countries. We find that in most countries they have won the right to education—the right to enter the professions and the public service—to sit on juries, to vote, to sit in Parliament—and the married woman has won the right to work without her husband's consent; to control her own property; to the guardianship of her children; to her own personal nationality. I do not mean that all these rights exist in any one given country. By 1934, fourteen countries had declared in their written constitutions that distinctions based on sex were abolished, but as yet no country can claim that all discriminations against women have been abolished throughout its territory.

This is a most opportune moment to be considering the Feminist Programme. The Women's Consultative Committee on Nationality sent up, on 21st September, 1936, a communication to the President of the League of Nations asking that four points, giving equality of status to women, should be included in the proposed reformed Covenant of the League.

The four points are:—

- (1) The Members of the League undertake that in their respective countries the right to vote shall not be denied on sex in their law and practice regarding nationality.
- (2) The Members of the League undertake that in their respective countries the right to vote shall not be denied or abridged on the ground of sex.
- (3) The Members of the League undertake that in their respective countries men and women shall have equal rights in all other fields.
- (4) The Members of the League undertake that men and women shall both be members, with full voting powers, of all delegations to the Council and Assembly of the League, and to all Conferences under the auspices of the League.

This application was supported by the British Delegation and has been accepted.

The signing of the Equal Rights Treaty at Montevide in 1933 by Cuba, Ecuador, Paraguay and Uruguay brought the status of women much into the limelight. The principal clause reads:—

That the high contracting parties agree that on ratification of this treaty, men and women shall have equal rights throughout the territory subject to their jurisdiction.

The International Council of Women has approved of the principles of this Treaty, both at their Executive in Brussels last year, and at the recent Council meeting in Dubrovnik. A resolution, adopted by the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1935, asked for information from Governments and from women's international organisations on the political and civil status of women.

Some of the replies from Governments have already been given, and were published on 29th September of this year: A.33—1936. V. There is a short reply from South Africa and also one from Great Britain, but the study of the subject is not yet complete, and there may be a further Memorandum. The National Council of Women of Great Britain has already sent in to the Government a short Memorandum.

There is an interesting report issued by the League of Nations, A.19, 1935, V, of communications presented by the International Women's Organisations. I would especially refer our members to the report of the Women's Consultative Committee on Nationality. There is also an illuminating annexure giving the views of organised labour in the United States of America and in Great Britain against the proposal of equal rights for men and women.

With regard to political rights, we find that in Great Britain women were granted Franchise in 1918, although not on a basis of complete equality with men; this was not attained till 1928; now both men and women have the vote at 21.

The Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act, 1918, declared that a person should not be disqualified by sex or marriage from exercise of any public function, the holding of civil or judicial office, or the carrying on of any civil profession or from liability to serve as a juror. This sounds good in theory, but there are certain provisions which regulate the mode of admission of women to the Civil Service, and the conditions of their service, and to men posts in the diplomatic and consular services.

Here is another anomaly: In Great Britain women may sit in the House of Commons, if elected, on the same terms as men. But no woman may vote in the House of Lords.

We are proud of the way in which women have advanced in Great Britain, but we have to admit that Denmark was one

of the leading countries for the enfranchisement of women. In 1903 women got the vote for communal councils in that country, and by 1916 they had obtained complete equality of Franchise.

The position of the married woman still shows many traces of a past period when her legal individuality was merged on marriage in that of her husband. And Nationality itself is one of these. In Great Britain, marriage does not affect the nationality of a man, but a woman, on marriage to an alien, loses her British nationality, excepting in cases—

- (a) where she does not acquire her husband's nationality by the marriage;
- (b) when the husband loses his British nationality during marriage, in which case she is entitled to retain her own if she applies in a specified time. (Hague Convention, 1930.)

Except in these two cases, the position is that a British woman marrying a foreigner becomes an alien. She must register with the Police. Abroad, her own country refuses her a passport, and the protection which it would give her brother who married a foreigner. Her parliamentary and her municipal votes are taken from her. For many years now women's organisations have been working for reform of this law.

There is another difficulty which arises out of Marriage and Nationality. Recently, in England, there has been an increase in "mock" marriages. French women coming to England marry Englishmen, whom they never see again, but the marriage gives them British nationality. They, therefore, cannot be deported, even although their mode of life would justify this if they were still aliens.

So far as unmarried women are concerned, there is no difference of legal status between an unmarried woman and a man, with one serious exception; the special laws that apply only to prostitutes. Under laws dealing with the maintenance of public order, we find that common prostitutes are punished for offences for which other persons are exempt, but there is an agitation against any differentiation.

The future of the Feminist movement is bound up with the economic front. It is in the economic sphere that the position of women in England remains inferior to that of men, and that is why we view with distrust the division of civil and economic rights laid down by the League. When women succeeded in obtaining the political vote, many felt the battle for women's emancipation had been won. They used their new power for political party aims, or for general social work, and ignored the fact that women had yet to win equality with men as workers for pay.

One of the aims of the National Council of Women of Great Britain is the removal of all disabilities of women, whether

legal, economic or social; and when the International Council of Women started in Washington, in 1888, it put Equal Pay for Equal Work in its programme. Lately there have been more restrictions than ever of women's right to work, because they are women.

In Luxemburg, by a Grand Ducal Order passed on 14th April, 1934, special permits were required to employ any woman worker; a Royal Order in Belgium fixes a percentage of Women in industry with a view to their replacement by men in unemployment.

Freedom in choice of work is denied to the great majority of women. This applies especially to the industrial classes.

When one realises that over 35 per cent. of the industrial workers in England and Wales are women, it is clear that there is much to be done to obtain this equality of opportunity. In general, the skilled processes in the trades are held to be men's work, with the exception of the textile trades, where men and women work side by side.

There has been a spread of the idea that it is justifiable to deprive women of work in the interests of the male worker, although the I.L.O. has issued statements showing this to be erroneous.

An interesting enquiry, made in Austria, shows that of some 2,000 cases investigated of women working for pay, 93 per cent. worked because they had to earn money to support themselves and their dependents. Other unfair discriminations against women are shown in the British Unemployment and Health Assistance Rates. And in the Civil Service, Women's Organisations are continuing the fight to bring about a change.

Another disadvantage under which women labour, is that in so many cases they lose their work when they become 35. It is the younger woman who is wanted. Recent statistics show that although unemployment is decreasing, yet the figures for women over 35 show an increase. We have in Great Britain a Society, called the "Over-Thirty Association," which is trying to cope with this question, and to train women thrown out of work for other jobs. The trouble is that so many people think that untrained domestic work is the only solution. Those of us interested in Domestic Science consider that a good training is as essential for that as for any other work.

If we look at Denmark, we shall find that women have equal rights to earn and contract. But Denmark has resisted rate-fixing I.L.O. Conventions restricting women workers. There is no restriction regarding married women working. Women in the Civil Service in that country do not have to give up their work on marriage.

It is interesting to note that Russia, in 1930, prohibited women working in some occupations, but on the other hand certain occupations are reserved exclusively for women—mostly with high qualifications.

A recent document presented by Danish Women's Associations to the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs in connection with the League of Nations Enquiry on the Status of Women, makes some very valuable suggestions. It considers that at the conclusion of this enquiry the League should draw up a report containing the information which has been received. It also suggests that this examination of the legal position of women should be renewed every five years.

All that we are asking is that women should be treated, in all parts of the world, as adult human beings. In Denmark they consider that the equality they have obtained has been realised by degrees, and **as the women themselves have demanded it.**

Let us not forget, however, that the position which woman has won has been due, not only to the force of circumstances, but also to the generous co-operation and support of fathers and brothers. Women during the Great War had an unique opportunity of showing their qualifications for serious work.

When public opinion in any country was not sufficiently advanced to support it, Women's Franchise has either been withdrawn or greatly curtailed. Let us go forward together wisely, using the immense powers that the care and education of our children give us, breaking down by reason and persuasion ingrained prejudices, whether they exist in men or women, and confident in our own faith that what is right must ultimately prevail.

Resumé of the Speech made by Mrs. Advocate Bertha Solomon, M.P.C.

A discussion on the future of feminism seems to me to be the most vital matter before our Conference. The social work that we of the National Council of Women are interested in, the Child Welfare, Social Hygiene, Public Health Work and all our other activities have only been made possible for us, and have been opened by the feminist movement.

Since to-day that movement is seriously threatened, it is for us, while we still have time, to pause and consider what can be done to arrest the threat; to consider what future there is for feminism.

Here in South Africa the question is not perhaps so pressing as in other places. There may even be some of you surprised that there is a problem, but even South Africa is no longer the quiet backwater of the world that it was 20 years ago. If it is still outside the main currents of European thought

and opinion, the plane and the radio have brought those currents well within our purview, and we women must take heed, for the main trend of those currents is dangerous. Quite apart from the Fascist countries, where everything that the Women's Movement has won in the last 60 years has already been swept away, and, in general, the pendulum has swung back. There has been a world reaction against feminism, just as there seems to be a world reaction against liberality of thought, against political tolerance and international co-operation.

Perhaps, indeed, in some respects South Africa, with its scattered population and its mixed races, is particularly susceptible to such reactions. In my opinion anti-feminism would be a real menace here, for the pioneer tradition of the country tends to weigh against the feminist cause. The domestic function of the women is so stressed, and so necessarily stressed, may I add, that no other is conceivable. If in the towns under stress of economic and industrial conditions the picture has faded and dimmed, inevitably its colours still affect the general mind and judgment on matters affecting women, their position and their rights. It is, after all, such a pretty picture, so flattering sensibility and possessive instincts, that it is small wonder that it persists, especially when it is backed by a legal system which still puts the wife and her property under the control of her husband.

In South Africa there is no Married Women's Property Act. Here the ordinary property-law of marriage is community of goods, and the actual control and administration of the estate is in the hands of the husband, consequently the married woman who works has no control even over her own earnings. Status, in the eyes of the law, the married woman has none. She is a minor under the guardianship of her husband.

I have sketched in the legal background because there is no doubt in my mind that that, too, is a factor militating against feminist theory. The effect of the idea of man the guardian still prevades the scene and creates an atmosphere, and no doubt that was one of the intangible factors which made South Africa the last Dominion to grant women the suffrage, for it is only about five years since South Africans have had the vote.

A knowledge of that background makes it easy to understand that, though the legal profession has been opened to women since 1923, there are only three women in practice in South Africa at the Bar, and very few at the Side Bar. Of women doctors there are far more, medicine having been opened to women for many years. In the Civil Service, women still hold secondary positions. The best positions are masculine preserve, and women civil servants, like teachers, must give up their positions on marriage. In the commercial and labour markets

there is differentiation between the wages and salary of men and women. There is still the view strongly held that women's labour is cheap labour. Even in the universities, where one might perhaps have expected a liberal tradition to prevail, there is a differentiation between the status of men and women on the staff, and though women students in this country number about one-third of the total number, no Minister of Education has yet seen fit to appoint women as members of the University Councils.

There is, in some sort, a reaction against feminism. Whether it is an outcrop of the South African spirit or an infection of the spirit abroad is not clear. That that reaction goes further than the mere inevitable swing-back of the pendulum, I am certain. The young girls just growing up are not interested in feminism, in politics, in ideas with the hope of building up a new world. They accept education and are keen to go to college, but not because they want careers as well as marriage. College is a mere episode and not a training for life.

I believe that feminism as a doctrine has not exhausted itself merely to get women the vote. That vote was merely the preliminary to its real objective, full equality with men. It is a large programme, but it must be followed up if we are ever again to have a liberal, tolerant, warfree world. In feminism I see one of the gleams of hope for civilisation. I see in it a counter-poise to that excessive militarist spirit now existing in Europe. The Fascist countries have proved once again that the traditional home with a wife relegated strictly to home and to children, goes hand in hand with militarism.

I see in women a force for peace, and if for no other reason than that I would believe in feminism and continue to press it as a cause. I am no communist, but there is no doubt that the success of the Russian plan can be measured, not least, by the way in which it has utilised the energy and ability of the women as well as of the men. That has always been the urge of the women's movement, and it seems to me that the re-action against feminism is due, quite apart from economic and other factors, to the fact that the women's organisations have relaxed their grip on that objective. The real objective of feminism is women's equality with men in every sphere—political, social and economic, and it must be followed up if there is to be a liberal, warfree world. The National Council of Women must be insistent on this feminist viewpoint. Perhaps they have become involved in purely social work, to the detriment of this objective.

There must be more women members of Parliament, members of the Provincial Council and representation on every public body to represent the women's viewpoint.

Remarks by Mrs. Tawse Jollie.

Commenting on remarks made by previous speakers, she said: They had been told that, despite some advances, there was a retrograde tendency at work throughout the world, which was hostile to an increase in women's influence. Mrs. Jollie considered that the high hopes that women had based on the suffrage had not been realised, and had not given them the political equality for which they asked, and this although, in England, the woman voter is in the majority. One reason for this is to be found in the decay of democratic institutions. Before the war the British constitution was the admiration of the world, and every State which emancipated itself from autocracy tried to set up a parliamentary form of government on the British model, regardless of the fact that they had not the long history of representative institutions on which British liberty is built. But that day is over. All over the world we now see new forms of government, the negation of democracy, and the British model is no longer followed or even admired.

Even in Great Britain itself, democracy is threatened. This began with the Great War, when it was evident that the methods of democratic government were not efficient when secret, swift and ruthless action was essential. The ground lost then has never been quite recovered. Moreover, the complexity of the questions with which a modern government has to deal, has led to the shuffling of responsibility on to the shoulders of statutory bodies invested with powers of taxation and the infliction of penalties. The Law Courts and Parliament were the guarantors of democratic liberty. A recent visitor to South Africa, Lord Justice Hewart, has frequently drawn attention to this new despotism, not confined to Great Britain, since the Dominions and Colonies were very apt to imitate the old country.

The effect of this tendency on women was to minimise the power which they had hoped to exercise through the Parliamentary vote. Where women were at a disadvantage was that while the system increased the power of the permanent Civil Service, and created Statutory bodies which took over parliamentary rights, they were not admitted to the upper grades of the Civil Service or to the Statutory bodies in anything like the same proportion as men. When Royal Commissions or Parliamentary Commissions were appointed, it was considered quite a concession if one woman was included, and this practice was not confined to the British Government. Even in the most modern form of popular instruction and entertainment, the governing body of the B.B.C., only one woman is included.

In countries which had adopted the Nazi or Fascist ideology, woman has been relegated to the position she occupied a century ago, but as the whole population was expected to sink

their individuality in a blind service of the State, this was the logical outcome. These States, being founded on force and on the forcible elimination of all who disagree with the dominant body, could have no other place for women, whose weapon is reason and not force. Women can only come to their own in a State which recognises the rights of individuals. After a long history of force and oppression, it looked as if Russia might be one of the countries in which the feminine as well as the masculine principle in government would have free play. At all events, women in Soviet Russia enjoyed a real political equality. In some countries in which women had been, until recently, kept in seclusion they were making great advances, but the greater includes the less, and the international situation, with its return to a war mentality, is definitely unfavourable to the cause of women as a whole. In these circumstances it is essential that those of us who have the good fortune to be the heirs of the great tradition of liberty, should do all we can to see that it is not encroached on either by Bureaucracy or Autocracy. In democracy and in Parliament Government individual rights are preserved, and women have a claim to be considered as human beings.

In fighting this battle it appears unnecessary to label oneself "Feminist." It is Humanism and not Feminism which should inspire our claim to an equal share in deciding the future of our race. She urged the women of the British Empire to hold on to the heritage of freedom, freedom of speech, of faith, of the Press, all of which are now threatened from so many sources. It is only by recognising the fundamental principles which underly the British idea of democratic liberty that women can hope to secure that place to which they aspire as British citizens.

REPORT OF WORK DONE IN AUSTRALIA.

Owing to the Centenary celebrations recently held at Adelaide, South Australia, it was impossible to send a delegation. Mrs. Esson read a paper based on notes received from there.

"The National Council of Women of Australia has, for its component parts, "councils." These function in the various States federated under the Commonwealth of Australia. Australian problems are much the same as those in other Dominions; though women have the Franchise, no woman has been elected to the Parliament of the Commonwealth, though the Western Australia Parliament has two women members.

Subjects for discussion at the meetings of the Council cover practically the same ground as in other countries.

University education is open to women, as well as research scholarships. Women's organisations have protested against the Government regulation barring employment of married women. The basic wages for men are £3 12s. per week, for women £1 18s. 11d.; shop assistants, men, £4 4s. 6d., women, £2 7s. 2d.; teachers, men receive £100 more per annum than women. The N.C.W. of Australia has always advocated "equal pay for equal work."

The diversity of marriage and divorce laws throughout the Commonwealth is still maintained. An "All Australian Domicile Bill" has been introduced into the Commonwealth Parliament, and when this principle is accepted the Government may be induced to legislate on marriage and divorce laws as a Commonwealth measure. The nationality of married women has advanced a stage in Australia; a bill based on the British Act of 1933 by which a British woman, who does not acquire her husband's nationality by marriage, can retain her own. The Commonwealth is prepared to fall into line with Britain regarding legislature to enable a woman to retain her own national status, irrespective of her husband's.

Tasmania is urging the Commonwealth Government to broaden the scheme of educating girls by making it compulsory that all girls be trained in housekeeping, home hygiene and mothercraft.

The N.C.W. of Victoria was instrumental in obtaining legislature requiring that all opticians were to be properly qualified and registered.

It secured an amendment to the Maintenance Act, throwing the onus on the husband to prove that he cannot pay his maintenance debt; and sponsored an amendment to the Act dealing with the advertisement and sale of contraceptives.

The State of Southern Australia was the first to grant women the Franchise, and is the only State with a properly organised women police force.

In Queensland the first aerial medical base was established, the Flying Doctor attending patients sometimes 1,000 miles away; this aerial medical service is of immense benefit to women and children in lonely districts of the interior.

The N.C.W. of Queensland has been assisting the Cancer Trust and a N.C.W. member is on the board.

The Status of Women in **Canada** is high and greater equality between the sexes is growing. While there is no apparent crusade against the employment of married women, the question has been discussed. With the exception of Quebec, women in the other Provinces have the vote.

Mrs. Mackie, of Canada, was the next speaker. She said that in Canada to-day, as in the Mother Country and Sister Dominions, women are playing an increasingly important part in social and economic affairs. Women were recognised in the professions on an equality with men.

Miss Stops said: The status of women in **New Zealand** was very far from being equal to that of the men. There was no woman member of Parliament. It was difficult for women in New Zealand to take part in public affairs, for they were tremendously busy in their homes and on their farms.

Miss McClarty, Principal of Jeppe High School for Girls, Johannesburg, who received special permission from the Acting Director of Education to take part in the discussion at this session of the Conference, said:—

Women still wear economic and sentimental fetters, and some of these fetters are forged by themselves. She indicated two strong reactionary symptoms were evident to-day in South Africa, one being that girls in the teens and in the twenties were not interested in feminism. This was due to the "Hollywood attitude" towards life, which would be evident so long as children spent days looking at films which depicted that attitude.

The other symptoms was that, whereas ten years ago one was justified in saying that the South African girl was reliable, she was less so to-day.

Home-making, which is the greatest career in the world and the most difficult, and the qualities required are a balanced judgment, wide knowledge and the ability to think straight. These qualities were far more necessary than an intensive domestic science education.

AFTERNOON SESSION, 2.30—"CHILD WELFARE."

Convener: Miss L. M. Mackenzie, I.S.C. for Child Welfare.

Chair: Mrs. Bennie, President, National Council for Child Welfare.

The first paper dealt with Australia, and was read by Miss Stops.

The second paper, read by Miss Richards, was prepared by Dr. Haydn, President of the N.C.W. of Ireland.

The third paper, Child Welfare in South Africa, was read by Mrs. Newman.

Mrs. Lismer gave a short report on the position in Canada.

CHILD WELFARE IN AUSTRALIA.

It is almost impossible to give a detailed account of what is done for Child Welfare in Australia, as each State has its own laws, consequently conditions vary.

Infant Welfare in Australia begins with the pre-natal clinics, established in all the large centres of population and in connection with the Bush Nursing Hospitals.

Next comes the Baby Health Centres; these centres also carry on extensive pre-natal education. They are established in all the capital cities, and in many of the provincial towns. In some cases the Government provides subsidies for maintenance. The value of the work done in these is shown by the fall in infant death rate. A similar improvement is shown throughout the Commonwealth. Each of these centres has a fully trained nurse in attendance to advise mothers as to the best methods of feeding; the nurses, however, must not prescribe for a sick child. In one State the Baby Health Centres Association has established a Mothercraft and Training Centre for nurses. It is compulsory, at this centre, for medical students to take a course of training as part of their curriculum. Some States have an Infant Welfare Travelling Clinic, which visits remote centres of population. Mothercraft homes and training centres are established in all the States by voluntary committees.

Crèches are established in all the capital cities, where working mothers may leave their children in the hands of trained nurses; these crèches are generally managed by voluntary organisations, but in one instance the Government Railway Department has a crèche in the centre of a large city, where mothers shopping may leave their children.

