

N.S.M

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN
OF GREAT BRITAIN.

REPORT
OF THE
COUNCIL MEETING
AND CONFERENCE,
EDINBURGH.

October 1st—5th, 1934.

PAMPHLET

Price 2s.6d.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN,
MURRAY HOUSE, VANDON STREET, LONDON, S.W.1.

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EDINBURGH CONFERENCE.

INTRODUCTION.

The Forty-third Conference of the National Council of Women will be remembered as one of the most successful in the Council's history: for the conduct of its business; for the marvellous organisation which must have entailed months of strenuous work in thought and deed before the Conference ever arrived; and for the perfectly charming welcome it received from its kind hostesses, the Edinburgh Branch. Edinburgh is famous for many things—for beauty, learning, historical interest, for that queer quality called romance—a long list—and high on that list should come hospitality.

The Headquarters of the Conference was in the Assembly Hall, The Mound, where an excellent "suite" of rooms was placed at the disposal of the Council. The Hall itself, where the meetings were held, was unusually good for sound. There were always lovely bowls of flowers on the platform, and flowers also in the Rainy Hall, which was a much appreciated centre for friendship and food.

Social Events and Excursions.

A wonderful programme of events had been prepared for the Council, beginning, on the evening of October 1st, with an Informal Reception by Lady Ruth Balfour and the Edinburgh Branch in the Rainy Hall. This was a very pleasant occasion for personal contacts before embarking on the serious work of the Conference. Guests were allowed, as a special privilege, to see the beautiful Library of the Assembly Hall.

Special Interest Luncheons are always very popular, and four of these were arranged for October 2nd. Lady Ruth Balfour was Chairman for the Education Luncheon at the Balmoral Restaurant, and Miss M. G. Cowan principal speaker. In the afternoon this party visited modern schools, and Mrs. Alice Ross was their kind hostess for tea.

The Scottish History Luncheon, at Mackie's Restaurant, with Viscountess Novar in the Chair, and the Historiographer-Royal for Scotland as speaker, was crowded. After Professor Hannay's brilliant address delegates visited such representative monuments of Scottish history as Holyrood and the Castle, and at the Castle were given tea by Mrs. Hannay.

Councillor Mrs. Morison Millar was in the Chair for the Public Health Luncheon at the Balmoral Restaurant, at which Miss

Goodeve was the speaker. Delegates were afterwards taken to visit Gogarburn Institution, where they also had tea.

Miss Wingfield, Principal of Edinburgh College of Domestic Science, was the speaker at the Household Service Luncheon, which had secured a very popular Chairman in Lady Leslie Mackenzie. In the afternoon delegates were taken over the College of Domestic Science, being its guests for tea.

During this same afternoon a privileged party of forty delegates visited Hopetoun House, and had tea there by the very kind invitation of the Marchioness of Linlithgow.

On October 3rd another Luncheon was held at the Balmoral Restaurant, at which Councillor Mabel Laurie spoke on Slum Clearance and Housing. Miss Grace Drysdale, Warden of the Edinburgh University Settlement, was in the Chair, and also acted as hostess for tea at Cameron House Settlement after the delegates had visited the Prestonfield Housing and Child Welfare schemes.

That same day the Edinburgh Luncheon Club gave a party, presided over by the Hon. Lady Hope, to meet the President, Lady Nunburnholme, and hear her in the role of principal speaker.

In the afternoon various tea-parties were given—by Lady Salvesen at Dean Park House; by Lady Holland at Upper Library Hall, where Sir Thomas Holland's kindness in acting as "guide" added greatly to the guests' pleasure; and by Professor and Mrs. D. K. Henderson at Craig House. Lady Nunburnholme and Lady Steel-Maitland also gave a very pleasant party in the Rainy Hall to representatives of the Regional Committees and Branches.

October 3rd was indeed a crowded day, for in the evening a Civic Reception was given in the Royal Scottish Academy, where a special display of pictures had been arranged in honour of the guests. Bailie Raithby, the Lady Provost, and the members of the City Council—their scarlet and ermine robes forming a decorative and impressive feature of the party—received the guests. In a short speech Bailie Raithby welcomed the National Council and hoped that their Conference would bear good fruit. Lady Nunburnholme, in a brief, amusing reply, thanked him on behalf of the delegates for the wonderful welcome they had received from Edinburgh. In addition to the pictures two kinds of attractive music were provided for their entertainment, one by a small string orchestra, the other by two magnificent pipers.

On the afternoon of October 4th, private tea-parties were given in country houses near Edinburgh. Elaborate arrangements were made to convey delegates by bus straight from the Conference Hall to their various destinations, and then to bring them back in time for the next Council Meeting. Parties were entertained by the Countess of Rosebery and Lord Rosebery at Dalmeny House, where the guests enjoyed the unusual privilege of being shown over the House, Lord Rosebery himself acting as their cicerone—by the Countess of Cassillis and Lord Cassillis at Newhailes, including a

visit to Lord Elphinstone's gardens at Carberry Tower—by Marie Lady Stewart-Clark at Dundas Castle—by Mrs. James Hood at Midfield, Lasswade, including a visit to Roslin Chapel—by Mrs. Douglas-Strachan at Pittendriech, Lasswade, including a visit to Hawthornden Castle. This kind of party was rather an innovation on the social side of the Conference, and the generosity of their hostesses and the carefully organised transport system were greatly appreciated by the guests.

In addition to the official programme of entertainments, arrangements were made for sight-seeing drives—including a special one to Linlithgow Palace on October 4th—and visits to places of interest in the City. For Friday, October 5th, when the business meetings were over, a wide choice of excursions was offered. Delegates could go, as the guests of Mrs. Chalmers Watson, to visit the Fenton Barns Model Dairy; they were invited to visit institutions of social or historical interest at Dunfermline and to be the guests of the Carnegie Trust for tea; the Stirling Branch asked them to come and look at Stirling and have tea with the Branch, and Lady Steel-Maitland invited them to lunch at Sauchieburn on the way; they could spend the whole day on the famous Trossachs tour; or they might choose the beautiful Scott country, including Darnick Tower, where Miss Turcan asked the party to morning coffee, and Dryburgh, where the Lady Provost of Edinburgh provided them with an excellent lunch at the Dryburgh Abbey Hotel. Whatever they chose, they saw much that was interesting and beautiful.

The most fortunate people of all, perhaps, were fifty-three leisured delegates who began their Conference on Friday, September 28th with the Special 4-days' Tour. Miss Macdonald, of the Edinburgh Women Citizens' Association, acted as hostess to four motor coach loads, equipped with tartan rugs and expert drivers. Their itinerary, including Pitlochry, Inverness, Loch Ness (no monster on view), Fort Augustus, Oban, and the Trossachs, took them through some of the most gorgeous scenery in Scotland, and that means some of the loveliest scenery in the world.

For everyone, leisured or busy, the friendliest of welcomes and a fairy-tale vision of a flood-lit Castle will remain as charming memories of the Edinburgh Conference.

LOST PROPERTY.

Would owners of property lost at the Conference please apply to the Secretary, 22, Stafford Street, Edinburgh. There are still several umbrellas unclaimed, and one pair of light fawn fabric gloves.

Also, would the lady who inadvertently took the wrong bundle of tweed from the Melrose bus on October 5th, kindly notify the Secretary, when the address of the owner will be sent to her.

THE SERVICE IN ST. GILES' CATHEDRAL.

A special service was held in St. Giles' Cathedral at 9.30 a.m. on October 2nd. The devotional part was conducted by the Rev. C. H. Ritchie (Church of St. John the Evangelist) and the sermon was preached by the VERY Rev. CHARLES L. WARR, D.D., Dean of the Thistle.

"And in the fourth watch of the night Jesus went unto them, walking on the sea."—ST. MATTHEW, xiv, 25.

That crazy craft with its crew of Galilean disciples, of whom we read in our Scripture Lesson, was in no more imminent danger of foundering than has been the ark of the Church of God upon the seas of the world's passion and sin full many a time in her chequered history. But always to her aid the Lord has come, even in the fourth watch of the night, walking upon the sea.

In every age her safety has been rediscovered by faithful spirits in what John Milton called "the true might of Him who walked upon the waves." Always when Christendom has slithered down into helplessness and impotence, caused by its own greed and selfishness and corruption, the restoration of its soul and the renewal of its moral strength and purpose have been derived from a further vision of Jesus Christ, all that He is, and all that He stands for. The Galilean has a strange survival power that fills His friends with confidence and His foes with perplexity and fear.

Let the cynic chuckle as he may, the Cross was not the end of Jesus, and no grave that man has dug has ever bound or held Him. From the dust and chaos of collapsed institutions, degraded philosophies and obsolete ideas, He emerges, unconquered, unimpaired, again to challenge and disturb the world and put His enemies to open shame. Men have smashed His altars, proscribed His religion, massacred His followers; but still He lives and they cannot get rid of Him. No depths can drown Him, and no storm can overthrow His cause. Across the tempests of human upheavals, His pierced feet have carried Him in safety. Long as the storm may last, Jesus of Nazareth comes back again, yesterday, today and forever.

"What is lacking here?" asked one Roman of another, as they stood and watched a display of majestic pageantry passing through the streets of the Eternal City. "What is lacking? The Senate is here. The Army is here. The people of Rome are here. Power and dominion, they are here." And the other, after a thoughtful moment, answered: "Surely what is lacking is the certainty of continuance."

Now the recuperative power of the Christian faith, which enables it consistently to rise triumphant even from its own defeats, to turn to its service the very agents of its destruction and to proceed to new and greater victories, lies in the fact that it is a religion

whose faith is oriented to the East. It is a religion of unquenchable hope, and its devotees worship at the altar of the future. Its Master was the world's greatest optimist.

The security of its future is guaranteed by the conviction that within the shadows He lives. Its golden age lies not in the sentimentalism of the past or the wistful radiance of the sunset. It lies over the border of the far horizon to the eastward and to the dawning of the day. Christianity is not static: it is dynamic: it is energetic: it is adventurous, and it is exploring. It leads men to fuller light and to a larger and more comprehensive experience. There is no annihilation. It is a religious faith whose fulfilment lies in what is yet to come. Jesus Christ descending from the mountain tops to walk upon the waves of Galilee is a real and dramatic representation of the faith that inspires Christianity to face the most threatening forces of the world.

It cannot be beaten because it recognises no defeat. Its work is not its own; its work is God's, and He is with His people: "Lo! I am with you always" has been the galvanizing influence which has spread the good news to the utmost corner of the earth.

The confidence of Christianity is based, and history has justified its confidence, on the fact that in our Lord there had been revealed certain spiritual principles which alone can determine life and progress, which invalidated lead men to destruction, but in the keeping of which there is great reward.

These principles are sure and eternal, since they are rooted in God and express His will and His purpose for mankind. Thus it is that God's saints in every generation die in faith, not having received His promises but having seen them afar off. Because they have toiled in the first, or second, or unto the third watch without deliverance, they know that in the fourth their Lord will surely come walking upon the sea.

And so, too, can and do ordinary folk—common or garden men and women, engaged in the routine of the drab monotonies of life—preserve amid the fortunes and defeats of everyday experience an inward serenity that is called the peace of God. What is that peace? It is the fruit of a soul which has found fellowship with things eternal and undying. It is known and possessed by such as are convinced of the reliability of Christ and who are prepared to follow Him in the teeth of everything that in this dark and mysterious world seems to mock His wisdom and deny His love.

It is a sense of tranquil and peaceful security amid a vast and inscrutable universe which they feel and understand who themselves are persuaded that Christ is alive for ever more and is able to keep that which is committed to His trust.

Our political, economic, religious and personal interests are consigned to some ship afloat upon the sea of human affairs. Many people are careless as to where they bestow this cargo, and therefore their views, opinions, convictions and purposes, which ought to be

a matter of real and grave concern to thoughtful and intelligent people, very frequently are found on a water-logged and rudderless craft, useless and aimless and wholly adrift.

If your ship is one where there is no contraband concealed, if its hold and every hidden part is open to divine inspection, if on its deck you can fearlessly receive the Lord Jesus Christ, no storm need dismay you, because there is no cause that is reinforced by the mind of Christ which can ever perish.

My sisters, I am proud to welcome you here and to be afforded an opportunity of paying my tribute of respect to the great and active force of organised British womanhood which you represent.

You have gathered together in conference to discuss problems of grave moment, which vitally affect the moral and spiritual as well as the social welfare of this and of other peoples, and which demand surely the earnest consideration of every citizen who is animated by even a flickering spark of communal responsibility and human sympathy.

It is good that before you address yourselves to such weighty matters, you should seek in common worship the benediction of Almighty God upon your deliberations. May I repeat a phrase which I have just spoken. No cause that is reinforced by the blessing of the mind of Christ can ever fail. It cannot perish, because being made at one with the mind of Christ, it is linked to the realities of God.

Now history should have taught us this at least, that while it is comparatively easy for social and political reformers to make local and temporary successes, these, however spectacular, may have no relationship whatsoever to any permanent achievement. No permanent advance has ever been made or ever will be made in the social evolution of mankind, which has not recognised as its first and foremost axiom that man is soul as well as body.

What I want to emphasise is this—what organised philanthropy is always in danger of forgetting—that when Christianity lays upon men the bounden obligation of seeking social justice, purity and peace, it is only because society is composed of individuals, and the value of these individuals is not to be estimated in terms of the harmonious working of every cog in the great communal machine but in terms of their infinite moral and spiritual importance as the children of God, purposed for eternal fellowship with their Creator. This is not a platitude. It is something that has got to be burned into the conscience and the mentality of this generation.

If you deny that, what is all your social amelioration? What is it, when boiled down, but just sheer selfish economic expediency? Rule God out from the life of man and what do you reduce him to? To a part of economic machinery. What use is all our vaunted education unless it is going to be directed towards moral and spiritual ends? Where high intellectual gifts have been divorced from the mind of Jesus Christ, what has been the invariable result?

What has most consistently brought ruin and damnation upon mankind? What but brilliant ability directed to selfish and materialistic ends and unconstrained by any religious sanction.

What is all our social endeavour going to avail us if, while concentrating on man's body and his temporal environment, we neglect the health and the establishing of man's immortal soul?

Let us abolish our slums. Let us build up our A1 population through advanced eugenics and hygienics. This may and will produce more robust and comfortable animals; but they do not in themselves begin to cope with or to eradicate from the heart of man the things that war against man's security and his peace and which menace the establishment of harmonious human relationships—his greeds, his passions, his selfishness, the turbulent forces of his nature; these will remain to lead him to destruction, until there has been decided definitely and finally who is going to be regarded as the Lord of man's life, whose is the final word in human affairs—the up-to-date State or God.

We have ever to be on our guard lest we embrace that fatal assumption—the cancer at the heart of so much modern thought—of man's self-sufficiency, the blatant paganism which proclaims him master of his fate and captain of his soul. Man is not self-sufficient. His sufficiency is only God.

One recognises with gratitude that your great organisation, engaged in its mighty crusade for a nobler order of civilisation, is reverently alive to its dependence upon the divine help and guidance. In that is your strength and in that is your hope.

And so, as you go to your Conference, I would commend your deliberations to the blessing of God. Truth is never easily arrived at, and only fools consider that truth is ever obvious. Above all things, hold fast to that which is good. Remember that those who seek to mould public opinion take upon themselves a very serious responsibility indeed. Therefore test each issue in the light of Him who is the way, the truth and the life.

You have many problems before you, some of which seem very stubborn in their defiance of solution, and the leavening of society is always a long and often a disturbing process. But let us always remember that there will be other days than ours, and so far as we ourselves are concerned, let us prayerfully strive to finish whatever work is given us to do.

It is impossible to believe, if we believe in God, that impurity, injustice, strife and oppression can be permanent conditions in the world which He has made, and though we may not see their removal, other generations will come afterwards, and their inheritance will be just exactly what we have prepared for them.

OPENING MEETING.

On the morning of October 2nd, the Opening Meeting of the Conference was held, under the Presidency of the DOWAGER LADY NUNBURNHOLME, J.P.

CIVIC WELCOME.

BAILIE LAURENCE RAITHEY, the Edinburgh Senior Magistrate, after expressing the great regret of the Lord Provost at his inability, owing to indisposition, to be present, said :

Many Conferences come to Edinburgh. They deal with subjects of great variety. But there is none that we welcome more gladly than the National Council of Women—not only in view of its catholicity of outlook on social and industrial problems, but also because of the interesting personality of its members.

This is the third visit of your Conference to Edinburgh. On the last occasion, in 1923, you met under the Presidency of the late Lady Frances Balfour, whose keen intellect and deep sympathy brought her in close touch with all the social and religious problems of her day, in particular where the interests of women were at stake. Her name will remain in Scottish history. We are glad that the President of the Local Branch, Lady Ruth Balfour, on whose invitation the National Conference has come again to our City, should carry on in her name and through her personality the association of a noble Scottish family with the National Council of Women.

Today we welcome in the Presidential Chair the Dowager Lady Nunburnholme, who is in close touch with the activities of the National Council, not alone in Great Britain but also in the International Council. I understand she recently led the British delegation at the Paris meeting of the International Council of Women with the utmost tact and diplomacy. Her name is associated particularly with international work for the protection of women and children. A Conference makes a great demand on the leadership of its President. I feel assured that in Lady Nunburnholme you have someone who will mark the Edinburgh Conference as one of the most outstanding which the Council has held.

Your discussions range round topics of international, national and social importance: poverty and plenty; work and play; peace and war. Some refer in a broad sense to Public Health, and I am glad that one of your public meetings is devoted solely to this subject. The more one enters into this question in all its aspects, the closer does its relation appear to housing, to education, to the provision of Nursery Schools, and to the ascertainment of Mental Deficiency, all subjects on which your resolutions touch.

The Corporation of Edinburgh is keenly alive to these vital matters. The Slum Clearance Scheme of the St. Leonard's district,

whereby inhabitants were removed from slum houses to the wholesome environment of an open-air housing scheme, has attracted the attention of many Corporations. It is probably the largest Slum Clearance Scheme which has been carried through. Apart from numbers, its most striking feature is the social influence brought to bear on the inhabitants, through the Child Welfare Clinic, the Open-Air School, the Nursery School, and most important, Cameron House, the University Settlement, all of which have been established in this district.

Another resolution, that on Juveniles in Unregulated Employment, also shows you are in line with the aims of the Corporation.

But it would not be seemly for me to dwell on your Agenda. I should rather thank you for the stimulus and the impetus which your Conference will give to all good causes. Not only nationally but within the City women's influence today is more virile, more direct in many ways than during the early years of your Council and its pioneer work. It is direct by vote, by membership of City Councils, and by membership of the House of Commons; but it retains, and in my opinion it must retain for its greater power, an emphasis always on the ideal: on asking for what at the moment may be unattainable but is in the long run the right path for the family—that basic unity of society—and for that family life which, though not peculiar to, is emphasised so strongly in Scotland.

In conclusion, I wish you an interesting Conference and a successful outcome of all your deliberations.

EDINBURGH BRANCH WELCOME.

The LADY RUTH BALFOUR OF BALBIRNIE, President of the Edinburgh and District Branch, said: This is a very moving occasion for me. The last speaker has referred to the Presidency—on the last occasion on which the Conference was held in this city—under my aunt, Lady Frances Balfour. I feel it is a very great honour to me that I should have been allowed to be President of the Local Branch, who are the hosts on this occasion, the third time that the Conference meets in Edinburgh.

I, on behalf of my Branch, am welcoming today six hundred delegates from Branches and Societies and several hundred other members of the Branches. I believe we are almost, if not certainly, a record in attendance today.

I welcome Lady Nunburnholme, this being her first year of office, and feel proud that it should be at Edinburgh that she represents the whole Council of Great Britain. I hope she will remember this Conference with pleasure, and feel that we have been able to give her here the welcome that all feel in their hearts for her.

I also welcome our new Secretary, Miss Grobel, who attends here on the occasion of her first Conference. We all congratulate

her on her recovery from a serious operation, and also admire her courage in coming to use this place as her place of convalescence.

We are glad to see here today Lady Aberdeen, and to welcome in addition four past Presidents: Lady Emmott, Mrs. Franklin, Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon, and last, but certainly not least, Dame Elizabeth Cadbury, to whom we all tender our hearty congratulations on her recent honour, so well deserved.

It is eleven years since the last Conference was held in Edinburgh, and I thought it might be of interest to the delegates and members if I referred shortly to the main activities of the Edinburgh Branch during that period. That aspect of the N.C.W. which consists in the linking up of the various interests of women is what appeals specially to the Edinburgh Branch. It is on those lines that we have worked here.

Most valuable co-operation with public bodies has resulted from a scheme of co-operation with the Ministry of Labour. The late Mrs. A. P. Melville, as Secretary and then Chairman of the Edinburgh Branch, and Secretary and then Chairman of the Scottish Standing Committee, will always have her name remembered as being instrumental in arranging for the sub-Committee on the Training and Employment of Women, in connection with the Central Committee for the Employment of Women under the Ministry of Labour. That Sub-committee has been staffed mainly by members of the N.C.W.

The Edinburgh Branch has also co-operated with the Corporation in a large Public Meeting in endeavouring to get certain powers granted to enable them to deal with Venereal Disease; and at the present moment we are co-operating with the Corporation's Educational Committee in providing home training for invalid children.

Simultaneously with this co-operation with public bodies, the Edinburgh Branch has brought about closer union with the various women's societies in the City.

We have assisted the extension of the Women Students' Union; and in the last two years a new constitution has been formed for our Branch, giving a greater weight in our Councils to the large group of the Edinburgh Women Citizens' Association, the Church of Scotland Guild and the Junior Organisation Council. Those bodies, who have done such tremendously valuable work in this city, have a very weighty voice on our representative Council and we work always in conjunction with them.

This Branch in addition has been active in furthering the passing of the Children and Young Persons' Act, and we originated certain amendments to the recent Shop Acts which were ultimately included in the statute.

I do not wish to delay the Conference any longer, and I wish you all a most hearty welcome on behalf of the Edinburgh Branch.

The PRESIDENT, Lady Nunburnholme, thanked Bailie Laurence Raithby, on behalf of the Council, for his welcome from the City of Edinburgh, and Lady Ruth Balfour for the wonderful welcome from the Branch. "The party that we all attended last night," said Lady Nunburnholme, "showed the cordial hearts of the Scottish, but I think, like the parable, they left the best till the last—for that vision, as we went away, of the beauty of the Castle will be a thing to carry with us for the rest of our lives. We have seen other pleasant evening receptions. We have never seen anything so beautiful as your flood-lit Castle."

Lady Nunburnholme then gave her Address as President of the National Council of Women.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

May I, on behalf of the British National Council of Women, express our very deep gratitude and appreciation of the wonderful reception which has been given to us in your beautiful city. It is indeed a joy to hold our Conference again in this "modern Athens" after eleven years' absence, in a City so full of memories of the past, and yet so full of present-day activities.

Edinburgh itself is rich in memorials of the beneficence of wealthy women of the past, dating back to the tiny Chapel of St. Margaret, founded by the Queen of Malcolm Canmore. This Queen-Saint is renowned for her work among orphans and the poor, and it is recorded that she made the education of her sons her special care. It is a long cry from her days—she died in 1093—to the present day, but I think we can trace in the many social activities of the Edinburgh Branch of the N.C.W., and its affiliated Societies, the same zealous care for the welfare of the children of today.

The International Situation.

Since our Conference last year, held in Torquay, great changes have taken place in the world. Mussolini has recently warned his people that their Army must be ready—not for war in the dim future—but to take the field immediately, and Hitler has made reference to the "Black Shadow of War over Europe." When two statesmen of their calibre make such pronouncements, it is not possible to ignore the portents, and we must realise that the world is facing today a great and terrible choice, and that on its decision depends the fate of civilisation and evolution as we know it now.

The material problems before us all are being faced by some countries with stoical endurance, but in others entirely fresh ground is being broken, and very drastic remedies are being applied to the world's wounds. The tendency to exalt certain qualities of human nature is nothing new: there is always the swing of the pendulum; and, as in the past, Asceticism and Intellectualism have

been exalted, so today in many parts of the world Hero-worship and the deification of brute force is in the ascendant. When the State is put in the position of the Supreme Good, no man's freedom will be allowed to obstruct its progress, and Magna Charta itself could be threatened. But we here in Great Britain have tested the life of freedom and found it good. Our own Milton has voiced our convictions when he says: "Who overcomes by force, has overcome but half his foe." We can proudly say that without any revolution or undermining of our cherished State Institutions—the Crown, Church and Parliament—we possess a greater proportion of individual liberty than any other land, so that all religions and all parties have perfect freedom, and bring their spiritual and ethical gifts into the Nation's Treasury. And in addition to possessing this greater individual liberty, we also once more are leading the world in the slow, painful and uphill fight towards recovery, and have been the first to attain comparative material prosperity.

Our own N.C.W. constitution expresses our views that liberty of life and opportunity for full and free development should be the portion of every citizen in the land, and today in this Hall are gathered together, women from all religious denominations and from all political parties, met here to pool their knowledge and experience for the good, not of their sex only, but of their country.

Changes in the Council.

There have been changes in our own Council since we last met. Two beloved ex-Presidents have passed away. In Lady Trustram Eve, we have lost one whose name will live in N.C.W. memories, especially for the splendid work which she did in re-organising the finances of the N.C.W., and for planning a scheme which, had it been adopted, would have placed the N.C.W. on a perfectly sound financial basis. Her wonderful courage in carrying on her work as President when in extreme ill-health was an example to us all of self-sacrifice to an ideal of duty. Mrs. George Morgan, alas, has also left us. We had hoped that she would have been with us at this Conference, for she had recovered from a previous serious illness. Her work with girls and young women was of outstanding merit. Then in the death of Miss Mary Pickford, M.P., we have lost one who was always ready to put her great intellect at the service, not only of the country and the House of Commons, but also of our own Executive and Sectional Committees. And although it is now eighteen months since the death of Mrs. Melville, I cannot, speaking in Edinburgh, complete this list without including her name. She has gone from our midst, but not from our hearts. Personally I shall always feel that our friendship was one of the most valued gifts of my life.

To turn to other changes—our new Secretary, Miss Monica Grobel—is with us for the first time. She has already made herself known to many of you, but you will not all be aware that she has

recently undergone a severe operation, and is therefore undertaking this, her first Conference, under somewhat difficult conditions, for she has not been able to be at the Office for the last seven weeks.

Presentation to Miss Green.

Whilst it is true that we have lost Miss Norah Green as our much loved and valued General Secretary, she is still with us here today, and I hope will long continue her association with the N.C.W., and I have now the very pleasant task of presenting her with this album in which are inscribed the names of the Branches, and the many friends who have subscribed towards her Annuity, as a token of the love and esteem in which she is held by us all.

The I.C.W.