The Kindergarten Movement has taken a strong hold in Australia. A Kindergarten Training Centre is established in each capital—administered by a voluntary committee—where students take a three years' course before appointment to a kindergarten. Nursery Schools are established in connection with some of the kindergartens. The kindergartens receive a small Government grant, but depend largely on voluntary contributions, while the teachers in each are helped by voluntary workers. Each State has a Free Kindergarten Union, which arranges for regular medical inspection of the children, and sends those requiring it to holiday homes to recuperate.

There is a Playgrounds' Association in each capital.

Voluntary organisations, helped by Government subsidies, play a great part in the welfare of crippled children. One children's hospital has an average annual attendance of six thousand; it has a branch at a seaside town, where the children receive full school education from the Government, and teachers are supplied to teach craft work.

Institutions are provided for the Deaf and Dumb children, and the Education Department in each State provides teachers. In each State, for Blind children, there is an institution; the boys are taught basket and brush making and the girls knitting.

In each State the Government arranges for periodical medical inspection in the schools, the object being to discover any physical defects which may be the cause of serious handicap later in life.

Eye diseases are common in the tropical parts of Australia, and Eye Hostels have been established and children are accommodated and educated while being treated.

Children who have lost their parents, or whose parents cannot provide for them, become the care of the Government in each State. When the mother of the children is willing to look after them, the children are boarded out to her. Institutions are provided for these "Wards of the State," some by the Governments, and some by religious denominations. These children are all subject to supervision by Government Inspectors. Many of these "Wards of the State" are placed with foster mothers.

Children's Courts are conducted in a room apart from the Court House, and are under the care of a Children's Court Officer and special magistrates—men and women.

The Commonwealth Government has a Child Endowment Scheme, which applies to all Government servants; there is paid an allowance for each child (up to 16 years).

(Signed) HELEN E. GILLAN.

CHILD WELFARE WORK IN IRELAND.

Prepared by Dr. Haydn, President of the National Council of Women of Ireland (read by Miss Richards).

In Ireland, regular Child Welfare work is almost wholly confined to the towns in rural parts of the country. The District Nurses attend to delicate children, as well as to adults.

In some schools a meal is given to poor children in the middle of the day. This is, however, more common in towns, though not even there as general as it should be. Many children, both in the country and in towns, are very badly fed during their school years.

In Dublin, Belfast and some other large town, Child Welfare work is done, and dinners are supplied to expectant and nursing mothers.

The Women's National Health Association promotes "Baby Clubs," to which mothers can bring their children each week, and milk, virol, cod liver oil, etc., are supplied for delicate infants. It also, during the summer, sends several hundred poor town children to country farm-houses for a couple of weeks' holiday.

In Dublin there is an Infants' Hospital, and patients are all under two years old. There are sanatoria for tuberculous children in several parts of Ireland.

The Cork, Belfast and Dublin branches of the National Council have done much to ensure a supply of pure milk for the city children, and the Government gives a daily grant of milk to poor families, in which there are children under five years old.

We have a good system of Medical School Inspection all over the country. A few infant schools on the (modified) Montessori system have been started.

Crèches exist in most of the larger towns.

The Irish National Council of Women is anxious to have the school-leaving age raised from 14 to 15 years.

CHILD WELFARE IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Presented by Miss L. M. Mackenzie, International Standing Committee Member for Child Welfare (read by Mrs. Newman, President of the N.C.W. of South Africa).

The term Child Welfare work is used in South Africa to cover a very wide field, and embraces activities which, in other countries, are often carried out by a number of specialised organisations.

State Services (including State-aided).

Various departments, both of the central and Provincial governments, are active in this field. The recently constituted Division of Maternal and Child Welfare, of the Union Department of Public Health, is concerned with the supervision of midwifery and nursing services, particularly in rural areas. An amendment of the Public Health Act in 1927 made possible the subsidising of municipalities in respect of the appointment of Health Visitors in urban areas, whilst the legislation of 1935 gave power to the Department to subsidise hospital boards, local

authorities, voluntary agencies and practising nurses for active nursing services in small towns and rural areas. This has made possible a rapid extension of Child Health services within the last two years.

The Department of Justice has arranged for the holding of Juvenile Courts, and for the appointment of special Juvenile Court Magistrates in the Cape Peninsula, in Johannesburg and on the Reef.

The Children's Protection Act and the Adoption Act are administered by the Union Department of Education, and the services of Child Welfare Societies are used extensively by the Department for the supervision of cases, particularly those receiving the maintenance grants, commonly called "Mothers' Pensions."

The transfer of the control of reformatories from the Department of Justice to that of Education, and the placing of the Probation services under the Education Department, are amongst the most important developments of the past two years.

The Provincial Administrations are responsible for Poor Relief, and through their Education Departments for the health of the school child. Whilst there are school medical inspectors and school nurses in all Provinces, the number is still insufficient to provide for the need. In most Provinces Child Welfare Societies and the Vroue Verenigings co-operate in this service, even, in some cases, to the extent of providing clinics. School clinics have been operated by the Transvaal and Natal Education Departments for some years, and the Transvaal has an extensive system of dental units, operated in co-operation with the Dental Association. The Cape and Orange Free State have extended their clinic services, and particularly their subsidies to voluntary bodies for clinic services during the past few years.

School-feeding is carried on by the Province in Natal, whilst subsidies are given in the Transvaal by the Education Department, and in the Cape Province organisations, which undertake school feeding, may be included with other "Charitable Organisations" for registration.

Municipalities in all large towns employ health visitors, and conduct infant, and, in many cases, also maternal welfare clinics. The work amongst the voluntary organisations goes back to the very early days of the present century.

In 1907 the Child Welfare movement was begun by the formation, in Capetown, of the Society for the Protection of Child Life. These were soon taken over by the Municipality, which to-day employs at least 24 health visitors.

In 1908 a Children's Aid Society was started in Johannesburg. From these two centres the work developed and spread throughout the Union, till in 1924 there were 33 voluntary Child Welfare Societies operating in various centres. Their work is

definitely preventive in nature, and aims to protect the health of mothers and children, to care for children found destitute, neglected or in danger of falling into crime, and to co-operate with all other bodies, voluntary and official, working on similar lines.

These services include employment of nurses, provision of pre-natal and post-natal clinics, and of skilled maternity services, crèches or day nurseries (in three centres only), following-up of school medical inspection with provision of dental clinics in a few cases, provision of school meals, assistance to secure treatment for physically handicapped children and suitable care and education for mentally handicapped children.

Investigation and guardianship in adoption cases, supervision of children whose parents or guardians are in receipt of Government Maintenance grants, securing care and protection for destitute, neglected and delinquent children, including, in some centres, the provision of places of safety where children can be cared for pending disposal by the Court, and after-care for readjustment in the community, of children who have received institutional care, are amongst the activities of local Child Welfare Societies.

In 1924, the South African National Council for Child Welfare was formed to act as a co-ordinating link between the voluntary Child Welfare Societies, and to be the official channel of communication between them and the Government on matters affecting Child Welfare.

Thus, when the International Standing Committee for Child Welfare was formed by the International Council of Women at the Washington Conference in 1925, there was, in South Africa, a nationally organised body active in this field. It was agreed that, to secure the best results, the South African National Council for Child Welfare would continue to carry on active Child Welfare work through the local Child Welfare Societies, which were affiliated to Branch Councils of the National Council of Women. In order to secure central co-ordination, the National Council of Women was given representation on the Child Welfare Council, and the Organising Secretary of the South African National Council for Child Welfare was appointed International Standing Committee Member for Child Welfare of the National Council of South Africa.

The general interest in Child Welfare work, and particularly in Mothercraft, received a great impetus by the opening, in 1924, of the Mothercraft Training Centre, where provision is made for post-graduate training in Mothercraft for qualified nurses and midwives. Since that date over 150 nurses have qualified as Athlone Mothercraft Nurses. This training centre receives a subsidy from the Union Department of Public Health, through

the South African National Council for Child Welfare, which also makes an annual contribution towards the cost of training.

From 1924 onwards, local Child Welfare Societies increased in number and widened their scope. There are now nearly 100 Child Welfare Societies in the Union and four in Southern Rhodesia.

There has been, within the past few years, a rapid development of Child Welfare and Health Committees amongst the branches of the four provincially organised Afrikaans-speaking Women's Associations. Negotiations for closer co-ordination between these organisations and the Child Welfare Societies have been going on for a considerable time.

The South African National Council for Child Welfare consists of representatives of the Union Government Departments of Justice, Education, Public Health, Labour and Social Welfare and Mental Hygiene, of the Provincial Administrations of each Province, the professional bodies, Medical Association, Trained Nurses' Association and Federal Council of Teachers, Nationally organised bodies concerned with Child Welfare, Municipal Associations of all four Provinces, and municipalities of the large towns.

The Child Welfare Magazine is published in both official languages and distributed throughout the country. Our Children's Day was founded in 1926 by H.R.H. Princess Alice, and is celebrated throughout the Union as a day on which public attention is centred on the interests of the children, and on which funds are collected for local and National Child Welfare work.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF CANADA.

The National Council of Women of Canada has a Standing Committee on Child Welfare, made up of the conveners of Child Welfare Committees in the Local Councils. There are 50 Councils.

It is the duty of the National Convener to give what leadership she can to local conveners, but the programmes of these conveners vary considerably, according to the type of community in which they work. In some cases they are responsible for actual pieces of work, such as child health centre, play school or milk fund or something of the kind, but for the most part their function is to provide a common meeting ground for those in the community who are interested in Child Welfare, and in this way help forward the common cause.

The "field" work of Child Welfare in Canada is primarily a provincial and municipal matter. Dominion-wide responsibility on the part of the Federal Government in Ottawa is practically non-existent.

The Canadian Welfare Council is a voluntary organisation. It carries on a Canada-wide programme of education, and is in touch with child welfare activities throughout the country.

The following extracts, taken from the 1935 Year Book of the Canadian National Council, show the very varied activities of the branch of Child Welfare:—

In a number of centres the Council has given active support to local organisations engaged in direct Child Welfare activities.

In other areas they have carried on a local campaign to secure the provision of an adequate dental service for necessitous children, and in another place have instituted pre-school classes.

An important piece of pioneering work has been the formation of a playground association to co-operate with the local Parks Board.

In a second centre the local Council carried out a survey of the needs of the adolescent child (from 14-18 years).

In Toronto the local Child Welfare Council acts as Child Welfare Committee to the local Council of Women.

The following paper, which arrived too late to be read at the Conference, was prepared by Miss Mitchell, Matron of the S.A. Mothercraft Training Centre, and is a resumé of Child Health Work in New Zealand.

CHILD HEALTH WORK IN NEW ZEALAND.

The Royal New Zealand Society for the health of women and children was formed in 1907, and is now known as "The Plunket Society."

The steady decrease in the infant mortality rate of New Zealand has, since the formation of this Society, set an example to other countries.

The Government Maternity Hospitals demand that all matrons hold the post graduate certificate of a Plunket nurse, which is provided by the Society at their training school of Mothercraft at Dunedin. In 1934 the New Zealand Government paid approximately £14,000 in grants for salaries for nurses, and £300 in travelling expenses. The total expenditure for that year, by the Society, amounted to £20,000 (1934 report).

The success of Sir Frederick Truby King's work in New Zealand had such an effect upon public opinion in England, that in 1918 he was asked to visit that country and explain his system, and the result was the establishment of The Mothercraft Training Centre in London. Tasmania and South Africa established similar institutions in 1925, when nurses, specially

trained in New Zealand for Mothercraft, were sent to these two countries. South Africa has post graduate courses for trained nurses.

At Toronto, Canada, a centre was established in 1931, and the 7 per cent. decline in infant mortality rate in 1935 can be attributed to the teaching of the Mothercraft Training Centre. In Australia, both Sydney and Melbourne have centres established 10 and 12 years ago; and Palestine also has successfully adopted and carried out the methods inaugurated in New Zealand.

Pre-School Child.

As in other countries, the pre-school child has received considerable attention, and when school-going age is reached the Government Health Department assumes responsibility for its welfare.

Kindergartens.

The cordial relationship between the teachers of Kindergarten and the parents of pupils results in keen interest and mutual assistance at the routine medical examination and follow-up work, and a qualified nurse on Health Education lectures to Kindergarten Trainees.

Health Camps.

There are for children attending school, who are slightly below normal in health and in need of extra care, Health Camps; these are maintained throughout the year. The Education Department supplies teachers and school is held out of doors.

Native schools are established in areas inhabited by Maories, though the Maori child is not precluded from attendance at a European school where no native school is available.

Dental Hygiene.

In addition to medical service in schools, there are 248 centres where dental hygiene is carried out by Dental Nurses.

REPORT ON CHILD WELFARE IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

(By Gladys Maasdays.)

It is nine years since Child Welfare work was started in Southern Rhodesia.

Since the foundation of the Child Welfare Societies in the Colony, the specific needs of the child have been faced. There are now three Child Welfare Societies, in Bulawayo, Umtali and Gwelo, and the fourth, in Salisbury, has recently handed over its Child Welfare work to the Municipal Health authorities.

Seaside holidays are provided for at Beira during the winter months, and plans are now being made to build a National Home at Muizenberg, Cape. A home for convalescent children is provided in the beautiful Vumba Mountains of the Eastern Border.

Three legal changes of importance have been made in the last nine years. The first was the establishment of free and compulsory education for European children, and the second was the redrafting of the Children's Protection Act. The third was the passage of an up-to-date Mental Diseases Act.

The appointment of a Probation Officer was another useful step. A home for juvenile delinquents has recently been opened on a farm site given by a private benefactor, and a voluntary Juvenile Affairs Board has been set up.

Special treatment for backward children is still only obtainable in the "Opportunity Class" in Bulawayo.

The provision of nursing homes by combined effort of the Government, the Beit Trustees and private subscription, has now placed skilled maternity benefit within the reach of a large proportion of the community. A new scheme for the provision of District Nurses in the rural areas is just being started.

The Municipalities of Salisbury and Bulawayo now have their own medical departments with full-time medical officers. In Salisbury there are two Health Visitors for European, Indian and coloured work, who conduct the usual infant and other clinics, and two African nurses in the native location for maternity and general health work, including venereal disease, and a small maternity home and dispensary. In Bulawayo the Municipality employs a European Health Visitor for work in the location, and the Child Welfare Society has a Health Visitor for European work, and conducts a Day Nursery for the children of working mothers. In Umtali an Infant Clinic is conducted as a voluntary effort.

There is now a home in Bulawayo for the unmarried mother, and one institution will now take babies.

While the present state of affairs is an advance on that of nine years ago, we have done no more than prepare the ground, but the greatest need is a specially trained staff in those institutions which are directly concerned with the care of children.

It must be owned that, outside the two largest municipalities, little work is done for the Coloured, Indian or African child, who needs care and consideration. The Salisbury Municipality includes Coloured and Indian children in its health work, on the same footing as Europeans, but in different clinics, and there is a good deal of work done by the Health Visitors among the African children in the Salisbury and Bulawayo Locations.

WEDNESDAY, 11th NOVEMBER—"CINEMA AND BROADCASTING."

Conveners: Mrs. Mitchell Hunter and Mrs. Barnett Potter.
Chair: Mrs. Wiley, Bloemfontein.
The first speaker was Miss Van Eeghen.
The second paper was read by Mrs. Mitchell Hunter.

SOME ASPECTS OF EDUCATIONAL CINEMATOGRAPHY IN EUROPE.

(By Miss Van Eeghen.)

My subject, "Educational Cinematography in Europe," is a large one, so I shall only be able to treat some aspects of the subject.

The League of Nations recognised the cinema to be of such importance for the education of the youth, than an International Institute for Educational Cinematography was founded in Rome under its auspices.

This institute began a systematic research into all that had been attempted in various countries for utilising the motion picture for educational ends. There were private societies working for this purpose, independent of each other, but the International Council of Women was the first international women's organisation to take a serious interest in the development of the cinema, especially in regard to its influence on youth.

Ten years ago the International Council of Women formed its Cinema Committee, under the able leadership of Mrs. Dreyfus-Barney. At that time the main concern of educationalists, all over the world, was to fight against immoral and sensational films that had fatal results on boys and girls, who in many countries were freely allowed to enter the cinema.

I remember being told in Peru, in 1925, that crimes among youth had increased, and that their delinquencies could be traced back to impressions received at the cinema. There was no censorship. The National Council of Women of Peru took the question up, and insisted on the formation of a Control Committee. The Government formed such a committee, and invited two members of the Peruvian Council of Women to sit on it.

Forbidding bad films is not sufficient. Next to this negative action, there must be the constructive action of improving the cinema.

Mrs. Dreyfus-Barney realised this, and was aware that international collaboration was essential if any influence had to be exercised on such a universal industry as the cinema. After six years, she succeeded in organising an International Confer-

ence on Cinematography in Rome. The influence of this Conference, held five years ago, is still lasting. Constructive resolutions were passed on the following points:—

Firstly, Public Health and Cinema Halls. Measures concerning hygienic conditions of the halls, their supervision, safety of spectators, non-inflammable films, visibility, effect of moving pictures on the eye-sight.

The various types of projectors and films was the second technical point considered. A standard size of reduced films was recommended, so as to facilitate the circulation and exchange of educational films.

The third point concerned different types of educational and of recreational films. It was recommended to include an educational film in each cinema programme.

The Taxes on Presentations was the fourth subject. The Conference supported the Convention, drawn up by the League of Nations in 1935, on the suppression of customs duties for films of an educational character.

Conference further insisted on measures to overcome the disadvantages of "block-booking."

This led up to the very important question of censorship. It was recommended that there be Government control during the process of film production; that qualified women be included on the Boards of Censors; that a censorship in two degrees, according to the age of the children, be established; and that the censorship deal also with posters, titles and variety entertainments.

Finally, Conference dealt with two subjects of interest: The moral effect on individuals according to age, culture and race; and the promotion by means of the film of international understanding, on which subjects detailed recommendations were put forward.

All the foregoing recommendations was subsequently endorsed by the Institute for Educational Cinematography, and the seven points still serve as a working basis for the I.C.W. Standing Committee.

Mrs. Dreyfus-Barney remains in close contact with the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in Paris, and the Institute for Educational Cinematography in Rome, and when the Rome Institute held its own first Congress in 1934, which consisted of Government delegates from 34 countries, worked on practically the same lines and came to the same conclusions as the I.C.W. Conference three years earlier.

A whole scheme of possible action is being outlined regarding the effect and value of films on peoples of different race, mentality and culture. The Congress held that all films, which might harm the efforts directed towards civilisation and better understanding among the peoples, should be condemned.

In several countries national film institutes exist; some, however, are not solely interested in educational films, their main object being to improve the quality of all films in general.

It is often said that there is need for recreational films specially suitable for children. Children like exciting films full of action, and they delight in real comic scenes; but they do not like terrifying films and are bored by love episodes; they prefer using their imagination, which is why they so much enjoy the silent film.

Both the I.C.W. Conference and the Congress of the Institute of Rome, asked for the inclusion of qualified women on the control committees, and in many countries in Europe such is the case at present.

It is often said that there is an improvement in the quality of films, and it is true that some progress may be noted owing to the force of public opinion. But much remains to be done. Activities should not be limited to the suppression of what is recognised as unhealthy films—care ought also to be taken in the presentation of authorised films, and in particular, at the schools.

School films should be an original creation and not a synthesis of cuts from longer ones. They must be accurate, well produced and particularly clear to the eye. Finally, school films should be short.

Further, it is necessary to have so-called "stop films," and to comment during the pause. Children dislike to have to listen and look at the same time.

It is needful to guard against over-doing the preparation. It is generally admitted that it is unsatisfactory to tell the classes all they are going to see, as the alertness, with which they otherwise come to the film, would be lost.

To those who are interested in the school film, I recommend Francis Consitt's study on "The Valley of Films in History Teaching."

It is evident that films can present events in a new light, and enable children to view world history from fresh stand-points, and, in addition, the wise use of films in schools can lead the children to form a sound standard of judgment, through which a discriminating taste in films may be developed.

School film libraries and catalogues have proved very useful. These exist in France and in Denmark, thanks to the efforts of the National Council of Women. In Czecho-Slovakia they are in preparation, and may be in other countries.

Another possibility is the production of films with Governmental co-operation and subvention, as, for instance, the series produced by the General Post Office in Great Britain, which rank among the best of educational films. Their titles: "Weather Forecast," "Night Mail," "Spring on the Farm,"

"Post Haste," etc., indicate that they are designed to show the complexity of modern communications and the problems which lie behind our everyday life. The General Post Office issues a booklet with notes and synopses on their films for the use of teachers. These films are very popular and immensely appreciated by young people.

As Mrs. Dreyfus-Barney wrote in her report on the Rome Congress: "The Cinema can serve as an auxiliary in the development of civic consciousness in young people, so that they may be made aware of their place in the nation, and of the co-operation which should exist between their own country and the other countries of the world in this century of inter-dependence."

If we keep this view in mind, no effort will be too great that tends towards its realisation.

The women all over the world have united in this action, and in conclusion, on behalf of the I.C.W. and its Cinema Committee, I tender our best wishes for the further success of the work.

LOUISE C. A. VAN EEGHEN.

Johannesburg, November, 1936.

PROGRESS OF CINEMATOGRAPHY IN SOUTH AFRICA.
(Dealt with by Mrs. B. Mitchell Hunter.)