With Lady Aberdeen here on the platform, it is not necessary for me to touch on the work of the International Council of Women, as she will talk to you later on this. I would like to remind you, however, of the public meeting on Thursday, for which we have been fortunate enough to secure as our speaker Professor Zimmern, the great authority on international affairs.

It gives me great pleasure, on your behalf, to welcome to this Conference those members of National Councils of Women overseas who are present today. We have with us:

Mrs. Stanley de Villiers and Mrs. Salomon, representatives of South Africa;
Mrs. White, Miss Michaelis, Mrs. Strang, Mrs. Barden, and Mrs. Barnard, representing Australia;
Miss Mildred Goodeve, of Canada;
Miss Reeves and Miss Louie Thompson, from Ireland;
Miss G. Shaw, of Argentine.

New Branches.

Turning from International to National matters, I have to report the formation of four new Branches in the year 1933-34: Chesterfield, Folkestone, Chorley Wood, and Colwyn Bay.

The Conference Programme.

I am sure you will all agree that we have never had a more varied and important programme to consider.

Our resolutions contain some which are extremely controversial. May not the result of our deliberations have a very greatly added importance from the very fact that so many different view points must, and should be, expressed? Our constitution is very democratic and a two-thirds majority vote is required. We have strong safeguards for minorities, who are in no sense bound to accept decisions to which they object. Furthermore they possess the right of having the fact that they do dissent printed in any report sent

out by the Council to Government Departments or Societies. If we were all of one mind, there would be no *raison d'être* for the Council to continue to exist. A Council such as ours when united to attain an ideal may be a far stronger instrument through the very diversity of outlook of its constituent members and through unselfish work for the general good than any homogenous party. This was well illustrated by our wide and comprehensive platform on the occasion of the Mass Meeting for Peace held in May this year in London.

I hope and believe that it will be possible for us all to use as a guiding principle when taking part in the discussions, the Golden Rule of the International Council of Women: "Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you." We have taken our mottos so much for granted for many years that some of us had almost forgotten that, although we are in the best and truest sense unsectarian, we are not only a body bound by idealistic aims but that we have also a distinctly religious basis. The Golden Rule is a great spiritual ideal, worthy of love and service, and it is to this Rule that we as a Council owe our allegiance.

THE GRESFORD COLLIERY DISASTER.

THE PRESIDENT proposed that a message of deep sympathy with the victims of the Colliery disaster and their relations should be sent from the Conference, and asked Miss Allington-Hughes (Gresford) to convey this vote of sympathy.

MISS ALLINGTON-HUGHES, in replying, said: I think our hearts have all been tremendously touched with the extraordinary expressions of sympathy we have had from all over the world practically, from His Majesty downwards. Thousands of letters have been received. I was there during those awful two days, and it has alleviated the sufferings of those who have been left behind that we have had all these expressions of sympathy, I would like to thank you all through our President. I will convey to the fifteen villages and towns that have been afflicted through this awful disaster your vote of sympathy.

The Conference stood for one moment in silence, in tribute to the memory of the victims.

A collection, amounting to £39 0s. 6d., was subsequently made for the Gresford Colliery Fund.

GREETINGS FROM THE I.C.W.

ISHBEL, MARCHIONESS OF ABERDEEN AND TEMAIR: I must be as brief as possible, so I will not enter into the details of the Paris Conference. The Resolutions and the account of the meeting are in the July number of our International Bulletin, and this is the only record there will be of the various proceedings at the Paris Council Meeting as, for reasons of economy, we have decided to have no printed reports.

What I would like specially to emphasise regarding the Paris Meeting is the excellence of the delegations, the interest they showed, and the regularity of their attendance in spite of the great heat. I am sure that we never had a better Council Meeting from that point of view.

The evening meetings were also quite well attended. There was the Welcome Meeting, which is always popular, when the leaders of the delegations of the different countries make a few brief speeches, which they did with excellent effect on this occasion. There were also the Peace Meeting, the Demonstration in favour of the Right of Women to Work, and the Slavery Meeting.

We took the Paris Council Resolutions to the President of the Assembly at Geneva the other day, and to the Director of the International Labour Office, and we asked to have them printed in the Journal of the Assembly; we were very much gratified to find in a bulky number of that Journal, which appeared on September 18th, that all our Resolutions were included. We were most kindly received by Mr. Sandler, the President of the Assembly, our old friend who was Minister at Stockholm when we were there, the Secretary-General, M. Avenol, and by the Director of the I.L.O., Mr. Harold Butler.

Those gentlemen all desired to emphasise that our strength lies in the action that our National Councils take all over the world; and that therefore when we urge our desire to see more women sent as delegates to the Assembly and to the International Labour Conference, more appointed to positions of importance in the Secretariat and in the League Commissions and to the Administrative Council of the I.L.O., all this really depends on the action the Councils induce their Governments to take. And the same thing largely applies to the promotion of the various movements to which we have pledged ourselves by resolution. The success of any action we may take from our Headquarters Office depends mainly on whether the subject is being pushed by National Governments, so it comes back to looking to you for the necessary "push."

Just look over the list of questions discussed both at Paris and at our Liaison Committee the other day in Geneva: Disarmament, Traffic in Women, Abolition of Slavery, Illicit Traffic in Drugs, Nationality of Married Women, Welfare of Children, Prison Reform, Collaboration of National Committees for Intellectual Co-operation with the Institutes of Intellectual Co-operation of Paris and Rome, International Broadcasting, the Cinema, and so on: if you look at all these questions you will see that it is just a matter for the different countries, and we cannot be too grateful for the care which the British Council takes to try to follow up these Resolutions in this country and for the help they give us in this respect.

Mr. Harold Butler made a special point that next year the unemployment of children when leaving school and of young

persons would be discussed at the Labour Conference, and he hoped we would do our utmost to see to it that women should be sent to this Conference who realised that this unemployment of young people was a great world tragedy, inevitably demoralising hundreds of thousands of young citizens who had never had a chance to work. He said: "I wish you would have a number of women to sent this Conference who will bring passion to bear on this great world tragedy."

I must not stop to give you details of our other activities at Geneva the other day. There were meetings of Committees and parties of all kinds. The I.C.W. gave a largely attended Tea Party, when interesting speeches were made on the Nationality of Married Women. Then, too, we gave a private dinner party to the chief members of the Assembly and Officers of the League and International Labour Bureau, at which Dr. Benes, the President of the Council, and Sir John Simon made most interesting and helpful speeches.

Of course, there was the usual evening Reception to the women members of the Assembly, at which the new women members were asked to speak, which they did with great effect.

Also the Women's Disarmament Committee was very active, and all the Women's International Organisations, with which it is connected, felt that they must support the plan for the continuance of its very valuable work, more especially in view of these revelations in America regarding the traffic in arms, which ought to give us all a new impetus to throw all our influence in the direction of preventing the traffic of arms for private purposes.

And now, may I say a few personal words. It is unlikely that I shall address you again in my capacity of President of the I.C.W.

We have decided to hold our Board of Officers and Conveners Meeting at Brussels at the end of September, 1935, and our Sexennial Council Meeting, which will elect a new Board of Officers, at the end of September, 1936, at Belgrade, so it is not very likely that I shall be able to attend your Council Meetings in those years.

I feel as if I ought to apologise for having filled the position of President for so long. I know that a number of you feel that I have been in office for too long, and I entirely agree with them. It has only been a combination of circumstances which has led me to accept re-nomination so often, circumstances which I must not stop to explain now.

You, both collectively as a National Council, and individually as contributors, have indeed supported the I.C.W. magnificently during my Presidency, and I do thank you from my heart for your support, illustrated just lately by the Lady Eve Memorial Fund, which you have so kindly given to the funds of the I.C.W. and through your Branch's help in giving our South African friends the chance of realising what they wished to do through their generous contribution.

I hope that you may feel that you can look upon the unanimous re-nomination of a British woman for the Presidency by the National Councils of countries where there is so much nationalism and so many rivalries as a tribute of confidence to Britain, and, as such, to be valued.

I know that perhaps the British Council and its Dominion Councils have been called upon to do more than their share in supporting the I.C.W., in the same way that some people feel that Britain and her Dominions do more than their share in supporting the League of Nations.

But is it not an honour that the British Commonwealth of Nations should understand the idea and the ideals of the League of Nations better than any other group of nations, and that the National Councils of Women should also understand the ideals of the International Council and the service it can render to the world? So please do not be weary in well-doing but continue ever to be the chief supporters of the International Council.

Some say also that our expenses are too heavy. Our office in Paris costs about £89 a year; before we went off the Gold Standard it cost £37. Our salaries come to between £600 and £700, but remember the work that has to be done in three languages, and our secretaries generously give back 10 per cent. of their salaries—a thing that they should not do—and they have besides to pay French taxes too.

We have cut off all the printing of the reports, as I have told you, except the Bulletin, and its printing expenses this year showed a slight profit. To support the Bulletin is the main way in which you can help at the present time. We are going to work very hard to get the finances in a better position during the next two years.

Again let me thank you all very much for your support.

THE GENERAL SECRETARY, Miss Monica C. Grobel, then read the result of the Postal Ballot and the Annual Report.

ANNUAL REPORT.

The past year has been one of very great activity throughout the Council and its many Branches and Affiliated Societies. It has also been marked by the Conference of the International Council of Women, which was held in Paris in July, and was attended by delegates from 27 different countries.

During the year the Council has been deprived of the valuable services of two former Presidents—Lady Trustram Eve (1931-1933) and Mrs. George Morgan (1923-1925).

Retirement of General Secretary.

The resignation in January of Miss Norah Green, General Secretary of the N.C.W. for thirty years, was received with very

great regret. The Council is fortunate in still being able to draw upon her sympathy and wide knowledge of its activities as, at the request of the Executive Committee, she has agreed to place her unique experience at the disposal of Branches, and to assist in organising new ones.

In the Autumn a fund was opened in recognition of her services, and the response to this has amounted to £1,381 9s. 3d., out of which two annuities of £40 each have been purchased. The balance has been invested, and the interest will be paid to Miss Green during her lifetime and afterwards used as a Staff Pension Fund.

Office.

The work during the year has increased in volume and has taken the full-time services of four assistants. In January a more extensive system of filing was introduced, and is now working satisfactorily. Through the generosity of Mrs. Wragg, the General Secretary's room has been re-decorated.

The Assistant Treasurer's room has now been sub-let and the Committee Room has been hired on various occasions by the following societies :

- Nationality of Married Women (Pass the Bill) Committee.
- Council for the Representation of Women in the League of Nations.
- United Women's Insurance Society.
- Alliance of Honour.
- Girls' Guildry.
- London Social Credit Club.

More might be done, perhaps, to bring the advantages of the room to the notice of outside organisations.

Peace Meeting.

In view of the imminent meeting of the Disarmament Conference and the critical state of Europe in April, it was agreed by the Executive, on the proposal of Miss E. M. Eaton, that a mass meeting against War should be organised by the N.C.W. The President and the Acting Vice-President threw themselves wholeheartedly into the work, with Miss Sharples as Hon. Secretary, and were enthusiastically supported by Dame Elizabeth Cadbury and many other members of the Executive Committee and by the Affiliated Societies. This Mass Demonstration in support of the Disarmament Conference took place at the Central Hall, Westminster, on May 10th, and was a great success.

The Prime Minister sent a message setting forth the Government's policy. The speakers included Miss Winnifred Kydd, President of the N.C.W. of Canada and Canadian delegate to the Disarmament Conference (1932), Mr. Vernon Bartlett, Miss F. Horsbrugh, M.P., Miss Beatrice Forbes Robertson, Mr. Morgan Jones, M.P., Viscountess Astor, M.P., Mrs. Corbett Ashby and Madame Eidenschenk-

Patin. The following resolution was passed and forwarded to the members of the Disarmament Conference :

"This Meeting convened by the National Council of Women of Great Britain and supported by a large number of widely representative Societies, recognises that a fresh competition in armaments, with the inevitable suggestion of war, can only be averted by the conclusion of an international disarmament convention. This meeting therefore urges the Government at this critical moment to do all in its power at the forthcoming meeting of the Disarmament Conference to secure agreement upon such a Convention."

Work of Committees.

ARTS AND LETTERS.

The Committee has been fortunate enough to secure Mrs. Atholl Hay (Silvia Baker) as an Arts Vice-Convener, and will now be kept more closely in touch with contemporary art movements. A panel of lecturers on subjects coming within the Committee's range has been drawn up for the use of Branches.

BRITISH COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES.

This Committee, having as one of its objects the dissemination of information on measures and activities affecting women and children overseas, has considered the following subjects: the Education and Medical Services for Women in Kenya, the Training of Coloured Girls as Nurses, the Children's Ordinance for Ceylon, Life and Social Conditions in Cyprus, the work of the newly-formed Nyasaland Council of Women, and the Criminal Code for Palestine, summaries of which have been issued from time to time.

A letter was sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies drawing his attention to the inadequate provisions made in the Children's Ordinance for Ceylon for the protection and education of adopted children and young persons.

The following resolution on Education in Kenya was sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies :

"That while recognising the excellent work that is being done in Kenya by the Mission Schools for the education of both African boys and girls, this Council deplores the fact that there are thirty Government Schools for African boys and not a single Government School for African girls, and calls upon the Government to establish an adequate number of Schools for girls, so that the cultural development of both sexes may proceed side by side."

CINEMA.

Home Office Model Conditions. The Branches and affiliated Societies are helping in the enquiry conducted by the Joint Cinema Committee, and are pressing for complete adoption of the Model Conditions in all areas.

The need for closer co-operation between Cinema visiting rotas has been stressed, so that the experience and knowledge gained may help to bring about the production of a higher type of film. The Joint Cinema Committee has drawn up a simpler type of form for cinema visitors' reports, and this was circulated to Committee members in June.

In February a letter was sent to the Prime Minister pointing out that repeated requests of the Scottish Branches of the N.C.W. to the Scottish Office for legislation to bring methods in Scotland into line with the more highly organised systems in England and Wales had been without result, and that the following resolution had been passed by the Executive Committee:

"That the National Council of Women of Great Britain, including its Branches and Affiliated Societies, having consistently upheld the need for uniform administration of the Cinema Houses under the control of the Local Licensing Authorities throughout the country, deploras the Agreement recently concluded by the Scottish Office with the Scottish Section of the Cinematograph Exhibitors' Association, wholly without consultation with the Societies and Public interested, whereby it is left to the Trade to recommend to the Scottish Section of the Cinematograph Exhibitors' Association to "do their best" to secure "voluntary" adoption of certain conditions selected by them."

EDUCATION.

In September, 1933, Miss Faithfull's resignation as Convener was accepted with much regret, but the Committee was very fortunate in securing Miss Wolseley-Lewis as her successor.

This Committee has considered the proposal that Local Education Authorities should be compelled to expand their provision of free meals to necessitous children. Lectures have been given on "School Reports," "Why the Child Fails," and "The Teacher and the Dalton Plan," and, at the last meeting in July, Mrs. Wintringham spoke on "Nursery Schools," which is the subject of one of the resolutions to be discussed at the Council.

HOUSEHOLD SERVICE.

The resignation of the Hon. Treasurer, Miss Muncaster—to whose vision and knowledge of social science the Committee owes

so much—was accepted with great regret. She leaves the Committee with a substantial balance in hand.

The Research Sub-committee has undertaken the preparation of a British paper for the Household Section of the Sixth International Congress of Scientific Management (July, 1935). The President is a member of the Congress Council, and members of the Research Sub-committee are included in the Women's Committee of the Congress.

The Committee was asked by the B.B.C. to co-operate in finding speakers for the autumn series of talks on "How I Keep House." Miss Randle has spoken on the work of the Committee and the Household Service League at several Branch meetings.

HOUSING.

This Committee, which had been in abeyance since April, 1928, was re-formed in February, 1934, with Mrs. Leonard Wragg as Convener. The Terms of Reference have been amended and enlarged, and are now as follows:

"To examine the general condition of housing in this country and to consider all housing problems with a view to improving the housing conditions of the people."

Several meetings have been held, at which the Housing Act has been discussed.

HUMANE TREATMENT OF ANIMALS COMMITTEE.

This Committee has continued its work of disseminating information and of obtaining support for Bills before Parliament for the suppression of cruelty to animals and for their general welfare, and has associated itself with the Cinema Committee on the question of animals appearing in films.

The I.C.W. Paris Conference (July, 1934) has adopted the N.C.W. resolution urging "the general adoption under an International Convention of measures which will prevent the destruction of sea-birds, fish and spawning grounds, by oil discharged from ships." The Council will be delighted to realise that at the League of Nations Assembly last month this subject of oil pollution was brought forward by Mr. G. H. Shakespeare, M.P., British delegate.

INDUSTRIAL COMMITTEE.

During the year the chief business of the Committee was to follow the progress of the Unemployment Bill and the Shops Bill through Parliament. The Government was urged to appoint women on two of the Committees set up under the former Bill.

Following an address by Miss Cowan on the Shops Bill, various recommendations were submitted to Parliament. The Night Work Convention was reported on frequently, and after discussion by

the Executive Committee a resolution was sent to the Prime Minister, urging the Government to support the Proposal on the Agenda of the International Labour Conference to revise the Convention with a view to excluding the women in supervisory and managerial posts from the operation of the present Convention.

In Paris at the I.C.W. Conference the British Delegation took a leading part in the discussion on this Convention, Mrs. Abbott pointing out that by the new form of Standard Articles, denunciation of the Convention would be made more difficult, as it could only take place during one period of twelve months in every ten years. This was incorporated in the Resolution on the subject passed by the I.C.W.

MORAL WELFARE AND PUBLIC HEALTH AND CHILD WELFARE.

These Committees have continued to hold Joint meetings during the year. The main subjects discussed have been the Contraceptives Bill, Venereal Disease in relation to women and children, and the Departmental Report on Sterilisation. This last was of great interest to both Committees in view of their study of the subject in 1931-32, and of the pamphlet they then issued. A special meeting was called in February to report on the recommendations made by the Departmental Committee.

Addresses have also been given on "Milk for School Children" and "The Peckham Pioneer Health Centre."

Miss D. M. Retchford prepared an excellent report on "Women's Prisons," which was printed in *WOMEN IN COUNCIL*, for the I.C.W. Equal Moral Standard Committee, and Miss Susan Musson submitted a most interesting report on the treatment of children in prisons and remand homes. The Convener of the I.C.W. Equal Moral Standards Committee paid a warm tribute to the excellence of these two reports.

PARLIAMENTARY AND LEGISLATION COMMITTEE.

This Committee has held eight meetings, at which the following subjects have been discussed: Powers of Disinheritance Bill, Shops Bill, Contraceptives Bill, the Incitement to Disaffection Bill, Domestic Courts Bill, Betting Bill, South African Protectorates, and School Leaving Age.

Letters were sent to several large stores pointing out that members of the N.C.W. much appreciated seeing the seats provided for shop assistants in use. A resolution was also forwarded urging that the question should be discussed in the House of Lords.

Mrs. Johnson's Reports as the Parliamentary Secretary, which have included a number of selected Questions of special interest in the House, have been extraordinarily valuable.

PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Mr. Norman Bentwich described the "Situation in Palestine Today," Miss Freda White gave an address on the danger of the present freedom in the traffic in arms, and Miss Bertha Bracey gave some account of the work of the Friends Emergency Committee among the pacifists and others who have suffered for conscience sake in Germany.

The Committee is much indebted to Miss Orred for her work in collecting news from the Foreign Press, which is so specially interesting at this moment.

PRESS AND PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE.

Two meetings have been held during the year, the chief business being the consideration of a new form for *WOMEN IN COUNCIL*. It was decided that there should be eleven issues of the magazine, and one Conference number. The greatly improved form should make a strong appeal to the Council and to the general public, and it is hoped that increased sales and advertisements will result. The Conference Report this year will contain detailed accounts of all the discussions at the Council Sessions and Public Meetings, and an official reporter has been engaged.

The Council has also engaged the services of a publicity agent for the Edinburgh Conference, and extra publicity has already resulted.

PUBLIC SERVICE AND MAGISTRATES.

This Committee was asked to draw up a Memorandum on "The Enforcement of Fines," to be submitted to the Home Office Committee before which Mrs. Keynes and Mrs. Lyndon gave oral evidence. A Memorandum was also submitted to the Foreign Office Committee on "Women in the Diplomatic and Consular Services," and the President, Acting Vice-President and Mrs. Keynes attended as a Deputation to the Committee.

The Magistrates Sub-committee appointed to consider and report on the present method of appointing magistrates, with special reference to women, including the appointment of special magistrates to the Children's Courts and the constitution and personnel of Advisory Committee, has drawn up its Report, which will be considered in detail by the Executive Committee in November.

Mrs. Keynes also submitted a Report on Coroners' Duties and Coroners' Juries.

REGIONAL AND BRANCH REPRESENTATIVES COMMITTEE.

The new Branch formed at Chorley Wood last autumn has proved most successful and has already over 100 members.

The Branch at Colwyn Bay has been revived and is already vigorous.

The Honorary Officers have been very energetic in addressing Branch meetings, and this has proved a great stimulus.

The Branches now number 83, representing a membership of 14,880, with 1,207 local affiliated societies.

TEMPERANCE COMMITTEE.

This Committee has had various addresses, including one by Mr. Isaac Foote on the "Present Licensing Situation," Major Richard Rigg on "Palestine and Liquor Traffic," and the "Economic Value of Liquor," by Mr. G. B. Wilson.

WOMEN POLICE AND PATROLS COMMITTEE.

The chief business of this Committee has been the organising of a National Petition to present to the Prime Minister asking that the duties defined in the Women Police Regulations be made compulsory and that a Woman Inspector of Constabulary should be appointed at the Home Office to co-ordinate the work of the women employed in Police Forces, whether as constables or matrons.

The Petition was circulated in England and Wales by Miss Cowlin, and in Scotland by the Edinburgh and Glasgow Branches. The total number of signatures to the Petition was 6,249, which includes the signatures of officers of 42 County Federations of Women's Institutes representing 4,000 villages. It was supported by 22 of our Affiliated Societies. The great success of the Petition was due to the untiring energy and vast amount of work put into the scheme by the Convener and Hon. Secretary of the Women Police Committee, Miss Tancred and Miss Cowlin.

A deputation to present the Petition attended at the Home Office on July 23rd. Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland introduced the deputation, on which were representatives from practically all the supporting Societies, and it was received by Captain Crookshank, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, in the absence of the Home Secretary and the Secretary of State for Scotland. The President, Mrs. Huxley of the National Federation of Women's Institutes, and Mrs. Wintringham spoke, and Miss Tancred presented the Petition and summarised the signatures. The Under-Secretary expressed himself as impressed by the weight of public support contained in the petition, and undertook to report the representations of the deputation to the Home Secretary and the Secretary of State for Scotland.

Affiliated Societies.

There are now 137 Affiliated Societies. The Nursery School Association of Great Britain and the Society for the Ministry of Women have affiliated during the year, and the following societies have resigned: Metropolitan Public Gardens Association, National Health Society, Notting Dale Ladies Association, and the Church of England Women's Help Society.

The N.C.W. has taken an active part in supporting the two meetings organised by the Committee for Equal Pay for Equal Work, held in November, 1933, and March, 1934.

Mrs. A. F. W. Johnson also represented the N.C.W. on the Deputation which was organised by the Open Door Council to the General Purposes Committee of the L.C.C. in July, 1934, to ask for reconsideration of the policy of not employing married women. The Deputation was supported by 28 women's organisations. The County Council was not, however, prepared to hold out any hope at present of altering its policy.

At the request of the League of Nations Union, it was decided to support the scheme for obtaining a National Declaration on the League of Nations and Armaments. Literature giving particulars of the Declaration together with a covering letter from Lord Cecil were sent to all the Branches, and they were asked to help by placing their services at the disposal of the L.N.U.

International Council of Women.

The Triennial Conference of the I.C.W. was this year held in Paris from July 2nd to 12th, and was attended by 20 delegates and proxies from the National Council of Women of Great Britain under the leadership of its President, the Dowager Lady Nunburnholme. There were also delegations from 27 other countries, including, for the first time, an official observer from Turkey and a delegate from China. A very full week of meetings was held, including three Public Meetings, one of which had been presided over by Miss Matheson in conjunction with Mme. Brunschvicg, and another on "Slavery" by Dr. Ogilvie Gordon.

At the I.C.W. Fête which was held in connection with the meetings in Paris, the British Council presented a purse of £95 to the President of the I.C.W. in memory of the late Lady Trustram Eve, Treasurer of the I.C.W. and former President of the British Council.

Overseas Visitors.

The National Council of Women has been fortunate this year in being able to welcome at its meetings many representatives from overseas Councils, including Mrs. Benson of New Zealand, Mrs. Couchman of Australia, Miss Kydd and Mrs. Heather of Canada, Mrs. Heuston of South Africa, Miss Mary Jay of Sydney, and Mrs. M. E. White of Melbourne.

Birthday Honours List.

Birthday honours conferred by His Majesty the King were the following:

MRS. GEORGE CADBURY (D.B.E.)

Past President and Convener of the Peace and International
MISS D. CARTWRIGHT (C.B.E.) [Committee.]

MRS. DAVIES (M.B.E.).

Members of the Public Service Committee.

MISS WINNIFRED KYDD (C.B.E.)

President of the N.C.W. of Canada ; and

MRS. MOSS (C.B.E.)

President of the N.C.W. of Australia.

THE HON. TREASURER, Lady Steel-Maitland, then read the Financial Report for the year 1933-34.

FINANCE REPORT.

In giving the financial statement for 1933-34 I would emphasise what the General Secretary has already said in her report as to the past year being one of great activity, both as regards outside agencies as well as increased work in the office. At the same time little or no expense on behalf of these activities has fallen on the funds of the National Council of Women.

We must remember, however, that no organisation can go on without repair, and our filing system, an important and expensive item, badly needed renewal on up-to-date lines. This was provided for out of capital. £60 of War Stock from the New Offices Fund was sold and £47 16 8d. was spent on a Roneo filing cabinet and a new Gestetner Duplicator, the balance being kept in hand, as a second cabinet is urgently required. If delegates will turn to the Balance Sheet they will see figures in italics in the margins, showing item by item the receipts and payments in 1932-33 and can compare these with the past year. Thus subscriptions are less by a total of £67 10 4d. Again, less has been received as hire for the committee room, and our literature sales are down, though I much hope that in future a greater number of copies of *WOMEN IN COUNCIL* will be sold, as it is now a much more attractive magazine.

On the payments side of the Balance Sheet it will be noted that the cost of printing our Magazine has increased, the difference between last year and this being £56 5 10d. although this is partly accounted for by the fact that the payments are more up to date this year and therefore include an extra number. I would like to mention that in connection with issuing literature the question of Affiliation Fees was considered. It was decided that it was too expensive to send to those Societies paying only 5s. per annum, and that the subscription in future should be 10s. for Societies affiliated before the minimum contribution of one guinea came into operation.