Many people do not realise that a great deal has been done by the Government, the National Bureau of Education and Social Research and the organisations concerned with the welfare of children, with regard to cinematography with which all thinking people must reckon.

A sub-committee, appointed by the S.A. National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation in June, 1935, felt the systematic and effective use of cinematography for educational purposes could only be successfully encouraged and developed by establishing a National Organisation for this purpose.

As a result of this report, the Minister of Education decided to establish a Film Institute under the National Bureau of Education and Social Research, and to appoint an officer in charge with a technical assistant.

The two officers appointed are: Mr. C. P. de L. Beyers and Mr. I. Baris.

The Film Institute exists generally to encourage the use and development of the Cinema as a means of entertainment and instruction.

Its further aims and objects are practically the same as those of the British Film Institute. One of the most important steps taken has been the establishment of a film library,

to which the Provincial Education Departments are contributing the sum of £800 for the purchase of Films to be used by the schools. In order to widen the range of the Institute's activities, an advisory board, consisting of representatives of various organisations, has been formed.

The primary functions of the board will be to assist the Government in the determination of its policy.

The I.S.C. member for Cinema and Broadcasting, Mrs. Eybers, has, through the N.C.W. branches, dealt with many problems in this section of our work, such as:—

- (a) Censorship and Broadcasting Boards.
- (b) General control and rules of management.
- (c) Suitable programmes for children.
- (d) The international aspect of the cinema.
- (e) Publication of film reviews to guide parents.
- (f) The role of the Press in building up public opinion.
- (g) Protests against scenes of violence, warfare or military pagentry.
- (h) Consideration of production of films in S.A. to suit peculiar needs of the country.
- (i) To encourage demand for films whose subjects and social standards are sound and wholesome.

The Union Department of Public Health lend health films, free of charge, to recognised organisations, and have a fine number of instructional films dealing with several aspects of Public Health and diseases prevalent in South Africa.

WEDNESDAY: MORNING SESSION, 11.30.

Subject: Broadcasting.

Speakers: Mrs. Egeling, Member of Broadcasting Board of South Africa, and Miss Dickson.

WOMEN AND BROADCASTING IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Broadcasting as a national concern is yet in its infancy in South Africa. It may be well to consider, not only what place the South African woman has had in the past, but what she may in future attempt to do with profit to herself and to the nation.

History.

The first small broadcasting stations were erected in Johannesburg and Capetown. Both of these were run by

private companies, while Durban followed soon after as a municipal venture. All three companies were later amalgamated under the African Broadcasting Company, a commercial organisation. Under the company the system developed until the Union is divided, for broadcasting purposes, into three areas radiating from Capetown, Johannesburg and Durban respectively. There are seven transmitters serving some 150,000 listeners, and there are sometimes four programmes available.

The next important step in development was taken when, just two years ago, Sir John Reith of the B.B.C. came out to South Africa, at the invitation of our Government, and drew up a comprehensive report on Broadcasting and its suggested development. It was felt that such a service was the concern of the nation, through its Government, and that the service should be brought within reach of the most scattered section of the population.

This report inspired the Broadcasting Act of 1936, by which the future control and development of broadcasting was entrusted to a public utility trust company. The company came into being as the South African Broadcasting Corporation as recently as the 1st August, 1936.

Development.

Having so far looked very briefly into the general history of our subject, we are now ready to enquire into the share women have in it. It is gratifying to know that each of the three pioneer stations, even in the very first week of its inception, broadcast talks for women. This initial recognition of the importance of women in the radio programme has developed, until to-day we have two sessions every morning devoted exclusively to women's interests. The newly-created Corporation includes on its Board of eight Governors, one woman, and on the Advisory Councils there are at present twelve women out of a total membership of 36. I am pleased to be able to say that the control of our programmes has been in the capable hands of a woman.

Type of Broadcast.

The essential attraction of these broadcasts for women is, as it ever must be, the home. Home management, child care, home nursing and first aid have furnished the subject matter for hundreds of talks given by women, well-equipped for the task.

Talks on health, beauty-culture and outside pursuits are popular. Many appreciative letters are received from farmers wives commenting on the usefulness and interest of the lectures regularly broadcast under the aegis of the Agricultural Department. Interesting talks are continually given on literary and artistic subjects, popular science and such other general matters,

e.g., as the collection of old furniture. In short, woman is taught by the Radio how to preserve her own and her family's health, beautify her home and improve her mind.

National Link.

Every South African to-day is keenly aware of the responsibility of nation-building. For such among us the link between home and Radio is a very precious and vital one, especially in a country of vast spaces with a sparsely scattered population. The Board is already approaching it from the technical angle, by the erection of more powerful transmitters. We may safely leave this technical problem to experts and give our attention to the more interesting human one. Now that broadcasting has become a national undertaking, it is our duty to do our share in shaping, directing and carrying out this national task.

It must be the task of the programme builder to provide the contacts, which will link up the lonely wife and mother on an outlying farm with her sister in the city.

There is so much of common interest, the knowledge of which may deepen and enrich our national life.

Another session to which our country sisters especially look forward, and from which they get infinite comfort as well as a sense of fellowship with the rest of us, is the Daily Service. This simple and undenominational service is given in the studio. Its unpretentious and homely sincerity must be heard in a lonely farm homestead to be fully appreciated.

Many of the broadcast talks, to which I have referred in this address, were given in Afrikaans, and the woman who is not bilingual has missed some of them. Language is a means not an end in itself, and having two languages need only mean that our children have two keys by which they may open two different sources of wealth from which to build for the South African nation of the future. Why do we continue to use such expressions as fifty-fifty, measuring off grudgingly to each other just so much and no more? Why not all have everything of both. Nobody can alter the fact that we are a bilingual country. Instead of quarrelling over it, let us by faith, dignity and good will turn our problem into a privilege, and so obtain for ourselves and our children all of everything that our country has to offer.

BROADCASTING.

Miss Dickson gave a most interesting address on her visit to Broadcasting Stations in different parts of the world. In Italy she found the most perfect musical broadcasts; in America the subjects were always interesting; in Germany the work was extremely thorough. In Austria a great feature is made of

news services; and in London women take a prominent part in the administration, and the studio is very well conducted. Charity broadcasts are allowed in England, and large sums of money are often raised through this medium.

BROADCASTING AND CINEMA IN AUSTRALIA.

Film censorship is carried out by the Federal Board of Censors, consisting of four men and one woman. An Appeal Board is constituted of one man.

The standard of films in Australia has steadily improved, due to the action of voluntary organisations. The suggestions put forward by voluntary organisations comprise the exclusion of all vulgarities, the sparing use of scenes depicting drinking, the total abolition of crime pictures, and the exhibition of more nature pictures, travelogues and historical scenes, and the shortening of programmes.

In Canada there are Provincial Censor Boards on which women are represented, and the Education Department uses films very largely in the schools.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, 2.30-3.30.

Subject: Public Health and Nursing.

Convener: Miss Alexander.

Chair: Miss B. Alexander, R.R.C.

The paper written by Mrs. Howood, Organising Secretary, Trained Nurses' Association, was read by Miss Martin, Public Health Department.

A paper was read by Miss Hurst, the first Housing Supervisor in South Africa.

Miss Martin spoke, and Miss Stops reported on work in Australia and New Zealand.

PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Public Health Nursing in South Africa is a growth of the last twenty years, and in its inception and development has followed the lines of Great Britain. In the beginning the first nurses appointed held a little special qualification other than a Sanitary Inspector's Certificate superimposed on a Certificate of General Nursing or Midwifery. Employment was found in the two largest municipalities of Capetown and Johannesburg, where the work has developed more rapidly and intensively than elsewhere.

Professional Qualifications of the Public Health Nurse.

The professional qualifications required to-day for appointment as a Public Health Nurse, are both the General Certificate of the S.A. Medical Council and the Midwifery Certificate, with at least the Health Visitor and School Nurses Certificate and/or the Mothercraft Certificate of the National Council for Child Welfare. In addition a number of Public Health Nurses hold the International Public Health Certificate issued by Bedford College, London. A sound knowledge of the laws bearing on Public Health, Children and their protection, Housing and Factories, is essential. In addition to these qualifications the well-equipped nurse will add experience in infectious diseases.

Focus of Public Health Nursing.

The focus of all public health nursing is primarily and essentially educational, preventive rather than remedial care—the building of resistance to, rather than the treatment of disease. To this work there are two sides, the one bearing on the individual, the other on the environment, the two combining to build community health. Whether the Public Health Nurse should spend years of arduous hospital training, is a question which will inevitably arise in the future.

Undoubtedly the woman who knows something of soil, and of practical vegetable growing, combined with not only the theory of nutrition and dietetics, but a capacity for teaching on occasion good homely cooking with a few facilities and ingredients limited both in range and quantity, is a woman better equipped for dealing with the practical issues of life in rural areas than the woman who has spent years acquiring the fine technique required in co-operating with specialists in a highly equipped hospital.

An intelligence trained to deal with environmental factors—health, housing, sanitation, ventilation, water and milk supplies—is essential in the varied daily round of the Health Visitor.

Employment.

The different authorities employing Public Health Nurses in South Africa are as follows:—

First, the Union Government now maintain, under a woman assistant medical officer, three public health nurses. Their duties vary as they have surveyed the Union to ascertain the most urgent needs of the country districts, the availability of nursing service, the general social and economic conditions of its people, etc. They inspect private nursing homes, the work of midwives, and are expected to advise on the institution of nursing services, welfare clinics, etc.

Divisional Councils.

The Divisional Council of the Cape has one full-time Health Visitor, who specialises in venereal diseases work, in addition to routine health visiting, attending clinics and visiting in the homes of the people. This Council also employs, through the Cape Hospital Board, several District Nurses, who not only do bedside nursing of the sick, but also give health teaching in the homes, and assist with Maternity and Child Welfare Clinics.

Municipalities.

The work of health visitors under these authorities varies, according to the general health scheme of the area. In the largest municipalities it tends to fall into compartments, viz.:—

(a) *Maternity and Child Welfare.*

- (1) Pre-natal teaching and advice on maternal hygiene, preparation for infant, securing good meals for the expectant mother an attention to dental hygiene, etc.
- (2) Visiting, instructing and supervising mothers in the care of their infants and children.
- (3) Visiting "protected infants" under the Children's Protection Act.
- (4) Visiting home treated cases of infectious diseases.
- (5) Management of Dental Clinics for pre-school children.

(b) *Health Visitors giving specialised services in Municipalities.*

- (1) Prophylactic work in the immunisation against diphtheria, scarlet fever, etc.
- (2) Tuberculosis. The whole time of the nurse is devoted to investigating and reporting on notified cases of tuberculosis.
- (3) Supervisor of Midwives, a new sphere of responsibility. Two appointments only have been made as yet, one in Capetown, in 1933, and one in Johannesburg, in 1936. The Supervisor is responsible for inspection of equipment and work, but by means of interested co-operation and educative lectures, can improve the standard of midwifery practice.

In smaller municipalities the work of the Health Visitor is generalised rather than specialised. She is liable to carry any or all of the foregoing special duties, and to act as Sanitary Inspector as well. In such posts the Health Visitor, working under a part-time M.O.H., has a very difficult position.

Voluntary Organisations.

A high tribute must be paid to the magnificent work of the National Council for Child Welfare, which for ten years has been sending its nurse lecturers into all parts of the country, awakening the public mind to the need, and demonstrating the means, for building sound, vigorous health in the young life of the country.

Child Welfare Societies.

Due to the magnificent propaganda of a National Council for Child Welfare, very many Child Welfare Societies now employ full-time Child Welfare Nurses, who are responsible for teaching child nurture and child care in rural areas on the lines of Health Visitors in towns.

School Nurse.

Another branch of Public Health Nursing is that of the School Nurse. Working under the Education Department of the different Provincial Administrations she is usually assigned to a particular area with headquarters where she must live. She works under the Medical Inspector of Schools, assisting in his or her examinations, and most important is her task to ensure that the doctor's recommendations are carried through to a successful issue.

In addition to her other duties she must teach the elements of Mothercraft and simple home nursing to the senior girls in her schools, and, if possible, to the mothers as well.

Having covered very perfunctorily the activities of Public Health Nurses, may I ask you now to consider the personal qualities of the woman fitted to carry such work to success.

First and foremost a deep love of humanity, which will ensure unlimited patience, tact and perseverance. In her manner and approach she should be acceptable in every type of home, rich or poor. She must win or inspire confidence; she must stimulate effort. She must simplify her teaching, not only to the individual's mind and environment, but also to the tools with which she has to work, the foods which are available, the clothing which can be secured. Resourcefulness must be in every fibre of her being.

The Public Health nurse who wins the confidence of the individual and the group, who persuades, convinces and inspires, is doing a full-time job of untold value to the nation. May her days be long in the land.

HOUSING MANAGEMENT.

(A paper read to the N.C.W. Dominions Conference, Johannesburg, 11th November, 1936.)

In the short time at my disposal, it is quite impossible to deal in general with such a large and important subject as Housing.

Bad housing impairs national efficiency. In most countries to-day private enterprise is failing to provide accommodation for the lower-paid worker at rents he can afford. This is due to a variety of causes—high building costs, in South Africa the discrepancy between the wages of skilled labour, which erects the house, and of unskilled labour, which has to live in it and pay the rent; the traditional difficulty of managing such property, and many others. The State, therefore, has to step in and provide the necessary service.

One of the chief arguments against State-aided housing is the familiar, "But it is the people that make the slums." The answer to this type of criticism is, in my opinion, simply that the success of a housing scheme very largely depends on management. If you start a business concern in the soundest possible way, it will be a failure unless you ensure that it is subsequently directed by experts in that particular line. For "sub-economic" housing schemes, expert administration is essential. The services of a qualified social administrator are required.

I will give a brief account of the work of woman Housing Estate Managers on Octavia Hill lines. Miss Octavia Hill was one of the greatest of the Victorian pioneers in improving the conditions for the poorest people. She started her work in London in the '60's, and she died in 1912. To-day there are over 200 women in England, and a number in Holland, following her system. She acted as estate agent for various landlords of formerly "slum" property, and carried out her work in the spirit of social service. She emphasised the mutual responsibility of landlord and tenant—if the landlord provides decent accommodation at a reasonable rent and the place is kept in good repair, the tenant must pay that rent regularly, keep that place clean and tidy, and be a good neighbour to the other tenants.

The work has naturally developed greatly since Miss Hill's day, and the growth of municipal housing, since the war, has brought it into special prominence. The scope of the work varies greatly also, depending on local conditions.

A Housing Manager usually collects the rents herself weekly, visiting from house-to-house. This enables her to keep

a hand on arrears, through personal knowledge of individual circumstances. The financial success of this system has been proved again and again.

The weekly visit also enables the manager to deal with repairs and complaints, to see that the place is kept clean, to notice and get rid of sub-tenants, and to give advice to the housewives. She supervises the work of resident caretakers, who keep order on the estate and do minor repairs and decorations; she orders and checks repairs; she does the estate accounts; she prepares reports for the owner, whether it be a trust, local authority or a private individual; she co-operates with social service bodies for the tenants' benefit; she suggests improvements in design and so forth from experience of the tenants' point of view. An important part of the work is the choice of tenant, receiving applications, visiting prospective tenants, taking up references, dealing with rehousing during the clearance of a slum area. In brief, the manager is responsible for the general maintenance of the property, and for keeping the equilibrium between the interest of landlord and tenant.

There is a great opening for women in this work, for which special qualifications are required, and which calls for intensive training for at least two years. Women are particularly suited to the work. Attention to small household details is best given by a woman of sympathy and understanding. To quote the words of Miss Octavia Hill: "You will never reach the poor except through people who really care about them."

In South Africa many municipalities are embarking upon a housing scheme as the result of the Slum Clearance Act of 1934. Although it may not be advisable for the Octavia Hill system to be adopted entirely in this country, the main principles remain the same. Unfortunately, there is no supply of South African trained women at present suitable for the work, as girls who have taken a Social Science degree require years of practical experience before they can take over the responsibility of management.

The third speaker was Miss Martin, who said she wished to speak about how the Public Health Department deals with the care of mother and child. We begin with the expectant mother; we provide for her so that she may bring a healthy child into the world. Infant welfare clinics are essential and are advisory. In South Africa we are beginning to do something for our pre-school children, who have been very sadly neglected in the past, and we will one day have a comprehensive school medical service. One essential point is that clinics are useless unless the workers go into the homes of these women and teach them, and visit them continually until they understand how to keep clean and how to feed their children.

A very important subject is that of birth control. My Department has done all it can to help the society for race welfare, which is concerned in this matter. Maternal and child death rates are too high in this country. One of the biggest causes of this is that the unfortunate mother is worn out with child bearing. If we could teach her family spacing, she would give herself a chance to become stronger and give the next child a chance to become welcome, and have a happy and healthy mother to care for it.

In conclusion, Miss Martin also paid tribute to the voluntary organisations in South Africa, notably the S.A. Council for Child Welfare, and the Care Committee for Tubercular patients in the Cape Province.

PUBLIC HEALTH (INFANT WELFARE) IN AUSTRALIA.

(Reported by Miss Stops.)

Much is being done throughout Australia for the welfare of all children. In the back-country and in drought areas, through the help of the Country Women's Association, there are Rest Rooms in all towns, and in them is stationed a nurse who gives help and advice to mothers. There are seaside homes to which mothers and their families are brought from drought areas, where health is often at low ebb. These homes care for, feed and help in many ways. The Inland Doctor Air Service is doing great work in helping isolated families. Two planes are in use, and new receiving sets are being established through the practical assistance of the younger sets. They cost about £45. Women learn "morse" and can call down the doctor. By arriving quickly to the assistance of those concerned in an accident or sudden illness, the doctor is helping to save life and making it safer for families in far-back country.

Reporting on New Zealand, Miss Stops said there were Plunket rooms throughout the country, and that everybody took advantage of the advice obtained there, with regard to pre-natal care and feeding. In every centre a nurse is in attendance.

SOCIAL SERVICE.

Chair: Mrs. Deneys Reitz, M.P.

The first paper was read by Mrs. Malherbe, M.P.

Miss Tancred, Organiser of Women Police of Great Britain, read the second paper entitled "Women Police."

Mrs. Eden, a delegate from Great Britain, read the third paper.

A SURVEY OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIAL WORK.

(Mrs. M. Malherbe, M.P.)

Having had no organised social service in the past, we can adopt the most modern methods in social work, but we have a poor-white problem largely due to the presence of an almost unlimited supply of cheap, non-European labour. The European cannot compete on an equal footing with the native in the field of unskilled labour.

Social Service in South Africa has a long history in which the efforts of the Church play an important part.

The first important mile-stone on the way of social service was (1) the Carnegie Commission of investigation into the cause of the poor-white problem—a fact-finding commission which strove to diagnose this far-reaching national problem—it did not attempt to make concrete proposals, but it did indicate broad lines of action. It was assisted in this work by the Dutch Reformed Church, who had a very effective poor-relief organisation (Armsorg), and was the most suitable body to help with this work.

(2) The report of the Carnegie Commission was published in 1932 (it was the second mile-stone on our way), and two years after that the Government, assisted by the Church, organised.

(3) National Conference on the Poor-White Problem: This Conference was held at Kimberley in October, 1934, and consisted of representatives of all sections of the community, to formulate clear and definite lines of action which, if carried out, would revolutionise our social service.

A systematic plan for social welfare was evolved, suggesting the establishment of a Union Government Department of Social Welfare, as well as Provincial Boards to guide local welfare activities.

On the subject of employment it made provision for increasing the employment opportunities of the unemployed, and recommended the establishment of work colonies for the "won't works."

Important resolutions were also passed in relation to education and slum clearance on a national scale. That the work was thoroughly done, was all-embracing and practical cannot be questioned—its value lies largely in that and also in the fact that it was the result of the combined thought of all social workers in South Africa. And the State and welfare organisations are working along these lines.

The Bureau of Educational and Social Research is responsible for research relating to social welfare problems, and organised a very successful National Conference on Social Work in September, 1936.

The report of which, when published, will contain the following main addresses:—

- (a) Organisation and training for social work.
- (b) Family life and child welfare.
- (c) Crime and delinquency.
- (d) Health—mental hygiene—the physically handicapped.
- (e) The non-European problem.
- (f) Education and social work. Recreation and character building.
- (g) Social legislation and economic problems.

It was a truly national representative Conference, admirably conceived and admirably carried out. No branch of modern curative social work was omitted.

The research work it does is valuable—the advice and information it can give to the Government and private bodies is also equally valuable, but if it succeeds in co-ordinating private and public social work, the Bureau will be invaluable.

PART II.

After the Boer War the National Women's Societies were formed. The churches, too, did what they could to better conditions. To-day the social services of the State are most comprehensive, but the private and semi-private agencies are also doing very wonderful work and co-ordination between the two is quite essential if the work is really to succeed.

Social service really falls into two sections:—

- (1) Relief work pure and simple.
- (2) Curative work—efforts to fit those who are at present maladjusted to society into ordinary social life.

(1) This, to my mind, is the most difficult relief measure we have to deal with, as given an adequate wage the labourer has no incentive to strive to get away from the relief work to permanent work, and the wage would then also attract more and more people from the rural areas to whom cash is attractive, and whose lack of knowledge of town conditions leads them into the mistaken idea that living would be easier than in the countryside. These huge subsidised labour schemes, all a necessary part of our present rehabilitation schemes, will only be really beneficial if they are temporary.

Other Government measures are assured, such as old age pensions; pensions for the blind and allowances (which are just to be introduced) for those unfitted to work, and have not yet reached the pensionable age; grants for distribution of milk, butter and cheese. The State also gives relief to the indigent

through the magistrates; rations; free hospitalisation, etc. Subsidies are paid to private charitable institutions and bodies.

This poor relief work would be better co-ordinated if boards of charities were established in large centres. Johannesburg has done so—we hope other centres will follow suit.

The National Council of Child Welfare administer the mothers' pensions, etc. The Salvation Army is subsidised to help prisoners and their families. Certain women's organisations (the A.C.V.V., S.A.V.F. and O.V.V. Benevolent Societies, etc.) who run homes for the aged poor, hostels for girls, rescue homes, etc., are also liberally subsidised by the State.

The education authorities are now trying to establish methods of education. The farm school is an excellent beginning, and there is a definite movement on foot to consider education as a means to fit boys and girls for some vocation in life.

To educational reform, we feel that the State should aim at scientific nutrition for the people.

Employment is a serious matter. The Juvenile Affairs Boards assist, but South Africa lacks the industries and other avenues of employment of older countries. The Special Service Battalion for boys helps in a wonderful way to fit unemployed boys for life, and to find them some employment.

The State is trying to absorb relief labourers in permanent employment, but this is difficult.

I wish now to consider the most important of our social services, and that is housing. The Director of the I.L.O. (Mr. Harold Butler) says: "The need for better housing as the foundation of a healthy nation is becoming more generally acknowledged. Sanitation, precautions against infectious disease, public medical services, hospitals and sanatoria cannot raise the standard of public health, unless the people live under hygienic conditions."

I think the most important social legislation of the Government is the provision of money by the State for sub-economic housing schemes for the poor—and also very important is the economic housing scheme, which gives State aid to the middlemen who bears the brunt of our whole social structure. The State aid is not only for housing schemes in the towns, but in rural areas the "bywoners" (farm hands) are also helped.

I have tried to give you a bird's-eye view of the social service being done in our country. I should like to acknowledge how much I am indebted to Dr. Brummer's paper on social work at the recent Conference.

We are hoping for a national body (including Government and private representatives), which will co-ordinate action in all social service, and realise that to do anything effective we must have a definite plan.

WOMEN POLICE.

In the Resolution on Women Police, passed at Dubrovnik, the International Council of Women noted with satisfaction the increasing interest throughout the world in the employment of Women Police in carrying out protective, preventive and detective duties in connection with women and children.

A summary of the present position was prepared for Dubrovnik from League of Nations Material, from which it appears that in—

Europe: There are between 800 and 1,000 policewomen.

Asia: Burma, 1; Siam—A corps of women police to guard inner shrine of Women's Palace.

China and India interested.

Africa: Alexandria—2 in connection with Drug Traffic.

North America: 650—20 in Canada.

Australia: 26.

On a conservative estimate, 1,500 policewomen are working beside their male colleagues in the world to-day. Small though the numbers are, if we take into consideration the presence in court of women magistrates, lawyers, probation officers, police matrons, etc., the change in the atmosphere of the police courts especially is decidedly encouraging.

1927: "The improvement in the status of women is reflected in an increasing interest in social problems and improved social conditions. An illustration of these developments may be found in the demand for the inclusion of women in police forces—an innovation which has been well reported on in some countries."

Four years later, in 1931:—

"They have definitely established themselves and acquired a recognised position in virtue of their achievements. Their usefulness is now beyond dispute as regards preventive work and the protection of women and children exposed to moral dangers."

1932: "There is no doubt that in investigations involving questioning of women and girls the collaboration of trained women is of great practical value."

The I.C.W. Resolution divides the duties of women police into three categories—protective, preventive and detective—and it is interesting to note these three lines of developments taken in different countries. To put it briefly, the women in uniform are used to protect and prevent, and women in plain clothes to detect—it is difficult to say which is the more important.

The fullest experiment with the policewomen in uniform has been made in London, where experience shows that where women in uniform are properly organised and employed, the demand for their services far exceeds the supply. The present number employed in London is about 80, and is to be increased to 142. Sir Nevill Macready was Commissioner in 1920; he said in evidence, before the Home Office Committee, he considered 200 policewomen were required for their London needs. The London women are instructed in all police duties, and work in plain clothes as required.

In Glasgow, the women are all attached to the C.I.D., and as I know a good deal about them and their work, I choose it as an example.

There are 16 policewomen in Glasgow very fully employed on crime detection. They deal with all cases concerned with women and children, whether as offenders, victims or witnesses. In cases of criminal assaults on children, they make all the preliminary investigations, and examine the witnesses, and report the results to the Procurator Fiscal. In cases of serious crime they take charge of their own cases in the High Court. They deal with shop-lifting, brothels, shebeens—take charge of juvenile delinquents—visits cinemas, dance halls, music halls—and make enquiries of all kinds.

The numbers in Glasgow are too few for them to undertake work in uniform.

In U.S.A. the plight of women prisoners in police cells first attracted attention. In 1865 the first six Matrons were appointed in New York, and in 1888 Massachusetts passed a law that all cities of 20,000 inhabitants employ Matrons. The first policewoman was appointed in 1910, and the last figures available give 630 as the total of policewomen.

The last example I want to take is Holland, where women police have been at work since 1911. In 1920 the Children's Police were instituted in Amsterdam, and in 1924, 30 men and women were employed in the Children's Police. Now there are 69 policewomen in Amsterdam, and 18 in the rest of Holland.

One last word about the policewoman herself. In the early days of the movement, the problem of finding suitable women was great. However good the woman might be, an unsympathetic Chief Constable could make her work well-nigh impossible. Statutory Regulations, issued in 1931, setting forth the necessary qualifications, conditions of service and duties, have helped greatly. The best training in police work in the world is open to the woman who comes up to the required standard, given along with physical training for fitness and self-defence. When this training is made available for all policewomen, a great step forward will be made.

With regard to the women and girls who pass through our police courts, I can only say that the longer I work at these problems of how best to reinstate and restore health and self-respect to the prostitute, to save the young girl from taking another step on the road to crime, to deter men of abnormal tendencies from molesting women and children, to see that a conviction and adequate sentence follow his arrest and appearance in court—the more fundamental does it appear to me that in the interests of justice, humanity and public order and decency, women police, with the authority of the law behind them, should be appointed wherever and whenever their services are required.

SOCIAL SERVICE, INSURANCE, ETC.

Mrs. Eden dealt with National Insurance under the heads of: (a) Health and Invalidity, (b) Old age, including widows and orphans pensions, (c) Unemployment.

(a) *Health*.—At the age of 16 a child comes under the contributory system, based on 50 per cent. State, 25 per cent. employer and 25 per cent. employee. This system includes maternity benefit.

(b) *Old Age*.—Though an excellent scheme, I feel one point could be improved, the abolition of the separation of the sexes in almshouses, etc., when infirm. In South Africa I believe you have an excellent State pension at 65. Mrs. Malherbe has told you of other new forms to be introduced.

(c) *Unemployment*.—This includes all types of industrial unemployment, including agricultural, exclusive of domestic service (which is under consideration), and I understand a scheme is afoot for the inclusion of the black-coated workers. It is administered to-day on a purely business insurance basis.

I should also like to see a compulsory insurance system enforced to embrace the upper middle classes, who often leave dependants unprovided for.

One or two of the main causes and problems of unemployment are: The large number who will never be able to be absorbed, owing to physical and mental defects. The only possible solution to this seems to be the introduction of some practical eugenic legislation, as has proved so effective in some of the Continental countries.

The increase of industrialism has led to over production, and maldistribution, with its cruel effect of destruction of food-stuffs on the one hand and starvation on the other.

Technical development, mechanisation, and loss of craftsmanship. The decaying system of South Africa still in force, appears to me to have much of value to offer to those who can avail themselves of it.

Other Social Services may be summarised as: Recreation Movements, Hospital Almoners, Social Settlements, Child Guidance Clinics, Vocational Guidance Clinics, Holiday and Convalescent Schemes, etc.

12th NOVEMBER, THURSDAY—SESSION.

Subject: Our Bantu Folk—Mrs. Rheinallt Jones.

Conveners: Mrs. W. G. Ballinger and Mrs. F. B. Bridgman.

Chair: Councillor Mrs. Russell, Pietermaritzburg.

First paper by Mrs. W. G. Ballinger.

Second paper by Mrs. Kuper.

Third paper by Mrs. Hellman.

Mrs. I. B. S. Masole presented a paper.

Miss Makanya also gave a paper.

In the afternoon Mrs. Rheinallt Jones read a paper, then the delegates visited various social institutions for Bantu people.

NATIVE POLICIES IN SOUTH AFRICA.

(By Margaret Ballinger.)

The topic of this day's addresses will be African woman in a changing society. Every individual is affected, more or less, by every change, particularly any unusually rapid change in the form or order of society. But for subject races, such changes have a special signification, even where the changes are the product of, or are modified by, the active policy of the community, since subject races are rarely regarded as part of the community for policy-making purposes. It is certainly true of Africans here in the South, where active citizenship is increasingly exclusively a "white" prerogative.

My function is to show the direction of the forces which have moulded the contact between Bantu and European, and to analyse the policies which have been consciously pursued by European Governments.

It has been the custom to speak of any political contact of European and non-European races in terms of a "problem" in race relationships. In this sense, we may say that the problem of race contacts in South Africa goes back to the first days of European settlement at the Cape. Since that date, approximately two- and three-quarter centuries, the policy of the European Governments of the Colony, in regard to the Native races, has gone through three phases which have described almost a full circle.

It is not quite fair to speak of a problem of race contacts in respect of the first Government at the Cape, that of the Dutch East India Company, for, in the beginning at least, the company was not itself aware of any problem. Its policy in regard to the Native races it found at the Cape was quite simple. It was one of complete separation. The company's own intention at the Cape was to form merely a refreshment station without territorial encumbrance, and the imperial responsibilities which such encumbrance always implies. It laid down that the legal relationship between the company's servants, within the small area necessary for the company's purpose, and the Natives in the great hinterland beyond, should be that of mutually independent nations, and that the practical relationship should be one of mutual exclusion.

The history of South Africa is a living testimony to the defeat of all the Company's intentions. Within a decade the refreshment station, staffed by employees of the company, had been transformed into a Colony with land-hungry farmers as its citizens. The process, which was to spread European settlement and European Government all over Southern Africa, had begun, and was not stopped by all the efforts of an increasingly embarrassed commercial government. The change, however, was not reflected in the official policy towards Native people, at whose expense alone the expansion could take place.

But this policy of separation had one important modification. While the Hottentots were ordinarily to be regarded as foreigners and treated as such, any who sought and professed Christianity were to be regarded as brothers and equals, with rights of citizenship within the company's settlement. This is an interesting reflection of contemporary theory of the one-ness of Church and State, which was, no doubt, also responsible for the moral obligation placed upon slave owners to grant freedom to such of their slaves as received or accepted the Christian faith. Unfortunately, the missionary spirit which inspired this early policy did not survive the first few years of the settlement's existence.

In the course of the 18th century, the Colony spread steadily eastward until it had reached the Great Fish River. Before this expansion, the last remnants of the practical independence of the Hottentot population vanished. There grew up in the 18th century, out of the poverty of the European farmer with more land than he could use and the homelessness of the Native at whose expense he had acquired it, the prototype of that system of labour service tenancy which is the peculiar foundation of South African farming to-day.

The system is not a good one, but the most dangerous feature of the change which produced it was its lack of regulation. The Company refused to admit that in place of territorial

and political separation, there had grown up economic interdependence of Hottentot and colonist, and that if the new relationship was not to lead to serious evils, it must be regulated. To do the company justice, it refused control which the farmers pressed for—a pass law that would give the farmers the whip hand of their labour—while its officials enjoined that wages due for service were to be paid, servants were not to be detained against their will, and land known to be in occupation by Natives was not to be claimed by Europeans. By the end of the century, however, there were unmistakable signs that such injunctions were not enough. Both the last officials of the company and the representatives of the Batavian Republic, faced this situation and made efforts to meet it; but through changing political circumstances, the duty ultimately fell to the English.

The first effective definition of the position of the Hottentots was made by the English Government of the Cape, soon after that Government became permanent, and it is not without interest that that definition followed the lines pressed by the farmers and rejected by the Company less than half a century earlier. True, contracts of service were to be written and witnessed, and no Hottentot might move from one place to another without a pass, which anyone might demand to see. Failure to produce a pass meant, for the Hottentot, apprehension as a vagrant, after which he might be handed out by the local authorities to any farmer who would hire him, at any wage the farmer might be willing to pay. In the event of a Hottentot in service misbehaving himself, or of his master accusing him of misbehaviour, he might be punished by the local authority without trial.

Thus to the early years of British rule at the Cape can be traced the first effective pass and vagrancy laws, which placed the Hottentot on a lower legal level than the European. At the same time, the intention of the legislation was undoubtedly to afford a measure of protection to the Native population. To the legislators, it was better to defend the Native within the field of limited rights than to give him no rights at all.

One important section of the community, the farmers, found the new status of the Native eminently satisfactory, since it gave them control over their labour supply; but the system on which it was founded was almost immediately the object of attack from another quarter. The missionaries condemned the pass system as detrimental. In regard to the Native, they pointed out that the system deprived the Native of all possibility of economic and social advancement. From the point of view of the colonists, they maintained that the system was equally unsound since, by keeping wages low, it restricted the consuming capacity of the largest section of a community urgently in need of markets to stimulate healthy production, an

argument—that of Dr. John Philip—that has a familiar sound to-day. Finally, they declared that the system had as little moral as material justification. They insisted that the protection of inferior legal rights is an illusion—that legal inferiority is, in practice, incompatible with justice.*

The attacks of the missionaries had their effect, and in 1828 the legal inferiority of the Hottentot was abolished. This was followed in 1833 by the abolition of the status of slavery, and the Cape Colony embarked on a policy of equal rights for all men irrespective of colour. In 1852, when the Colony achieved representative government, there was no modification of this principle. When in 1872 representative government blossomed into responsible government, in spite of experience and a steady eastward movement of the frontier to bring within the confines of the Colony great numbers of Bantu to increase the racial disparity, the principle remained unmodified.

But the change of policy in the Cape had another, farther-reaching effect. To it must be traced the Great Trek. Here it is important to realise that the opposition to the policy of emancipation and equality did not come solely from the older national group in the Cape Colony. The opposition to Native advancement within the framework of the European State never has been the monopoly of one section of the community. Different groups react differently to the same stimuli, according to their tradition; and in South Africa a century ago, the tradition of the Dutch section of the population was to move away from a Government whose policy it did not like, while that of the English section was to find a remedy for its grievances in a change of personnel rather than in change of allegiance. So the English opposition stayed, to be eventually absorbed; while the Dutch opposition betook themselves and all their movable belongings beyond the frontier to establish new States in which the abhorred principle of racial equality should have no part or lot. In those new States, the old 18th century system was re-established with all the paraphernalia of pass laws and legal disabilities, which the legislation of 1828 and 1833 had rooted out of the Cape.

The political history of the 19th century is of the struggle to undo the worst effects of the Trek. Neither the Cape nor the North would abandon the Native policy it had adopted in the eighteen-thirties. Eventually, when Union came in 1909, it came on the basis of a compromise, a mutual tolerance. The representatives of the Cape were extremely dubious about the wisdom of this basis, but eventually accepted it in the hope that, sooner or later, Cape liberalism would triumph.

* The danger of legal inferiority, and the difficulty of gaining recognition for limited rights, which such legal inferiority recognises, is familiar to those who know the history of either the Trade Union movement or the Feminist movement.

That hope has not been justified. Increasing contact between black and white, begotten of our quite phenomenal industrial development since Union, has been governed by northern rather than by southern principles. The keynote has been limited economic separation with complete social, economic and legal differentiation of the two races.

In 1913 the right of Natives to buy land in any but specially defined areas was abolished, together with all rights of rent tenancy of European-owned land by Natives. The Franchise Act, 1936, abolished the Cape Native Franchise, and with it the protection of Cape Natives from discriminatory legislation. Under this Act the principle of legal equality, planted just over a hundred years ago at such great cost, has been uprooted, and the older principle of political and administrative separation re-established in its place.

A striking anomaly of the Act, 1936, is the very limited amount of land set aside for Native occupation and purchase. The sum total is some 9 per cent. of the whole area of the country. It is claimed that that 9 per cent. includes some of the best land in the country, but that does not alter the incapacity of the whole amount to support effectively even half of the present Native population of five millions. Actually, all that land is to-day occupied by, if not actually in the ownership of Natives, and it is admittedly overcrowded and unable to support its population without the regular exodus of its man power to labour centres in search of wage-earning employment. Outside that land, there are some two million Natives earning some sort of a living on European farms, mainly under a system of service tenancy, which is little changed from its 18th century prototype. Under this system, the whole family of the tenant is tied by the terms of his contract of service, and can be called on for at least ninety days free service each year if the farmer so desires. The result is that, like the Reserves, the farms often do not provide the monetary needs of their Native population, so that it too must periodically reinforce the labour supply of the towns. Finally, there are to-day at least one million Natives who are entirely divorced from the land, and must find all their livelihood in urban labour centres.

A second anomaly is the particularly high taxation of the Native population, for general revenue purposes. In fact, it is difficult to justify the present basis of Native taxation on any ground.

Thus the policy of separation is as incomplete in the 20th century as it was in the 18th. Certainly it has neither a territorial nor a fiscal basis. Anything from half to two-thirds of the Native population must seek their livelihood in European employ. Under the Urban Areas Acts, Natives are forced to live in separate residential areas within the municipal boundary, and

may not stake a claim either to property or to permanent residence within those areas. In terms of those Acts, town Native locations are reservoirs of labour for the European urban population, not homes for our urban Native people.

To-day in South Africa, we are giving form and content in new circumstances to a policy that can trace its origins to the 18th century. We have definitely rejected the contribution of the 19th century to the "problem" of race contacts. To many of us that is a profound disappointment. But in the traditions of the past there is wisdom as well as error; and if we can get back far enough, in this case only as far as the 17th century, we may yet arrive at the only really stable foundation for any contact, that of Christian brotherhood.

WOMEN IN SOUTH EASTERN BANTU SOCIETY.

(By Mrs. Kuper.)

The vast majority of Bantu women in South Africa still live in Native Reserves, where tribal customs are tenaciously retained. It is, therefore, possible, even at the present time, to reconstruct the general of life led by the women in the traditional Bantu culture, more especially as the women are recognised as the conservative section of the community. It must be remembered, however, that European influences have infiltrated in varying degrees to every part of South Africa, and a reconstruction is to some extent an abstraction from reality. It is a necessary background, however, if one wishes to gauge the pace, depth and direction of change.

My paper is based on the South-Eastern Bantu—the Zulu, Swazi, Zosa, Pondo and other tribes inhabiting the south-eastern coast and part of the interior of South Africa. Though each of these tribes has its own history and individuality there are basic linguistic singularities and organisational affinities between them all.

Every tribe has its own boundaries. Ruling the country is the Inkosi or King, under whom are local chiefs and sub-chiefs. Chiefs and commoners practise polygamy, and though under missionary influence a chief, such as Pota of Pondoland, is monogamous, there are still some chiefs, such as Sobuza of Swaziland, with over 30 wives. The people live in scattered villages of varying size, each under the control of a headman. Marriage is patrilocal so that a typical village consists of a patriarchal family—a man, his wives, his younger brothers, his sons, married and unmarried, and his unmarried daughters.

In all societies the status of women is largely determined by their degree of economic independence and security. In the

traditional culture the South-Eastern Bantu are a peasant people, who depend primarily on agriculture for their food. The women are the main producers and distributors of grain. Every headman must allot to each married woman dependent upon him as many allotments as she can cope with. She usually has special plots for mealies, kaffir corn, monkey nuts and beans. Sometimes her gardens lie many miles from her home, but she is responsible for hoeing, planting, weeding and reaping. The work is hard, but when land is adequate it means that as long as she is healthy, a woman is not only economically independent, she is also an economic asset to any group with which she elects to live. A man takes a certain interest in agriculture, and in some tribes he has his own millet and maize fields, which his wives help him to cultivate. His grain, however, is kept not for daily use, but for the entertainment of guests and for the replenishment of the stores of his wives in time of need. Each wife puts her crops into her own store-hut, except the youngest wife, who pools hers with those of her mother-in-law. The husband cannot dispose of his wives' crops without asking permission, though he is free to do as he pleases with crops from his own fields. The woman in turn is not allowed to sell or exchange her grain without his consent, though she has full control over the daily ration.