Thirteen of the Societies in question have agreed to pay the increased fee, and only four have regretted their inability to do so, and are therefore no longer affiliated.

Printing and postages generally show an increase. In Office Expenses £10 is included for the re-decoration of the Committee Room.

I regret that I have to point out that, including £5 4 9d. taken from the safe last year while the staff were on holiday, we end the financial year with a deficit of £261 15 7d., having had on September 1st, 1933, a balance of £131 13 9d., so that our actual debit at the Bank in the year's working is £130 1 10d.

New Offices Fund.

The New Offices Fund has received no donations during the past year, as the amount of Mrs. Patrick Ness's lecture of £52 9s. was placed to the credit side of the General Account. For the coming year a room belonging to the Office Suite at Murray House has been let at £60 a year, and this will appear on the receipt side next audit.

I would point your attention to the Staff Pension Fund of £304 8 6d. This is money subscribed over and above the amount necessary to purchase the two life annuities for Miss Green. It has been invested, and the interest goes to Miss Green for her life, and the capital forms a nucleus for staff pensions for the future.

From the "Special Organisation Fund" £8 1 4d. has been withdrawn and paid to Miss Green for organisation work she did last March, and which, I am glad to say, resulted in a Branch being re-formed at Colwyn Bay.

There remains the Household Service League accounts, which appear for the first time on our Balance Sheet.

On the retirement of Miss Muncaster from ill health, it was agreed that the Honorary Treasurer of the National Council of Women, who was also Honorary Treasurer of the League, should be responsible for the accounts. These are quite easily understood and the League is in the happy position of having a Balance at the end of the year.

Branches.

Four new Branches have been formed since 1933. By 1936 five new Branches will be paying the £5 fee, i.e., Bilston, Chesterfield, Chorley Wood, Colwyn Bay, and Folkestone.

I regret to say that two Branches have not yet paid their subscriptions, and another two have not yet paid the £5 fee. At the same time grateful thanks are due to the efforts made by Branches whose members often find it difficult to subscribe and particularly to Ealing, where a special effort was made, resulting in a donation of £11 to Headquarters, in addition to a contribution to Miss Green and Lady Eve's funds.

I would like to suggest to Branches in general that it was intended that the £5 fee should be raised by some special annual event and not come as a tax on the Branch funds.

As a last word, may I earnestly remind you that we cannot go forward without the means to do so. If our National Council of Women is worth belonging to, it is worth subscribing to. Headquarters and the Branches are parts of a whole—one without the other would lose in effectiveness and strength.

Finally. As all Treasurers require an Assistant Treasurer, I would like to pay a warm tribute to the willing work Miss Swan has always given.

I have pleasure in moving the adoption of the Report.

THE CONFERENCE BOOK STALL.

List of Reference Books.

It is feared that many delegates were so busy that they never really explored the excellent Book Stall, never bought any books, and never discovered an extremely good List of Reference Books bearing on the subjects discussed at the Conference. This List is a first-class piece of work. It gives the name, price, etc. of up-to-date, reliable books on each subject, and also the relevant Government documents with their official number and price. It would be invaluable to speakers or to anyone organising Study Circles or discussions on the Resolutions adopted. Copies (price 3d., postage extra) can still be obtained—and it is hoped will be obtained—from the Secretary, 22, Stafford Street, Edinburgh.

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For three months from January 5th. Well-furnished bungalow, 3, bed, 2 reception, bath, hot and cold, electric light, piano, wireless, every convenience. Faces golf course. Capable maid left in charge. Terms moderate. Apply to Miss Kinloch, Green Braes, Westward Ho, N. Devon.

REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL MEETINGS.

CONSIDERATION OF RESOLUTIONS.

October 2nd—10.45 a.m. and 4.45 p.m.

October 3rd—10 a.m.

October 4th—10 a.m. and 4.30 p.m.

Chairman: The President, The Dowager Lady Nunburnholme, J.P.

CONDUCT OF DEBATE.

The PRESIDENT asked the Representative Council to give leave that for this Meeting the mover of a Resolution be given the right to sum up after a motion "That the question be now put" has been passed and before the original Resolution is put to the meeting.

This was **Agreed.**

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

The PRESIDENT moved, on behalf of the Executive Committee, that *Article XIII.1*, shall read:—

1. *Resolutions for the Representative Council shall be sent to the Secretary at a date to be fixed by the Executive Committee. Only one resolution may be sent in by any one Branch, Society, or by the Scottish Standing Committee.*

Ex-Bailie ISABELLE KERR seconded the motion, which was **carried unanimously.**

RESOLUTIONS.

1. Sexual Offences against Children.

MISS C. TURNBULL, J.P.: On behalf of the Edinburgh Branch I beg to move that:

This Conference urges the Government to amend the legislation governing sexual offences against Children and Young Persons in the following respects:

1. *That in cases involving sexual offence against children under thirteen years of age, the offender shall, after conviction, be remanded for examination by specially qualified doctors, and where abnormality is diagnosed, the Court shall have powers to order detention for treatment.*

2. *That in all cases involving children under thirteen years of age, where the offender has been frequently convicted of offences of this nature, even if only of a minor character, the Court shall have power to order detention for treatment and subsequent release on conditions to be determined by the Court.*

She pointed out that there was a slight deviation in the wording of this Resolution from that on the printed Agenda, the final words "to be determined by the Court" being substituted for the word "only." The Council accepted this amendment.

MISS TURNBULL then continued: I am very proud to be allowed to move this Resolution on behalf of the Edinburgh Branch, because I do it with the knowledge that the votes of representative women of Great Britain were cast in favour of having it first on the list. I can sense the intense interest that means, and I am proud because Edinburgh proposes it in no half considered, merely instructive desire to reform, but has chosen this form of request to Government after much time, thought, consultation with men and women who work with the difficulties, and study-group discussion of differing opinions. It is therefore good to be able to voice such a body of hopes and wishes in the form of practical proposals for legislation.

Edinburgh does not think of these legislative changes as "cures" or as abolishers of depravity. Almost a year ago in this same hall, our joint Women's Societies held a public conference on this subject, and in resolutions gave voice to a conviction that if there was adequate housing accommodation, and if the education of the child at home from parents and at school in biological teaching was satisfactory, that very much would have been accomplished towards clearing the public conscience of a big blot—in fact, that a good moral tone would work the effect.

But today we ask you deliberately to focus on a great preventive—that of so dealing with existing offenders that they shall not do more harm. My argument is that among offenders of the sexual type there is a high proportion of persons who have inherent defect of mind (Mental Deficiency) or acquired mental unsoundness—senile cases, nervous disorders with depressive insanity, epilepsy, general paralysis, alcoholics and drug addicts. It should be our duty to discover those persons amongst offenders by a searching expert examination and thereafter treat them in a way which will ensure that the offence will not recur.

We have many of us been through the phase of thinking of the only evil as brutally debased men and the only remedy severe punishment. We take it for granted now that we view assaults on little children as a grave symptom, as evidence of there being among us individuals who are physically or mentally or in both ways unwholesome and perverted, lacking in control. That class of disease requires investigation, diagnosis of the cause by expert medical referees with special experience in diagnosis of mental abnormalities and disorders. Prevention is better than cure, and this catching and treating the offender seems a good preventive and protective action.

The number of Court cases with which legislation can deal directly is not a large proportion of the total crime of the country,

but from the difficulties of detection and reluctance of disclosure of evidence, we can judge that behind that percentage there is an unhealthy store of bad practices among us. I remind you that Government itself has recognised the seriousness of the problem and appointed two Departmental Committees (one for England and one for Scotland) eight years ago. They had a great deal of information before them and detailed proposals for improvements in law, procedure, and social regulations. Almost no action has been taken on these proposals. Not even the great Children's Charter is satisfying here.

What we would ask is that any sexual offender against a little child under thirteen (we keep the age before puberty, because we believe that an assault on anyone so young, giving no sexual satisfaction, shows something abnormal in the offender straight away) should always be remanded for a time after conviction to be examined by a specialist in mental disorders, who will report to the Court, which may then be able to decide what particular treatment is required by that particular offender. Without such diagnosis the only course is the inevitable short sentence of imprisonment, followed by release of an uncured, or maybe aggravated menace.

If the report shows a disordered condition, we want the Court to have the power to detain the offender in a suitable institution for periods long enough for effectual treatment.

Thirdly, if there have been two or more convictions of sexual offence recorded against a man who is now found guilty of child assault, or if his conduct shows persistent misbehaviour of that sort even though each individual offence be not serious enough to call for a severe sentence, then the cumulative effect shall be that he may be detained for treatment and have his condition reviewed from time to time.

If you are convinced from your study of the question, or even from casual reading of newspaper accounts of sordid cases, that all is not well with the powers exercised by Courts in these cases, or you judge from the repeated appearances of the same offender for the same type of offence, that these laws are not acting sufficiently as preventives or deterrents or protections, then I think you will support this motion.

There is a change of attitude in us all—Court, Public, and Administrators—definitely calling for adjustments of the present legislation. Our shockedness, our distress, our anger has now passed into a burning desire to protect the children by turning these perversions and curing the disease; or, if the experts declare the offender incurable, by segregating him.

The law is our support and our criterion in creating a better moral background, and it has seemed to the Edinburgh Branch as fundamental that in this respect it should take unto itself these fresh powers to make its practice conform more closely to what is obviously the law's aim—prevention.

MISS REISS, PH.D. (Manchester Branch): I have very great pleasure in seconding this Resolution proposed by the Edinburgh Branch. In the short time at my disposal, I do not propose to give you a number of cases, but I would like to give you two which have recently come within my own knowledge.

The first is the case of a boy of 14 who assaulted a little girl of four. He was fined ten shillings and dismissed. That means, as things stand at present, that for the next thirty or forty years he may be in and out of prison for offences of that nature for periods varying according to the gravity of the offence and the number of times he has been convicted.

The second case is of a man of 34, charged with assaulting one of his daughters, aged 12, on three occasions, and one daughter, aged 9, on one occasion.

The Children's Worker, talking to me, said, "If he does go back home again, it will be necessary for us to apply to have those children removed out of his influence. They have a very good mother, and the last thing we want to do is to remove those children from her care. What we want is to get the man put somewhere where he cannot do any further damage." As you know, the present position is that a man may be in and out of prison for a number of years, always coming back again to do still more damage.

It is possible under the M.D. Acts of 1913 to 1927, where a man is certifiable, to have him placed in a particular institution for treatment; but that is only possible where there is a certificate, and naturally it does not affect a great many people with whom this Resolution deals.

The Resolution itself is divided into two parts. The first part asks for examination in the case of a first conviction, and for treatment appropriate to the disease if any disease is shown to be present. In the case of that boy of 14, a necessary thing to do is to find out what was the matter with him that caused him to do a thing of that nature. As it is, he is free to carry on his evil work.

The second part asks that even if there is no abnormality, where there has been a persistent course of conduct of this kind, it shall be within the power of the Court to order detention for a period to be determined by the Court.

We have had already two Committees which have dealt with questions of this nature. We had in 1926 the Report of the Committee on Sexual Offences against Young Persons. In 1932 we had the Report of the Committee on Persistent Offences. It is therefore something which has been discussed over and over again. We feel that the time is now ripe for something to be done, and we ask that the Acts should be so amended as to give effect to these proposals.

MISS STEWART said she had been asked by the London National Vigilance Association to record their opposition to this Resolution,

because they felt it was not touching the real difficulty of questions of sexual assault. Advance must be by steps, and the London Vigilance Association thought the first step should be a Resolution to make the obtaining of convictions more possible.

MADAME LORSIGNOL said she wished to put in a word for the child victim. Conception in such cases might be rare, but it was possible. She quoted two instances which had come to her personal knowledge, and urged revision of the abortion laws.

MISS E. H. KELLY pointed out that the recommendations made by the proposer and seconder were cutting straight against the Reports of both Departmental Committees.

The whole of medical and expert opinion was strongly of the view that there should be these mental examinations of all persons showing any signs of abnormality. It was important not to confine it to any small class, because there were many offences with these signs of abnormality. The Persistent Offenders Committee recommended this method of examination in a large number of cases—a long list of sexual offences being given. It was thoroughly unsound to deal with this small class, and very important to deal with the larger number, as the more of these mental examinations were held, the more scientific data would be available on which to make recommendations.

She also opposed the Resolution on the grounds that a jury had very often to decide as to the state of mind of the prisoner, and therefore it was important that such an examination should be carried out *before* conviction. It was thoroughly unscientific and wrong to suggest that the Court itself should lay down any treatment to be carried out. The treatment would be carried out by the psychologists and others who were advised of the situation.

LADY RUTH BALFOUR said she wished to answer two points raised against the Resolution. One was that we ought to move by steps, and this was going too far; the other, from Miss Kelly, was that it was not going really far enough. Miss Kelly seemed to think that it was unscientific to limit the examination to cases involving children under 13; but it was not possible always to attain the scientific ideal. Compromise was necessary on these occasions, and it was for that reason the Branch submitted this particular form of the Resolution; and also because it was very easy to get people to agree that assaults on children under thirteen were obviously more abnormal than those where the sexual question came in.

The Branch had also thought that if it was left entirely to the medical expert without the consent of the Court as well, the question of getting it accepted in the House of Commons, where the feeling for a jury and that part of British justice was very great, would be much more difficult. Whereas if the medical specialist gave advice to the Court, and the Court acted on his advice, and through the Court he then determined a further course of treatment, the prin-

principles of British justice would be adhered to and at the same time the chance of a psychiatrist's help would be obtained.

LADY EMMOTT, seconded by MRS. POTTS (Birmingham), suggested that as it was so desirable to pass an unanimous resolution on this question, further consideration should be put off till a later date in the Council Meetings, so that there might be a little discussion between two or three of the speakers in order to secure an amendment which would command general acceptance. There were certain differences between Scottish and English law.

The CHAIRMAN, having referred this suggestion to Miss Turnbull as Mover of the Resolution, Miss Turnbull said she could not accept any proposal to defer the matter, as the Resolution was in no way different from others. Lady Emmott's suggestion, therefore, fell to the ground.

MRS. NEVILLE ROLFE, supporting the principles of the Resolution, said that admittedly it covered only one relatively small group of sex offences. It did not set out to cover all those points that were still undealt with in the field of sex offences, on which action had already been recommended by a number of Departmental Committees. She agreed with Miss Kelly in wishing for a comprehensive measure that would deal with a great many of those matters, but all the same no resolution of a comprehensive nature was before that meeting of the Council, and for a very good reason.

There was being held at that time a Conference of some forty-nine organisations concerned with this aspect of social welfare, and they had appointed a Standing Committee to go fully into the situation. That Committee was still at work. That Committee had not yet reported back to the Conference, and she personally had great confidence in the recommendations they would bring forward.

But in the meantime she herself would be the very last person to wish to delay expressing the opinion of the Council on the principle involved: that this question of sex offences against young children was an urgent matter that the Government ought to deal with.

MISS CRAVEN took up the point made by Miss Kelly—that the examination ought to be made before conviction. She wished herself to support the Resolution ("after conviction") very warmly indeed: partly because she was quite certain that a proposal to examine people who were presumed innocent and before they were proved guilty, when the result of such an examination might affect the mind of the jury or the magistrate as to the guilt or innocence of the accused, would arouse a storm of opposition from a great mass of opinion in this country which was quite ready to accept moves in the direction of a more scientific treatment of offenders; and partly because personally she agreed with those people who wanted to hold fast by the presumption of innocence.

This proposal was the thin end of the wedge, and it was a thin end which was very well worth pushing in; she was quite certain that in this country, which always worked by slow degrees, this was the best way to get the fat end of the wedge in.

MISS KELLY, replying to Miss Craven, explained that what she had really said was that there was a difference between Courts of Summary Jurisdiction—she would never dream of having the mental examination made before the offence is proved—and a different position when the case went to Quarter Sessions or Assizes, when the jury had to try the issue as to whether a man was fit to plead guilty or insane or such things. It was a different situation, and if one might go by Dr. East's book, it was a completely different issue in the two Courts.

The CHAIRMAN asked Miss Craven if she agreed; to which MISS CRAVEN replied that she did not agree altogether, but they could not go into it at that moment.

A DELEGATE asked what was the difference in Scottish and English law.

MISS TURNBULL, in summing up, said she had no knowledge of the difference in principle involved in any particular in the English and Scottish law. The first speakers had wished for a greater certainty of conviction and for wider chances for corroborative evidence. The Edinburgh Branch heartily agreed.

The second speaker wished for more evidence on the after-care of the victim. The Branch had given itself every chance to understand the frightfulness. It had not spared itself, and if they had sounded—as someone said—"icily scientific," they must blame her for the way she had put the case; because the Branch's concern was heartfelt, and it was on behalf of the victims that they pleaded for this machinery to stop their tragedy.

She did not think anybody wanted her to argue on abortion, or the disproportionate punishments.

Miss Kelly seemed to think the Court would be given too much power over an offender's future fate. She herself had always felt it to be right to leave to justice the decision, but she would give to justice every ounce of machinery and every facility so that it could live up to its name. Surely it was not really such a bad idea to give the Court of Law the ultimate decision and to arrange that it had the very best of advice in consultation. She thought Edinburgh would leave it at that.

The CHAIRMAN put the Resolution to the vote, and it was **carried** by an overwhelming majority.

2. Control of Armaments.

Councillor Miss MARY L. WILSON: On behalf of the Birmingham Branch, I beg to move that:

The National Council of Women urges the Government to introduce measures which will take the manufacture and sale of armaments out of private hands and place them under national control.

I call this a courageous Resolution, concrete and practical. Put shortly, it is to take the profits out of war.

May I remind you of the indictment of this private trade in arms put on record by the League of Nations in 1921: "That armament firms have been active in fomenting war scares. That armament firms have attempted to bribe Government officials both at home and abroad. That armament firms have disseminated false reports in order to stimulate armament expenditure. That armament firms have sought to influence public opinion through the control of newspapers in their own and foreign countries."

May I take you for a moment to Geneva, to the opening of the great Disarmament Conference which began with such hope. One of the most impressive deputations was that of the ex-soldiers of all the ex-belligerent countries, two great Associations representing eight million ex-soldiers from many countries. They came, five thousand of them, to demand that material disarmament should include the suppression of private manufacture and of private traffic in arms, and put it under effective control. They said they spoke in the names of millions of dead as well as their eight million members.

I told you it was a practical resolution, and I want to deal with facts. In 1927 a Three Power Naval Conference was called at Geneva to reduce naval expenditure. To that Conference came a certain Mr. William Shearer, a so-called observer. He was sent by the three Directors of the three chief shipping firms of the States.

Independent observers said that never had there been such an atmosphere of distress and suspicion in a Conference before. Only two years later, in 1929, that gentleman suited the Directors of those three shipping firms for false promises in not having given him the £50,000 they had promised. They got up in Court and said they had paid him £10,000 at Geneva, and they did not feel that he deserved this £50,000 more. If it had not been for this dispute between them, that would not have come to light. There is much underground traffic connected with this private manufacture and trade in armaments.

May I turn for a moment to the relations of Japan and China, that lamentable chapter in League history. I should like to quote Lord Cecil. He put it on record in 1933 in these words: "We have not forgotten the scandalous trade by which war was kept alive in China, and later Chinamen and Japanese were killed to swell the profits of the munition makers of Europe. In almost all the principal countries of the world we have great independent organisations whose

prosperity depends on wars and rumours of wars. They batten on the suspicion and enmity of mankind."

It is also on record how our young British were killed at Suvla Bay by English guns and English shells, and sailors were drowned through the use of British torpedoes.

One word about Bolivia and Paraguay. That is one of the live issues at the moment. In 1928 the League of Nations, with the help of the United States, made peace between those two countries, who were carrying on this—I was going to say—senseless war. But as soon as peace was made, the agents of many armament firms took up propaganda in both countries and poured the armaments in. Suspicion arose. Each thought the other was arming the quicker. War broke out afresh, and, as you know, is being carried on in a pitiless way.

This is no left-wing resolution of extreme pacifism. It is common-sense, and those eight million ex-soldiers knew it to be common-sense. The time is ripe for advance. Public opinion is awake. The present Committee of Enquiry on the Traffic in Arms has filled the newspapers with damning evidence.

You will say: "Yes, but can we abolish it? Why not control it?"

Our Resolution says that we must take this element of profit and gain out of the manufacture of these weapons of offence. International effort has not yet succeeded. Great Britain is strong enough and great enough to take a great moral lead. I ask you this afternoon to vote for this Resolution and so help in that great crusade, "Take the profit out of War."

MRS. PERCY BIGLAND: I only want to second this Resolution in very few words. I would like to picture to you for one moment what happened at Geneva the other day. I was listening in the Council Chamber to the Council of the League. The question of the embargo on arms was being discussed by the Council, and they called—as they always do call in Geneva—the two disputants to come to the table, Bolivia on one side and Paraguay on the other.

Bolivia said that the embargo on arms weighed much more heavily on her and was objecting to it, showing that it evidently had force.

I only instance that to show you that something can be done towards, as Miss Wilson has said, taking the profit out of war by countries having the control of the export of arms. I believe that if Governments had the whole control, it would be far easier than it is at present to prevent the material for belligerents being supplied in that way to prolong a war which everyone probably knows should not be carried on.

The point one wants to make is that this private profit in arms is an almost impossible thing for nations to cope with while it is in the hands of private people. You can forbid the export of arms

to a particular country, but they can still be sent to a neutral country and eventually reach the forbidden spot.

Therefore I believe there is a great deal in this proposal that the armaments trade should be wholly and entirely under the control and supervision of Governments.

MRS. F. PARSONS asked leave to withdraw the Amendment standing in the name of the Leicester Branch, as the international aspect of the control of armaments would come up on the Executive Resolution later on in the agenda.

This was **agreed**.

MRS. LEONARD WRAGG (Sheffield), said she wondered if the proposers of the Resolution really understood all its implications. Did they really imagine that there existed factories where only armaments were made? The manufacture of arms was carried on in ordinary steel works and formed a very small part of the work of those works. In Sheffield, which was probably considered the home of armaments, the amount of work of this kind was only 9.7 per cent., and that included all the ordinary manufacture for the Admiralty and the War Office.

If this work were to be taken out of private hands it would mean that the Government would have to build hundreds of steel works, which would be idle 90 per cent. of the time or in competition with ordinary production of almost every kind.

It was quite impossible to separate the production of armaments in this way. The engine made for a battleship would probably be made by the same machinery that would make the engine for a big liner. The lathes which turned thousands and hundreds of thousands of parts for all sorts of commercial and industrial use would also turn shells. To pass this Resolution really meant being in favour of the Government owning the whole of the steel works of the country.

The proper way to control this traffic was, of course, by forbidding the export of arms. In this country a license was necessary for the possession of any kind of arms at all, and a manufacturer who exported arms must have an export license to do so. The Government could perfectly well forbid the export of arms altogether.

But if the export of arms was to be forbidden in every case, it would mean that all the smaller countries, and those countries in which the production of steel would be very difficult, would have themselves to try and produce steel.

MRS. ROOTHAM (Cheltenham) opposed the Resolution for two reasons. In the first place, the subject had been treated on broader lines, those of collective agreement and general limitation, in the Resolution appearing at the end of the Agenda. The Resolution before them narrowed down this issue to the abolition of private

manufacture and placing the sole control of manufacture and sale of armaments under Government.

There was much to be said against this on the three grounds of expense, immobility and vulnerability. Private firms through competition tended to lower prices. Private enterprise tended to more efficient and less wasteful production. Also, with the manufacture under private enterprise, lower stocks were necessary and again expense was saved.

Further, the fact that the manufacture was spread over so many different firms made possible—in the unfortunate and lamentable event of war—quicker expansion of armaments production.

Manufacture by so many different firms would also mean less vulnerability to air attack. She would say nothing about the unfortunate result on unemployment if the Government took over this trade.

MRS. HILYER spoke in support of the Resolution. She thought women ought to realise their power and refuse to give votes, refuse to work. In the last war women helped to prolong the war by working in armament factories and as V.A.D.s. If they went on strike and said they were out for peace, they would get it, and would stop this horrible traffic of making money out of armaments. "Our brains were not given us to destroy one another. They were given to us to improve the world in which we live."

MRS. ARTHUR TURNER (Harrogate) opposed not the spirit but the wording of the Resolution. She thought it slightly ambiguous, and would rather urge that the Government should make such an investigation of this traffic in arms as would shock the thinking countries of the world. She thought people did not realise the horror of war as it stood today. The Resolution as worded might be interpreted in a very different way from the attitude of the I.C.W. towards peace.

MRS. BASIL WILLIAMS (Edinburgh) considered that the American women had gone the right way to work to take the profit out of war. The reason why the United States was having this great armament enquiry was that the pressure of the Women's Societies was so tremendously in favour of getting at the real truth about armaments that the Government at last sanctioned it. That should give the women of this country tremendous encouragement. She thought that if it were made illegal to manufacture arms for private profit, munition works would be taken over by the Government at a valuation.

MISS PICTON-TURBERVILL, supporting the Resolution, said Britain did not want arms for aggression, but for national defence. Therefore it was reasonable that the equipment should be a matter of national business and not for private enrichment of individuals. Armament firms under present circumstances sent out commercial travellers to all parts of the world, not to meet a legitimate need,

but to stimulate a need. She had recently met a young man who was working in a big armament firm, who had become extremely unhappy about his situation. His father was a commercial traveller for the same firm. This young man had told her that when they were children, they used to say in joke: "When Father came home, a little war broke out in some part of the world."

LADY RUTH BALFOUR, opposing the Resolution, said that the first speaker had proved conclusively that the present situation was quite intolerable and must be altered; that the arms manufacture as at present carried on was such as no civilised community ought to allow. But if this Resolution were carried into effect, how were Governments to be prevented from committing the sins now committed by the armament firms? Without control, inspection and limitation, to place the whole manufacture of arms in the hands of Governments would aggravate the evil. The Governments of industrial countries who made these armaments would find it to their interest to increase the manufacture to those countries who did not, and the latter would be entirely in the hands of the manufacturing countries.

How could one define what armaments were? People talked about steel manufacture, but there were chemicals, wool, cotton, and all kinds of metals that equally entered into armaments and nothing short of entire nationalisation of every industry in the country was really going to take the manufacture of arms out of private hands. On the other hand, control, such as was suggested by the new Disarmament Commission, and would be discussed in Resolution 13, would achieve the same end without the objections.

On the point of expense the immediate result of Government taking over the manufacture would be that the Army, Navy, and Air Force votes would go up enormously at the expense of the social services which they all desired to see increased.

MISS SHARPLES read the following telegram sent by Dr. Maxwell Garnett to Dame Elizabeth Cadbury in answer to an inquiry as to the League of Nations Union's policy: "The Union's General Council resolved last December that it is contrary to the public interest that the manufacture and sale of armaments should be carried on for private profit. Again last June the Union's Council resolved, 'Council warmly welcomes important statement by Norman Davis at Geneva on May 29th that the American people and Government are convinced that by some means the production and traffic in engines of death and the profits resulting therefrom must be controlled or eliminated and that his Government is ready to join in measures for suppressing this evil and is prepared to negotiate in connection with disarmament a treaty that would deal drastically with this problem'."

Miss Sharples added that Governments could only negotiate with Governments. It was only after a Government had control of armaments that it could negotiate effectively with the Govern-

ments of other countries for international control.

Councillor MISS WILSON, in summing up, referred to those speakers who seemed to think armaments would be much more expensive if they were taken under national control. "What about war, ladies?"

The supporters of this policy were not blind to the interests of the steel factories and so on, but a way would be found out of that difficulty.

The CHAIRMAN put the Resolution to the meeting. It was carried by 257 to 96 votes.

3. Woman Assistant Commissioner of Prisons.

MISS E. H. KELLY, C.B.E., J.P. asked leave of the Conference to move the Resolution in an amended form already circulated. This was Agreed.

MISS E.H. KELLY: I beg to move that:

The National Council of Women urges the early appointment of a Woman as Assistant Commissioner and Inspector of H.M. Prisons, to take part in the consideration of general Prison problems, including the recruitment and selection of the staffs of Prisons and Borstal Institutions, and the domestic side of all Prison Institutions, and, including also, special responsibilities in connection with Women's Prisons and Women Prisoners.

This is a matter of agreement between the two bodies, the Portsmouth Branch and the Open Door Council, and this is an agreed Resolution.

In moving this Resolution on behalf of the Portsmouth Branch I want to make it abundantly clear at the outset that, in asking for the appointment of a Woman as Assistant Commissioner and Inspector, no reflection whatever is intended on the existing members of the Prison Commission. Far from this, I want to pay the warmest possible tribute to that most humane, efficient and progressive body of social workers. They hold the premier place among the prison reformers of the world. The names of the three Commissioners, Mr. Harold Scott, Mr. Paterson and Dr. East, are household words. The four Assistant Commissioners are carrying out their very responsible duties in the same spirit of self-sacrifice and humanity. There can be no suggestion that any one of these able officials could be spared. We ask that further help should be given to them through the appointment which we recommend.

Since the reorganisation of the Department of the Commission in 1929, when the appointment was made of four Assistant Commissioners in substitution of those of one Commissioner and three

Inspectors, the office has been one of greater responsibility than that of the former office of Inspector alone. These officials carry out many new duties which were formerly undertaken by the Commissioners; they attend certain Board Meetings, and they are jointly responsible with the Commissioners for the Annual Report presented by the Secretary of State to His Majesty. The salary is commensurate with the responsibilities to be undertaken.

I hope that I may be pardoned for quoting from my own experience for a moment. I have been associated for fourteen years with the work in Men's prisons, and I was for three years Chairman of a Visiting Committee. I am convinced that the experience of women may be used with advantage in all prisons. I found, not merely a polite acquiescence on the part of the Commissioners, the Governors and the members of my Committee, but an active and generous spirit of co-operation. I am certain that a woman giving her whole time to her duties, could be of immense value to her colleagues in their common work as well as in undertaking special duties of her own, some of which have not yet been attempted.

It is an indisputable fact that the number of women prisoners has shown a greater reduction than the number of male prisoners during the last twenty years. In 1913 they accounted for 24 per cent. of the prison population, in 1931 for 13 per cent. only. In 1913 there were 34,000 receptions, in 1931 under 3,000. In view of the common work to be carried out, this reduction does not affect our case. It would not be unfair to accept it as the official view, even if we were dealing with women prisoners only, that the last word has not been said as to Women's Prisons and Women Prisoners. I will give two quotations, showing the generous and modest spirit of the Department, and that in the view of two distinguished representatives much remains to be done.

Mr. L. V. Fox, lately Secretary to the Commission, in his admirable survey *The Modern English Prison*, which I heartily commend to you, states: "The English Penal system and the English Prison Authorities have never visualised the treatment of delinquent women as presenting problems to be solved separately from those of men." He quotes in turn from Sir Evelyn Ruggles Brise's book, *The English Prison System*, 1922. He says, "In fact, the study of the English Prison does not show that the method of dealing with criminal women has engaged that close attention which might have been expected from the nature and importance and difficulty of the problem."

Mr. Fox suggests that "now, more than ten years later, the position is substantially as described in 1922. The system of treatment is the same as for men in principle and, broadly speaking, in detail." He points out, however, changes which have been made, notably at Aylesbury under that great pioneer Miss Lilian Barker, and other successful experiments at Holloway.

Among the general duties of the Commission may be men-

tioned the recruitment and the selection of the staffs of Prison and Borstal Institutions. The Commissioners have already accepted in principle the advantage of having a woman's point of view in the selection of the male as well as female officers. The domestic side of over forty institutions would provide much work which would be of interest to a Woman Assistant Commissioner. The existing "Fortress" type of buildings in which women are confined have been condemned by two Departmental Committees on Prisons and by Mr. Fox himself. We shall hope to see a start made soon in the building of a modern prison for women in the country with separate blocks. A Director of Prison Industries has been appointed recently, and, presumably, his main preoccupation will be with men's industries. The women's industries need perhaps even more drastic review to bring them up to date.

Each of the Assistant Commissioners is charged with special duties in connection with a group of Prisons. The possibility that a woman, if appointed, might be associated with Holloway and Aylesbury, is not remote, while she could devote some attention also to the five female wings of prisons.

However, our request is definite. We do not ask for a woman as Assistant Commissioner and Inspector for Women Prisoners and Women's Prisons alone. We ask for one who will be associated in the general work of this great social department, which is responsible for the custody, care and training of all prisoners.

I beg of you to pass this resolution unanimously now and to pledge yourselves to work until we get our wish. I feel certain that the tide is with us now. Do not let us miss a great opportunity.

LADY EMMOTT: I wish to second this Resolution very briefly, because I think Miss Kelly has mentioned all the points that are necessary. I fully agree in what she has said about the Prison Commissioners. They are most willing to do all that is humanly possible at the moment. When there is more money in the country, I think we may look forward to a very great improvement in our prison system.

My experience has nothing to do with men's prisons. I have only been a visiting magistrate at Holloway for some years. On that Visiting Magistrates' Committee we have both men and women, and we feel the value of having the men working with us. I am quite certain that the Commissioners would very speedily feel the usefulness of having an Assistant Woman Commissioner.

I can think of several times when it would have been helpful to us as magistrates to have consulted with a woman before sending our requests up to the Commissioners as at present, and I think in the matter of new work for prisoners, undoubtedly there is a great need for some more vision with regard to it. The work at present done by the women prisoners is certainly poor, and an Assistant Woman Commissioner would be a very great help in

that respect.

MISS CHRYSTAL MACMILLAN, after explaining the point of view of the Open Door Council as to the importance of the Woman Commissioner being on an equality with her male colleagues, said she had suggested to Miss Kelly, who had agreed, that instead of the word "responsibilities" in the second last line, the word "problems" should be substituted.

The CHAIRMAN stated that the Women's Freedom League asked leave of the Council to drop the Amendment standing in their name. This was **agreed**.

MISS TANCRED: On behalf of the Glasgow Branch I beg to move the following Amendment:

To add: "*and that arrangements should be made between the appropriate departments for the services of the Woman Assistant Commissioner to be made available to assist the Prison Department of Scotland.*"

The sole object of this addition is to secure for Scotland the advantages that have been described to you by the proposer of the Resolution. We would also like to have the advantages of this woman expert's advice in the consideration of prison problems, the recruitment and selection of staffs and the Borstal Institutions and the special problems in connection with Women's Prisons and Women Prisoners.

The women prisoners in Scotland are comparatively very few. The daily population in Duke Street, the biggest women's prison in Scotland, seldom exceeds a hundred, and the Girls' Borstal at Greenock has twelve inmates at the present time, and the staffs will be correspondingly small. But at the same time Scotland would like to have the advantage of this woman expert's advice and help.

Scotland in many ways is a pioneer in this question of prisons. The prison at Saughton, which must be well-known to Edinburgh people, has got away from the fortress type. It has no walls; the windows you can see out of, and all the arrangements in that prison are extraordinarily humane and the very last word in prison organisation.

The prison for women is Duke Street. My experience is not so exhaustive as Miss Kelly's; I have not studied prisons for fourteen years. But I have been to Duke Street several times. I have been to Saughton several times. I can only say that I think the woman superintendent gets wonderful consideration from the Prison Department, but at the same time Scotland does not wish to be left out if there is anything good going, and she would like the help of this Woman Assistant Inspector.

I believe one objection has been made that this is not a usual

practice. But there are precedents for England and Scotland, the Home Office and the Scots Office working together. In matters affecting the police I know they keep step. If a thing is done in England in matters of the police, it is followed in Scotland, and I dare say the same would hold good in this matter of the Prisons. In fact, I understand with regard to the appointment of Mr. Lamb as Director of Prison Industries that he is to be made available for Scotland.

Ex-Bailie ISABELLE KERR, in seconding the amendment, said they would like to see Scotland have the same advantage which this Resolution would give to England and Wales.

MISS CHRYSTAL MACMILLAN said she, too, would like Scotland to have the same advantages as England, but she did not feel this Amendment was going to give them. It looked like tying the woman down to do certain jobs. If there were Commissioners and Inspectors in Scotland, a better way to deal with this matter would be to ask that a woman be included in that staff in Scotland as the Resolution proposed there should be a woman included in that staff in England.

MISS GREENHILL GARDYNE, after referring to the fact that for thirty years she had been a member of the Prison Committee, said she felt things had now gone very much further in the direction of the care and thought for the future lives and the improvement of those lives of what was called the prison population. Having had to do with an old-fashioned prison in a small city with a very large agricultural and country background, what she wanted particularly to emphasise was the great need there was for a woman's care and thought for the large in-and-out population of the prison, made up of country labour and casual work, the woman with her home gone from her, the woman who simply came back to prison as a rest cure, as a means very often of meeting kind friends, the matrons and the wardresses who really knew her and were good to her. She hoped that some care might be taken of these poor women in and out of prison.

MRS. ABBOTT, while supporting very heartily every single word and every argument in favour of the Amendment, wished to oppose it. She urged that a rider dealing with Scotland should be added to the original Resolution.

The Amendment meant that one woman was to act for both countries. That in the first place was giving one woman too much to do.

As Assistant Commissioner and Inspector, she would be giving consideration to all prison problems, and to the problems of Women Prisoners as well. It was a very vast subject, and they were asking that one woman should do it for both England and Scotland. That was asking her to do too much, and not, therefore, giving her a fair chance. Moreover, it was creating a very bad precedent, when there were the two countries to be dealt with, to suggest that one

woman was enough for both the countries.

MISS COWAN said that the women who lived in Scotland knew their own administration and knew what they required for it. She did not agree that it would be an unwise precedent. In the recent Report of the Departmental Committee on Prison Industries, after having gone into the relative statistical work over the whole country, it was pointed out that there was not sufficient work in Scotland to require a separate appointment for this purpose. Who wanted to waste public money in this way when every penny of public money was required for public education and other things?

It was also suggested that it would take away from the work of this woman in Scotland and would make it too much a specialist job. She did not think so, because the problems and the principles were the same. There was a good staff of matrons and others personally interested in the women and the women's side. This was a question of general administration.

On the grounds of public economy and public administration the Amendment should be supported.

The CHAIRMAN put the Amendment to the Meeting. It was **carried** by a large majority.

MISS KELLY, in summing up, explained that when the Scottish representatives asked her to add the words "Great Britain," from her knowledge of prison administration in England and the problems to be undertaken by that woman, she knew it would be physically impossible for that woman to undertake the duties for both countries. Therefore she had asked the Scottish representatives to move an Amendment in the other form which she could have accepted.

She hoped that when the Prison Department of Scotland asked for the loan of the Woman Assistant Commissioner, that loan would readily have been granted, and the time would have come very shortly afterwards that the Prison Department of Scotland would have found they wanted somebody carrying out all the duties and would have their own woman on their staff in that way.

She asked leave to change the word "responsibilities" to "problems," which was **Agreed**.

The CHAIRMAN put the Resolution as amended to the Meeting :

The National Council of Women urges the early appointment of a Woman as Assistant Commissioner and Inspector of H.M. Prisons, to take part in the consideration of general Prison problems, including the recruitment and selection of the staffs of Prisons and Borstal Institutions, and the domestic side of all Prison Institutions and, including also, special problems in connection with Women's Prisons and Women Prisoners, and that arrangements should be

made between the appropriate departments for the services of the Woman Assistant Commissioner to be made available to assist the Prison Department of Scotland.

It was **Carried** by a large majority.

4. Solicitation Laws.

MISS ALISON NEILANS : I beg to move :

The National Council of Women notes that the Government has taken no action to carry into effect the recommendation made in 1928 by the Departmental Committee on Street Offences, namely, that the existing general and local legislation in England and Scotland relating to solicitation between the sexes should be repealed and replaced by a simple enactment of general application to persons of either sex.

The National Council of Women has, at its Annual Conferences in 1917, 1925 and 1926 called upon the Government to replace them by a law equal between the sexes, and, in 1930, the Conference unanimously reaffirmed this request, referring also to the perfunctory and unsatisfactory evidence upon which women are frequently convicted at present.

The National Council of Women now calls upon the Government to introduce and carry through all its stages without further delay the necessary legislation to provide a law dealing with solicitation between the sexes which shall be on an equal basis for men and women in regard to administration, evidence and penalties.

This Resolution is merely a Resolution re-affirming the considered policy of the N.C.W. from 1917 to 1930, but as it is four years since you passed your last Resolution on this subject, and eighteen years since the campaign for the repeal of the special laws against prostitutes was initiated, I think perhaps it is well if I say a few words as to why we want these laws repealed, and why they are obnoxious to all persons who love justice and equality.

The work of my own Association against these laws is based on this principle, which I will read to you : "When the woman alone is burdened with the legal consequences of a mutual act, the State propagates the disastrous idea that there is a different morality for the two sexes." We all believe that the law and the administration should rest on an equal standard of moral responsibility, and the special laws against common prostitutes do not rest on this basis. They are the remnants in British legislation of the double standard of morals.

There are differences in the laws dealing with street solicitation as between England, Wales and Scotland. Scotland has, if I might say so, a more honest and a more logical code than England and

Wales. You may say in Scotland that if any prostitute loiters for the purposes of prostitution, that is an offence. In England the law obliges the police to allege that some man was annoyed by it. That evidence is, as is stated in the Resolution, artificial and perfunctory.

What is our objection to these laws? It is a highly technical subject in legal principles. But, briefly, first that they are unequal between the sexes. They do not apply to men, nor do they apply to all women. They apply only to the woman whom we describe in law as the "common prostitute"; that is to say, we take hold of one of the partners in immorality, and her we degrade and punish, and push her outside the ordinary protection of the common law.

I ought to make one exception here. In three towns in Scotland, and Edinburgh is one of them, there is a law that deals with men who molest any woman, but, as I shall show in a moment, that law is for technical reasons practically never put into operation.

Secondly, it is contrary to the principles of British law. Here we have in both cases, but particularly this is true of Scotland, a law to punish a woman for solicitation to an act which, if the act is committed, is not an offence. It is contrary to all legal principles to make solicitation to an act an offence when the act, if committed, is not an offence.

Then again, in law every accused person has the right to be tried by an unprejudiced Court. This is not any question of wrongness on the part of the police, but in every case in which a common prostitute is tried for solicitation in the streets, the police officer is obliged by the law to say, "This woman is a common prostitute," and he therefore introduces her to the Court, not as a person who may not be guilty and whose guilt has to be decided, but as a woman of known bad character and of previous convictions. If you can imagine a man or woman being tried for murder who was introduced to the Court as a common murderer, what kind of fair trial could that person have? It is not injustice on the part of the magistrates, but no human being can resist the effect on their mind when they are told that the accused person in front of them is a woman of known bad character and with previous convictions. It is therefore contrary to the principles of law in that respect.

Then we come to the evidence. I would here give you a practical example. Even where the legislation does allow a different law—it does not call a man a "common profligate"—what happens? I have here the *Times* report of the evidence given before the Street Offences Commission in 1927, and when the Chief Constable of this city was asked about this legislation, this is what he said: "Where a woman complains to the constable of the conduct of a man, but refuses because of the objectionable character of the case to support the officer by coming to the Court, the police would not interfere."

So if a man is arrested on a charge of soliciting a woman, the evidence of the woman is called for, and if she does not come, the case falls to the ground. Yet every year you have hundreds, running into thousands, of women attested as prostitutes, condemned, sent to prison or fined, and no evidence of any man is ever brought forward to say that he was solicited. Therefore it is unequal and contrary to the principles of legislation in regard to evidence.

Do these laws in fact protect people from solicitation? They are unequal. They are contrary to the principles of law. They deprive a woman of a fair trial. They condemn her on insufficient evidence, and, by fastening upon her the terrible stigma of being legally designated a common prostitute, they deny to her the possibility of rehabilitation which is not denied to other offenders.

In spite of these unjust laws people are not protected from solicitation, because solicitation is carried on in the streets, not only by prostitutes but by women who are not prostitutes, and by men; and on this, because I ought to have facts always to support such statements, I want to read a note I had from the Chief Constable of a town in the West of England. He says: "In our town we have several of the lowest class of prostitutes, and repeated observation has shown that though they loiter in certain neighbourhoods, they are quiet, well-behaved, and rarely accost men, but on the other hand men accost the women. I receive no complaints of solicitation by prostitutes, but I do receive complaints from respectable women who are accosted by men."

If you try to suppress this thing in the streets by severe legislation and by casting aside the ordinary precautions for the accused person, you only change the form. I think we all know that directly you manage to cleanse the streets, you drive it into the cafés and the dance halls. You only change the form of this thing. You cannot protect people from solicitation in that way.

In our view the responsibility for public order in the streets should be placed on to men and women equally and not on prostitutes. If you do this, there is no more need to have special laws against common prostitutes than against common profligates. So strong was the feeling against these laws, that the Street Offences Committee reported that they should be swept away.

We have had enough of Government Committee Reports being pigeon-holed. It has happened again and again. We ask you today to demand that the Government does take the action of sweeping away this law and introducing a just and an equal law, equally applicable to both sexes.

MRS. ABBOTT: I have very great pleasure in seconding the Resolution. I would like to emphasise the need to pass a unanimous Resolution on this point, and to say how thankful the Association was to see that the N.C.W. voted so heavily for this Resolution on its Agenda that it took a very high place. It is doing a very wise

thing in reminding the Government of its slothfulness in this matter. The Government has shelved this question. They do not want to do anything about it and are rather hopeful that all the societies and people who have been working on it may, if a long enough interval passes, almost forget what they have done and have to begin their work all over again.

This Resolution, which recalls the long years during which the N.C.W. has been studying this question, shows that the Government cannot expect you to forget the matter or to let them leave it untouched any longer.

It is not only the injustice to the prostitute that matters so much. It is that we are all injured by having this injustice in our laws. That was brought home to me very much some years ago, when I attended the Police Courts on Monday mornings in London. I can only speak of the London Police Courts on this matter. But I can assure you that when the prostitution cases came up, the whole atmosphere of the Court was dead. The magistrate was immobilized. The evidence was absolutely automatic on the part of the police. The women were of different types, some seething with anger, but most of them absolutely cold, and automatically pleading guilty. The cases came up and were dealt with sometimes three in a minute—it went as quickly as that.

Whenever those cases were finished and the next sort of case came on, the drunk and disorderly cases from the Saturday night, there was an absolute change of atmosphere. The magistrate became human. We all felt more human. The drunk and disorderly man was questioned in a perfectly orderly way.

In the first cases we were all aware of the injustice and the unreality of the proceedings, and it is because it hurts us all and is a hurt against justice itself that we want these laws altered.

How right was Josephine Butler when she said, very many years ago, on the question of the Contagious Diseases Act—but it is true of this too—“Our claim was no claim of women’s rights only. It was larger and deeper. It was a claim for the rights of all.”

Amendment.

Councillor MRS. MORISON MILLAR: I beg to move as an Amendment:

That paragraph 2 of the Resolution be deleted.

The Edinburgh Branch is in entire agreement with the rest of the Resolution and would support the affirmation of this Resolution with the exception of that second paragraph, but they do take exception to this phrase, “the perfunctory and unsatisfactory evidence upon which women are frequently convicted at present,” because they feel that it is inaccurate and untrue.

Miss Neilans has referred to the law in Edinburgh and other places in Scotland, but while we recognise that the laws are archaic

and unsatisfactory, that they do not reflect the sense and humanity of the people at the present time, we do feel that the administration is reasonably well carried out, and that there is no great injustice, and that it is unfair to stigmatise those who administer the law while they are doing their best to carry out what they admit to be unsatisfactory laws.

I speak from practical experience, because I was a magistrate in the Police Court for seven years, and I took particular interest in this class of case because I knew the strong feeling of many that there was injustice and unfair treatment.

In Edinburgh and in other cities in Scotland, anyone who is brought up on such a charge has already been warned three times, not in the Court but on the streets or wherever she is found by the police. Then when brought up in the Court, the magistrate in practically nine cases out of ten puts the person charged on probation or warns, certainly never fines or imprisons.

In regard to what Miss Neilans said, where a man annoys or solicits, if the person who is annoyed refuses to give evidence, no case can be brought, because no one can be convicted on the evidence of one person. If women are annoyed, although the case is unpleasant, it is their duty to come forward and take their part as citizens in preventing annoyance and wrong behaviour.

It was mentioned at the Street Offences Committee that no one can prove what the state of mind is if there is no outward evidence. It was said, “The devil himself knoweth not what is in the heart of man”—certainly a police officer cannot know.

This paragraph referring to the perfunctory evidence, besides throwing aspersions on the police, throws an aspersion on the intelligence of the magistrate. The magistrate is not bound to take any evidence at all. He can dismiss the case. He has to use his own common-sense, and can very well learn to discern when the evidence is perfunctory and when it is real genuine evidence.

MISS TINA MACKENZIE, J.P., in seconding the Amendment, said she had been a probation officer in Glasgow for almost eleven years, and she would unhesitatingly say that the words “perfunctory and unsatisfactory evidence upon which women are frequently convicted at present” were quite unjustified and indeed untrue—at least, in Glasgow.

In Glasgow the procedure was that a girl was warned at least once by plain clothes men, the second time she might be brought to the bar and cautioned by the Officer-in-Charge, and on the third occasion—really the third offence—she might be charged in Court. Then she always got a chance—it might be probation or deferred sentence—and in either case, if satisfactory, no conviction would be registered. Such an offer was given again and again. There was always the danger, in overlooking this particular type of offence, of losing sight of the fact that it was surely more important to make

the streets cleaner and so protect the young people.

MISS C. G. HALDANE said there was nothing perfunctory or unsatisfactory in the procedure of the system existing in Edinburgh.

At the outset it was obvious that before a girl could be cautioned for a first time, the Police Officers must have observed her loitering about on frequent occasions, that is if she were acting alone, but she was usually accompanied by a girl who had been previously cautioned, or by one who had been convicted of prostitution.

When a girl was first cautioned, she was asked her name, address, age, and where she was a native of. This information, along with the date, time and where loitering, was recorded, first in the Police Officer's notebook; secondly at Division Headquarters; and thirdly at the Central Police Office, where a list was compiled for the Probation Officer. The addresses were visited and help offered.

If the advice given was disregarded, and there was a continuance of the loitering or importuning, a second caution was administered on the street. On the third occasion the girl would be taken to the nearest Police Office, and there given a final caution by the Officer-in-Charge.

Arrest would follow on the fourth occasion, and she would be brought before the Court. She would be given the benefit of legal advice before being asked to plead. (Free legal advice is available in Edinburgh for anyone who is unable to pay a lawyer's fee.)

If a plea of Not Guilty were tendered on her first, or even her twenty-first appearance at Court, she would be given the services of a lawyer when her case came up for trial.

If she pleaded Guilty, and expressed to the Court a desire to return to her relations, or to be given a chance to find work, the magistrate would invariably defer sentence, under supervision, thus giving her every opportunity to fulfil her promise to the Court.

Only a very small percentage of the girls cautioned ever appeared before the Court.

The use of the words "perfunctory and unsatisfactory" in paragraph 2 of the Resolution cast a reflection on Scottish procedure, the judgment of Scottish magistrates, and on the credibility of the Police.

MRS. HARTREE opposed the Amendment, partly because the words suggested for deletion were "a historical statement" of fact, and they *had* been used in the Resolution passed at Portsmouth in 1930—and also because the speakers seemed to be mixing up treatment and cautions beforehand with the evidence of this particular conviction. It was the evidence that led to the conviction of that particular thing at that particular moment that was referred to, not whether the girls had been cautioned before or how they were treated afterwards.

MISS SWAISLAND asked if there was any evidence that in England itself any kind of considerate treatment similar to the Scottish cautions was meted out to the prostitute.

MISS MACMILLAN said she had no detailed information on the point but she understood there was a machinery of caution in England.

MISS NEILANS said that in some towns the procedure varied, but there was never any proof in Court that a caution had been given.

MISS MACMILLAN pointed out that the movers of the Amendment had apparently omitted to notice one word in the paragraph they were seeking to have deleted, and that was the word "frequently." There was no statement that in all cases the evidence was perfunctory. In London certainly there was a difference among the magistrates on the type of evidence they accepted. Some were very much more particular than others. But it was not only the N.C.W. who had ascertained that this evidence was perfunctory, but the Committee which sat in England on this point which was dealing only with England. In its Report it definitely used these words: "While the existing law in England in form requires annoyance to be proved, in fact the evidence of annoyance which is commonly accepted is perfunctory." So that that expression was used by that Departmental Committee.

The Resolution said "frequently." It did not say in every case.

Annoyance was something in the mind of a person, and the judge could not find out what that annoyance was unless the person came and said he was annoyed. That was why in England they had to prove annoyance: yet they did not ask the man to come and say he was annoyed, and if that was not perfunctory, she did not know what was.

MRS. ABBOTT, opposing the Amendment, said that she sympathised with the feelings of people who said things were done so well in Edinburgh; but they were also done very well in Sheffield and Cambridge. These things differed all over the country, England as well as Scotland. That did not affect the point that once the woman was labelled as a prostitute, she was put outside the ordinary law and thereafter was in a different category, and the same amount of evidence was not needed for her conviction.

MISS NEILANS said the real point was the sworn evidence which was proved on oath. If this evidence, which was used to convict a prostitute was not perfunctory, why was that procedure never used in the case of men accused of soliciting women?

Merely police evidence was not accepted against the man. It was accepted against the woman.

The fact remained, in spite of tributes to the procedure in Edinburgh, that the present procedure in general was perfunctory, and that had been admitted by the Departmental Committee itself.

The social causes of prostitution were far too big a subject to go into, but it had to be remembered that it was not only women who dragged women into prostitution. After all, what was the

cause of prostitution? Two people, and one ought therefore to have an equal law.