She usually cooks two meals a day, one in the morning and one in the evening. There are no regular meal-times, and during the months of most strenuous garden work she often leaves at day-break, and only returns late in the afternoon. In addition to the daily cooking, a woman brews beer once or twice a month. It takes over a week from the first soaking of the grain to the straining of the final beverage, and the brewing of good beer is a much admired accomplishment. Beer, however, uses up corn very quickly, and in the days before trading stores the women had to be very careful that famine did not set in before the new harvest. Gathering wood, drawing water, grinding and stamping grain, and collecting wild vegetables are regular tasks for the women. They also have to tend to the children, and do odd jobs—such as plaiting mats, modelling clay pots, and helping in the construction and repair of the huts. But women have a fair share of recreation. There are communal work parties at every stage of garden work, as well as in other economic enterprises, and these are always accompanied by dancing, singing and feasting. Between the harvest of the corn and the first planting, work is at its slackest and men and women spend happy days drinking beer, gossiping and merrymaking.

The actual amount of work performed by any individual woman depends largely on the class of society to which she belongs. Princesses, wives of the King, and senior wives of important local chiefs and wealthy headman ask and obtain

help from neighbours, whom they reward with beer or a beast. In housework they are assisted by female attendants or junior co-wives. Unmarried daughters are always a blessing, and from the earliest age mothers train their daughters to take a share in domestic work. In old age women are supposed to be cared for by their daughters-in-law. Probably there have always been cases of want and hardship, but because of their share in the subsistence economy and the nature of the kinship system, women seem to have had greater security in the traditional organisation than in the present transitional stage. The division of labour in Bantu culture emphasises the principles of women as the productive members of the community. Fighting, raiding, hunting, tending cattle, working in leather and iron, chopping poles for barricading the cattle kraal, cutting saplings for the framework of the huts, are essentially the duties of the men. Among all the South-Eastern Bantu, cattle are not only the centre of manly interests, but play a large part in religion and law. Women are largely excluded from pastoral activities, nor can they inherit cattle. They can, however, own and transmit cattle during their life time. Cattle are the property link between the living members of a clan and their dead ancestors. It is, therefore, typical that at her own home a woman, except when ritually unclean, is allowed into the cattle kraal, and can eat sour milk, while a wife in her husband's village, a stranger from another clan, is strictly prohibited from both these privileges.

Apart from the well recognised division between the sexes, a woman's behaviour is regulated by other important factors such as domicile, rank and age. An unmarried girl has a great deal of freedom at her parents home. No part of the village is normally taboo to her, she does not have to shun any of the inmates—she is recognised as "belonging." She does a fair share of the work, but if anything goes wrong her father is prone to blame not her, but her mother, his wife. Parents usually allow a daughter to attend beer drinks and weddings, as long as she goes with other girls of her age.

Being unmarried, she is openly courted by the men, and a little after puberty, or as among the Zulus, when the older age set gives the younger permission, she chooses a lover. This relationship is considered open and honourable. The boy is allowed to have a sexual intercourse, but he is not allowed to make her pregnant. If she is unfaithful to him she is very seriously condemned, punished and humiliated. It is generally admitted that there was a much higher standard of morality before the Europeans introduced an opposing moral code, rivetted in a different cultural setting.

A betrothed girl when visiting her lover's village, has already to observe all the regulations of a wife, but marriage and

the more permanent change of domicile make those regulations complete and definite. The picturesque wedding ritual dramatises a hostility and gradual reconciliation between the two clans. Unfortunately, it is too long and complicated to describe here, but among all the tribes the prescribed behaviour for the girl's party both expresses and enforces a show of reluctance of her family to part with her. They hurl insults at the man's family, and at one stage make a mock attempt to run back with the girl who, standing for the first, and often the last time in her husband's cattle kraal, wailingly bids farewell to her home and intermittently beseeches her brothers to rescue her. Before she leaves home her parents tell her of the trials and tribulations of wifedom. She is warned that jealous co-wives will accuse her of witchcraft and laziness, and that her husband will beat her. She is advised to learn self-control, never to answer insult with insult, and to remember that she is responsible for the honourable name of her family. At a wedding of Bahashuli, a very important Swazi Princess, her mother at parting says: "Remember my child that though you are an umtwan enkosi, a child of the King, at the home of your husband you are but a wife. Never be haughty, be quiet and diligent, so that even those who hate you will not be able to quarrel with you."

For the first year, and in some tribes for longer, the young bride serves an apprenticeship with her mother-in-law, or, if she is dead, with the woman appointed in her stead. The bride has no hut of her own, but lives in the hut of the older woman. She must rise particularly in the morning and do all the house-work, including the cooking. She has to learn to avoid certain parts of the village, obey food and dress taboos, and she has to be very careful to refrain from using words containing the names, or even the first syllables of names of special relatives-in-law (male). There is a strong psychological reaction between a girl and her father-in-law, induced by numerous laws regulating the behaviour of the one to the other. They never look at each other when they speak. They never eat together. To say to a woman that she co-habited with her father-in-law is the greatest obscenity. With time, however, the restrictions become less irksome.

Once she has had a child, she becomes known as the mother of so-and-so, her position improves, and she is allowed to wear her skin apron over her one shoulder instead of under her arm-pits, so that a visitor could not pick her out as a stranger in the family. She is given her own hut and utensils, her father-in-law makes her gifts to lessen the tension.

As a mother her status improves, but her work increases. She looks after the baby entirely by herself till it can crawl. Weaning takes place only in the third year, and since a child is suckled whenever it cries, the mother has to carry it on her

back when she goes to work in the fields, or when she is absent from home for any length of time.

Despite the fact that a child calls all the wives of its father, of its father's brothers and even of its mother's sisters by the name "mother," there is a very clear distinction in actual life between the physiological mother and what is usually labelled the classificatory mother. For example, one day a girl pointed to four women and said to me: "Those are my mothers, wives of father, of the father that bore me. My other mothers have other children. I call them my brothers and sisters." A child can only be suckled at the breast of its own mother; if she were too ill, or if she died, the baby is handed to the maternal grandmother to rear and not a co-wife, even though she would have been able to suckle it.

Friction undoubtedly exists in a polygamous household, and will find its expression in accusations or witchcraft. If the husband shows favouritism, the neglected wives are quick to attribute the attraction of their rival to love potions. Death, illness, barrenness, failure of crops, indeed most disasters, bring to the surface the malice, suspicion, jealousy and hatred in the village. A wife or wives, or a mother of a headman, very rarely a daughter, are usually pointed out as the evildoers.

I have come across a number of cases in which a woman could not manage her housework herself and has asked her husband to take a junior wife, preferably a younger sister, to help her. Even in large polygamous families, there can be real friendly co-operation between the women. A lot depends on the character and example of the first wife, who always has a special position. We must not forget that the women were trained in the ideals of a polygamous society, and only now is this ideal being challenged.

Public behaviour between a husband and his wife or wives is largely regulated by the question of respective rank, and the mode of marriage. Princes and chiefs exact greater respect and obedience than commoners, while the daughters of the aristocracy, particularly of the King himself, are treated with exceptional respect. The first wife in the house of the average Zulu commoner is recognised as mother of the heir, and among the Swazi, though her son does not inherit the general property, the first wife is the most important woman during the life of her husband, and if his mother dies she takes over her duties. Seniority in order of marriage entitles one to special privileges, such as a greater share of meat and beer.

Wife beating is allowed, and is regarded as the right and proper punishment for certain offences—neglecting to cook the husband's food, running about the country in the evening, talking in too friendly fashion to other men, or giving them beer. If a man beats his wife so badly as to inflict serious injury, more

particularly if he has little justification, she runs to her own people. The husband is seriously reprimanded and sometimes fined. If the husband does not wish to hit his wife when she has behaved badly, he has the right to claim a fine, and not to take her back until it has been delivered.

A woman reaches the height of her power in the domestic circle when she herself becomes the mother of a headman. If a son sets up a home of his own, his mother goes to live with him. If he has more than one village, she lives at the head of the village. She acts as arbitrator in all his domestic disputes, protects the wives from excessive chastisement, and teaches them the customs of their husband's clan—the food taboos, and the medico-magical treatment considered necessary for the welfare of the children. The question is still asked in Swazi: "If you, a man, were crossing a river with your mother and your wife, and saw that both were drowning, which of the two would you save?" The correct answer is: "My mother, I can get another wife but not another mother."

The political organisation is based on the family pattern, a Chief is spoken of as the father of the people in his area, and the King as the father of the whole tribe. The mothers of these men have great influence, more or less clearly defined and definite in the different tribes. Among the Swazi, the mother of the King shared, and still shares, the government of the people with her son.

A woman who had only daughters is in a less fortunate position. Though mother and daughter are very close friends, a woman, on the death of her husband, in cases of extreme need only, goes to live with her daughter. This was because of the strong avoidance between her and her son-in-law. They avoid each other as much as possible; they could never eat in each other's presence; and if he insulted her he was heavily fined and rebuked.

If a woman is still young on the death of her husband, she is inherited by one of his male relatives bearing the same surname, and raises the children for the deceased. The main widow, mother of the heir, goes to a specially appointed brother, but in the case of the other wives there is quite a wide range. Different tribes prescribed different limits to the choice, but in all tribes a son, even in the classificatory sense, could not inherit his mother, nor a man his daughter-in-law. Women who have grown up children already, or who consider themselves too old to bear, are not forced to co-habit with these men. The position of an inherited wife is not easy, and in any quarrel either between her and the man, or between her and his own wives, she is likely to be taunted with her position. Therefore, some women refuse to be inherited and go to a "stranger," one of another clan. This is condemned because it "mixes the sur-

names" of her children and creates difficulties in inheritance. Moreover her first husband has, by the nature of the marriage contract, obtained the right to all the offspring of the woman.

The passing of cattle from the family of the man to that of the woman, the custom generally spoken of as "ukuloboka," is the recognised evidence of a legal marriage. Without these cattle her children can be claimed by her own family, they cannot inherit their father's property unless there is no son of any legal wife, and the woman is regarded as an unmarried mother. A woman herself, therefore, considers it a degradation if no cattle is given for her. The number of cattle varies with her status, and women boast if many have been given for her. The main wife of a King or Chief is bestowed with cattle provided by all the subjects. Among most tribes, even though a girl had gone through a very complicated marriage ritual, her parents have the right to judge non payment of the cattle sufficient reason to make her leave the man and to marry her to another. If a man dies before he had paid for his wife, her family are entitled to the cattle given on the marriage of her first daughter, and if she has no daughter, her eldest son regards it as a debt of honour to give the "lobola" for his own mother. These cattle are usually given to the woman's brother to lobola his own wife. Any home that benefits from a woman's cattle is bound to give her support and protection when in need. A woman is regarded largely because of her procreative powers. If she has no children during the first few years of married life, she has not fulfilled her part of the lobola contract, and her husband is entitled to send her home and demand the return of his cattle. More usually he asks her father for a younger daughter for whom he gives very few cattle, and who is given to the elder woman as a junior wife, to raise seed for her.

It is difficult to gauge the extent to which girls were forced into distasteful marriages. Even to-day, despite legislation, there are quite a number of cases in which a father arranges a marriage of his daughters. This is done as a token of friendship and esteem, or in settlement of debt, or because he feels that it is a good match. Because a marriage is arranged, it does not follow that it is distasteful or unsuccessful. Among some of the tribes, a woman who has been married in this way holds a higher status than one who "watiganele" made love for herself, and her son has a better chance to the general estate. The main wife of a Chief is nearly always chosen for him by his councillors from among the young daughters of a man of sufficiently high rank to be worthy of the honour. Princesses, who are automatically recognised as mothers of the heir, are rarely allowed to choose their own husbands.

Because of her sex and because marriage is patrilocal, the average woman is debarred from participating in the ritual life

to the same extent as the men. The family priest of the ancestral cult is usually the oldest male relative of the supplicant, whose shrine is his own village. A woman's ancestors are at her own and not at her husband's home. An important or elderly woman sometimes officiates at her parent's home to her own ancestors—she cannot propitiate them at her husband's shrine because of the strong avoidance, even after death, between him and his in-laws. On death the spirits of woman can be just as powerful and troublesome as those of the men. The wishes of the dead are interpreted by diviners.

Women are very susceptible to possession by spirits of the dead of both sexes, who give them supernatural knowledge. Diviners are the most respected specialists in Bantu society, and diviners sex is ignored. The training is long; it necessitates mystic quests, vigils and trials of courage. When fully fledged, diviners are ranked according to their merit, and women smell out evil-doers, dance with the men, order sacrifices, make prophecies, demand cattle for their services and threaten vengeance if their commands are not obeyed.

Women are also allowed to practice as herbalists, and learn medicines from others in the profession without having to suffer supernatural inspiration. Their position, however, is not as high as that of diviners, since they are subject to the command of their husbands, who can forbid them to practice. A woman's domain is essentially the home and only under the compelling influence of spirits can the ordinary man really approve of his wife wandering through the country, curing and learning. Moreover specialisation does not absolve her from the ordinary domestic routine which, as we saw, is exacting enough.

The average woman has little opportunity or desire to assume extra work and responsibilities. She takes no active part in tribal affairs. She does not attend the tribal council, nor, unless directly implicated, listen to law suits. A Pondo woman can bring cases in her own name, and women are everywhere called as witnesses. When discussing subtle points of law or politics it is still quite usual, however, for a man to turn to a woman and say: "Be quite, you're just a woman. You know nothing." But the men do not consider the women less intelligent than themselves, nor incapable of filling prominent public positions.

Gwamile, former Queen Mother of the Swazi, was chosen to be the Inlovukazi from among the other wives in the harem, because of her personality and intelligence. For 37 years she guided her people, and through her superior ability had greater power than her son, the King. When he died, she continued as Queen Regent and won the admiration of native and European alike for her skill in dealing with the most complicated political problems of her day.

It is not infrequent to hear a European speak with virtuous indignation of the "servile condition of the Native woman." He has not appreciated the bargaining power gained by the woman through her economic independence. He has judged by the conventions of his own culture. She has certain legal and religious rights and recognised political potentialities.

With European contact her position is changing and though I was asked to deal specifically with women in the traditional culture, I felt it necessary to indicate a few salient factors of change, which are observable even in the most remote areas. To-day the South Eastern Bantu are as dependent on money wages as on agriculture and pastoralism for their living. Land shortage, coupled with inadequate agricultural technique, is depriving the Bantu woman of her economic security. Men have become the primary wage-earners, and their work takes them away from the reserves to European labour centres. The recruiter has penetrated into the furthest quarters. For months and even years, the women-folk bear the brunt of all responsibilities. Cases of adultery are daily events in the tribal courts, and the women often plead in excuse that they had no food, and no clothes for themselves and their children.

In the division of labour there is a necessary adjustment to the new methods of earning a living. Where the ox-drawn plough is used the men do the first cultivation of the field, and thus are assuming the greater share in agriculture. On the other hand, since they are often in employment during the ploughing season women are beginning to work more with cattle. If he can afford it, however, a man prefers to hire a neighbour to plough for him and he will pay, not in beer or meat, but in cash.

Coupled with the money is an individualist philosophy, which strikes deeply at the old kinship system. Sons are eager to set up independent households, women shirk their family obligations, monogamy emphasises the ego.

Under old tribal conditions we have seen that women played a large part in religion, medicine and magic. In most Native schools there are more girls than boys, and the percentage of women teachers is, as far as I know, as high as that of men, even though their salaries are less. Natives seem, therefore, to be eager to have their daughters educated.

The double standards of Western and Bantu culture create intense and difficult situations in the family. Fairly typical was the position of Bikwapi, a young widow who, according to the Bantu law, should have been inherited by one of her husband's kin. She was a convert and loved somebody else and ran to the missionary to protect her from being forced to an inheritor. Her husband's family claimed either her or the lobola cattle. Her brother had just been given these cattle, and with them had married his own wife. He was responsible for returning them,

and was both disgusted and very worried at his sister's behaviour. In the end he persuaded her to go to a man of the husband's family.

Civil marriage is allowed and encouraged among all the South-Eastern Bantu. It often leads to difficulties in inheritance and succession, and Roman Dutch Law is frequently not clearly understood. Divorce for unfaithfulness on the part of the man is very rare, for the new ideal of a single standard of morality for both sexes is fighting a difficult battle against the old ideal of polygamy.

Thus the reality of the position of women in the Reserves is not one of clear-cut, straightforward development. There are tendencies arising from complex economic and social changes. In the paper on "The Position of Women in Urban Conditions," we will see a further stage in the transition.

THE POSITION OF NATIVE WOMEN IN URBAN SOCIETY.

(By Mrs. Hellman.)

On the whole, the pronounced influx of Bantu women into the towns is a more recent phenomenon than the immigration of men. For reason of a misguided economy, the non-European census in 1931 was abandoned. But between 1911 and 1921 the urban male Native populace increased by 7.2 per cent, while the Native female populace increased by 50.33 per cent. Since 1921 this more intensive urbanisation of the Bantu, as evidenced by the influx of women, is becoming ever more marked. The census returns of 1936 show that the Native urban population numbers about 1,200,000. This increase is causing the authorities serious concern, and new legislation is before the House with a view to controlling and limiting this urban influx. It is noteworthy of comment that, although a Committee on Natives in Urban Areas was appointed in 1936, and met over a lengthy period, neither the evidence it took nor its recommendations have been made public.

The motives which first brought about the migration of Bantu men to urban areas are still operative. Inability to pay taxes, land scarcity and the impossibility of maintaining a family on the proceeds of a small plot of improvised land in the Reserves, hopelessly inadequate cash wages on European-owned farms, and the keen desire for material goods, which western culture has introduced, are among the most important causes driving men to towns. Women are following their husbands in an attempt to maintain family life. Many women accompany their husbands to ensure better educational facilities for their

children. The desire for emancipation from the dual control of family and tribe, and the freedom of an independent town life influences some of the younger—usually unmarried—women, while for others the manifold attractions of a metropolis with its wealth of new stimuli, new entertainments and wealth of desirable material goods, together with its promise of employment at a wage believed to be higher than it actually is, are powerful inducements.

It must be emphasised that the Native urban populace is extremely heterogeneous. The two main divisions into which it can be divided are the temporary and the permanent town-dwellers. But these two main divisions for purposes of accurate description and handling, must be subdivided into married and unmarried, assimilated and unassimilated, and town or country bred. In this paper I am limiting myself to a consideration of the married Native woman, who has no other home but an urban centre. The typical Bantu mother has to fulfill two very definite functions. Not only has she to carry out the manifold duties of a housewife, but she also has to act as a subsidiary wage earner. In the country, it is true, the Bantu wife is also both housewife and responsible, through her work in the fields, for the subsistence of her family. But there the two functions do not conflict. Hoeing, planting and harvesting are not individual occupations, but are performed in work groups. Suckling children are taken everywhere by their mothers, while children past this age are looked after by older children or relatives. Older girls accompany their mothers and receive an early training in those tasks which will later fit them to be useful members of the community. Even in times of great hardship and scarcity, when a woman has to search the parched lands for edible roots, she is not alone in her distress. She is part of a group of integrated kindred, all suffering in the same way, all intent upon the same means of relief.

In urban areas, individualism is the keynote of Bantu social organisation. Each family is an isolated unit and has to fight its own battles. The family is not, as under tribal conditions, surrounded by a number of relatives with a host of reciprocal duties and obligations. This is the main reason why the dual role of housewife and wage earner is so difficult for the urban woman. A woman has to care for her household and supplement her husband's income on her own—there is no complementing of the two functions, neither is there a body of kin to ease her of one duty while she attends to another.

The average wage of urban Native men is about £4, and the minimum expenditure for a family of four is estimated by the most conservative authorities to be £6 per month. It falls to the mother and wife to make good this difference between income and expenditure. For the majority of women, the only

legitimate means of wage earning open to them is domestic service, either whole or part time, and taking in washing for Europeans. They are forced during the period of their work to leave their children unattended or in the casual and intermittent care of a neighbour. This enforced separation of mother and children is a direct menace to the stability of family life, and one of the causes of the increasing lack of parental control among urban Natives. Legitimate employment is, however, not sufficient to absorb all the women desiring it, nor would it be possible for mothers to leave their homes and children for the long periods taken up by wage earning. It is hence not surprising to find the majority of women resorting to illicit beer-brewing as a means of earning the money without which they cannot survive in an urban area. Beer-brewing, despite the fact that *utywala*, the Bantu national drink, has a very low alcoholic content, is prohibited in urban areas. The presence of large numbers of unattached males lacking any means of recreation, provides a ready market of customers. In Johannesburg this number is swelled by the mine Natives, who, while segregated from their womenfolk, live under conditions calculated to provide the maximum of physical efficiency.

Beer-brewing makes terrific demands on women. The physical labour involved in preparing and brewing the drink, of keeping it in tins buried below the level of the ground, of digging up the beer and again plastering down the earth so firmly that no clue as to its hiding place is left every time a customer purchases a drink, is arduous in the extreme. Psychologically, it is even more harmful. An atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust, of competition for customers, which is foreign to Bantu character, is engendered. The danger of arrest demands constant alertness on the part of the brewer, and the frequency of such arrests has bred contempt of and hostility to the authorities. Imprisonment for this offence carries no social stigma, and is regarded as practically an inevitable vicissitude in the career of a beer-brewer. The real hardship is, not the shame involved in going to jail, but the separation from the family. Prohibition failed in America and reaped a rich harvest of criminality. Prohibition among the urban Africans, backed as it is by criminal sanctions, is putting a premium upon evasion of the police. Neither the extensive raiding system of the police nor the number of convictions* they obtain has diminished the illicit brewing trade. Beer-drinking belongs to the social structure of Bantu life—beer selling is a necessary condition for the survival of a family in town. The African's respect for the elaborate machinery of European law is being undermined, and the unnecessary classification of infringements of pass laws and

* There were 65,404 convictions for illegal possession of Native liquor in 1935.

brewing laws as criminal offences only hasten this process. An educated and intelligent African woman casually remarked that she had never yet been arrested, and expressed emphatic surprise at her good fortune. For it is believed to be an impossibility to live for any length of time in an urban area without breaking one of the numerous laws which restrict the every action of men and women in towns. With this disharmony and, in many cases, open conflict between European law and African social organisation, children growing up in such an environment must be undisciplined and eventually come to be unruly members of the community. Many urban mothers realise this keenly and send their children, at least for a time, to relatives in a reserve.