It was true that here and there procedure was better—and that was because magistrates themselves had seen that there were difficulties and had made things better. “What we want to express as a Council is not that Edinburgh is good, or Sheffield is good, but that in general the procedure is perfunctory, as is admitted in the Street Offences Report.”

The CHAIRMAN put the Amendment. It was **lost** by an overwhelming majority.

Discussion resumed on the Resolution.

MISS BLAIR said the National Vigilance Association opposed the Resolution because legislation on the lines suggested would be valueless for keeping the streets in decent order, and it did not take into account actual conditions.

With the Departmental Committee's finding on facts the National Vigilance Association agreed; in particular there was a sensible distinction between the annoyance to an individual through obstruction or molestation by another individual, and a public nuisance by professionals. But the Association did not agree with the recommendations which went against the finding on facts.

The people concerned in solicitation were and probably would remain of the same types: women described by the Departmental Committee as prostitutes; women who were prostitutes, but not habitually so; and men who solicited women, such solicitation being, in the words of the Committee, “generally of a casual, rather than habitual character.”

The National Vigilance Association was in favour of an equal moral standard, but there was no logical comparison possible between the activities of a prostitute who made it her business to create new clients, and those of a man who frequented the streets to respond to the invitations of prostitutes. Both ought to be opposed. But they could not be effectively opposed by one law.

The prostitute was a professional trader. The other person, though morally as blameworthy, was not a trader.

The proposals of the Departmental Committee were admittedly made in deference to agitation against the use of the words “common prostitute.” The protection of young people against commercialised prostitutes was more important than a phrase. Solicitation by prostitutes was a definite and recognisable type of offence and should be treated as such.

The Conference ought to take into account that the condition of vice areas in London was much worse since the agitation started against the existing laws dealing with solicitation.

MRS. HUTCHINSON, speaking for the Resolution, said the

present bad laws remained over from a barbaric state of affairs. They represented what was still a factor in the attitude of the ordinary citizen towards the whole question. They represented the uneasiness at the back of the ordinary parent of young men, especially towards their sons' entrance into the world at large. She maintained that we had so progressed in thought and civilisation and values that there was no longer—if there ever was—any need that special laws should be made regardless of justice to keep the streets clean. We had so altered the outlook on morality that we could make our young men feel responsible for their own moral law. We did not wish to shelter them at the cost of the other half of their own community. The true way of cleaning the streets was to train up a generation of men who would say: “This thing is not good enough.”

MISS PICTON-TURBERVILL, speaking for the Resolution, said that the law as it stood was profoundly immoral, because it did not convict the woman of an evil because she solicited but only because she solicited to the annoyance of a man. If she was successful and there really was evil afoot, which might harm generations of children to come, she was technically innocent. She was only arrested if she did it to the annoyance of the man.

MISS NEILANS, summing up, said: I do not really think that there is a great deal of opposition to the Resolution except in the one paper that was read from the National Vigilance Association, and I want to take that. It said, you must protect young people from the commercialised prostitute. What is the commercialised prostitute the product of? Demand. It is a profitable trade, because there is a demand for it.

I quite agree that there ought to be order in the streets, and we ought to do all we can to make the conditions decent for both sexes. But what you have really to protect people from is a false public opinion about the necessity for prostitution.

In this Resolution we have had to give the impression that we are anti-man. I hate doing that. What we are really after is mutual protection for both men and women on an equal basis. I am not going to deal with the other points, because I think you are really with me. I ask you to give us, if you can, a unanimous Resolution.

LADY RUTH BALFOUR stated on behalf of the Edinburgh Branch that, though their amendment was lost, they were still in general agreement with the Resolution as a whole, and therefore they—though registering that that particular paragraph did not apply to Edinburgh—were willing and anxious to vote in favour of the Resolution.

The Resolution was **carried**, with 2 dissentients.

5. Reform of Matrimonial Law.

MRS. HELENA NORMANTON: On behalf of the National Council for Equal Citizenship I beg to move:

This Council holds that, as divorce cannot now be obtained unless adultery (or, on the part of the husband, unnatural conduct) be proved, the present law both encourages immorality and leads to much individual hardship. This Council therefore urges the Government to review the law concerning the dissolution of marriage and at least to carry out the recommendation of the Majority Report of the Royal Commission on the Divorce Laws of 1912 or to support legislation such as has been twice passed by the House of Lords by which the grounds for divorce for both husband and wife shall include adultery, desertion after three years, persistent cruelty, habitual drunkenness, incurable insanity after five years' confinement, or imprisonment under commuted death sentence. It further urges that all inequalities between men and women under matrimonial law be removed.

It is extremely difficult to advocate any reform of English matrimonial law for two reasons. However moderate and well founded may be the reforms suggested, there instantly arises at least three different kinds of opposition. There is the extreme theological where, as it is hopeless to convince, it is waste of time to argue. There is also the school of thought which believes or professes to believe that even the most modest alterations in the law would turn England into a repique of Hollywood or Reno. The third are the vast multitude of apathetic people who, being either single or more or less happily married, are unable to visualise the intensity of suffering endured by those who have been less fortunate. This apathy is not necessarily callousness, and its increase in the last few years is largely due to a well meant but most unfortunate Act of Parliament, the Regulation of Reports (Matrimonial Proceedings) Act, which has prevented the Press from reporting anything but the selected passages from the actual pronouncements of judges. Some of you may have heard the story of the Scottish minister who, when he was preaching about hell to his flock, thought it necessary to remind them that although he had not mentioned that place lately, it had not ceased to exist. Very similar is the position of the unhappily married in England. The general public are not now allowed to know much more than cases coming under their own personal observations. Misrepresentation, sometimes deliberate and sometimes through mere intellectual confusion, besets the path of the reformer of matrimonial law more constantly than in any other sphere. The public morals are not thereby protected but a vast river of matrimonial misery is driven underground and this, too, in a nation where lack of frankness and healthy openness about sex is almost a national possession.

In fact the position is so difficult that I am going to allude to only one specific case, but even for that one allusion I have thought it prudent to obtain the permission of the authorities of my profession.

Last year at one of the English Assizes a husband was sentenced to seven years' penal servitude for having attempted to murder his wife in the following circumstances. He was a fish hawker living with wife and child in one room; to that home he brought a boon companion even to sleep there by night. The wife objected, and the fish-hawker put her head under his arm and with his fish-knife scored her head and face in many strips, so that she nearly died, and her appearance was markedly affected for the worse after a somewhat surprising recovery. After the sentence the wife obtained information which enabled her to proceed for divorce. The husband defended the case, brought a cross-petition against the wife, and claimed the custody of their child. Had he been able to prove his case and the wife unable to prove hers, I know of no reason in law why he should not have obtained the custody of that little child. I will now quote a portion of the judgment of the High Court judge who tried the case:

Giving judgment his Lordship remarked that to his mind it was a perfectly tragic case. On February 4th, 1932, the husband made a terrible assault upon his wife, for which he was sentenced.

The wife was left with no remedy and without release from him unless she could prove that he had been unfaithful to her before he nearly killed her.

Had she not been able to bring forward evidence that before he tried to murder her he had committed adultery, she could have had no redress and would be bound to him for the period he would be spending in prison.

"She is," added the judge, "able to prove to my complete satisfaction that he was guilty of adultery, not only with two women named in the petition, Helen Ogelsby and Minnie Jackson, but with divers other women whose names are unknown.

I am satisfied that he is the father of the child of Ogelsby, born on March 10th, 1931, and also of the child of Jackson, born on November 8th, 1932.

Cruelty, an attempt to murder, and a sentence of seven years' penal servitude are in this country no ground for a wife obtaining freedom from her husband.

She must remain bound to him, however much he may try to murder her, and however heavy the sentence he may have.

Fortunately in this case the wife satisfied me that her husband's activities as a man were not solely confined to beating and ill-treating and attempting to murder her, but were directed to procreating children by other women.

I am completely satisfied that the wife has not been guilty of adultery at any time with anybody.

In my view, to give the custody of a child of eight to a man who is serving a sentence of seven years' penal servitude for attempting to murder the mother would be monstrous, and I would not be a party to it."

I commend to your deepest and most respectful attention the observations of the learned judge. Had that woman not been able to obtain a divorce because of her husband's infidelity, she would have remained his legal wife upon his release from prison, and all that life under our present law could have offered her would be to live with him again or to live separated from him if she thought fit to obtain a Separation Order.

In fact, in many of the cases where such orders are granted and where divorce is impossible, one or both of the separated spouses enters into some second domestic arrangement which is irregular in the eye of the law and the children of which are necessarily illegitimate. It is in this way that a very great number of the irregular unions in existence in this country have come into being and most social workers know how gladly these unfortunate people would regularise their position if the law would permit them to do so. That is why the Resolution charges the present law with encouraging immorality as well as leading to individual hardship.

On July 20th, 1932, the late Mr. Justice McCardie at Birmingham Assizes said:

"Why not recognise the obvious truth at the present time which means that half the divorces are due to sexual maladjustment. The truth is kept back and kept back and kept back, until people ask themselves 'What is the meaning of all this divorce?' If they were to come here and look into the facts of the case they would be alive at once to what is the truth." He added, "I hope the time is not far distant when we shall witness a far-reaching reform of the divorce laws."

It might very well be asked whether the very modest reforms suggested in the Resolution I am moving come anywhere within hailing distance of the remedy of that which that learned judge laid down to be the main difficulty of married life, namely, sexual maladjustment.

Incurable insanity after five years' confinement; imprisonment under commuted death sentence and habitual drunkenness are matters which seem far enough removed. It looks, however, as if the door of hope might be very narrowly and grudgingly opened with the prospect of a divorce after three years' desertion, because no doubt some of the desertions which do in fact occur now and would occur in future have arisen through sexual maladjustment in marriage; other desertions, of course, have arisen for other and varying reasons. If one considers the period, sometimes very long, which precedes engagement and marriage; the years of engagement following; the earlier months or years of the marriage during which the parties are trying to make it a success and failing; the

time during which one party is coming to the decision to desert the other; the three years of desertion to reach the qualifying period; the inception and carrying through of proceedings for divorce—all these must add in most lives to a considerable number of years, and if one takes the period of life in which sex is most powerful and potential for the good of the race as lying between 18 and 50, I cannot see how, as the merest matter of arithmetic, English subjects could contract many unions or could approximate very closely to what might be called the Hollywood standard of rapidity. Those who have sympathetic hearts and minds and those who, like doctors and lawyers, are trained to be so from contact with the facts of these matters would rather tend to pity those who are unlucky enough to marry the wrong partner for the long period of misery in which they have unwittingly involved themselves.

The Christian ideal of marriage connotes one monogamous union of complete fidelity. For this cause a man shall leave his father's house and forsaking all other, shall cleave only unto her. It is difficult to see how this ideal can be carried out where habitual drunkenness, incurable insanity or life-long imprisonment is in fact separating the parties, and it might be far wiser to set the unhappy free so that they could enter into other and better unions where it might be more possible to try to attain the highest ideals.

Even in that branch of the Christian Church which extends no hope of divorce, it is fair to state that its law relating to nullity of marriage is far, far wider than English statutory law upon nullity, and that it is humanely administered. I have recently had the opportunity of a detailed conversation with a woman Doctor of Laws in Italy, who is associated with a great deal of this legal work on behalf of the Vatican, and I feel certain that monetary power or worldly position has very little to do with the obtaining of Vatican decrees of nullity and that in our English law there is a case for extending nullity rather more, and this also would be very helpful to those in our community whose ecclesiastical views would make it possible for them to accept a decree of nullity and who are precluded from asking for divorce.

There remain certain inequalities between men and women under matrimonial law, and they fall, so to speak, either way—either an undue advantage of men over women or vice-versa. Some of them are rather technical matters of procedure and would be better considered by the Government taking our whole matrimonial law, which has grown up in a rather haphazard way, under its consideration in a spirit of scientific co-ordination. Perhaps the outstanding inequalities of most practical importance are that at present a husband has no power to bring an action against a wife who is pregnant at the time of marriage by another man, or against a woman who is addicted to unnatural sexual conduct. A wife cannot recover in one and the same action damages against a woman who has alienated her husband's affections, and if she wishes to

bring that action must do so as a separate step in the King's Bench Division. Furthermore, a wife must take her husband's domicile, and can therefore only obtain a decree in the forum where her husband is domiciled. Thus if an Englishman takes a position in Japan and intends to remain there permanently, if he felt so disposed he could bring any number of Japanese women in the home because a husband's adultery is no ground for divorce in the law of Japan, which would govern the matter, although if the wife even left the home without her husband's permission he would be in a position to divorce her.

I would ask you in conclusion not to deafen your ears to the valuable hints which have been thrown out from time to time by H.M. Judges as to the crying need for a reform in English matrimonial law; these humane, high-minded and learned gentlemen do not speak lightly but with a deep knowledge, and very wide experience, and what they say is supported by the vast bulk of the medical and legal profession.

Perhaps I might be allowed to adduce in support that the Orthodox Church in Bulgaria has promoted new legislation of even a more liberal character than the very modest suggestions of this Resolution, namely:

"Grounds for divorce will include infidelity, lunacy, epilepsy, the disappearance of either party for three years, deliberate separation for one year, imprisonment for three years or more, gambling, drunkenness, physical or moral cruelty, immoral living, attempt to murder, cruelty to children, excommunication, apostasy, or the abandonment of one for another Christian church by one party without the consent of the other."

It will not seem to many people too advanced that this country should go at least as far as that of Bulgaria.

In conclusion, I might say none of this applies to Scotland. It is all England, unhappy England.

MRS. CHURCHILL VIRGINE, in seconding the Resolution, said it was a sound common-sense measure, deserving thoughtful consideration and acceptance. By passing the Resolution they would show their sense of human responsibility to and human sympathy with and for those whose need of this help was much greater than their own.

MRS. REMSON WARD said she supposed the Mothers' Union would be considered to belong to the theological extreme, but as it numbered over half a million and had also behind it the vast majority of the members of the Church of England, the whole of the Roman Communion and many respected members of other religious bodies, she did not think it altogether true to call it extreme.

The Mothers' Union took the line that it was not only desirable that marriage should be indissoluble, but that it *was* indissoluble, and sympathy for hard cases should not be allowed

to change Christian ideals. It was not lack of sympathy which led the Mothers' Union to take the line it had done. Among half a million married women, the Union knew something of hard cases. But one could not have Christian ideals without the Cross, and it was in the interests of the whole community that those Christian ideals should be stuck to.

The Union did believe that separation was sometimes necessary, but that was entirely different from divorce.

As to what should be done about hard cases, her answer would be: "Train up for the future boys and girls who believe in the sanctity of marriage and of home life."

A great deal was heard about freedom. What about the freedom of a woman who wished to be true to her marriage vows when public opinion said she was unfair if she did not divorce her husband? There were many such women, and they went through hell because of the force of public opinion which tried to persuade them to divorce their husbands when they wished themselves to be true to their marriage vows, and to leave their husbands an opportunity for repentance and returning to them. It was going to be a sorry thing for this country if it moved away from the ideal of Christian marriage.

MISS SMYTHE, supporting the Resolution, said she spoke with the greatest respect for the Christian ideal and laws of marriage, but there was another responsibility besides sticking to her husband that a married woman had, and that was the responsibility she bore to her children.

Nothing was worse for the young child than a constant atmosphere of disharmony. If the laws were left in their present condition—divorce made so difficult that it was only under certain conditions that it could be obtained—that meant raising up hundreds of young people with no respect in the future for the married state because they had been brought up with a background of misery and discomfort in the days of their youth.

CHAIRMAN: I have eight more names, all for the Resolution. Is it your wish to continue the debate and hear these eight ladies, or shall we take the vote?"

It was **agreed** to take the vote.

MRS. NORMANTON, summing up, said there was really only the case of the Mothers' Union, a body for which they all had a great respect.

The positive aspect of marriage—a lifelong monogamous union—must be kept, but if one person was hopelessly insane or imprisoned for a large number of years, it could not be attained.

"Set the unhappy free. Remember that one great principle of Christianity was the freeing of the unhappy from bonds; that also was taught."

The Resolution was **carried** with some dissentients.

The Mothers' Union have intimated non-participation in this Resolution.

6. Traffic in Women.

MRS. NEVILLE ROLFE, O.B.E., after explaining that a revised form of Resolution as printed on the Agenda was necessitated by the passing of certain Resolutions by the League Assembly the week before, spoke as follows :

I beg to move on behalf of the National Vigilance Association :

The National Council of Women, being deeply impressed by the facts disclosed in the Report of the League of Nations on Traffic in Women in the East, and being convinced that concerted action by the Governments concerned is necessary and urgent, welcomes the decision of the Assembly to seek the co-operation of those Governments in promoting a conference in the East under the auspices of the League.

It also notes with satisfaction that the Secretary-General of the League has been instructed to collect and report further information as to Russian refugees in the East who have become victims of the Traffic.

The National Council of Women calls on the Government :

(1) *To act on the recommendation of the Fifth Commission, and to appoint a larger number of trained and experienced women officials to the staffs of the British Authorities concerned with this problem in the East.*

(2) *To co-operate in the inquiry into the conditions of Russian victims of the traffic who may be in British possessions.*

(3) *To promote discussion at the Conference of measures designed to stimulate interest and maintain co-operation between the various countries.*

Then I want to ask leave to add this paragraph as an Emergency:

The National Council of Women recognise the importance of immediate preparatory steps on the part of Branches, Missions and all non-official organisations in the East in order that local public opinion may be aroused and instructed ; also, that all available information as to local conditions may be collected for the Conference, it recommends that Regional Preparatory Conferences be promoted throughout the East during the coming year.

This Report, issued by the League, summarises the whole of the evidence which has now been accepted by the Assembly. It shows that brothels are the foundation of the traffic, and the Assembly have agreed that that is a fact. That is a tremendous advance.

As a result of the Geneva meetings in April we were convinced that preparatory action was urgent and essential. Therefore the International Missionary Council and my Council convened a Conference in London in July, at which we were fortunate enough to secure the attendance of the representatives of the Governments of the Eastern Countries concerned. Six Foreign countries were represented as well as all the parts of the British Empire concerned.

This Conference unanimously decided that preparatory regional conferences throughout the East were urgently necessary immediately, if the Assembly took the action which it fortunately has taken, and approved of the League taking steps to secure a Conference there in the future.

The plea I want to make to the N.C.W. is that each individual one of us who has links with India, China, Japan, or any of our Colonies in the East, will do her personal utmost to bring this information before the individuals out there, to urge them to use their influence to promote interest in this question and to devote attention to it. Also that the Branches of the N.C.W. with all the Mission organisations that have links with the East should devote their energies to stimulate local interest, because it is only if the rank and file of the populations understand this problem in the East that we can hope to secure any progress.

It is not enough for us to know : it is essential that our Indian sisters, Chinese colleagues and Japanese women colleagues should be actively interested in the matter, and those that are already interested are already co-operating. Therefore it is a matter for personal and collective service during the next few months.

LADY STEEL-MAITLAND : In formally seconding this Resolution so ably put forward by Mrs. Neville Rolfe, I do so as a member of the Executive of the National Vigilance Society. The original Resolution as printed on your papers was impossible to adhere to owing to what the Assembly of the League has passed.

It is a very great step forward what the League has done, no doubt due to the work which the Travelling Commission, which the League instituted and which has covered a very wide area, has done.

We must remember what an enormous number of women are affected in the East. We want to go on, and public opinion, as Mrs. Rolfe has said, is most important not only here where we are speaking to the converted, but in those lands where it is very difficult to go forward.

MISS F. HORSBRUGH, M.P. : To me it is a great occasion to come and speak to you this morning, because only this day last week I had the honour of addressing the Assembly of the League of Nations as the Reporter of the Traffic in Women subject from the Fifth Committee. I have come straight from there, and see on

your Agenda the Resolutions concerning the different points that you wanted pressed.

Those of you who have followed the work that has been undertaken during the last few years realise, I think, this year that it marks a very distinct step forward. But I would appeal to everyone of you, because of the progress made, let us continue the work.

We see now what can be done.

The main point this year was the discussion on the Report of the Enquiry in the East, to which Mrs. Neville Rolfe has referred. Many of you may remember that the Report of that Commission was made before last year's Assembly. I had the honour that year also to be Reporter on the Fifth Committee, and I suggested in my Report that we should not consider that Report in detail but that we should wait until this year, in order that the Advisory Committee might also have the chance of studying it.

But when one came to look at the details of that Report, more and more one saw the chances that it opened up. We all agreed in the Fifth Committee, and again at the Assembly, that it was absolutely necessary that a Conference in the East should be called, and we asked if the Governments in the East would co-operate. I can only tell you that on the Fifth Committee the delegates from China, India, and other Eastern countries expressed themselves as being in favour of such a conference being held, and in my Preliminary Report to the Fifth Committee I said the suggestion had been made that the Conference should be held at Singapore. That also met with approval.

The necessity for preparation for that conference has already been stressed, and for that reason I urged some of the delegates that they should not at this moment tie us down to a particular date for holding that conference, because I feel it is of the utmost importance that we should have the real co-operation of and the real welcome coming from the Governments of the East. If you are going to have a successful conference on this subject of Traffic in Women, where there will be real co-operation, real pooling of ideas among the people of the East, to my mind it is absolutely essential that we should now leave to the Governments of the East the initiative to a greater extent. Let them feel it is their conference in the East under the League of Nations, and I think it will point to a great advance on the lines on which we have been trying to advance both in West and East during many years past.

The subject of the Russian women refugees in China came particularly before our notice, and before the notice of the Sixth Committee, on account of the Report from the Nansen Committee.

In my Report, however, I stressed the fact that the Commission of Enquiry in the East had already in their Report mentioned the plight of these unfortunate people. It was suggested more than once that I should add to my Report an appeal for financial aid at

once to go to the succour of these unfortunate people, but I think that the National Council of Women will be in agreement with me when I say I felt that as no definite scheme had been put up, as there was no practical suggestion for the rehabilitation of these women, it was not well to ask for money.

When a Sub-committee was formed of members of the Fifth and Sixth Committees and I was made the Chairman, I was equally determined that this subject should not be shelved. Therefore, in one of the Resolutions to the Assembly, the Secretary-General is instructed to obtain further information both from official and non-official parties on the subject, and I would urge every one of you here to help us in every way to get that information from Missionary Societies and from every Society that is working in these parts, because those non-official bodies should be asked to send the information as well as the official bodies. We want to get a real picture of the case.

I also made the suggestion that the information should be reported to the Traffic in Women and Children Committee, which will meet in the Spring, rather than wait to report to the Assembly next autumn.

But the special subject I should like to refer to briefly here is that in this Report of the enquiry in the East, it was clearly brought out, as has been shown in the enquiries in the West, in Europe, and in America, that the licensed house directly encourages the traffic. Those of you who have worked on this subject for many years past will realise the enormous step forward when we got those words passed unanimously in my Report in the Fifth Committee and to the Assembly.

We worked on this subject last year, and I quite realise that many of you thought that last year I had not pressed sufficiently far and with sufficient definiteness to this particular aim. I can only tell you that I was looking last year to this goal, and from my private conversations with the delegates of other nations, I was sure we were reaching it, but I feared last year that if my action was precipitate, if I asked for such a definite statement as I asked for this year, I might have been refused.

I ask you today to read the Report passed by the Assembly this day last week, and you will see there a statement so definite that those of you who have been working for it for many years can at any rate feel now that your work has not been in vain.

One last point. In the Resolutions for the Assembly you will see the one in which it says that the Committee was satisfied that on the agenda of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee for next year the subject of an international convention for the punishment of souteneurs had been put down. I want to say this by way of personal explanation. I think there is a great difficulty. I did not put that particular Resolution in my original report. It was put as an amendment by the delegate of Roumania and supported

by other delegates. I cannot say that I am entirely satisfied, and I want to tell you why. If it were pressed to have an international convention on the punishment of souteneurs, what we feel is that those countries where their punishments are severe, may be asked to come down to a lower level in order to get wide international support.

As long as in some countries the licensed house system still prevails, the work of the souteneur cannot be suppressed in the same way as in those countries who have given up that system. It is because of those difficulties, because we fear that a lower level might be the result, that I personally in that Committee was anxious not to dwell on that subject. It is not that for any reason we do not want punishment for the souteneur. It is because we want the most severe control and the most severe punishment.

I only wish to say, in conclusion, that I do congratulate the N.C.W. I do congratulate all those who have been working for this thing, and I do hope that they themselves today will feel that they have come at any rate a great way in the work that they have been doing. The work that has been done by the N.C.W. and the various Associations here, and by the League of Nations especially in the work of the Fifth Committee, shows that those barriers that seemed inseparable were not barriers that could not be crossed. Because of that I do appeal to you to help us in the work we are now setting out to do, and to see that both in East and West the Traffic in Women shall be abolished.

LADY ABERDEEN: I just wish to tell you that the I.C.W., at the request of the Indian National Council of Women, have made provisional arrangements to hold a Conference in Calcutta, somewhere about January, 1936, to consider this question and our Health, Education, and Prisons, believing that this would be specially useful in regard to the question before us. It is a little premature to make this statement, but I thought you would be glad to know about it. Some of the European National Councils have already expressed a wish to send delegates, and we are to enter into communication with the P. & O. as regards plans whereby delegates from Europe can go and take part in that Conference. The Indian National Council have so often sent their delegates to us, and we felt the time had come in which we should endeavour to meet their wish to have a conference in India. The League of Nations officials would be very glad to see such a conference held, and would be ready to support and help us in holding it.

The CHAIRMAN then put the Resolution, which was **carried** unanimously.

7. Report of Departmental Committee on Sterilisation.

MISS PATERSON, J.P.: On behalf of the East Dorset Branch I beg to move:

That the National Council of Women, having considered the Report of the Departmental Committee on Sterilisation, and being in General Agreement with the recommendations therein, urge upon the Government the need for the introduction of a measure to legalise Voluntary Sterilisation in the three classes of cases specified by the Committee, viz.:

- (a) *a person who is mentally defective or who has suffered from mental disorder.*
- (b) *a person who suffers from, or is believed to be a carrier of, a grave physical disability which has been shown to be transmissible.*
- (c) *a person who is believed to be likely to transmit mental disorder or defect.*

The first point is that the sterilisation is to be voluntary.

The other thing I want to stress is that the operation is not, as a great many people think, a very terrible one. For the man it is quite simple, and for the woman it is about the same as an ordinary healthy appendicitis case. It leaves all the functions intact.

This Departmental Committee sat for two long years and heard sixty witnesses. Out of the sixty there were only three who were against sterilisation.

The two points I want to take most particularly are these. That they say, "In the first place we were impressed by the dead weight of social inefficiency and individual misery which is entailed by the existence in our midst of over a quarter of a million mental defectives and of a far larger number of persons who without being certifiably defective are mentally subnormal. This mass of defectives and subnormals is being steadily recruited and is probably growing.