Apart from domestic service, taking in washing and beer-brewing, the scope of wage earning activities for African women is extremely limited. A number (chiefly unmarried girls) take up nursing, and the teaching profession provides the one opening (although the wages are extremely poor) for educated women. The employment of African women in industries is practically unknown. The unmarried urban servants with wages ranging from £2 to £4, with food and quarters, are in the most favourable position. Being economically independent, they have emancipated themselves almost completely from parental control. The breakdown in towns of tribal social structure has been accompanied by a breakdown in tribal standards of morality. Sexual freedom is the logical outcome of the economic independence of women. The conditions under which female domestic employees are housed by their employers, offers girls little protection from the casual and often unwelcome visits of male friends. As the use of contraceptives is very limited among Africans, premarital pregnancies are very frequent among both economically independent and dependent girls. In some cases the father of the child marries the mother. In others, he refuses the mother any assistance. Redress may be had to the Native sub-commissioner's Court, but the involved legal procedure acts as a deterrent to laying a claim, and often it is impossible to trace the man who finds it easy to slip away in the crowded byways of a town.

Insecurity is the keynote of the economic life of the Bantu urban community. But in social life this all-pervasive feeling of insecurity is equally evident. In tribal life a woman had her definite place in her own family, in the wider kinship group, be it lineage or clan, and finally, upon marriage, in her husband's family and kinship group. In the drive to towns, although kinship sentiment is still alive, these groups have been torn apart and only the immediate family, consisting of husband, wife and children functions as an important social unit. But even this remaining unit is showing visible signs of instability

as a result of the disintegrating effects of urban existence. The husband, as the most important wage-earner of the family, is away from his family all day, and only returns home at night and over weekends, either tired out or else seeking distraction and recreation which, in the almost complete absence of recreational facilities, must take the form of beer drinking. As an educative factor in the family his influence is very small, and his paternal authority is hence greatly diminished. The authority of the mother over her children has similarly suffered, either on account of her absence on wage-earning activities or on account of her preoccupation with her beer trade. The loss of parental control has, as its immediate consequence, increased instability of the family unit. The absence of an organised body of public opinion, as well as of a related body of kindred who would be instrumental in ensuring the fulfilment of the obligations undertaken by both parties contracting a marriage, are reflected in the loosening of the bonds between husband and wife. The permanence of marriage and the exclusiveness of the sexual bond between the partners are tending to be undermined. The Bantu conception of the function of lobola is undergoing a distinct metamorphosis in towns. Money, the common substitute for the cattle which urban Natives lack, is a most unsatisfactory lobola medium. It is soon dissipated and cannot serve as a guarantee of the husband's good faith. If the wife is the defaulting party, it is practically useless for the husband to attempt recovery of the lobola, as it is usually spent soon after receipt. Money is usually contributed by the groom without the assistance of his relatives. It is received by the parents of the bride, and is not distributed to any of their relatives. Consequently the respective families of the contracting parties are not concerned that the conduct of the partners to the marriage should prove satisfactory. In other words, marriage under urban conditions is the individual concern of the parties to it. Although, superficially, this arrangement would seem to allow both husband and wife great freedom of action and to react equally upon both of them, the women are the chief sufferers, as is evidenced by the large number of deserted wives found in any urban area. A man throws off his paternal obligations more easily than a woman her maternal responsibilities, and consequently many a woman is left alone to fend for herself and her children. On the whole I have found that the security of the urban woman has been undermined in her two most important roles—those of mother and of wife.

The life of the Native woman in town is, on the whole, a much harder one. She has lost the support of her kinship group, and the friendships she forms in town are not an adequate substitute. Politically her power has not increased. She does not figure on advisory boards, she is not in the forefront of any

emerging Bantu political movements. As herbalist and diviner she is losing her eminence in town and is being replaced by male practitioners. In church administration and in school staffs, her authority is not even comparable with that of the men.

As an individual she is more independent, and is less submissive to her husband. But the price at which this greater independence has been bought is a high one. It is directly due to her importance as a contributor to the family budget.

The constant struggle against poverty, the vital concern of every member of the family in earning money is the theme of Native urban existence. It must be emphasised that the needs of the Native family do not differ from those of the European family. Rent must be paid, food and fuel bought, clothing of European pattern is an essential in towns, transport is an important expense, there are school and church fees and insurance premiums to be paid. Recreation is not free and there is a keen desire for a host of the amenities of what we call civilised life, no less important to the Native than to the European. The urban Native is approximating nearer and nearer to what we would call a civilised standard of life, and it is only his poverty that prevents its more complete attainment. Meanwhile, with Native wages on so low a level, and continually being depressed by the competition of rural Natives whose families are in the country, the greatest demands are being made upon the women to supplement this wage. Family organisation is giving way under this strain—parental control is weakened, the martial tie is growing looser, and the women, as the caretakers and wage-earners of the family, are being asked to bear too great a burden. The economic and social security of women is a necessary condition for the creation of a stable and lawful younger generation. Only a readjustment of the wage level will bring relief to the situation and enable women to take their rightful place in helping to build up a well organised and peaceful urban community. Not only in the interests of Bantu women do we demand a happier, more secure life for them in the towns. In our own interests, too, we demand it, for only by improving the conditions of urban life for Africans can we turn their growing resentment and bitterness against Europeans into a spirit of peaceful and willing co-operation and goodwill.

THE NATIVE WOMAN IN URBAN AREAS: HER NEEDS AND DIFFICULTIES.

(By Mrs. I. B. S. Masole.)

Introductory.

In the struggle for existence to-day the Native woman in urban areas has many difficulties.

Sometimes she comes from a country home, as a girl or young woman, since there is not even subsistence for her in the country; or because she is lured by the reputed attractions of town life.

Sometimes a married woman comes with her husband, who obtains urban employment, or follows him after he has established himself, and has to adjust herself to the new ways of living.

A new generation is now arising of Native town-dwellers, who have never known any other home and yet who, because of lack of educational facilities, satisfactory employment, proper places of residence, proper recreational facilities, are not well adjusted to their surroundings.

Country Women Coming to Town.

When she arrives, she is confronted with the urgent need of finding a lodging. There are few hostels, and as she is forbidden to stay with friends in service, it is difficult for her to obtain accommodation in the locations for she is obliged to have a permit which can only be had from a man. This encourages the illegitimate intercourse as the man cannot secure the permit for her in his ordinary capacity, but only as a husband—reputed or lawful.

This makes the woman concerned drift reluctantly into bad company. The vices of bad environment are many, and the one to which they soon fall is the illicit liquor selling. It is easier to brew beer than to get respectable employment, and the woman having to sell to all classes of bad men, gradually assimilates their bad habits and becomes a bad woman. She is driven to vice through pressure to pay her rent, food and clothing.

Young Country Girls Coming to Town.

Restriction of Native areas, drought, famine, the raising of the usual marriage age and the lure of town life are some of the factors which bring hundreds of girls to towns. Most come with a desire to earn a decent living in service, and many to earn money to help their people. Work in a civilised house is unfamiliar and many a girl of good ability is dismissed as stupid, to wander the streets and drift from bad to worse. Even if she hears through a friend of employment, it is often at a distance and there are difficulties in the way of transport.

If she gets work at a "flat," there she is faced with the difficulty of having to climb up steps to her working place; there are no lifts provided for the use of the Native woman, and generally no rooms for sleeping purposes.

If in her place she sleeps on her employer's premises, the accommodation is of the most primitive nature.

The Married Urban Woman.

A married woman in urban areas is forced to assist her husband in earning, for the Native man is paid so meagrely that it is impossible for him to support his family.

The woman, in the majority of cases, becomes a washer-woman. Transport from the locations to the town is expensive and irregular.

The absence of the urban Native woman from her home is regrettable. The children suffer and, being uncared for, drift into bad company.

The existence and usefulness of crèches to the urban Native woman are a real blessing, but they are quite inadequate.

Simple preschool classes for children, too old for crèche and too young for school, are needed in every urban location.

Housekeeping in a location is difficult for a woman from the country. Grain or meal, firewood, etc., must be bought for money, the shops are very different from the country trader's store, the square house has not the comfort of the courtyard with its group of huts, the house is one of hundreds together, there is no privacy outside the door; sanitary accommodation is unfamiliar, often unsatisfactory. Location houses have no granaries or storehouses, food and fuel must be purchased in small quantities.

The Town-born Woman and Girl.

Housekeeping in town is not so difficult to the town-born woman, provided she has an income. Poverty, consequent on low wages and uncertain employment; lack of thrift, due to lack of and the necessity to supplement the family income, are as much the lot of the town-bred woman as of her sister from the country. Factory employment is rarely for her—she probably has become a skilled laundress from helping her mother from childhood, and can go on with this making a scanty income, which barely keeps her in decent food and dress.

Passes.

The regulation as to night passes is a continual irritation to respectable Native women. There is no means by which a woman may, like a man, receive an "exemption" from carrying a pass.

In conclusion, I submit the few following suggestions for consideration: Do not encourage the outside room system for young unmarried female domestic servants, and see that they are provided with the usual amenities. Make transport facilities available and pay their husbands a living wage, which will enable their wives to care for their children and not take up illicit beer making. Provide more clubs or women's hostels to meet the lack of accommodation. Start as many crèches and preschool classes in locations as possible.

RURAL COMMUNITY OF LIFE AND THE TRANSITION.

(By Miss Mahanya.)

In any discussion of the changes wrought in Bantu life by the impact of western civilisation, the effect on the Bantu woman is generally either overlooked or hastily included in a broad generalisation about "transition." That generalisation is included in the subject with which I have been asked to deal—"Rural Community of Life and the Transition." I should like to see this last term more sharply defined. It is actually not so much a transition as a "revolution"—a revolution of thought, of psychology, of social outlook and of economic function. In other lands the emancipation and development of women is often difficult, but even then it is generally considered as a problem of transition from one stage to another within an established social framework. Emancipation for them is fundamentally a change of degree and not of kind.

For the Bantu women I claim that it is almost a change of kind. Not only has a new set of habits to be built up, new aspirations to be expressed and fulfilled, but a new function and a new place, sociologically and economically, to be created.

The greatness of the change might be symbolised in the changing of hoes for sewing machines—to borrow a western image, beating swords into ploughshares—and added to that must be the profound change from a passive to a positive psychology. For ages past the Bantu woman's place in the native culture had been fixed and sternly defined. It was repeated without change or deviation from generation to generation. Her place was the home. Her communal work was care of the children in health and sickness; her economic function looking after her hut, the cultivating of the land, even in its most laborious aspects, the planting of grain and reaping the harvest.

In social life the round from year to year, from season to season was similarly fixed and conservative. There were tribal dances in which she played her part, wedding dances, celebrations of various kinds to mark events of social or family significance. For travel she had little opportunity, and of government, even simple tribal organisation and administration, little beyond indirect experience. Her lot was cast and her part defined by tradition. But both, limited as they seem, were of vital importance. The Bantu woman was the economic mainstay of the Bantu culture. This importance of her role intensified and re-inforced conservatism. She was at once the labourer and the primary producer, a creator of wealth and a symbol of wealth. Any change in her functions meant a modifying of the whole system, might even involve a reshaping of the whole culture.

Her value gave her no freedom and no positive power, but enchained her more fixedly. Other things might change, but in this direction there must be no change.

In addition to the psychological effect, her work in itself, by its exhausting and protracted nature, stultified thought and made it inevitable that any impulse towards change must come from outside. It could not come from within except as a dream. Add to this the heaviness of the actual physical labour, the limitations of a narrow economy and poverty of resources, and you get the complete picture.

The Bantu woman after her work in the fields, child-bearing and care of the kraal, was too tired to spend time in dreaming or in constructive thought. Where there were exceptions and circumstances were easier, the lack of resources debarred her from fulfilling any aspirations towards a fuller life. Travel was difficult, creative activity impossible, and she had to fall back on the traditional recreations of gossiping, beer parties or tribal dances. These things had to fulfil all her longings for colour, for spectacle, for drama and for channel of self-expression. Perhaps they were an adequate fulfilment—there are many people who will maintain that the system, the culture was rounded and complete. Whether it was so or not, it was an adequate response to environment challenge. In any event to-day where it is not going, it has gone. It is useless now to speculate on how different the history of the Bantu culture might have been if the men and women had been compelled to work together. We are now faced with circumstances where a new challenge has arisen and new responses have to be made. It is those new responses I want to discuss to-day, but first emphasising that they spring from entirely new challenges and run sufficiently wide and deep to justify the name of revolutionary.

The woman's place in the Bantu culture was such that it was inevitable that any impulse or drive towards change should come from outside. That impulse and that drive has now come—it has come from the contact with Western civilisation. Already the Bantu culture has been profoundly modified, and it is useless to discuss any suggestion aiming at segregation of that culture from Western civilisation. The contact was established, the impact made when the first native farmer bought the first Western-made ploughs. From that moment there could be no turning back.

The impact was felt primarily through the men, but there has been a steady stream of influences directly affecting the Bantu woman. First came the influence of missionary work with its emphasis on the value of personality and the sanctity of the individual. The woman was also a soul to be saved, an individual with personal longings and desires, distinct from

those of the community in which she lived. That alone was a profoundly potent concept, and one which I would place first among the many fundamental changes. For centuries she had been but a servant of the community, claiming no rights, even no existence outside it. Now came a different concept. She, too, had her rights and her dignity—the dignity of a soul to be saved.

It would be difficult for anyone to measure the importance of this vitally new concept. Evolution teaches us that we were given eyes that we might see our enemies, but think of the new world the possession opens up! None could have visioned that new world.

One of the first and sharpest reactions springing from it has been the creation of new desires, vague yearnings into definite dreams and articulated aspirations. There came the desire to mould life in some degree for herself, and with this came the desire for independence.

This desire for independence must not be confused with a reaction against social limitations. The cause lies deeper than that. It is a desire for independence in order to achieve. The Bantu woman has glimpsed a vision. At first it may find expression in breaking away from tribal tradition in little things, but then comes the next great factor to give her aspirations clear-cut purpose—Education. It is education that gives her a new vision and a new horizon. It is through education she can learn not only how, but also what, where and when to face the problems of transition.

New power is also bestowed by the increasing confidence it gives when the women of my race read of the work of women in other lands, they are encouraged to go forward.

In addition to these two primary changing factors, we have easier transport, the increasing availability of simple machinery and the effect of the demand for women's labour in the towns. In the town the Bantu woman can secure a new viewpoint to life, it can be dangerous and even demoralising; we have to remember that some such change has to be worked out in the country.

But the impact of Western civilisation does not work in one direction—it is double-edged; it gives but it also takes away. It has destroyed the old securities, the ancient values, and put nothing in their place. The drive towards a money economy has resulted in the menfolk having to be away from home for long periods. Paternal control is lacking, the whole problem of feeding and caring for the family is thrown on the women. Apart from the actual physical exhaustion, it disorganises the home life. That is the negative aspect of the Western civilisation, the aspect in which it has a bad and disintegrative effect. There is no escape, except in constructive effort and the realisation of

responsibility by those who can give assistance. She cannot fight against the logic of events or turn back the wheels. Where she is alert and intelligent and capable of making a strong personal effort at adaptation, she is frustrated by sheer poverty. The burden of drudgery cannot be lightened, even to the extent of escaping the toil of gathering wood and making a fire. A task which absorbs both time and energy. Yet stoves are still a luxury to hundreds of them. Debarred from solving such simple problems, how much more difficult is it for her to cultivate new aims and purposes to satisfy the desire awakened by new contacts, to reshape her environment in however small a measure? The love of beauty, of ordered arrangement, even of the niceties of life must be sacrificed to bare essentials. It is, in other words, often almost a hopeless struggle to achieve a standard of respectability.

In conclusion, I wish to suggest some essential first principles which must be done for the people of my race.

They are:—

(1) For the urban areas a minimum hiring wage based on the cost of living, which should not be less than £6 10s. per month.

(2) A development of reserves and African Native farming on co-operative lines.

(3) Education not only for the African child, but also education for the African adult on lines that have been found useful in countries such as Denmark.

(4) Community centres where people, who are isolated by distance, can be kept in touch by means of lectures, educational films and educational wireless talks.

This is not too much to ask from a rich country such as the Union of South Africa. As all fair-minded people admit—the prosperity of South Africa has been built on the labour of its black folk. We ask for some of that wealth to establish the principles that I have enumerated.

SURVEY OF SOCIAL WORK.

(By Mrs. J. D. Rheinallt Jones.)

It was intended to include in to-day's sequence of papers, one on the Legal Position of Bantu Women in South African society, but it was found a choice had to be made between this and the Social Survey. It seemed necessary to make some such survey as a preliminary to your excursion this afternoon.

May I make just one or two statements as to Bantu Women in Law as a preliminary to my Social Survey. I do so because legal disabilities always have their influence on needs for provision of specialised social services.

1. A Native woman in South Africa may marry by Christian or civil rites. In such a case her position is exactly opposite to that of the European woman. If she marries without an ante-nuptial declaration she will not have community of property. To have community of property her husband must declare his intention accordingly before marriage. Lobola is usually given even in connection with such marriages, and is now recognisable in the courts.

Most Native women, however, do not contract a legal marriage, but a " Customary Union " under Native custom. Such unions are recognised for succession purposes and are protected to a certain extent against a subsequent Christian or civil marriage; but no customary union after a Christian or civil marriage is recognisable. The tendency to replace cattle lobola by cash payment has some tendency to make the customary union less binding than in the old days. No woman may legally be forced by her guardians into any marriage or customary union against her will.

2. Night Pass Regulations for Native women are in force in many parts of South Africa.

3. Legal restriction of Native residence and of freedom of movement make it difficult for Native women to sell their labour in the best market.

4. Bantu women do not have a Parliamentary or Provincial vote in the Cape Province (the only province which permits direct suffrage for Natives), even if they have the property and education qualifications required for Bantu men.

Educational.

There is no compulsory education for non-Europeans. About two-thirds of the Bantu population never go to school.

Primary education is usually fee-paying, but is free in some areas. To a large extent there are State subsidies for staff. Missionary bodies usually pay the other expenses. There is a greater demand for further elementary education than the present resources can provide.

The bulk of the pupils is at present in the lowest classes and most are over age. Only a very small proportion completes the primary course, and of these only a very small number go forward to further training.

Secondary education is provided at a considerable number of residential institutions, mostly, though not entirely, co-educational. All these institutions are fee-paying and financed by missions, but most receive Government grants. Many take

pupils to matriculation, though most stop within two years of this. There are a few non-residential Government secondary schools.

Technical education is provided at many of the above. For boys carpentry building, leather work, in one case motor mechanics; for girls domestic subjects and spinning and weaving are taught. Ordinary apprenticeship is not legally impossible to the Bantu, but is practically impossible.

Higher Education.

One University College, Fort Hare, has been established for Bantu students. Here ordinary Arts and Science Degrees can be taken, and there are undergraduate courses for an Education Diploma and for Medical Aids (male only). The institution draws considerable Government grants.

A very few Bantu students take classes at some of the other universities.

All the examinations of the University of South Africa are open to students of all races, and a very few work for these examinations under private tuition.

There is no arrangement for the training of Bantu doctors in South Africa.

Teacher Training.

There is a department for this in most of the Secondary Institutions.

Pre-School Children.

Crèches are to be found in one or two urban areas.

A Nursery School was started some years ago at Pietersburg. Recently Ekutuleni has established one, which you will see this afternoon.

Library Service.

Through the generosity of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, special library services for non-Europeans are being provided in various parts of the country. In the Transvaal and Natal, a system of book boxes is in operation—boxes of 50 or 100 books are sent to depots in town and country. In the Transvaal a non-European will soon be appointed as Librarian-Organiser to stimulate reading and organise the library service.

Health.

Most Provincial and Cottage Hospitals have Native wards. In some few cases trained Native nurses are employed in these wards.

With the exception of the Umtata Hospital, no Provincial Hospital as yet trains Native probationers for the Medical Council certificates, though some prepare for simpler hospital certificates. Mine hospitals care for their own people, and some train Bantu nurses for a hospital certificate.

A considerable number of missionary hospitals are to be found in Native areas and in towns which have a considerable Native population. As many of these as are large enough to register, prepare their Bantu probationers for the Medical Council examinations in General Nursing and in Midwifery, and this with great success. Most others prepare probationers for simpler hospital certificates. Mission hospitals generally, but not invariably, receive some State aid. These hospitals play a great part in inducing Native people to accept necessary treatment, and to accept health regulations and adopt healthy habits. The demand for hospitalisation for the Bantu is far greater than the provision of facilities.