"In the second place, we were increasingly impressed by the injustice of refusing to those who have good grounds for believing they may transmit mental defect or disorder the only effective means of escaping from a burden which they have every reason to dread."

I want you to look at this from a rather different angle, not with the idea that a right is going to be taken away from people, but that there is a right which they ought to have: the right of not bringing children into this world who may have disease. In the Report they are not thinking only of mental disorder: they say they have included physical disorder.

There are several things, such as certain types of blindness, deaf mutism, etc. which are known not only to be transmissible, but the means are known by which they are transmitted. There was a case brought up by the Prevention of Cruelty to Children

people in which a blind woman had seven children: three were blind, and when they made enquiries, they found that from one blind man with this particular disease in that country district there were twenty-eight blind persons.

It is a question of the very highest rights of humanity. We are not allowing those children to come into the world with their true birthright—the only liberty and the only birthright that every human being ought to have—to be born with a healthy body and a sound mind. It is because I have been for many years working amongst and with those people, knowing them, seeing them, studying them, that I feel I have to try and make a crusade on this subject.

I would bring you three cases I know of to show the types. There is a pretty girl, with fair hair and blue eyes, in a mental hospital. She says, "I am only twenty-one. Am I going to be kept a prisoner here all my life?"

She is a splendid character, a good little worker. There is a man outside waiting to marry her. I say, "My child, you must take up your cross, because if you go out—you have already had three mentally deficient children—if you go out, in twenty years' time there may be several of your children asking someone else this same question." The only key to that girl's liberty is sterilisation.

In the mental hospital there is a man who has been in six times with acute mania. His wife has had four children and there have been four illegitimate children. But he is sane and he must go out. Now he is in for his ninth time, and his wife is also in and pregnant with another child.

Is it nothing to us that those things happen? Is it nothing to us that we can give those people the right to be sterilised and not to have any more children?

Consider the burden that they are to the nation. In one of our places we have to pay 37/6d. a week for each child, and have only just been able to get that reduced to 28/6d. In another 45/-, and we know the families are working-class people.

Here is another case, of a woman who was a domestic servant and is now married to a postman. She married without knowing her terrible back history. She came to me one day in an unhappy state and asked: "Will you take away my child? She is an imbecile and screams night and day. I shall go off my head and die in an asylum as my mother did."

She came back about two months ago, looking very well, and said, "Can I have my child back. I feel I can look after her now."

I said, "I hope you have no more."

She replied, "No, I was so impressed by what you said that I went to three doctors. I have been sterilised in a hospital." I won't say where. She said "I cannot tell you what a happy life we are living now, my husband and I, free from this terrible dread of having children. No woman or man ought to bring a child like

my child into the world, or having brought one, should bring another." She is happy and well now, and feels quite capable of looking after this child.

There are other things. Why should a man and a woman who love each other not be able to marry if they wish? They may have some bad family history and know it, and do not wish to bring children into the world.

Mothers have come to me and asked me, could I get their sons sterilised. Why should we deny them a great right? Those of us who are normal certainly ought to do all we can for those poor people who are unable to do things for themselves. In this country we always allow conscientious objections, and those who do not approve of sterilisation need not have it because it is voluntary. Why should they prevent this?

MRS. E. W. BARNES, seconding the Resolution, said: This Resolution assumes the cogency of the reasons why we should support the provisions of the Brock Report on Voluntary Sterilisation.

It aims at a classification of the law concerning this matter. Of course there are some who, by shutting their own eyes or because of obedience to authority, cannot see the human aspect of the matter—the subject is taboo. That, I think, cannot strictly be called "consideration" of the Report. But I would have you note one clause in the Report which specifically states that "the difficulty of the conscientious objector largely disappears the moment all idea of compulsion is abandoned." The Report asks for *Voluntary* sterilisation.

Please brand upon your memories the words: "sterilisation ought to be regarded as a *right* and not as a punishment."

The Report makes a fine plea for the liberty of the individual in the matter: and even with this liberty suggests as safeguard that every recommendation for sterilisation should have the signature of two doctors, one approved by the Ministry of Health, and one the patient's own.

I think neither you nor I need have expert knowledge of the medical and surgical details involved. We know that it is more serious for the woman than the man, but though it is no more pleasant than other abdominal operations, it is a recognised one. As with other operations, the patient trusts the surgeon, and it is undergone for no light reason. Also science is not yet at the end of her resources, and as things stand at present, surgeons deeply desire the legal right to deal with cases where procreation is—to put it at its mildest—undesirable.

The Report emphasises that there is no definite legal ruling as to the legality of the operation. Probably most surgeons, with the backing of a physician, would undertake the operation for therapeutic reasons: i.e. if the physical condition of the patient demanded it.

But eugenic sterilisation—operation on racial or social grounds—is not in the same category, though surgeons might catch at a therapeutic straw to help them in a case where it is necessary. But while the law is uncertain, the profession (possibly the men more than the women) hesitates, and its organisations could not as things are countenance any such operation (for eugenic reasons only) in persons of normal mentality, whereas with mental defectives the law is *probably* against the operation.

You will note that I speak of probabilities and uncertainties. Our Resolution asks that they should be replaced by definition, in accordance with the findings of the Report, that definition should legalise the operation (under the stringent safeguards already mentioned).

I do implore you to think of this matter from the standpoint of your own attitude to child-bearing. Put all your force into the progressive legislation which will at least reduce the birth of children tainted—not only by mental defect, but by inheritable disease—congenital blindness, deaf mutism, etc. Think of those to whom the legalisation of this human right would bring relief.

Without such legislation the medical profession is helpless in cases where the operation is needed for eugenic reasons.

Do not think only of mental defectives in this matter, but of people like ourselves, with human passions and human rights, brave enough to demand this operation that they may live an honourable joint life together without passing on their own tragedy to an innocent child.

A DELEGATE: Before the debate proceeds, might we have the exact terms of the present law?

CHAIRMAN: I thought Mrs. Barnes had covered that ground extraordinarily well. Miss Paterson has rather confused the issue by bringing forward a case of a woman who has already got herself voluntarily sterilised: but that is open on the part of the doctor, and he runs a certain risk in performing that operation. Does that answer the question?

Amendment.

LADY RUTH BALFOUR: I wish to move an Amendment on behalf of the Edinburgh Branch:

To delete all words after "Sterilisation, in line 2, and insert "desire meantime to express no opinion thereon."

What I am asking you to do is not to vote against, but to have suspension of judgment. The Report states in more than one place that the value of sterilisation would be completely nullified until better ascertainment has been made by the different Local Authorities.

We have another Resolution on our Agenda asking for ascertainment, No. 11. I ask this Conference to pass that Resolution as the first step towards this one, if they are in favour of it, but on no account should they vote for this now.

There is another point. The Departmental Committee which voted in favour of sterilisation on these grounds was in a different position from the N.C.W. We are a national body of people holding different opinions, and if we vote for this now, we are asking the Government to take action now on a thing which the Committee themselves do not want to open until the other ascertainment has taken place, and in addition we are voting for a thing which the Committee themselves say will have a very small effect indeed on the solution of the Mental Deficiency and Mental Disorder problem. Further—a very valuable section will not only break off from us on religious grounds, but they will actively work against us, and I cannot exaggerate the importance of retaining them as a constituent part of our Council.

There are other reasons why we should not vote in favour of this Resolution.

The need for research. At this moment there is not a single disease of a mental type, in which the exact nature of inheritance is known. The Committee themselves state that except in two diseases, Huntington's Chorea and Myoclonus Epilepsy, where the inheritance is after the Mendelian Law, they do not know in any way how it is inherited; and when they say in those two cases that the inheritance is on Mendelian Laws, that simply means that you know the proportion of the first generation which will have the disease themselves and the proportion that will be carriers. It does not tell you even then how it has come about that it is inherited.

The Committee examined cases of mental defectives, and out of the children, a group of 1,800 people over thirteen—and under thirteen you cannot take the figures as really reliable because children change—only 32 per cent. showed mental deficiency and 13 per cent. retardation. Taking those two figures together it is less than half, and the majority of the children were perfectly normal.

They cannot predict in any single case how the thing is going to go. They say themselves that dullness of intellect in one generation may produce mental disease or mental deficiency in another. In fact, they know extremely little about it, and your Council have been asked to pass a law to prevent the procreation of children by people who in many cases will have perfectly normal children.

The Committee themselves urged very strongly that research on various lines should be undertaken to give us more information of the nature of inheritance and of the other causes. In another part of the Report they say environment plays a very large part, that in many cases a possible latent taint might never come into force under a different environment. Until we know more it is most undesirable to resort to what after all are the methods of

mutilation and are not free from danger. In the case of men they say the research should be carried on as, until the male has reached full development, there is a possibility of other undesirable effects. Yet if it were left until the man had attained full development, you might have propagation in that case.

The whole subject is bristling with difficulties, and I submit that this Council should not be moved by sentiment and should hold their hand until more is known about it.

MRS. REMSON WARD, in seconding the Amendment, asked the Council, on the medical aspect of the thing, to consider what the abuse might be to which a girl might be put if she were mentally defective but able to live at home, and at the same time it were known that she had been sterilised and there could be no fear of her becoming pregnant.

She wished briefly to give the reasons on religious and moral grounds against passing the Resolution. Legislation which was dependent solely on medical grounds too often became a short cut, that short cut led into a blind alley, and from that blind alley there was no way of getting out but undoing what had been already done.

The main religious argument against this kind of legislation was that man had no supreme authority over his body. He was the custodian of it, and was responsible to God for the use or misuse that he made of it. To press for legislation which would demand of human beings that they should frustrate the most fundamental and intimate functions of their bodies—not in the interests of their own life or health, but in the interests of society—was surely to ask the State to exceed the legitimate claims which it might make upon the individual.

Public opinion was increasingly against the right of the State to ask the sacrifice of life in war or by capital punishment, and voluntary sterilisation would surely not be in accordance with the best lines of modern thought on this subject.

She would suggest also that this question of sterilisation was closely bound up with those of abortion and the right to suicide.

MRS. W. J. JENKINS (Ealing), speaking against the Amendment, stated that in Switzerland the practice of sterilisation was part of the ordinary medical treatment, and there it had not been necessary to pass legislation on the subject. She quoted Lord Horder as saying that one-tenth of our adult population was too dull or sickly to be absorbed into industry. The Brock Report stated that when one or both parents were mentally defective, one-third of such children are likely also to be defective. At present there were 300,000 of these people (with the exception of a relative few in institutions) who were breeding freely from day to day throughout the country. These were grim realities.

At present it was a crime to take life. In the future it would be considered a crime in some cases to give life.

MRS. RILEY (York), speaking for the Amendment, said that its supporters felt it would be unwise to express an opinion on a matter about which people knew very little. There were, however, two facts of which they were certain. One, that sterilisation was against the religious principles of many members of the N.C.W., which in her opinion should be considered; and, second, that sterilisation was a point upon which the members of the medical profession were by no means unanimous.

MRS. MOORE (Hull), supporting the Amendment, drew attention to the very great danger that these sterilised women would present when they were free and allowed to be at large. There were certainly the cases of happily married couples, but many of the women who were free would constitute a very great danger and be apt to spread disease.

The experience of America was mainly negative. The Departmental Committee on Sterilisation, in paragraph 65, said: "As regards sterilisation the experience of America is mainly negative, and in many States of America the law has remained practically a dead letter." In life unwanted weeds could be thrown on the rubbish heap. In the human garden of life that could not be done. There were people who must be taken care of. Sterilising people did not ensure healthy children, because in the very best families these things occurred.

MRS. E. W. BARNES, opposing the Amendment, agreed as to the need for research. But science was never static; it was always dynamic and progressive. No scientific man would, she thought, be as certain in assertions as Lady Ruth Balfour had been in negations.

The Departmental Committee Report recommended the exact words of the Resolution. Neither Local Authorities nor the Conference could have the knowledge of the particular experts on the Committee. She saw no connection in sterilisation with either abortion or suicide, and deplored, above all, that religion should be used as an argument against the Resolution. Surely neither religion nor morality could demand the procreation of unhealthy abnormal children.

What was done in the Conference was not going to legalise sterilisation, but it was going to show the Government whether that great body of women stood for justice and beneficence—or for worthless negations. It was demeaning to express no opinion when a vital question was raised. The Report suggested progress, and progress was a tide that could not be stayed.

A DELEGATE: Is it clear that at present it is illegal for sterilisation to be performed by a surgeon on a patient by request?

CHAIRMAN: I thought we had already said the law was doubtful.

LADY RUTH BALFOUR: This question has already been answered twice. The position is doubtful, but it is taken by doctors that unless the cause is a therapeutic one, sterilisation is illegal, and

all surgeons who do it for any other reason do it at the risk of being held up for an illegal operation.

A DELEGATE: The only religious body that has professed to be against it is the Mothers' Union. As a member of the Mothers' Union and Secretary of a Branch, and as that statement may affect that body, may I say that the Branches have not been asked for their opinions and have not given them.

A DELEGATE: How do the proposers of this Resolution suggest that the Mental Defectives can give voluntary assent?

MISS MACMILLAN, speaking in favour of the Amendment, said that nearly all those who had spoken for the Resolution had concentrated on the mental defectives, and she thought that was what was in the minds of most people in speaking of sterilisation. (Cries of No!). There was no evidence at all showing how mental deficiency was transmitted. The speakers had assumed, many of them, that it was transmitted and that we knew how it was transmitted. It was not that they were ignorant or ill-informed. *Everyone* was ill-informed on this subject. The experts did not know; they disagreed among themselves. No one knew about this transmission.

On the other point she wished to make, it was the Departmental Committee, not the Conference, that was at fault. Departmental Committees could give good reports and bad reports, and on this point they gave a bad report. They said that mental defectives could give a voluntary decision that they should become sterilised. One speaker had said that one point about the law was clear: that a mental defective could not be sterilised, and the reason was that the mental defective *had not legal power* to give consent. On that point the Departmental Committee was wrong.

CHAIRMAN: I wish to give Lady Moncrieff special permission to speak as a representative of the Roman Catholic Church.

LADY MONCRIEFF: I esteem it a very great favour to have been allowed by the courtesy of your President to voice the opinion of my fellow-Catholics. We wish to support the Amendment, though for us it does not go far enough. But the Resolution runs counter to the religious opinions of many of our fellow-Christians and is definitely against the law, which is binding upon more than 300,000,000 of Catholics.

Christian doctrine establishes that private individuals are not free to destroy or mutilate their members or in any other way render themselves unfit for their natural functions except when no other provision can be made for the good of the body as a whole.

I submit to the Council that we are tending to forget that man is soul as well as body, and in this union the soul is by far the more important.

MRS. ABBOTT said she wished to speak very strongly in favour of the Amendment and against the Resolution. There seemed to be no law but only a feeling that sterilisation might be illegal. It would have been quite a different thing to ask to have it made clear

that voluntary sterilisation for all people was not illegal.

She distrusted a Resolution very much indeed which suggested on the lines of a very unscientific Departmental Report that there should be voluntary sterilisation by law for certain classes of people, including the mentally defective, which was a class incapable of giving consent.

The only clear thing in the Departmental Report seemed to be its recommendation. The members fairly confessed how little they definitely knew about mental defect. They believed that some of it was hereditary; they did not know how the incidence of it worked. Some was due to environment. They pointed out that in the environment of those social classes who were poorly off the incidence was much greater than in the classes that were better off. On every point they examined, for a tiny bit of certainty, there was a great mass of uncertainty.

It was not only the Council who might not know enough; it was that every one and the doctors did not know enough. Research was still going on about possible cures of mental defect and of hereditary mental defect, and at this moment they were asking for a law that would make possible an operation. How would the doctors and scientists and they themselves feel when it was found that some mental defect was not so incurable after all and they had recommended this operation.

Lady Moncrieff had spoken about the soul, but let them look on it also from the purely material point of view.

DR. CHRISTIE, speaking against the Amendment, asked how many of the Council had been at Gogarburn Institution the day before and there seen three imbeciles that were sisters in a family with one normal child outside that Institution. Did the Council know enough to make some statement of its opinion whether they should have stacks more imbecile brothers and sisters? That was a financial point. Also, if they liked, a religious point.

This question was also voluntary. Those who had scruples and felt it against their faith and their principle, had their own individual right not to consider this step.

It was a question again of wider issue. Why should not handicapped people be happy in marriage and yet at the same time be capable of taking a responsible attitude towards the future generation?

America was divided on this subject, but it was coming along far more on to the actual necessity for the legalization in every State.

MISS PATERSON, summing up, said: I am just going to reply to some of the things suggested. One was that we have no knowledge at all of whether there would be any mental deficiency from mentally defective parents. This is what the Report says, because it was incorrectly quoted. (Read extract).

We are asked why we do not make it voluntary for the whole

country. We do not wish it to be done for frivolous reasons, such as not wishing to have children in order to have a free time.

There was talk of mutilation. There is no mutilation. The Fallopian Tubes are as large as bristles. You have your teeth out. For a man it is very simple, and for a woman the Fallopian Tubes, which are cut and tied up, are only as large as bristles.

There is the religious question. It is voluntary.

How can you say the doctors are not agreed and that there are as many against as for, when in this Report they had sixty witnesses and only three out of the sixty against sterilisation?

Four years ago in Portsmouth you passed a Resolution asking that the Government should set up a Departmental Committee to go into the full case of sterilisation. You have this Report, with the recommendations in favour of sterilisation. Surely we would not be worth calling ourselves a National Council of Women if we said we could form no opinion now.

The Amendment was put to the vote and **lost**.

Discussion on Resolution resumed.

MRS. RILEY opposed the Resolution from the religious standpoint of a Catholic woman. Catholics opposed it as being contrary to moral law. Public magistrates had no direct power over the bodies of their subjects. Therefore when no crime had taken place, and there was no cause for grave punishment, they could never directly harm or tamper with the integrity of the bodies, either for the reason of eugenics or any other reason.

From the logical standpoint, how could sterilisation be voluntary in the case of mental defectives who were deemed incapable of giving valid consent in so grave an issue?

Catholics opposed it also from the social standpoint. It was widely agreed that sterilisation was not free from risk to the individual and society in general, through the transmission of infection, in particular, venereal disease.

She urged the Council to oppose the Resolution and not to say the religious standpoint had nothing to do with it. "We start our days with a prayer, asking for help in all our undertakings. Therefore if we are not working for the greater honour and glory of God, I would like to know what we are working for."

CHAIRMAN: I was given to understand that the Amendment in the name of Miss Fox and Miss Kelly would be withdrawn. Is that correct?

Miss Fox: Yes.

DR. STACEY CLEMINSON, speaking for the Resolution, emphasised the word "voluntary." Why should views be forced on other

people who also had their own conscientious views?

She had heard someone speak of women going mad after the operation. The operation that was done in these cases was exactly similar to the operation done after Caesarian section in most cases, and she had never yet heard of a woman going mad after that. The operation was a section of the tubes and not the removal of the ovaries.

A number of speakers seemed to be thinking only of the present generation. They were anxious for the woman who was to have the operation. She herself was anxious for the children that would be born if the operation were not done. She knew a case where five blind children were born to one woman. Three of them grew up to be over 45 years of age, and one of them was still in an asylum.

MISS TINDALL (Harrogate), speaking on behalf of the Catholic members of the N.C.W. Harrogate Branch, opposed the Resolution as ethically wrong. It permitted healthy organs to be maimed for a purpose which could be more easily, safely and effectively attained by other means. It was scientifically wrong, and the results of sterilisation were not always as successful as was claimed; even the British Medical Association being very divided on the matter.

There were three facts to be remembered before deciding in favour of sterilisation, voluntary or otherwise. If such a measure became law, women would be chiefly affected by the operation, which often had serious results on a woman's health. Women would be the chief sufferers from resulting increase in Venereal Disease. Motherhood would be decided by the State, not by the two people concerned, and certainly not by the woman.

The speaker for the Resolution in her speech made many startling assertions, but gave no proof. She gave neither names, names, dates nor places by which her numbers could be verified.

MISS EVELYN FOX (Mental Welfare Association), supporting the Resolution, said: First of all, application is made not by outside bodies but by the individual for the operation.

The point of legality was raised. There is one very important consideration which comes in. It is perfectly true that individual surgeons may take the risk to themselves of performing an operation, and they would be surgeons in private practice. But have we considered that it is the doubt on the legality of the operation which prevents any assistance being given in hospitals, in general hospitals, or in any hospitals coming under the Public Health Authority, to people who are unable to pay for themselves.

The recommendation of the Committee allows assistance for an applicant who asks for the operation, allows the assistance of the Public Health Authorities. It means that it will still be possible for wealthy people, who are inspired by a desire for the benefit of the future of the race, it will be possible for them to have this operation performed at their own expense. It will now be possible for those who cannot afford to pay, and those are the individuals

who are living in small crowded rooms, where the difficulties are very much greater.

Another point, which has been stressed over and over again, is that the defectives cannot understand. That is not the experience either of people with a definite knowledge of mental defectives of the higher grade, nor is it the experience in the thousands of cases—two thousand or more—of defectives who have been operated on in California. They have been able to understand, and anyone with experience of high grade feeble-minded people knows that they will be the ones to ask for this operation and that they do understand what they are doing.

My last point is on the spread of Venereal Disease if defective girls are sterilised and are in the community. I agree that if they were entirely free, there might be that risk. But we are forgetting that there is a Mental Deficiency Act, which protects any defective who is in danger. Therefore, should this difficulty arise, it is perfectly simple to put into operation the administration of the M.D. Act, and to send such a girl, who is not safe in the community, to an institution.

MISS NEILANS, opposing the Resolution, said she was not against sterilisation as such, but most particularly against the clause dealing with mental defectives.

"You want to prevent the birth of mentally defective children. If the defective is in an institution—where he or she ought to be—you have already prevented the birth of children. Why are defectives not in institutions? Because the Local Authorities will not carry out in some cases the powers they are given to ascertain the number and to provide institutions for them. They do not do that because of the cost.

A great deal of the support—I am not talking of our expert friends who have spoken today—but a great deal of the support outside the trained social worker for sterilisation comes from those who want to save public money, and we know that this sterilisation of defectives is not likely either to save public money or really to reduce to any appreciable extent the birth of defectives, because many defectives are born from parents who are perfectly normal.

We have had great stress laid on the word "voluntary." The unfortunate part about the N.C.W. is that few of us are likely to come before Public Assistance Boards, or to be in prison, and we do not understand the sort of pressure that can be put on to people who are dependent on public assistance.

With parents who are themselves on public assistance, who have a mentally defective child, enormous pressure can be put on to these, not by our friends here but by those who merely want to save public money, to compel people to give consent.

Remember I am not necessarily against sterilisation itself, but I *am* against—and I think it is rather cowardly to begin with—applying it to a class who are really not in a position to give a full

assent because so often they are the poorer people.

What are you going to do if your mental defective refuses to be sterilised? We have all assumed they are going to consent. If they do not consent, what are we going to do? And what arguments are you going to bring forward once you have given way on this, to prevent it being applied to the all too fecund wives of unemployed miners, to the hopelessly unemployed, and so on?

I would prefer to see the ambiguity of the law removed, so that doctors may do this operation, with special restrictions against frivolous reasons."

A DELEGATE: Did not the last speaker say that mentally defective children were born of normal parents? Cannot that be traced to mental deficiency in the family?

CHAIRMAN: Not invariably.

MRS. HARTREE, supporting the Resolution, stressed three points: that it was voluntary; that a higher-grade mental defective could give consent; that it did not only concern mental defectives or people in institutions.

"We are not," she said, "making any obligation on patient or doctor or anybody else, but only asking that it may be made legal for those who ask for it for good reasons, and it is for them to decide. What right have we to make impossible this relief to others, either on our own opinion or on any religious grounds at all? We are supposed to be religiously tolerant in England. We have no right, whatever our religious opinions may be, to refuse relief and security to people who ask for it.

We allow birth control. This is a permanent birth control. You cannot logically refuse it.

We grant that there is uncertainty. But we know that these recommendations have been made by a Committee who know what they are talking about. They know they have not got to the bottom of everything, but that is no reason for refusing security to those who want it.

There is the suggestion that we should increase immorality if we were not afraid of the results of intercourse. Morality that is brought about by fear is not the morality that we want for our young people.

Marriage is not wholly for the procreation of children. It is for companionship, for spiritual help and many other things besides just the procreation of children. Otherwise every couple would be having children all the time and nothing else. It is absurd.

I do beg you to give this opportunity of security to the poor as well as the rich.

MISS COWAN, opposing the Resolution, stated that she was not personally against the principles of sterilisation, and was a Protestant.

"I want," she said, "to stress the point of the scientific research. I am going to read to you a short quotation from Prof. M'Neil, of the Children's Hospital, who is known throughout Great Britain

as one of the leading authorities on children. He said to the British Medical Association: 'Sterilisation is no remedy, and, recommended as it was, for both large numbers of children and mothers, it was both useless and cruel. They did not know nearly enough about the subject to justify the application of farmyard methods to human families.' I ask you to weigh these words as a thinking, careful group of women.

We understand and appreciate the difference of thought in our audience, how difficult it is to get inside other people's minds. And yet, when we are asking in a spirit of charity and of respect for other people's opinions, I think we should hold our hand in voting on so serious a question as this, where undoubtedly there is a great division of scientific opinion, where according to the report itself there is a need for a great extension of scientific research.

I want, thirdly, to deal again with the question of the voluntary nature of the proposal for sterilisation. A high-grade mental defective, I am told, might intelligently give consent to such an operation. But, if certified as a defective, other people have the right to express their will for that person, legally and technically. It would not be legally a voluntary consent. You tell me that this is done in cases of insanity. Quite true, but many a certified case has come out of the asylum afterwards having recovered. But after this operation there is no recovery. It has a permanent effect on the human constitution.

Fourthly, the provision of institutions. The greatest help that you can give for combating mental deficiency in this country at this moment is the provision of more institutions. Sterilisation is considered by the average man as something which will save public money. I can give my personal testimony to that from having heard it said by men who are responsible for the public purse."

MRS. ROTHAM (Cambridge) supporting the Resolution, said: "I want very much to emphasise that this is a question of individuals. It is not a question of form or methods, or of a cheap and easy method of solving the problems of mental defects and mental disorders. That cry of sterilisation as a cheap and easy method was raised, I know, and it was to meet that that there was a demand from some of us for this measured and balanced Report, which we are now considering.

As a humble worker in this great and very difficult mental field for some twenty years, I do not think, from hearing the speeches yesterday, that it is realised how much individual care, thought, patience and knowledge is expended on every mental case inside institutions and outside.

In order to get them into institutions at all, we have to be able to give the details and facts very carefully before the Authorities can deal with the cases. Those who have had the privilege of coming into contact with Superintendents of our institutions, and Head Teachers of Special Schools will, I am sure, bear me out in

saying that their one object is for the care of their defectives, and that if a Superintendent of an institution thinks it would be well for a girl to come out and marry, he or she would be giving the very best possible opinion. There are many cases not suitable for institutional treatment. We all know that.