Most mission hospitals have dependent outpost clinics, sometimes with resident Bantu nurses.

Great help has been given to such outposts by the provisions of the amendments to the Public Health Act, whereby grants are available for rural nurses. Some local Native authorities have also established such nurses under these grants.

Many urban authorities now employ Bantu nurses in their urban locations. The King Edward VII Order of Nurses has a special branch for the Bantu people.

Reformatories and Probation Hostels.

These are now under the control of the Union Education Department.

There is one reformatory for Native boys near Johannesburg, and one in Zululand for Native girls. These are now staffed by educational workers, both European and Native, and much good work is being done, but the accommodation is quite inadequate for the needs, and large numbers of juvenile offenders go to gaol or are released before the rehabilitative work is complete.

There are two probation hostels for boys, both recently started, one in Durban and one in a Johannesburg urban location.

Probation officer and children's courts, where these exist, deal as far as possible with Bantu offenders. Only in Johannesburg is there a Bantu probation officer.

Child Welfare.

The National Council for Child Welfare has no colour bar. Many local societies undertake non-European work, often employing Bantu nurses for this. No provision for the training

of fully certificated Bantu mothercraft nurses has yet been made.

There has been in the past no need for orphanages for Bantu children, but the need is appearing to-day, because of the increasing poverty of the people, of land hunger and industrialisation and the consequent break down of Bantu custom.

No such orphanage exists, but the Bantu Refuge, near Johannesburg, is registered as a Place of Safety.

Old People's Homes.

Need for such homes is becoming apparent. The Bantu Refuge was established to meet this need on the Witwatersrand, but with the growing urbanisation of the Native people, more will be required.

Care of the Physically and Mentally Defective.

Native blind do not benefit from the Blind Persons Act of 1936. The training of Native blind children is undertaken, to an increasing extent, by the Athlone School for the Blind, but only a beginning has been made in finding Native blind of whom some 7,000 are estimated to exist. The Capetown Society for the Blind has a workshop for them, and the Transvaal Society for the Care of the non-European Blind is about to establish one.

A beginning is being made for the care of Native deaf and dumb, but so far there is no special institution for them. The feebleminded are admitted to the Witrand Institution at Potchefstroom, but the arrangements are of a make-shift character.

Care of the Insane and Lepers.

All certified cases are admitted to special wards in the Mental Hospitals. Native patients are admitted to Leper Asylums.

Urban Hostels.

In several large towns missionary (as well as Municipal) hostels are provided for Native girls. There are, for instance, three such in Johannesburg. These do much for the health and happiness of those who come within their ken, but there is great need for more service of this kind as the number of girls employed in households increases.

Recreation.

Many missions arrange club and recreational facilities for their young and older people. There is Ekutuleni settlement and the Bantu Men's Social Centre. Many municipalities have built halls for entertainment and arranged clubs for the inhabitants of

the Native townships. They also organise football clubs. Pathfinders and Wayfarers, and later Guides, have considerable membership throughout the country.

We regret that it is not possible to make the tour more extensive, but time will not permit.

There are, however, other institutions which it would probably interest visitors to see, notably:—

The Johannesburg General non-European Hospital.

The Mine Hospitals.

The three Missionary Hostels for Native Girls:—

Helping Hand Club (with domestic training).

Anglican Hostel.

Methodist Hostel.

Municipal Hostel for Native Girls.

Pathfinder and Wayfarer activities.

This survey has been brief and is necessarily not quite complete. I apologise if there are any omissions.

Perhaps one of our greatest needs at the moment is the establishment of courses for the training of Bantu social workers, such as the D.R.C. has established for Coloured young women in Capetown. Much more could be done if we had more workers.

CONFERENCE IN DISCUSSION.

In discussion, Mrs. Lane said: While congratulating Mrs. Ballinger on her masterly piece of work, wished to draw her attention to a very wrong impression conveyed in her paper. Mrs. Ballinger had declared that beyond being given a hut to live in, Natives received no remuneration for their services from the farming community. On the contrary, in addition to the hut or huts (according to a man's family), the man received a field for the use of each of his wives, grazing for his stock (often very considerable), free dipping for his stock, besides various benefits in kind, plus a money wage. This last is regulated by local needs and conditions, being lower in a purely rural locality and correspondingly higher when closer to the cities.

Grown-up sons generally went to earn money on the mines or elsewhere, but when they, too, worked on the farm, they also received a money wage. Here Mrs. Lane referred to confirmatory statements in the papers given by Mrs. Kuper and Mrs. Hellman.

Continuing, Mrs. Lane referred to a pathetic word-picture of the home life of the Native, as given by Mrs. Hellman. Mrs. Lane pointed out that that picture could be applied to the depressed classes of every and any country on earth, and that it was in no wise peculiar to South African conditions and peoples. In Ireland she had seen children running around like our piccaninnies, but the Irish children were not so round and well and smiling; the toiling peasants of France, turning every atom to account—Russia, England and our own "Poor Whites"—it was true of all of them.

Although sympathising deeply, with all who lived hard, needy lives, she did not consider it fair to encourage an impression in the Natives' mind, that, because of his colour, his was an isolated position in the economic condition of the world.

The statement made by Mrs. Lane in connection with Native Wages, was confirmed and corroborated by various delegates from all parts of the Union.

Later, in connection with treatment of venereal and other diseases, Mrs. Lane pointed out that all natives could receive free care and treatment, and medical attention, at our hospitals under the Public Health Act of South Africa.

Mrs. Strachan, of Durban, confirmed this.

13th NOVEMBER, FRIDAY—MORNING SESSION.

Subject: Social Hygiene.

Chair: Mrs. MacIlwraith, Hon. Life Vice-President of the N.C.W. of South Africa.

Speaker: Mrs. Neville Rolfe, O.B.E. (Organising Secretary, British Council for Social Hygiene).

Mrs. Bairnsfather spoke.

Discussion followed.

SOCIAL HYGIENE.

(By Mrs. C. Neville-Rolfe, O.B.E., Secretary-General, British Social Hygiene Council; Vice-President, Union Internationale contre le Peril Vénérien.)

Social hygiene is the theory and practice of positive health in the relationship of the individual to the family and of the family to society.

In primitive and civilised communities, the social structure is based on the family, and persists or perishes according to the extent it meets the needs of the individual, the family and the community.

To-day, scientific knowledge has increased along those lines which affect the family and the community. This knowledge has not yet been fully related to social customs, and from the absence of constructive thought in reviewing social values, comes much of the conflict between individuals and the community, and many serious social problems.

The definition and the development of the conception of social hygiene arose out of the endeavour to deal with the serious medico-sociological problem of venereal disease. Syphilis and gonorrhoea had been known to the medical profession as the causes of much of the defect and disease in man, but until medical science was in the position to diagnose both diseases and to treat syphilis effectively, the vast extent and exact nature of the problem was not understood.

The concentration of attention on man-power and physical efficiency in the Great War, called attention to the fact that much of the inefficiency for military service was caused by venereal diseases, and that during the progress of the war the casualties from syphilis and gonorrhoea vied with those of the battlefields.

Modern methods of treatment were first applied on a large scale in the fighting services. After a few years of experience it was found that changes in social conditions and in the public opinion of the same group towards worth-while leisure occupations, exerted about equal influence in reducing disease as the improved medical measures.

The existence of the system of regulated prostitution persisted in Great Britain until 1886. After its abolition, the admission rate in the Home Army fell in 20 years from over 260 to under 100 per 1,000. Modern methods of treatment followed, the incidence again fell from 90.5 to 50.9 per 1,000 between 1905 and 1913. A general improvement in social, educational and leisure conditions now supplements the medical endeavour. During the last twenty years it is the considered opinion of responsible people that the volume of promiscuity has been reduced while efficient medical measures have shortened the period of infectivity.

If a combined medical, social and educational programme succeeds in the Defence Forces, it should succeed with the civil population. We can now say that the prevalence of venereal disease in any affected community will depend on: (a) The efficiency and adequacy of the medical and social services, (b) the social customs and conditions affecting family stability and

sex behaviour, (c) the extent to which knowledge of the biological sciences is applied in general education and social administration.

Between 1916 and 1920 the leading countries sought to ascertain the prevalence of the disease among their own nationals. Schemes were initiated to provide modern methods of treatment.

Some countries favoured free voluntary treatment, some classed the diseases as infectious, liable to notification and compulsory treatment, others established the compulsory treatment of disease and also continued to regulate prostitution.

In Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Holland, where most progress has been made in the last twenty years, we have a population that accepts the ideal of the Christian ethic. We have had rapid changes in the social structure—increased independence and freedom for youth, increased economic opportunities for women, a rising standard of education and a growing sense of citizenship.

In Britain, the provision of free facilities for treatment for both diseases began in 1916. Free confidential voluntary treatment is available for the whole population. Until 1930 an encouraging grant of 75 per cent. of the cost of all schemes, approved by the Ministry of Health, was given to local authorities, who provided free treatment. Special facilities have been added in the form of hostels for girls. Married women attend freely—and the value of the all-day clinic has been proved. Greater co-ordination is being promoted between Maternity and Child Welfare and School Medical Services with the Venereal Disease services, but the principles originally laid down of treatment being free, voluntary, confidential and suited to the needs of every section of the population, remain unchanged.

If the position is analysed more closely, we find that the number of fresh infections with syphilis dealt with in the centres, in England and Wales in 1935, had fallen to 14.9 per 100,000 of the population, while during the period of 1931-35 there was a fall of 34 per cent in the cases dealt with at the centres.

It is impossible to compute what the financial saving may have been to the country in relation to the reduction of venereal disease by treatment at centres.

In 1928 at the Assembly of the Union Internationale contre le Peril Vénérien, the British report showed the improvement secured in attendance at those British Treatment Centres at which a social service had been established. This inspired the French Government to include social services at the treatment centres. It has now been established throughout France with extremely beneficial results.

Although the specialised medical equipment for the provision of treatment in France is widespread, it has not resulted in so rapid a decrease in venereal disease as was anticipated, and this is largely due to the regulation of prostitution.

Brothels were tolerated and prostitutes were municipally registered and medically examined. The two systems, that of facilities for treatment for venereal disease provided free for the necessitous, went side by side with the regulation of prostitution. The Medical Administrators found from experience that for the medical scheme to be successful, prostitution regulations must be abolished, and this was effected in 1927.

The Union Internationale contre le Peril Vénérien was founded in 1923, and for the last fourteen years has provided both a meeting ground for the official and non-official representatives of all those countries that are endeavouring to handle this branch of public health and a clearing house for information.

It has been interesting to see how the exchange of information between the medical administrators directly concerned has led to more and more agreement.

The International Union considered that it was essential: (1) To reduce to a minimum the period of contagion by intensive and immediate treatment, (2) to endeavour to prevent the reappearance of contagious symptoms by treatment, (3) to endeavour to prevent the possibility of transmission to descendants, (4) to guard, as far as possible, the patient from future consequences of syphilis by completing the cure.

In addition, the need for specialised treatment and for social service was emphasised.

The pros and cons of compulsory treatment and notification have been discussed. Countries accustomed to compulsion in many branches of social life are biased in its favour.

Those which replaced regulated prostitution adopted a certain measure of compulsory treatment as a half-way house, but the years of experience have shewn that either regulated prostitution or compulsory treatment for venereal disease directed against certain groups, deter the bulk of the population from seeking treatment and therefore defeats its own objects.

There are many who consider that there is a short-cut to social progress through legislation—a fallacy. The only laws effectively administered are those which have the weight of public opinion behind them.

Compulsion in directions that are not recognised by the individual as desirable for him personally, arouse his opposition.

The only compulsion that society can effectively assert is the compulsion of a small minority at variance with general public opinion. When, therefore, we are dealing with the questions

of social hygiene, we are dependent on measures of education and persuasion.

The social service at the Voluntary Treatment Centre reduces defaulting by persuasion more effectively than notification and compulsion. The medical experience shows that the aim of treatment facilities must be to reach the whole infected population—men, women and children, and to attract them voluntarily to treatment provided free of charge.

To turn now to a consideration of the social customs and conditions that affect Social Hygiene. It has been stressed that the stability of the family unit is an important factor in the health and welfare of a community.

The recognised family implies a monogamous family unit throughout western civilisation and the majority of the Christian communities. We are considering the family and sex behaviour customs that affect the normal development of the child, the adjustment of the individual to social life and the influences that lead to the prevalence of disease. It is instability that makes for sex promiscuity, for conditions under which disease can be rapidly disseminated and childhood emotionally starved and socially unprotected.

In Western civilisation, religious and legal support has been given to monogamy, but in the general educational advance and in the endeavour to adapt man to civilised conditions, emotional training and positive education in sex behaviour has been omitted.

Ignorance of the factors making for mental defect has led to an increase in the number of abnormal individuals incapable of responsible citizenship, and such ignorance promote or encourage prostitution and promiscuity and general family instability.

Every analysis of prostitution has thrown into prominence the importance of the broken home as a predisposing cause. The majority of the 6,000 girls passing through the preventive and rescue homes in London, come from broken or unsatisfactory homes. Fifty-eight per cent. of the juvenile delinquents passing through the courts had a similar background. Unsuitable emotional conditions in the home have proved in every enquiry to be of far greater importance than economic conditions.

It is frequently maintained that the suppression of opportunities for professional prostitution increases the number of clandestine prostitutes. This is not in accordance with experience.

It is true that immediately after the closing of brothels and the abolition of regulations, there will be a larger number of clandestine prostitutes, but from 6-10 years later, the position will entirely have altered.

An enquiry made by Cyril Bult in London into the personality and antecedents of 113 girls and women, showed that 12.4 per cent. were mentally defective, 27.4 per cent. dull (mental ratio between 70 and 85), 53.2 per cent. backward (educational ratio between 70 and 85) and 14.2 per cent. of a verbalist type.

Many of our philanthropic services are concerned with forms of defect to which the venereal diseases make a direct contribution such as blindness, deafness, mental deficiency and dullness, insanity and paralysis.

Social practice and popular education in relation to many of the major medical problems cannot be ignored. Curative measures alone have little chance of success in eliminating disease.

The problem of venereal disease can only be effectively tackled as part of the larger problem of Social Hygiene. If progress is to be made, social customs and ethical values must be related to medical and scientific knowledge.

We tend to accept as inevitable that the sex life of mankind is outside the control of reason—is outside the range of the conscious plan of life. We are paralysed by the half true clichés that "Self preservation and reproduction are the strongest primitive instincts," "If the race is to continue, sex cannot be weakened or suppressed." "You cannot alter human nature." Prostitution is "the oldest profession in the world" it "is inherent in civilisation." "Marriage depends on prostitution."

Transpose the clichés to a subject less surrounded by fear, ignorance and prejudice than is sex.

The instincts of self-preservation and reproduction provide the motive power of most human activity—yes—but the form that activity takes varies from age to age, from culture to culture.

The prostitute, the libertine, the slave and the slave-driver are all the outcome of human ignorance, the one of biology and the other of economics. Both are equally at variance with human welfare and the Christian ethic.

To-day we have an ethical standard which upholds an ideal but makes no practical endeavour to realise it. Our tradition includes no guidance in sex behaviour or positive teaching as to the working of mind and body, in the education of youth, ignores the need for emotional training in childhood, provides no popular education in the attainment of conscious control of behaviour provides little social protection for the abnormal individual.

Can we then anticipate very much permanent benefit from supplying the medical facilities without supporting the medical endeavour by social and educational action?

We have used the phrase "expectation of conduct." One of the strongest forces in a civilised community in guiding behaviour is to create an expectation of a particular line of conduct. On the lighter sides of life this is exemplified in the changing fashions. No woman with any self-respect will walk down the main shopping street of a large city with her skirts above her knees, when fashion decrees that her skirt should be long, or will wear a cartwheel hat, trimmed with a garland of flowers, when fashion decrees a brimless beret; nor can one expect a young man to avoid infection from venereal disease, so long as, in the opinion of his fellows, the first attack of gonorrhoea is the recognised badge of manhood! And this is, in fact, the current view in some countries to-day.

Positive guidance to youth in matters of sex is an urgent problem to-day. Their challenge to the family and to monogamous marriage must be answered.

Whatever view may be taken as to the best method of attaining conscious and willing parenthood—all desire it in the interest of the family and the race, the facts, and often the methods of birth control are now common knowledge throughout the community, and the dangerous "little knowledge" must be supplemented by a larger knowledge of its social and personal implications. Wide publicity for, and irresponsible advocacy of, birth-control facilities and no sex guidance for youth must inevitably spell social disaster.

Our problem in social hygiene education is to define the ideal with the assistance of our intelligence, and to win for the ideal the executive power of the emotions.

Practical Plan.

The ideal is to apply our knowledge of the biological sciences—

- (1) so as to encourage parenthood among the racially well-endowed and to discourage it on the part of the unfit;
- (2) so as to educate the intelligence and the emotions of children that they may have the power consciously to direct their behaviour in the emotional as well as the intellectual field;
- (3) so as to secure the utmost individual freedom of thought and behaviour within the framework of a society that sets a high value on the stability of the family;
- (4) so as to administer our social services that the abnormal and sub-normal are recognised as such, and treated accordingly.

What steps would be required to promote such an ideal?

First and foremost it must be recognised that an adequate programme requires the co-operation of a number of different authorities, as well as the help of a number of social organisations. Further, a social hygiene programme concerns medicine, education, judicial administration, public assistance and social welfare.

To be able to apply our knowledge of the biological sciences, we must lay the foundations of intelligent interest, based on understanding by focussing attention on them in formal education.

A graded course from nature study, through physiology, biology and psychology to the responsibilities of parenthood and citizenship, should form part of general cultural education.

The education of the parents is also of the greatest importance in this connection, for the scientific teaching given in the schools must be supported by the behaviour teaching in the home.

Sex education thus falls into its right place as a part of general education. Experience does not favour isolated lessons on sex hygiene in class.

Teaching on the methods of attaining positive health—which includes the personal adjustment to sex—is now being widely given, under official and non-official auspices, and with success.

If the aim is the stable family preparation for marriage is essential. Much marital unhappiness and many broken homes are due to ignorance. Socially, many changes are needed.

Biological knowledge is essential to wise citizenship. The treatment of delinquency by society, the conditions of leisure and recreation, the removal of barriers to, and preparation for, marriage, the examination and alteration of customs that tend to break up the family, the provision of a family background for children under public care—all these are questions which concern every public spirited man and woman.

The record of the first twenty years of endeavour to apply science to man himself, gives hope for the future. Man, well-born physically, well adjusted emotionally, may be able to use material science for his welfare and not for his destruction.

SOCIAL HYGIENE.

Notes prepared for Mrs. H. Bairnsfather for her address to the National Council of Women.

The Transvaal Branch of the S.A. Red Cross Society actively carries out Social Hygiene work as such.

The branch has a special Standing Committee of the Branch Council, called the Social Hygiene Committee, and the terms

of reference of this committee are similar to the objects of the British Social Hygiene Council, viz:—

- (1) To preserve and strengthen the family as the basic social unit.
- (2) To promote educative and social measures directed towards development of control of the racial instincts.
- (3) To emphasise the responsibility of the community and the individual for preserving or improving, by educative and social measures, the quality of future generations.
- (4) To further social customs which promote a high and equal standard of sex conduct in men and women.
- (5) To promote the prevention and treatment of venereal diseases by appropriate educative and social measures.
- (6) To promote the elimination of commercialised vice.
- (7) To promote the removal of conditions conducing to promiscuity.
- (8) To co-operate with the various organisations, interested in the above subjects, with a view to co-ordinating efforts to secure these ends.

This committee was reconstituted this year and now numbers among its members Dr. H. S. Gear, of the Union Department for Public Health, and the Medical Officers of Health of all the towns on the Witwatersrand. The committee will be consulted by Mrs. Neville-Rolfe, with regard to work overseas and possible lines of work.

The committee has made a modest start. It published, in collaboration with the Municipality of the City of Johannesburg, a booklet "Facts About Ourselves for Growing Boys and Girls" and 10,000 copies of this have been distributed in the Transvaal and elsewhere in South Africa. This booklet has been translated into Afrikaans and will shortly be available in that language.

The committee, early in 1935, purchased two films—"The Irresponsibles" and "Any Evening After Work"—from the British Social Hygiene Council, and these films have been shown to about 60,000 people in various parts of the Transvaal. The committee carries out its propaganda work—especially in connection with venereal disease—in close co-operation with the Union Department of Public Health. At these propaganda meetings, lectures are usually given by a doctor and are followed by the screening of films. The committee lends its films to the Union Department of Public Health, and also uses films belonging to the Department. Every public meeting is organised in

co-operation with the Medical Officers of Health of the Local Authority concerned, and the committee in every way attempts to work in conjunction with the responsible authorities.

The committee is now considering the local production of film-slides and 16 m.m. films, as it has been generally found that imported films, excellent as they may be, do not exactly meet the local needs.

CONFERENCE IN DISCUSSION.

In discussion Mrs. Mitchell Hunter said:—

Rehabilitation of Abnormal Girls.

Houses and hostels are run by various religious bodies for the rehabilitation and re-education of abnormal girls and unmarried mothers; and there are, too, Government Institutions, European and non-European, for juvenile delinquents and the feeble minded. A great deal of preventive and remedial work could be undertaken by women if they were better acquainted with the social problems and the best means of approach.