Again and again we outside workers are exercised by the girl who could marry happily and live a normal life with her husband if it were not for the possible and probable burdens and care of motherhood which she is not fitted to meet and which would probably result in her breakdown.

I do ask you to trust the authors of the Report. They have had before them this mass of opinion, which has been accumulated by the patient work of many years. Do let us have courage as well as common sense, sympathy and imagination, and vote for this Resolution.

MRS. NEVILLE ROLFE: I am here today as representative of the British Social Hygiene Council. Therefore I can neither vote for nor against the Resolution, because the Council has made no pronouncement on the question other than this.

They are concerned with this question in so far as the spread of Venereal Disease may be affected. At the request of the Departmental Committee the Council undertook an exhaustive enquiry with the co-operation of their colleague organisations in those countries where sterilisation already obtains. The bulk of the evidence was obviously from America, and they were able to supply the Departmental Committee with a detailed Report up to date, to the time of the Committee's enquiry, that there is no evidence of the spread of Venereal Disease through sterilised cases.

There is one proviso to add: that in America, where the enquiry was most effective because it applied to the greatest numbers, an adequate social service to supervise those mental defectives who were sterilised is essential.

MISS PATERSON, summing up, said: "I want to take one question, the farmyard methods mentioned by Professor M'Neil. No such word has ever been used.

I would like to say one word from someone still greater, and that is Dr. Tredgold: 'There are difficulties and dangers in this which can be overcome. The question is one of urgency and first-rate importance. Sterilisation is a justifiable and appropriate procedure for high-grade mentally defective boys and girls who are well behaved, for whom suitable employment can be found, and also for those subject to recurrent insanity.'

The religious point of view has been stressed very much. God made man in His image, and what a travesty we are allowing to be made of that image. It is from the very highest religious motives that those of us who advocate this measure do so. We are bringing no pressure to bear on anyone else who thinks otherwise:

but we do not want pressure brought to bear on us either, because we are doing it from the very highest religious motive.

In our Lord's life the child was everything, and it is for the future child, the child who ought to be born with a healthy body and a sane mind, who ought to have all the best of life and not have to be shut up in institutions, that we are speaking.

I am very sorry that one of the speakers said that I had said things without giving any data. I think I mentioned the N.S.P.C.C. case. Naturally I cannot give the names in public of the people I mentioned, but if anyone cares to come to me I will give them the names and tell them the places from which they come. I will give proof of every single thing I said.

An American delegate who was here yesterday was very angry at what had been said about America. She had studied eugenics for ten years, and she said that in America it has been a great success. Out of 5,700 cases of women sterilised, there have only been three deaths, two from the anaesthetic and one because the woman pulled off her bandages and got infected.

The CHAIRMAN put the Resolution to the meeting. It was **carried** by 339 to 99 votes.

MISS COWAN : I have to take advantage with very great regret of Article XIII.11 of the Constitution, which reads as follows :

When resolutions passed by the Representative Council are published, a statement of the non-participation of any Society may be inserted.

I hereby intimate the non-participation of the Edinburgh Branch in the Resolution just passed.

MRS. RILEY : May we as Catholic women say we take no part in that Resolution?

CHAIRMAN : As some Society—not individual women.

The Leeds Branch of the N.C.W. and the Mothers' Union have also given notice, of their non-participation in this Resolution.

8. Nursery Schools.

MISS MARGARET DRUMMOND, M.A. : On behalf of the Nursery School Association I beg to move the Resolution with two additions :

In paragraph 2 after the word "schools" add "in England" and after the words "Education Act of 1918" add "and under Clause 8 of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918."

CHAIRMAN : Have I your permission to include those slight verbal amendments? **Agreed.**

MISS DRUMMOND : I beg to move :

The National Council of Women draws attention to the vital

importance of care and nurture in promoting the all-round development of the pre-school child. It recognises that, because of the gap that exists between the infant welfare centres and the elementary schools, the health and general efficiency of a large number of children are impaired, with the consequence that many of them are unable properly to benefit from their subsequent education.

The National Council of Women therefore calls upon the Government (a) to remove the embargo upon new nursery schools in England and (b) to encourage Local Authorities to exercise their powers under Clause 19 of the Education Act of 1918 and under Clause 8 of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918.

Recognising also the opportunity that now exists for comprehensive planning in new and reconditioned housing areas, the Council calls upon Local Authorities to take advantage of this opportunity by reserving sites for Nursery Schools in all such areas.

In accepting this Resolution you are simply asking the Government and Local Authorities to make effective a clause which was inserted in the Education Acts of 1918. This clause made it lawful for every education authority to make arrangements for :

(a) supplying or aiding the supply of Nursery Schools for children over two and under five years of age (or such later age as may be approved by the central authority) whose attendance at such a school is necessary or desirable for their healthy physical and mental development ; and

(b) attending to the health, nourishment and physical welfare of children attending Nursery Schools.

The medical inspection of school children has made known to us that a large proportion of the children of the nation entering school at five years of age are suffering from physical defects and impairments of health which might have been prevented and which ought to have been prevented. Were this all, it might be possible to remedy matters by extending the range of the care given in most places to mothers and infants so as to include the toddlers right up to school age. But this is not all. This is only my first point. My second point is that in most homes, conditions are such that the little child's powers and capacities do not receive the stimulus and encouragement which is necessary for their full development. The ordinary house provides an environment suited to adults, but entirely unsuited to the needs of a little child. Thirdly, not only is the child's intellectual development retarded but his emotional nature is perverted and disturbed ; inner conflicts are aroused which may permanently injure his personality.

It is comparatively easy to see how far a child of five deviates from the ideal of physical health ; it is not easy to see how far he deviates from the ideal of mental health, and yet this latter may be by far the more important of the two.

Now the Nursery School offers an environment which is

specially devised to promote the nurture and the general development both physical and mental of the child. In the ordinary home nearly everything says "Don't" to the little child—don't play with the coal, don't touch the pots, don't climb on the furniture. His natural impulses of enquiry and investigation are repressed at every turn; in the Nursery School everything says do, everything calls to the child to be active, to express himself, and in so doing to find out and increase his own powers. Moreover, he has here the society of his own contemporaries, of his equals in strength and skill. He is neither the plaything nor the pest of adults, nor the tyrant over others smaller than himself. In the garden the wonder and beauty of nature is revealed to him, and there and in his open-air workrooms and rest rooms, light, sunshine, space, fresh air, wholesome food, and dreamless sleep lay the foundations of a healthy mind in a healthy body.

That it is no easy thing to bring up a child is shown by the spoilt children, the tyrannical and unreasonable children, that are known to all of us. In the Nursery School tantrums die away and problem children settle down to friendly co-operation. Freedom to work and to play, attractive things to do, above all the skilled guidance of the experienced and highly trained Nursery School teacher, these things bring about a change that seems miraculous in many a difficult child.

The Nursery School is not, as some people have thought, a substitute for the home; nothing can make up to a child for a bad home or a bad mother. It is a useful or necessary adjunct to the home, and it plays its part in bringing about in the home a better understanding of the child.

One of the foremost of present-day child psychologists, Prof. Arnold Gesell, of Yale University, has said of the Nursery School clause in the Education Act, "This enactment must be regarded as a most significant extension of social control in the field of mental hygiene." The clause, he says, has become historic. It must, I think, to us be a most tragic reflection that along the path opened to us in 1918 by this historic clause, we have in this year of grace 1934 proceeded such an infinitesimal part of the way.

LADY LESLIE MACKENZIE, C.B.E.: I know that when Miss Drummond has spoken of Nursery Schools we recall Margaret Macmillan in England. She, of course, was the pioneer in your country. I could probably say that Margaret Drummond has done much the same with us here.

But I would like to recall to you one expression of Margaret Macmillan about Nursery Schools. It was here in Edinburgh, and she had a blackboard. On that blackboard she put NURSERY in letters about two feet large. Then she put school so that we barely saw it. That, she said, is the real idea of the Nursery School. It is the continuation of the very best of nurseries: it is the very least

of schools, when we mean reading, writing and arithmetic. Nothing of that kind ought to be in the Nursery School. As Miss Drummond has said, it is the continuation of what we expect to be a good home for a child, and a home that has several children all round about the same age, which is one of the good things to say for the big family, and probably a criticism of the other.

In England you are in a much more difficult position than we are, because your Central Authority a year or two ago said that one of the things they could retrench on was the Nursery School, and they said England was not to establish any more new Nursery Schools. I presume you are allowed to carry on your old ones. (CHAIRMAN: Yes.)

We in Scotland have not that embargo, because the Education Department knew the value of a Nursery School in Scotland. Our own authority in this city have made up their mind to have a new Nursery School every year for five years.

But, ladies, in addition to your having to get your Central Authority to remove that embargo, you will have the same difficulty as we have here to get your Local Authority—as Miss Drummond has said—to carry out the Act of Parliament which in 1918 said you could and you should attend to the health of the expectant mother, the nursing mother, and the children up to five years of age, i.e. the normal school age.

The Nursery School is one of the big elements, and I am prepared to say one of the cheapest elements in our carrying out that clause of the 1918 Act or the 1915 Act, I think it was with us.

If you do not get your Local Authorities to establish the Nursery School it will make no difference to your Parliament, because it is only a voluntary clause again. That word seems to stagger us all. The Local Authority *may* establish a Nursery School. It is not the Local Authority "must," as they must establish elementary schools when the child is five years of age. I should like to see the "may" changed to "must," but in the meantime you will be satisfied if you get your Central Authority to remove the embargo on the new Nursery Schools, and then, ladies, use your vote to put men and women into your Local Authorities who will carry out what you want to see carried out. Again it is in our own hands, the voters of the community, to get what we want, and it is certainly in the hands of the voters of the community at the present moment to get their Nursery Schools if they want them. You have to convince the community that the Nursery School is one of the valuable things in the training of the little child.

Amendment.

MRS. LEONARD WRAGG: On behalf of the Sheffield Branch I beg to move the following Amendment:

After the word "areas" to add "or providing Nursery Classes in existing schools."

In moving this Amendment, I wish to say that the Sheffield Branch, and very definitely myself personally, were not against the Nursery School in congested areas. In saying congested areas I do not say slums, because we hope that before these schools could all be built, our slums will be no more.

We must remember that even now, the people who live in this way only form a very small part of our population and although for them the Nursery Schools are necessary, for the Borough and Urban populations I do not think they are. I think they would be indeed a hardship. To take a child in a pram a mile or more and fetch it back again every day would be difficult if not impossible for most working mothers.

This is one reason why we suggest Nursery Classes in the existing schools, because in that case the elder children could take the little ones with them, although I would remind you that even these elders would all be under eleven where the Hadow Scheme is operated.

Regarding the new Housing Estates, I think the babies are better sleeping in their own gardens rather than attending Nursery Schools or classes.

The argument that a gap exists between the work of the Welfare Clinic and the school, I do not understand. In all well-administered districts, the children attend the clinic until they are five years old, when they go to school, and are under the constant supervision of the Health Visitor or the School Nurse until they leave school at fourteen or fifteen, whichever the case may be.

I do deprecate very much this idea of some of our professional people that no mother is capable of bringing up her own children. I personally see a very great deal of our working mothers. There are no women that I have more admiration for. Also the very latest information that we have on the psychology of the small child shows us that it is love and affection in the home which gives stability and individuality to a child and prevents that inferiority complex which is the cause of so much of our child delinquency.

MRS. CLEGG: I have much pleasure in seconding the Amendment.

A DELEGATE: Is it not the fact that all Nursery Schools are voluntary? (Cries of No.)

MISS CONWAY said she wished to stress the importance of the Amendment on the strength of the figures published in the last Board of Education Report. In that Report the numbers given in the Nursery Schools, voluntary and Council, were 3,277 in average attendance. In the ordinary schools there were 22,728 children between the ages of 3 and 5 in attendance. Those children were not all enjoying the amenities of Nursery Schools or Classes, and

it would be very much better to give an opportunity for and to stress the importance of the Nursery Class in some cases, because it could be more readily done.

She was herself strongly in favour of Nursery Schools and Nursery Classes, but the Consultative Committee, of which she had been a member, which prepared the last Report on this subject, came to the conclusion that it would be very desirable to give facilities in the ordinary schools for these children to have the amenities, as far as possible, which are given in the Nursery Schools and call them Nursery Classes.

Manchester had a system of Nursery Classes which was dealing with a total of as many children as were in the approved Nursery Schools in the country, and that was a very significant fact.

MRS. GATES (Manchester), said that Manchester had been quoted as being very pleased with its Nursery Classes, and indeed it was, but there were in Manchester women who still felt that in addition to the Nursery Classes, Nursery Schools were very urgently needed.

It was said to be easy for mothers to send children to Nursery Classes with the older children. Speaking for the older children, she did not think it fair to burden them with the duty of taking little brothers and sisters four journeys a day.

Moreover, Nursery Classes did not take the children of two years old. They only took them at the age of three. Nursery Schools took them at two; and the ex-baby in the poor English home was one of the most unfortunate little creatures in the world.

Again, from Nursery Classes the children must go home to their midday meal. They did not get it as they did at the Nursery School, where they were taught table manners, and had the comfort of a hot meal without a journey home, and also got their afternoon sleep immediately after their midday meal.

Both Nursery Schools and Nursery Classes were needed, but Nursery Classes did not meet the full needs so that Nursery Schools were also necessary.

A DELEGATE: No one has told us yet how they propose to act in the villages if they do not want this Amendment, where we could not possibly have a Nursery School as well as our ordinary school, and where you do not seem to like us to have our Nursery Classes.

A DELEGATE: I understand that in voting in favour of the Amendment we should in no way be voting against the Resolution, but only adding a clause to the Resolution.

CHAIRMAN: Yes, but that Clause is not accepted by the mover of the Resolution, Miss Drummond.

MISS DRUMMOND: I have consulted Miss Owen, and she does not accept it. The Nursery School Association as a whole does not accept it. That does not mean that the Association is opposed to Nursery Classes, but if we accept Nursery Classes as an addition

to our Resolution, it is allowing us to be satisfied with the second best.

In Edinburgh we have at least two Nursery Schools that are in the playgrounds of the big schools, but they are real Nursery Schools with all their amenities.

If you do accept this Amendment, the Nursery School Association feels very strongly that it is saying you will be content with the second best; but do remember that we as an Association are in entire sympathy with the admirable work being done under very great difficulties by many teachers in Nursery Classes.

MISS CONWAY: Did I understand Miss Drummond correctly when she said the Nursery School Association opposed any Nursery Classes in existing schools?

MISS DRUMMOND: No, the Nursery School Association does not oppose Nursery Classes; it is simply out to get Nursery Schools.

A DELEGATE: Would the mover accept one verbal alteration to say "and or" instead of "or." If you say "or" it entirely defeats the purpose of the Resolution; if you say "and or" it does not.

CHAIRMAN: Mrs. Wragg, would you accept that wording? It seems very admirable.

MRS. WRAGG: Yes, I accept that.

The CHAIRMAN put the Amendment to the vote. It was **carried**, and so became part of the substantive Resolution.

MRS. A. W. BROWN: In Bradford we started the first municipally owned and controlled Nursery Schools, of which there were two, founded in 1920 and 1921. Since then we have opened two other schools, one in Kent with the Church of England Non-provided School, and one in a Catholic School. We have also three Nursery Classes.

A Nursery Class does not take the place of a Nursery School. It has not got the School Garden or other amenities.

In Bradford at present we are providing for 669 children. The point was raised that the mothers would not take the children to school; believe me, we are overcrowded, and could fill more schools. It is only on the ground of economy that we have started Nursery Classes. I have photographs here of mothers and fathers working in connection with the Nursery Schools. The mothers form themselves into a Club and beautify the school by needlework and other things. The fathers do the garden and make the toys.

It was moved, seconded, and **carried** "That the question be now put."

The CHAIRMAN put the substantive resolution to the meeting.

The National Council of Women draws attention to the vital

importance of care and nurture in promoting the all-round development of the pre-school child. It recognises that, because of the gap that exists between the infant welfare centres and the elementary schools, the health and general efficiency of a large number of children are impaired, with the consequence that many of them are unable properly to benefit from their subsequent education.

The National Council of Women therefore calls upon the Government (a) to remove the embargo upon new nursery schools in England and (b) to encourage Local Authorities to exercise their powers under Clause 19 of the Education Act of 1918, and under Clause 8 of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918.

Recognising also the opportunity that now exists for comprehensive planning in new and reconditioned housing areas, the Council calls upon Local Authorities to take advantage of this opportunity by reserving sites for Nursery Schools in all such areas, and/or providing Nursery Classes in existing schools.

It was **carried** practically unanimously.

9. Juveniles in Unregulated Trades.

MISS R. C. CHAMBERS: With the consent of the mover of the Amendment, which originally appeared in connection with this Resolution, we have agreed on the amended Resolution now before you. I ask leave of the Conference to move that amended Resolution instead of the one originally on the Agenda.

MISS H. M. KELLY: Are we allowed to ask for the original Resolution to be taken?

CHAIRMAN: You can vote against giving permission.

Leave **granted**: 5 dissentients.

MISS CHAMBERS: On behalf of the Y.W.C.A. I beg to move:

The National Council of Women considers that the hours and conditions of all Young Persons in "unregulated trades" should be regulated by law, and urges H.M. Government to introduce legislation as soon as possible to regulate equally as between the sexes the hours and conditions of work of such juveniles.

In this Resolution we ask you to urge the Government to carry to its logical conclusion the principle of the statutory regulation of the working hours and conditions of boys and girls, which has been accepted since the early days of the Factory Acts and has been increasingly evident in recent legislation.

Successive governments have in fact promised a measure to regulate the hours and conditions of all employed juveniles; a somewhat faltering step towards this end was taken by the Children

and Young Persons Act of 1933, and a considerable stride by the Shops Act of 1934.

When this measure comes into law, about 400,000 boys and girls (according to Lord Faversham, speaking for the Home Office), whose hours and conditions were previously entirely unregulated, will be brought within the scope of the Act; while many more, who having been employed as Shop Assistants were allowed by law to work the shockingly long period of 74 hours a week, will have something like a reasonable working week substituted for this. The Act does not go far enough, and it goes further in some directions and for some classes of workers than for others; but it does mark a real step forward.

Even now, however, there are a large number of boys and girls at work who do not come under the protection of this or any other Act. The official figures give about 300,000 juveniles who are employed in unregulated trades. These include vanboys working for transport undertakings which are not connected with wholesale or retail trade, cinema and theatre attendants other than those employed in selling chocolates or programmes, kitchen hands in hotels and restaurants and other domestic workers, lift attendants, page boys, and agricultural and clerical workers. The hours and conditions of these boys and girls are unregulated in any way, and many of them work for excessively long hours and under very unsatisfactory conditions.

Some of the worst cases which came before the Select Committee on Shop Assistants in 1931 were those of van boys employed by transport undertakings which, not being connected with wholesale or retail trade, are not included in the 1934 Shops Act.

Only a few weeks ago a girl working in the office of an Hotel asked me if there was no law to prevent kitchen girls and page boys between 14 and 16 from being worked sometimes 16 and frequently 11 to 12 hours a day, with only brief and irregular intervals for meals. She said she could not bear to see the children getting white and thin after a few weeks' work.

The organisation which I represent, the Y.W.C.A., have found that among the girls who come to our Clubs only a very small proportion belong to these unregulated occupations—and enquiry as to the reasons for this has shown that the long and irregular hours of work make it difficult for them to attend and impossible for them to join classes or other activities which demand regular attendance. My experience is confined to girls, but I think those who are connected with Boys' Clubs would endorse it, as would, I believe, many educationists.

I would ask you, therefore, to pass this resolution and urge the Government to introduce a comprehensive measure to regulate the working hours and conditions of boys and girls under 18. As the law stands now, if a boy of 15, say, is working as a vanboy for a big shop, he comes within the scope of the new Shops Act. Another

who is doing the same work for a transport undertaking is outside the law altogether. But both are young growing boys, both have the same necessity for proper rest and recreation, and decent conditions.

Why should a girl working in the kitchen of a restaurant be entirely unprotected by law, while her friend of the same age who sells chocolates upstairs has her hours and conditions prescribed by law? Again, if statutory regulation is necessary in one case, it is necessary in the other.

We are not asking the Government for anything which they have not already promised. Successive administrations have undertaken to bring in legislation, and when the Shops Act was introduced into Parliament, indications were given that it was not the final word. Let us urge the Government to complete the good work.

We are told sometimes that trade and industry cannot bear any more legislative burdens and that a measure such as we are asking for would hinder the recovery which we hope has begun. That cry has been raised for the last 100 years whenever any measure restricting hours of work has been suggested, and it has never proved true. And in any case, if our recovery depends upon the overwork and exploitation of 300,000 boys and girls, we don't deserve to recover.

MISS AMICIA CARROLL, seconding the Resolution, said: Lady Aberdeen in her speech told us that at the I.C.W. Mr. Butler, of the I.L.O., had asked them to take notice of child unemployment and to bring passion to bear on the subject.

I want to bring before you two perfectly ridiculous paradoxes. On the one hand we have numbers of unemployed juveniles, numbers which are not likely at present to go down, seeing that the number of school leavers has increased very greatly. On the one side we have these unemployed juveniles, and on the other side we have many juveniles who are working far too hard and who have too much work to do.

There are two very interesting Reports on this subject, the Fourth and Sixth Reports of the National Advisory Committee on Juvenile Employment. The Sixth Report, which deals with Scotland, has come out the latest, in 1933.

I will give one figure in illustration. They said that of 23,353 juveniles of whom they received reports, 17,000 were employed for 54 hours per week, and of those 7 per cent. worked between 66 and 72 hours per week. If you do a little arithmetic, you will see how enormously overworked many of these young people are.

The second ridiculous paradox is a complete contrast. While 92½ per cent. of adult organised industry works 48 hours a week or less, large numbers of these young persons work between 60 and 70 hours per week. The weakest, indeed, are being exploited. Those who need the time to grow, to have outside exercise and educational classes, have the least opportunity of all.

I saw a letter from a club worker, telling of a boy who was unable to go on with his club work. He was 14½, and a page boy in a cinema. At the end of the day's work he was too tired to eat his supper, his mother said. He had one free day off a week, and she said, quite unlike himself and most unlike the average boy of 14, he had to spend it in bed. His hours were officially 9 to 9, with one hour for dinner and half-an-hour for tea, but the mother said she never knew when he would come in for dinner. Sometimes it would be 11.30, sometimes 3. On the other hand, he practically never got away from the cinema till 10, and he worked on Sundays. He had to go and clean and polish in the morning, and was on duty from 4.30 to 9.30 or 10 in the evening.

That is merely one case to illustrate thousands.

MISS H. M. KELLY explained that she would have voted with pleasure for the original Resolution. She found it quite impossible to vote for a Resolution which, in the matter of boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 18, included the words: "to regulate equally as between both sexes the hours and conditions of work of such juveniles."

A large number of members of the Council were engaged in work amongst girls in girls' clubs and other organisations. There was no need to explain to them that the conditions of health and physical strength as between boys and girls who had not reached full maturity were very different. For that reason she would herself vote against the Resolution.

MISS C. MATHESON said she rose to give the Resolution her wholehearted approval, though she agreed that in a way she would rather not have had the sex question dragged in, because "young persons" meant boys and girls, and the only exceptions in regulated trades made for boys between 16 and 18 were made in response to definite and peculiar trade or craft requirements. However, as it had been accepted and put in this form, she hoped it would be passed unanimously in view of the very serious danger to which multitudes of young people were put.

It was pathetic that in some districts there was a dearth of juvenile labour. In some occupations there were actually children—because they were only children—being over-worked to such an appalling extent, and what the proposer and seconder had put before the Council was no exaggeration.

In other districts, and sometimes in the same district, multitudes of boys and girls were running to seed without definite occupation. If shifts, even, were insisted on for some of these occupations, something could be done to bring in that juvenile labour and yet to give them an opportunity for continued occupation.

A DELEGATE: Is private domestic service an unregulated trade?

CHAIRMAN: It is not a trade; it is an occupation.

MISS MARY PATERSON, supporting the Resolution, said she had been for over twelve years a leader in a Girls' Club, and so

spoke with first-hand knowledge of schoolgirl members, who, having left school and gone to work as messenger girls in fruit shops and paper shops, etc. or been employed in ice cream shops or as domestics had had to give up what should have been leisure-time activities as well as the continued fellowship with their old school friends. In addition health had frequently been impoverished as well as voluntary education hindered by long and late hours.

She also urged the need for a better public opinion on these young folks' working-day finishing at an hour possible for them to relax. They might be given longer hours for meal times and rest periods during the day, but it was broken time, and it was not possible for them then to engage in activities which helped both mental and physical growth, for between the ages of 14 and 18 they still required guidance and discipline and the organising of their use of leisure.

It was moved by LADY ADAM SMITH, seconded by MISS MICHAEL, and **carried**, "That the question be now put."

The Resolution was put to the vote and **carried** (7 dissentients).

10. Housing Estate Managers.

MISS B. THRUPP, B.A., P.A.S.I.: On behalf of the Society of Women Housing Estate Managers, I beg to move:

This meeting of the National Council of Women, considering that trained management for all working class properties is an essential, urges the Government to take steps to ensure such management for all properties in receipt of national financial assistance, whether by way of subsidy or guarantee, and to emphasise particularly the desirability of employing women trained on the lines laid down by Octavia Hill in the management of all schemes for rehousing of tenants from slum areas.

I want to emphasise two sentences: "trained management for all working class properties is an essential" and that the manager should be "trained on the lines laid down by Octavia Hill in the management of all schemes for rehousing tenants from slum areas"; and to show that these two are correlated.

The basis of all good and scientific management is unification. You cannot separate the preliminary investigations of applications for tenancies, the allocation of these, the collection of rents, the dealing with repairs, the keeping of all accounts, records, reports, etc., from the work of education of the tenants and the supervision of the property.

Such unification is economical, it co-ordinates all activities and prevents overlapping. It provides one authority to whom both

landlord and tenant can go on all matters and so helps to establish that spirit of co-operation between landlord and tenant which is to the mutual advantage of both.

Here, perhaps, I may give a further explanation of the use of the term "unification" as applied particularly to the necessity of the manager having a due measure of control over repairs. I do not mean that a manager appointed by a body which has already arrangements adequate for the carrying out of repairs to the property must, of necessity, take into her hands the full control for the maintenance of the property, making, as it were, her department responsible for the direct labour of repairs. What is essential is that the manager should have such powers that repairs which are necessary and urgent should be carried out on her order, so that she can prove to the tenant that the landlord is keeping his part of the bargain.