Native Life in Towns.

Family life in our cities and towns presents one of our greatest problems to the social worker. Thousands of non-European men and women are living together out of wedlock, and hundreds of native children are born out of wedlock every year. The harvest of maladjustment is in most cases a life of crime.

The brewing of kaffir beer and the illicit liquor question adds to the difficulty; the convictions for offences under the Liquor Laws during 1935 totalled 108,471 or 1.63 per cent. of the non-European population.

Venereal Diseases.

In nearly every hospital there is a special "centre" for the gratuitous treatment of patients free from unwelcome and embarrassing conditions of discrimination or publicity.

Miss Richards advocated greater facilities for treatment of girls in the Native townships.

Mrs. Rhodes Harrison, Bloemfontein, strongly advocated the extension of Social Hygiene work of the Red Cross to the other Provinces of the Union.

A suggestion that the Government be approached to introduce legislation for compulsory medical inspection of domestic servants received no backing from the Conference, and was denounced by the chief speaker, Mrs. Neville-Rolfe.

Miss Tancred said that the treatment of V.D. was absolutely bound up with the question of prostitution. On this question the world has divided itself into two camps—voluntary treatment of V.D. patients, and regulation treatment of V.D.

FRIDAY MORNING SESSION.

Subject: Peace and Arbitration.

Chair: Mrs. Strachan, Durban.

First speaker was Miss Van Eeghen.

Second speaker was Miss Celia Evans.

Third speaker was Miss Elgie.

PEACE AND ARBITRATION.

(By Miss Van Eeghen.)

I thought what would interest you most would be a report on peace work done in Geneva. There are, to my mind, two channels working for peace—the official channel, which consists of governments, and the unofficial channel, which is public opinion, mainly represented by women.

The first Peace Conference was held in the Hague in 1899, and did not amount to much. There were generals, politicians, etc., but no women, and they they did not come to very great conclusions. The second Peace Conference was held in 1907, where they accepted, in principle, the formation of a court of arbitration. It was agreed that only countries willing to become members should do so. The third was held in 1913, just before the war broke out, but everybody felt the atmosphere of war when talking about peace. After that a court of international

Justice was established at the Hague and used; soon after was begun preparations for a Disarmament Conference. The preparations lasted very long and the result was futile. It was open to all kinds of influences—one, certainly, of war armaments manufacturers.

To turn to the unofficial channel, the women's, the I.C.W. sitting in London at the same time as the first Peace Conference at the Hague, by a unanimous vote accepted the principle of arbitration for all international disputes. A declaration was sent to the Peace Conference in the Hague, but did not have much effect. At the next Conference in the Hague, a delegation of the National Council of Women attended, and were received in the private hotel room of the President of the Conference, as women could not enter. This was a step forward; there they were allowed to tell the chairman of the peace conference the views of women.

In 1919, when discussing the peace settlement (?) in Paris, a committee for drafting the Covenant of the League received a deputation of women headed by Lady Aberdeen. Lady Aberdeen said they wished included in the Pact: (1) All members of the League should give to women the right to vote; (2) women should be represented on all bodies in the League of Nations; (3) they wanted an international council of education under the auspices of the League. The President agreed and said it was very necessary to have the collaboration of men and women. Eventually an international bureau of education was set up, and still exists in Geneva, under the auspices of the League, but independent in administration. With regard to granting the vote, that was impossible.

In 1924 special stress was laid on moral disarmament; the I.C.W. held a Conference at Wembley on the prevention of the causes of war. It was felt that if the atmosphere was not prepared beforehand, war could not be stopped. This must be begun with the education of children, and they must be given the opportunity to know each other.

After the Wembley Conference, at the time the Disarmament Conference was being prepared in a very difficult atmosphere of distrust and fear, women's organisations had to stand together and support it, and one of the largest and most important women's organisations, "The Peace and Disarmament Committee of the Women's International Organisations," was formed. This was formed of several large organisations, such as the I.C.W., World's Young Women's Christian Association, International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, etc., with the following associated consultative members: National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, Women's

Polish Organisations, Association des Femmes Slaves, Women's Peace Crusade (Great Britain), with Miss Mary A. Dingman as President.

Letters were received from several delegates, and very appreciative letters from Mr. Henderson himself, acknowledging the work done by women, and he was delighted that public opinion of women supported him, and expressed his delight.

The committee sent several demands to the Conference, and when the Disarmament Conference collapsed, decided to go on with its work. It felt that even if the Disarmament Committee had collapsed, it was necessary to continue the work, and a statement was issued of its aims.

You may become "a friend of peace and disarmament" by sending the equivalent of five Swiss francs to the office in Geneva, and receiving the literature issued by the committee. This year the Disarmament Committee sent a telegram to all belligerent parties in Spain, which read: "Representing millions of women of all races, creeds and nationalities, the Peace and Disarmament Committee of the Women's International Organisations, profoundly moved by the cruel sufferings of the Spanish people, condemning in principle all war, international and civil, pray all those engaged in the struggle to observe strictly the fundamental distinction between combatants and non-combatants, and to do all in their power to save the lives of women and children, old people, prisoners and hostages, and to avoid unnecessary material destruction."

This telegram was sent out, but without noticeable effect. You must not think that the only body working for peace in Geneva is this Women's Committee. There are several other groups doing the same. All the different groups in Geneva united together in a "Consultative Group," to draw up a memorandum to submit to the League of Nations, or Disarmament Committee when it existed. This is very important, because it shows how many people are thinking the same thing—not only women, not only church or young students—and when so many different institutions come together, all working for the same thing, it does make an impression.

Recently great work was done in Geneva—on that occasion from the unofficial side. First of all a Youth Congress for Peace, young people from all over the world met in Geneva before the Assembly opened. The resolutions they came to were very well stated. It was remarkable to see the youth of all countries uniting in the same desire.

At the same time, in Brussels, there was a large universal Peace Congress, the International Peace Campaign Congress, to

which thousands of people contributed. The Women's Disarmament Committee was represented. The remarkable thing about this Conference is that a delegation from this Congress came to Geneva and were allowed to speak at an official meeting of the Assembly. Generally, at Assembly meetings, only official delegates are allowed to speak. They were allowed to go into the large hall, presided over by Lord Cecil, and gave several addresses.

At Brussels were discussed the practical methods by which public opinion could be more effectively mobilised, co-ordinated and expressed. Through experience of many years, we are learning to do things better; here are some of the suggestions which came from those hundreds of eager women: (1) The creation of an International Peace Fund; (2) celebration of an International Peace Day; (3) organisation of National and International Conference, and use of a peace stamp; (4) exchange of information as to various methods of propaganda used in different countries; (5) the organisation of travelling Peace Exhibitions; (6) use of a peace stamp in as large a number of countries as possible in order to make a universal desire for peace; (7) a demand for a larger representation of women in the work of the League of Nations Peace Campaign; (8) the formation in Geneva of a people's council—representative of all peace forces, in order to follow closely the work of the League of Nations; (9) organisation of an International Plebiscite.

They believe that nothing but measures of collective security can make disarmament—which is still their objective—a practical possibility. They consider that the League of Nations, which is at present the only institution capable of contributing towards the organisation of collective security, should be not merely safeguarded but further strengthened. They consider that it is the lack of solidarity between the nations, that want peace at the present time, which constitutes the strength of the war-makers.

Miss Van Eeghen closed her speech by saying she would like to repeat what she said at the opening of the Disarmament Conference in February, 1932: "A great vision has become clear to the eyes of this generation—the vision of the forces of humanity working together towards one single aim, towards a new world order based on mutual understanding and international goodwill. We look to you to bring us one step nearer to the realisation of that vision of peace in our time."

In conclusion, the two channels, the official organ of government and the women's, must work together. I would like to end this very short account of what is being done in Geneva, by an appeal to you in South Africa to support, nationally and internationally and in every direction, the Cause of Peace.

PEACE.

Miss Celia Evans spoke of the Broadcast Message of the Children of Wales.

The Children's Message was first broadcast in 1922. It was sent out in 1922 and in 1923, and there was no reply. In 1924 the message went out again, and this time there were replies.

In 1935 the replies were numbered in thousands—they came from 70 countries.

During the first few years the text of the message was very similar, but as it was there was not only an increasing number of new listeners, but also an increasing band of habitual listeners, so the text was changed each year.

The message is now broadcast on 18th May, a day which is celebrated in Wales as Goodwill Day. In a great many of the schools of Wales, on that day, special little ceremonies take place, and at these the message is read, and a suitable dramatised and musical programme enacted.

The message is broadcast as part of the Children's Hour programme, and the number of stations which broadcast is increasing.

Copies of the message are sent in readiness for Goodwill Day to hundreds of people: to private individuals who are interested; to the secretaries of various youth movements; to Directors and Ministers of Education, and to foreign Ambassadors.

A booklet goes to herald the radio message, or to replace it, where it cannot be heard over the air.

Most encouraging is the way in which individuals and organisations have helped the movement. The American Red Cross has helped with the broadcast arrangements in the United States. The Junior Red Cross has printed the message, and the Girl Guides also arrange for the printing of it. The branch of the League of Nations Union in Port Said invited all their young friends to a party to hear the message and to play games.

In about a dozen countries a small newspaper is published with the story of the message told, so that the children will be ready to listen to it when it comes.

May I, in conclusion, ask your help in sending on the message of goodwill of the children of Wales, and consolidating it by building up between Wales and South Africa a great body of contacts through correspondence?

PEACE.

National Council of Women of Australia: Extracts from Report 1934-1936.

Mrs. Elgie, on behalf of Australia, gave the following report.

The N.C.W. of Australia recognises (a) the reiteration of generally accepted platitudes is not enough to achieve progress in the cause it has at heart; (b) that propaganda directed merely against the restraint of war is not sufficient for this purpose. It believes that peace must be secured as the result of increased mutual respect, understanding and co-operation among nations.

To this end, international intercourse must be promoted by:—

- (a) Personal visits to other countries of national leaders, both men and women, in all departments of life.
- (b) The diffusion of personal study of the problems of other countries.
- (c) The clear and sympathetic treatment of international issues in the Press.

The N.C.W. of Australia recognises the special duty of its organisation to increase, among the women of all nations, a sense of corporate fellowship and unity of aim directed to international peace and co-operation. It urges, therefore, upon its own members:—

- (a) The personal responsibility of each individual as an active agent in the formation of public opinion.
- (b) Intelligent study of international problems.
- (c) Intelligent and well-informed support of the aims of the League of Nations.
- (d) Sustained, determined and well-informed support of movements for the decrease of armaments.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON SESSION.

Subject: Education.

Chair: Mrs. Hans Pirow.

Convener: Mrs. Rheinallt Jones.

First Speaker: Dr. McNeill, Durban.

Second Speaker: Dr. R. Arndt, Pretoria.

Third Speaker: Miss McGregor, founder of training school for Coloured Social Workers in Capetown.

Fourth Speaker: Mrs. Fuller, Pietersburg.

EDUCATION.

Dr. McNeill mentioned the establishment of Child Health Centres in the larger Union towns, at which mothers were instructed and babies had expert supervision. The rate of infant mortality was thus being reduced, but the health of the pre-school child had not proportionately improved.

This could be seen from:—

- (1) The condition of health of preschool children, as seen at Health Centres.
- (2) Health statistics — particularly concerning school entrants.
- (3) Demand for establishments for curing or treating preventable diseases.

Dr. McNeill contended that:—

- (1) Instruction at Child Health Centres comes and is given too late.
- (2) Preschool children cannot be adequately supervised from Child Health Centres.
- (3) The chain of official health educational activities is incomplete.

In order to have one physically and mentally fit generation, mothers must understand how to rear their own families, which at present they do not. The instruction at the centres came too late, because those who attended were already mothers, with little or no knowledge of household routine, wise spending, dietetics, cooking, physical culture, physical or mental hygiene. The speaker claimed that the knowledge should be imparted during adolescence, and stressed the need for this full instruction.

The speaker maintained that the Health Visitors lacked training in Domestic Science and Child Psychology, and concentrated upon instructing mothers concerning the baby from the time of conception to the age of two years. Thus the chain of official health and educational activities was not complete, owing to the lack of adolescent education and nursery schools.

The problem of national health required close co-operation between health and education departments. The missing links should be supplied in the activities for the European population first, and the whole chain then used as a pattern for non-European work, adapted to the special needs of each race. Nursery Schools and adolescent education without pre-natal care, care of infants and of children of school age would be just as unavailing.

Dr. McNeill concluded, "I give it as my opinion that for the

reasons stated the main health educational needs of the European preschool child in South Africa, are the establishment of Nursery Schools and Adolescent Education in order to complete the chain of health and educational activities already provided, and that the health educational needs of non-European pre-school children are the establishment of a complete chain of health and educational facilities, dealing with the growing individual from conception to adolescence."

THE EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF THE PRESCHOOL CHILD.

(By Dr. Ruth Arndt, Pretoria.)

Dr. Arndt stressed the need for Nursery Schools, in order to provide intelligent guidance of the richly varied and vital learning that belongs specifically to the preschool years.

The most significant factor of school education is the development of personality and character, and psychologists assure us that this is as much a matter of learning as of the formation of good physical habits, since everything a child does has a physical and psychical aspect. Decidedly the most important period of an individual's life, from the point of view of all-round growth, is that between the age of two to six years.

The Nursery School has been developed to provide the environment for this required growth. There the child learns through purposeful activity; he learns to occupy himself; to play with others; to hold his own; to assert himself; to give way; to co-operate and find his social balance. The nursery school is child centred instead of being teacher centred.

The child's medium for learning was that of play. Dr. Arndt quoted Dr. P. S. Hill's (Prof. of Educ., Columbia University) "Introduction to Permanent Play Materials for Young Children," which indicated clearly the types of materials required both for working alone and for stimulating social co-operation among young children.

In conclusion, Dr. Arndt quoted from the memorandum of the Nursery School Association of Great Britain: "It should be understood that the standard recognised as adequate in a good nursery school are not luxuries . . ., but are the minimum conditions which ensure a right environment for any young children, wherever situated. . . . Only thus will it be possible for disease and debilitation, mental and moral ill-health and general maladjustment so prevalent to-day, to be checked at their source."

The English Nursery School was confined to the slum area of large cities. The American Nursery School, on the other hand, was developed to help the professional and middle-class families. To-day we see these two streams coming together in the recognition that all preschool children, of whatever economic status, have these fundamental needs for growth, both physical and psychical.

EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF THE COLOURED CHILD OF 3-7 YEARS OLD.

(By Miss McGregor, Founder of the Training School for Coloured Social Workers in Capetown.)

Please bear in mind:—

- (1) I am not an educational expert.
- (2) My experience has been mainly with the poorer coloured child.

The following points should, I think, be stressed in the education of the Coloured child of preschool age:—

(1) The formation of good habits, to be regarded as normal, while bad habits should be prevented as well as corrected.

(2) Development of a team spirit: Coloured children do not have the necessary opportunity for developing co-operation, owing to disjointed family life, and lack of proper homes. Illegitimacy and lack of a father's support makes for a competitive rather than a co-operative spirit in the home. In play, the children show a rather unhealthy gang loyalty rather than the desired team spirit, and this needs to be counteracted in preschool years.

(3) Sense of property ownership: The preschool Coloured child must be taught respect for another's property.

(4) Fairy tales, nursery rhymes and other nonsense rhymes should be taught to Coloured children. This background is usually sacrificed to learning of a more practical nature. Tradition of legend is very valuable in the life of every child, and is utterly lacking in even cultured Coloured homes, in which life is indeed real and earnest. Owing to circumstances, Coloured mothers grudge the time for this type of learning.

Much more should be done for the preschool Coloured child, especially in poorer districts. The educational need of the child often means more education for the mother. Underfeeding, tuberculosis, nursery schools, nursery health classes, playgrounds with supervision, are all matters which should receive great attention.

THE PRESCHOOL NATIVE CHILD.

(By Mrs. Fuller, Pietersburg.)

In considering the preschool Native child, one should, in my opinion distinguish between those brought up in rural areas and in Native Reserves, and those who have to live in town locations and urban areas. The lot of the former, while leaving much to be desired, is not, generally speaking, as desperate as that of the latter.

In the country the mother can have the child with her, and while she is busy with her many family duties, the child is learning from his surroundings and through imitation, and is able to amuse himself. The lot of the toddler in the town is quite different. Usually his mother has to earn, while he is left in the charge of an elder sister; or if the mother can take him with her, it is to some back yard where she is doing the washing. His sister does not take her charge seriously, and often the child spends his time in the road.

It was to relieve the elder sister that we started a special class for babies in the first place, at Khaiso. We hired a girl who was good with small children, and encouraged the sisters to bring the toddlers with them. This Baby Class was started ten years ago, and the wisdom of it has been proved.

The Native child is not admitted to school until he is seven, and by that time, particularly in the case of the town child, his habits—mostly bad ones—are formed. Economic conditions among the natives, and the necessity for the mother to earn, leave her little time to influence the child's character development. The little time left for the family has to be spent in cleaning up and cooking. Is it any wonder that the child's mental and spiritual needs are neglected? Of course, there are always mothers who work wonders, but these are in the minority. Of the numbers of illegitimate children, few are supported by the father, and the mothers, usually young girls, have neither the means nor the ability to bring the children up properly, and they threaten to become a burden on the community.

It is our experience that the small children are mostly quite undisciplined, and have no respect for property, either their own, or that of anybody else. On the other hand, they exhibit a dread of corporal punishment, which they appear to expect as inevitable, though its result, to judge from the child's behaviour, are far from beneficial. Training is urgently required before the age of seven.

The preschool seems the best solution of this problem. Though the child enjoys freedom, rules have to be kept; cleanliness is insisted upon, until it becomes a habit and a source of pride. The child learns to express himself freely, to give and take, to mix and play with other children. Apparatus played with must be tidily replaced—this protection of property leads to habits of care and consideration, while the pleasure of having things to play with is an aid towards training the hands and mind for responsible work later.

The preschool provides an opportunity for watching the health of the growing child, and noting the first signs of any disease. Mothers make use of the baby clinics, but after the first year or so, the danger is regarded as being past. Incorrect feeding at a most important period of growth undermines the system, and leads to trouble later.

When the babies attend a preschool, they are examined by the doctor. A large percentage of them are found to have syphilis in one form or another. A course of injections is offered and in almost all cases the parents agree to this treatment, and regard the doctor as their friend. The medical examination also reveals the fact that an alarming number of these children are undernourished. We have made arrangements whereby these are given either a mug of milk or half an ounce of cheese and a slice of bread and butter per day, which makes a great difference to them. At least twenty per cent. of the children are found to be in need of this extra nourishment.

At present the Government is not prepared to help in the running of a preschool class, and it has to be done by the help of voluntary contributions. We do not charge any fees, as our parents find it as much as they can do to pay school fees for the older children, and we are anxious not to drive away just those who most need care and attention.

Many other points might be considered, but I hope that those mentioned will serve to indicate the needs of the small Native child, who, as much as any other child, needs the happy and healthy enjoyment of life that should be his by right.

Mrs. Newman closed the Conference with thanks to Her Excellency for her close co-operation, and said she had been invaluable in the organisation. She wished to thank Lady Aberdeen, who was International President when the Conference was first suggested, and sent a splendid ambassador in Miss Louise Van Eeghen.

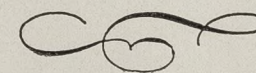
She emphasised our indebtedness to Dame Maria Ogilvie Gordon, D.B.E., and to Mrs. E. A. McIlwraith, one of our Honorary Life Vice-Presidents, who did a great amount of work in interesting representative women and encouraging them to attend our Conference at the Empire Exhibition during the Jubilee year.

It is very difficult to say "thank you" to Mrs. Scandrett and to Mrs. Kirby, who organised the Dominions Conference. Nothing but praise of this Conference was heard. It is but right to give the organisers a vote of gratitude from the whole N.C.W. of South Africa and from overseas visitors as well.

Thanks have to be given very particularly to all conveners of sessions, and those ladies who prepared the papers which have been listened to with such great interest; to the ladies of the '89 Pioneer Club for their hospitality; to the Entertainment Committee and the Transport Committee, whose arrangements tended to the enjoyment and comfort of the delegates. Thanks are given to Mrs. Bekker, wife of the Administrator of this Province, who kindly invited the delegates to tea in Pretoria. Unfortunately the invitation could not be accepted. Mrs. Scandrett wished to thank the friends of the N.C.W. who assisted in financing the Dominions Conference, and also to Mrs. Mackie, Mr. Bellasis and members of the Exhibition for every kind of co-operation. Thanks are given to Mrs. Metter and Mrs. Esson, who assisted Mrs. Scandrett and the committee concerned with the publishing of our Souvenir of the Conference; also to Mr. Esson for stationery of various sorts. Messrs. Polliacks donated the programmes used during this week. Unstinted thanks were extended to Mrs. Metter and the Press for the splendid publicity.

Thanks are also due to the authorities of the University; to the committees of the Vanguard Club, the Rand Women's Club and the Welcome Club for hospitality. Ladies responsible for the banquet were thanked by all for the enjoyable function.

Mrs. Scandrett thanked the members of her committee who had assisted in carrying out the work.



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