To establish such management, the work must be undertaken in the first place by those who are highly technically trained. It is one of the aims of this Society to provide such a training. It is laid down that those training must do at least a year's practical training in an office under one of our members who is herself trained and experienced, learning there all the business of management. A careful selection of entrants to the profession is made, and there is a three months' probationary period so that every effort is made to ensure that the right personalities take up the work. Beyond this, the student is required to take a theoretical examination, such as the special Women House Property Managers' Certificate of the Chartered Surveyors' Institute or some such professional examination.

However, since one is dealing with people in this work of management, it is vital that it should be taken up by those who, besides being technically trained and of the right personality and temperament, are prepared to treat it as a profession of social service, a vocation as should be a doctor's, a nurse's or an educationalist's.

These, then, are Miss Hill's main principles, that management is a business and must be treated as such, and also that efficient management must establish a personal contact and sympathy with the needs of the tenant. Miss Hill always emphasised these two aspects and was great enough to realise that with changing times developments would take place: "When I am gone," she wrote, "I hope my friends will not try to carry out any special system or blindly follow in the track which I have trodden. New circumstances require various efforts; and it is the spirit, not the dead form, that should be perpetuated."

I should like to quote here some figures to show how members of this Society have developed the work and successfully proved its value.

In 1927, Chesterfield was the first local authority to appoint a

woman to manage their property, and about 500 houses were put under her charge. Now 26 authorities in England employ our members, and about 22,000 tenancies are under their responsibility.

Here are some figures to show the decrease in arrears due to the adoption of these methods:

On an annual rental of about £23,000, the arrears at the commencement of Octavia Hill management were 2.17 per cent.; in March, 1933, a year of increased unemployment, the arrears had fallen to 1.48 per cent. despite the fact that the annual rental had risen by 50 per cent.

Here are other figures: in an industrial town in the Midlands, when the manager was appointed the arrears were 8 per cent. on a total rental of £12,000 approximately. Five years later she was responsible for an annual rent roll of four times as much, £54,000, and yet the percentage of arrears had dropped by 3 per cent. I do not want to leave you with the impression that reducing arrears is the only or even the main part of our work, but I should like to give one more figure relating to the low cost of repairs on an estate managed from the beginning on lines advocated by our Society. On an estate managed from the first on Octavia Hill lines the repairs percentage on rental is only 8.9 per cent., the arrears for 1932 were .08 per cent.

Here I would like to stress the importance of giving the manager ample opportunity—if possible, actual control—of gaining a knowledge of the families to be rehoused before displacement. This knowledge, combined with carefully checked references, is an essential in order to allocate the tenancies to their best advantages, both to meet the needs of the individual tenant and to produce harmony and co-operation on the estate as a whole.

Finally, continuity of interest in them is maintained by the weekly collection of rents, keeping in touch with all the persons under her charge, so that she can deal with all the matters relating to their welfare and to the care of the property.

There are three details of management that inevitably occur in the management of working class property.

Firstly, that of overcrowding—this can only be overcome finally by a proper supply of adequate houses, but even when this occurs, there still exists the danger that the houses will be utilised to accommodate more than they were meant to hold unless their care is in the hands of managers who have a detailed knowledge of the household, its personalities and means, and a systematic means of keeping this knowledge up to date by regular weekly visits on a business footing with time to concentrate on the needs of each individual from whom they collect. On a certain estate, where the collection of rents was done by someone whose sole business was to collect rents as quickly as possible, it was discovered that in one house, three bedrooms, one parlour, there were 22 people, three families, and this collector professed to know nothing about it!

I do not think that this would have been possible with a manager who knew the tenants.

Secondly, the ever-present problem of dealing with vermin. Many enlightened owners of property are taking steps to obviate this by destroying the vermin in the tenants' belongings in transit to the new homes, but even when this is done, unless careful and tactful supervision of the new houses is undertaken, the trouble will inevitably occur again, introduced either by a not too high standard of cleanliness or by such things as second-hand furniture.

Thirdly, if differential rents are to be administered, there must be persons in charge to make the necessary careful investigations and to be able to make the adjustments.

There still remains the larger field of endeavouring to foster amongst the tenants of these vast new estates that spirit of co-operation and pride in their homes and the estate. Only personal management can hope to achieve this, helped where possible by the encouragement of such things as tenants' associations, formed to be the basis not only of complaints and demands, but to encourage the co-operative spirit and civic responsibility of each tenant and also by the manager acting as a link with others interested in their welfare, such as co-operation with, in the case of local authorities, other departments, and further social agencies, etc.

I will end by quoting from a speech made by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales: "The question arises whether slum dwellings make slum dwellers, or the slum dwellers the slum. From my experience the answer most certainly is that, given decent conditions which new houses can provide, and enlightened management such as will always be associated with the name of Octavia Hill, the slum dweller rises to the opportunity of his new environment in a wonderful fashion."

As one who has managed property, I heartily endorse his statement.

LADY STEEL-MAITLAND, seconding the Resolution, said: If slums are to be cleared away, and a very great deal is being done both in England and Scotland in this way, the slum mentality must be cleared away also, or new slums will be the result.

Municipal and County authorities in Scotland employ men only to collect the rents; if a woman is employed, it is in the position of clerk, other, of course, than health visitors. Rent collection takes place at the end of the week, and no time for anything else is possible if the area is to be covered.

We know that Octavia Hill began her work in England many years ago. The first worker was appointed in 1864. Since then a great many workers have been appointed, trained in her system. Last year three housing trusts and four local authorities in England made such appointments.

The essence of management on Miss Hill's lines is training a

sympathetic worker, able at the same time to be kind and standing no nonsense when it comes to a question of sub-tenants or a case of differential rents: and may I emphasise that no one not having an intimate knowledge of the tenants can tell when a boy or girl is able to go to work and when, therefore, the rent ought to be raised.

There is a real need, particularly in Scotland, for the appointment of women trained on these lines. And may I suggest that local authorities in Scotland should appoint such a woman having the requisite training—being a Scot so as to better understand the ways of those she works amongst—and give her a definite block of houses to manage. The advantages, as found in England, are a decrease in arrears and the houses being kept up to a certain mark, so that they do not deteriorate so quickly. A proper spirit of pride is fostered, which years of unemployment in overcrowded rooms has undermined.

The County Council of Stirling, reporting on the rents of the Council houses collected for the year ending May 15th, 1934, state that the total rental amounted to £43,094. 6s. 2d.; arrears at May 15th, 1933, carried forward were £1,423. 1s. 3d. or a rate of £3. 9s. 0d. in £100.

In London, on one of the properties managed by a woman Octavia Hill trained, the arrears for the last eight years on an annual rent roll of £13,000, show a rate of 3d. in £100.

Again, on the Grosvenor Housing Scheme, the total rents ending March 31st, 1934, were £12,204. 6s. 8d., and the total arrears owing £12. 14s. 5d., so that the percentage of arrears to annual rent was .1044.

When such reports as the Moyne Report in England and the Whitson Report in Scotland mention the advantages of this system and draw attention to the good results not only to the tenants but because the life of the property is extended, then those among us who are keen social workers, must regret, if the time is allowed to slip by, and this great scheme of Slum Clearance made only half effective, because the proper kind of guidance is lacking for those who have too often only had a half-chance in life.

MRS. DE VILLIERS said it had given her great pleasure to hear that a lady was going out to Capetown. The Council might be interested to know that the Capetown Branch of the N.C.W. were purely responsible for that step being taken. It was their Civic Committee that took up the matter, and she herself went on the first deputation to the City Council. It was received favourably, and the N.C.W. never let the matter rest till their request was granted.

The woman manager was going out to South Africa purely to start the scheme. It was hoped she would train other women, and that there would be trained estate managers right through the country.

MRS. HILYER supported the Resolution, because she knew from experience the wonderful work done by the Octavia Hill managers. She had been the day before to visit the new Housing Centre at Niddrie Mains, and wished to congratulate them on the wonderfully low rents for the three-room houses : 5/6d. for really comfortable little houses.

Then she had been to see the old people's quarters, where she found an old lady outside her house who welcomed her in. She said : "Oh, yes, do come in. You are the first soul I have seen since I have been here." She added a little later, "Of course, the Committee have been round."

Everyone knew that Committees had not got souls, and she thought that there lay the cause of the Octavia Hill management success. Octavia Hill lived in the time of Ruskin, when souls were encouraged.

The children, she thought, looked wonderfully healthy, but she could not understand how Scotch people could fail to see that it was rather extravagant to use two people where one would do. An Octavia Hill manageress did three things. She looked after the people and encouraged them to keep themselves clean and healthy ; she took the rents ; thirdly, she planned for the future, and that was the most essential thing.

MRS. DAY, supporting the Resolution, said that the city from which she came had just had a bitter dispute over rent collectors. The chairman of the Health Committee had employed two Octavia Hill rent collectors, and in the course of time two more were necessary. He strongly recommended to the Council that they should appoint two more lady collectors. This was put to the vote : 17 voted for it and 35 against, on the grounds that men were the main earning power of the home.

Experts said that good management lay at the root of the problem of the slums. The Octavia Hill rent collectors were trained as surveyors, so that repairs, when necessary, were reported at an early stage, and a saving in every way was made.

Rent was usually paid by the housewife, who was likely to find a woman more approachable than a man. With a woman it was easier to explain and discuss difficulties, and when a feeling of friendship between the housewife and the collector developed, a great step forward had been made. When slum dwellers moved to a new house, the results might be disastrous, especially if there were no sympathetic and helpful advice at hand.

Finally, there was no doubt as to which got the better results, the trained or the untrained collector ; for the trained woman was accustomed to considering and dealing with every aspect of her work, and not with one function only, the collection of rent.

MISS PRESTON (Dublin) described the scheme started in Dublin by Miss White, lady principal of Alexandra College, by which a limited liability company was formed, managed entirely

by women, and seven or eight houses were bought in two very poor districts. Their first rent collectors, untrained women, were sent to the Octavia Hill Settlement to learn their job. They came back and handed on the traditions to succeeding generations of rent collectors.

She herself was firmly convinced that the rent collector was the key not only to the slum problem, the housing problem, but perhaps also a bit of the key to social advance to join up in sympathy and understanding the various separated classes of society.

MRS. COLLINS (Bedford), describing what was being done in Bedford, said she had ten and a half years' experience of house management under one of Bedford's ex-Mayors, who owned over a hundred houses and flats. Her duty was to collect the rents and to meet ladies and find out their requirements. Large houses were being turned into flats suitable for the upper middle classes, who came to Bedford in large numbers to educate their children.

The N.C.W. had put up a new housing scheme and undertook to provide all the social things, and now this new scheme was being run by the people themselves. That new colony was very prosperous. This was its third year, and the people themselves were running it under instructions from the N.C.W. It had been a perfect success.

LADY ADAM SMITH : May I just be allowed to say how very glad I am that the suggestion to drop the name of Miss Octavia Hill was abandoned. I have a special reason for this satisfaction, for I had the good fortune to be a pupil of hers. I was at the school which she and her sisters ran in London. Miss Octavia used to take some of her girls to Whitechapel to help her in the play centres and in concerts, and she interested us in those early days in social work of many kinds. She was a very remarkable woman, in advance of her time, especially, as we are all hearing today, in the work of housing and rent collecting. Therefore it is a great joy and satisfaction to feel that the pioneer in this great work is not to be in any way forgotten.

The Resolution was **carried**, with 3 dissentients.

11. Ascertainment of Mental Defectives.

MRS. W. A. POTTS : On behalf of the Executive Committee I beg to move :

That the National Council of Women in Conference assembled, urges His Majesty's Government to require from Local Authorities strict compliance with their statutory duty to ascertain the number of mental defectives in their area, and to provide for them institutional accommodation, and other appropriate means for their adequate care and protection.

The Wood Report of 1929 admitted that there were about 300,000 mental defectives in England and Wales, but of these only about one-tenth were under care. The large majority were not ascertained or certified. They were only estimated. The Report of the Departmental Committee on Sterilisation uses words which I can only quote to you, because they are so important: "The ascertainment is a statutory duty of Local Authorities, but it is clear that the duty is often performed in a most perfunctory way. If there is one conviction which has stamped itself on our minds as beyond any possible doubt, it is the disastrous social consequences of ignoring defect, and we earnestly hope that the laggard areas will lose no more time in discharging their statutory duty of ascertainment and institutional provision, as until this is done not even a beginning can be made with other preventive measures."

Those are the words of the Departmental Committee, and those impressive words, the unanimous conclusion of the specially selected and well qualified body of medical and lay men and women who formed that commission, are the excuse—if any is needed—for bringing this Resolution before you.

You know, of course, that mental deficiency is dealt with by two statutes, the Education Act of 1921, of which the criterion is educational incapacity, and the M.D. Acts of 1913 and 1927, of which the criterion is social incapacity, and this often leads to misunderstandings. There is a relation between these two, scholastic and social incapacity, but they are not identical.

The law recognises three types of mental deficiency. The first two are so easily recognised that we are not concerned with them—imbecility and insanity. It is the last one, the feeble-minded, with whom is our chief concern; those who are so often missed and who need specially qualified people to recognise them. They are the ones who so urgently need care, supervision and control.

There is at present no continuity of control of defectives. There is no obligation on education authorities to notify the M.D. Act Committees of the Special School children leaving their schools, and it is a great lack.

The M.D. Act provides the necessary machinery for dealing with mental defectives, but all machinery, no matter how potentially powerful, no matter how efficient, is useless if the driving force is not behind it, and many areas in England and Wales are lacking in this driving force.

The M.D. Act makes it incumbent on Local Authorities to:

- (a) ascertain what persons within its areas are defectives;
- (b) provide suitable supervision for such persons, or, if such supervision affords insufficient protection, to take steps for securing that they shall be dealt with by being sent to institutions or placed under guardianship;
- (c) provide suitable and sufficient accommodation for such defectives.

How can we help in this ascertainment? Surely it is the duty of every person doing social work to consider whether the explanation of the social failure of an individual, social failure as shown by repeated morally unsatisfactory conduct, by continued irresponsible behaviour, by the commission of silly, purposeless crimes, incapacity to keep a situation or to compete with their fellows, may not be due to inherent innate incapacity and inherent mental defect. Instead of exhausting every person and every possibility in the attempted reformation of these poor creatures, and making unreasonable and impossible demands on the time, patience and energy of willing and devoted workers, is it not fairer to find out first if that poor derelict is capable of being reformed, or if his failure is due to inborn incapacity to cope with life?

How are social workers to find this out? By referring such a person to the Medical Officer to be examined, to see whether they are certifiable. If this is done, and unfortunately they are found to be certifiable but they are not certified owing to lack of accommodation, again the M.D. Act provides the remedy: "Where a Local Authority is reported by the Board of Control to have made default in the performance of its duties, the Secretary of State may, after holding a local enquiry, after being satisfied that such default has taken place, by order require the Local Authority to take steps for remedying the default, and any such order may be enforced by mandamus."

Remembering, as we must do, that the birth of each single defective is a burden on the community, surely it is our business as individuals and collectively to supply the driving force which shall make that machinery of the M.D. Act work.

Public opinion consists of private opinion; you and I are private opinion. Let us use that force in urging what I venture to suggest is the most momentous issue in the social life of today, and let us go back to our Branches and get our Branches to use that force too.

MISS SWAISLAND: In seconding this Resolution, which I do with the very greatest pleasure, I want to quote a few figures from the Board of Control Report, which has just recently appeared for 1933. I do that because I feel sure that whether we have opposed or supported the Resolution on Sterilisation, yet we must realise that the numbers of mental defectives must first of all be ascertained and then the required social care must be provided for them.

In the Wood Report, as Mrs. Potts has said, it was estimated that there were 300,000 mentally defective persons in the country. That was an estimation. Today the numbers known to the Local Authorities—that does not mean the people being dealt with, but the numbers known to the Local Authorities—are still only 106,439. So that there are nearly 200,000 persons about which our Local Authorities know nothing.

Of that 106,439 who are known to exist, there are just over 70,000 who are under care. That does not mean, of course, that all those are in institutions. In institutions there are roughly about 34,000. But it does mean that just over 70,000 persons are actually being cared for, either in institutions or on license or under guardianship or under statutory or voluntary supervision. We are still a very long way, therefore, from the ascertainment, let alone the care that is needed for the mentally defective.

If we are out to support a Resolution of this sort, then we have to count the cost. It is not going to be an easy matter to care for these people within our midst. It is going to cost us money. We have to be prepared for that. I think those of us who went to Gogarburn Institution the other day and saw the work being done there and the pitiful state of those children and grown-up people, will feel that we owe it in gratitude for our own sanity and our own mental equipment to spend what money is required, even if it comes out of our own pockets, on these distressed and terribly afflicted members of the community.

Miss Blair then read the following memorandum, by DR. GLADYS BOYD, M.D., M.B., D.P.H., Edinburgh, on the difference in legal position as regards mental defectives in Scotland.

The legal position in Scotland, as regards mental defectives, is to some extent different from that in England, and I shall endeavour to show you wherein that difference lies.

1. In England, mental deficiency and lunacy have never been combined in the Act as is the case in the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scot.) Act, 1913: and, while a number of amendments to the English 1913 Act have now been made by the passing of the Mental Deficiency Act, 1927, the Scottish Act remains unchanged.

2. In the original 1913 Acts of both England and Scotland, no definition of Mental Deficiency was given. The English 1927 Amendment gives a very comprehensive definition of "mental defectiveness" and states that the condition may have its onset at any time before the age of 18. The Scottish Act is still without any definition of mental defect, and the clause stating that the condition must be present "from birth or from an early age" still remains.

3. In the 1927 Amendment, the term "moral defective" is used instead of "moral imbecile," and some alterations have been made in the accompanying definition. This very necessary change has not yet been made in the Scottish Act.

4. In England a Committee of the Local Authority known as the Committee for the Care of the Mentally Defective, is appointed specifically to deal with matters relating to Mental Deficiency. In Scotland, before 1929, the District Boards of Control were ad hoc bodies appointed to deal with Mental Deficiency and Lunacy combined; but, with the passing of the Local Government (Scot.) Act,

1929, the District Boards fell into abeyance. And the care of the Mentally Defective has, since then, been in the hands of existing committees of the Local Authority, not specifically appointed for this purpose.

5. In England the wording of the certificate under which a child is transferred to a Special School for the Mentally Defective, is taken from the Mental Deficiency Act, 1913: in Scotland, at any rate in Edinburgh, the wording in use is taken from the Education of Defective and Epileptic Children (Scot.) Act, 1906.

6. In England, the child cannot be dealt with by the Education Authority before the age of 7, while in Scotland he can be dealt with from the age of 5.

7. In England the 1927 Amendment has made it the statutory duty of the Local M.D. Authority to put into operation schemes for occupation and training. Section 64 of the Local Government (Scot.) Act, 1929, may be read as a permissive Clause giving powers to Local Authorities to make provision for the training and occupation of all defectives not subject to be dealt with by the Education Committee, provided that the Authority puts forward a scheme which is (a) approved by the Board of Control, (b) financed by the Local Authority, and (c) operated by an outside body. This would appear to make it possible for Local Authorities to finance schemes for training and occupation if they so desire, but no statutory duty is laid upon them in that respect.

The CHAIRMAN put the Resolution to the vote. **Carried** unanimously.

12. Cinema Control in Scotland.

CHAIRMAN: You have all got the amended form in your hands. Are you willing that it should be moved in this amended form? **Agreed.**

MRS. WILLIAM FYFE: On behalf of the Executive Committee I beg to move:

Seeing that the Secretary of State for Scotland has been advised that Scottish Courts would be unlikely to follow English Court decisions under which the local control of cinema exhibitions is lawfully exercised by the cinema licensing authorities in England and Wales, and that the lack of uniformity reacts most seriously upon the maintenance of satisfactory public standards in this form of popular entertainment throughout the country, the National Council of Women makes urgent appeal to the Government to appoint a Departmental Committee of Enquiry into the whole question of legislation regarding the exhibition of cinematograph films, and matters relevant thereto, throughout Great Britain.

May I explain quite briefly that this amended Resolution is the unanimous finding of all those concerned in the original Resolution and in the Amendments. When the original Resolution was passed by your Executive Committee, it was immediately sent up to the relative Government Departments, in the hope that before we met now some satisfactory action might at least be foreshadowed. Our hopes have not been realised.

In putting this Resolution before you, I should like to emphasise that it is the unanimous finding of your Executive, that it has the cordial support of Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon and the Edinburgh Branch, who were going to propose the original Amendment, of Mrs. POTTS of Birmingham, and of the spirit of the motion of the Scottish Standing Committee.

In moving it, I propose to confine myself entirely to the first part, which puts before you the relative positions of England and Wales and Scotland. In doing so, I am going to express no personal opinion but to give you simply a statement of historic fact. There are two points that I want to emphasise to make the relative positions of England and Wales and Scotland perfectly clear.

The first is that there is no difference in the Law. One and the same Act applies equally and in all its clauses both to England and Wales and Scotland. The Cinematograph Act of 1909 lays down for all parts of Great Britain the conditions under which cinematograph films may be exhibited. It makes the Licensing Authorities in England and Wales and Scotland responsible for carrying out its clauses in their respective areas.

I want to point out very clearly that there is not one word in the Cinematograph Act from beginning to end that has any definite reference to anything except safety conditions. It has therefore been called an Act passed for securing the safety of the audience at cinematograph exhibitions.

My second point is this, that in 1909 when that Act was passed, it was quite adequate to meet the situation. Films were in their infancy. There had been practically no attempt to tell stories by films. There were no picture houses in the modern sense of the term. But when, in 1913, a novel *Quo Vadis*, had actually been filmed and shown, and when, in 1914, the first building specially designed and opened for the sole purpose of showing films had been started, the whole position was changed. What we now call the feature film and the modern picture house had arrived, and things were entirely different. It was then, with the rapid influx of films from America, the only producing country at the time, films which required some sort of guarantee of suitability for their exhibition to the British public, that the film trade itself took the initiative and established a voluntary trade censorship.

That did achieve a great deal, but it was obviously quite inadequate to meet the situation. The Licensing Authorities throughout the whole country had their powers still confined solely

to the putting into force of the explicit safety regulations of the 1909 Act. That state of affairs continued until in 1921 the Middlesex Licensing Authority claimed the right to make conditions dealing with the type of film that might be shown.

I am not going to say much about England. I leave that to the following speakers. But I do want to show you that by 1923, during which two years there have been six cases fighting this point out in your High Courts in England, the decisions were all given against the trade and in favour of a Licensing Authority having the right to make reasonable conditions for the exhibition of films in the public interest.

From that point England and Wales and Scotland differ, not in the law but in this: that whereas your English judges presumably made these decisions from the dictates of common sense and of an appreciation of the moral responsibility of a local Licensing Authority to the public in its areas, your English judges have not a legal leg to stand on, for there is not a word in the Act that gives any Licensing Authority any right except to make safety regulations.

Our Scottish Law Officers of the Crown advised successive Secretaries of State for Scotland that for a Licensing Authority to make any condition other than a safety regulation would in a Scottish Court be regarded correctly as *ultra vires*. Therefore the Scottish Licensing Authorities from that time have been confined to the putting into force of safety regulations. Scottish opinion, organisations and churches all over the country have pressed repeatedly for legislation.

About a couple of years ago, the local Licensing Authorities of Scotland unanimously appealed to the Government for legislation to remedy this state of affairs. Last year, 1933, in answer to repeated questions in the House of Commons, our Secretary of State for Scotland, Sir Godfrey Collins, told us that he did admit the serious need for legislation, that he was giving this whole important question his very serious consideration: and we were just waiting for this looked-for legislation to come at last, when we were thoroughly taken aback and disappointed by the publication in the Press of the Report of the Annual Meeting of the Cinematograph Exhibitors' Association, making public the details of a voluntary agreement concluded between the Scottish Office and the Cinematograph Exhibitors' Association.

The Secretary of State for Scotland has promised to postpone legislation indefinitely. The Cinematograph Exhibitors' Association on its side, without the power to make its members accept any terms, has promised to do its best to secure voluntary observance of conditions similar to your Home Office model conditions. But they make two important stipulations, first, that these conditions, being voluntarily accepted, must not appear in the form of a license. Therefore the local Licensing Authorities have no power to observe or supervise. Secondly, that they will not put into force Clause 3

of your Home Office model conditions, the very important clause which prohibits the exhibition of adult films to unaccompanied children and young persons.

Therefore the state of affairs that Scotland has to put before you today is this. Our Scottish Licensing Authorities have no power to prohibit the exhibition in any town or village in Scotland of a banned film. They have no power by Act to prohibit the exhibition of the uncut version of a film that has been censored. They have no power to prohibit the exhibition even at specially advertised children's matinées of pictures which have been passed by the Censor for exhibition to adult audiences only.

We have been asked if we can prove that in practice that is done. We are going to conduct an investigation into that, but I can give you from my own personal experience this illustration. During 1934 two picture houses in a crowded industrial ward in the city of Glasgow have been observed, by a Justice of the Peace, during fifteen consecutive weeks. During that time there were sixty large films, feature films, advertised and exhibited at specially advertised children's matinées in one house for 1d. Of these sixty films, fifty have been passed for exhibition to adult audiences only, and ten only have been passed for universal exhibition.

I do not want to express any personal opinions, but I do wish to say this, that some years ago the biggest man in the cinema trade, the President of the Producers' and Distributors' of America, said this: "We not only provide the world's most popular form of entertainment, but we hold in our hands the most powerful instrument in the world for moral influence and for education."

After the advent of the talking film, H.M. Secretary of State for Home Affairs, talking to representatives of the cinema trade, said: "There is no limit to the possibilities of the talking film. In your hands is a most powerful instrument for good or evil. You, the cinema trade, have it in your power to decide great issues, to make or mar political parties, and even to decide peace and war."

If that is so, will you help us to get legislation that will at least control it.

MISS COWAN, seconding the Resolution, said: I am very glad that we have got an agreed Resolution on this very important question. I think when two lines of constructive social reform can come together on an agreed policy, after they have been working on different lines for several years, it is an amazing tribute to the catholicity of our Council and to the way in which we try to meet each other's point of view.

I am seconding the Resolution from a different angle. I am thinking rather of the tremendous need for a Departmental Committee to go into this whole question of film censorship and all matters connected therewith.

The conditions which Mrs. Fyfe has so ably outlined to you

of the present law are unsatisfactory. Efforts to secure for Scotland similar powers to those possessed in England might or might not have helped the situation. But we have failed to get these, and therefore we are united now on the bigger policy of asking for a Departmental Committee to look into this question from the point of view of the whole country; because there is also in England a group of people who feel that this whole question of the menace of films is now becoming too big, and that we, the public, through our Government, ought to make it a subject of very special enquiry and possibly change the nature of the censorship.

We are all aware, I think, that the present censorship is financed by the trade, that the officers of that Board of Censors are appointed by the trade. They carry through their difficult task with great assiduity and with great care, but the public control is not over their operations.

How different is the position as regards the B.B.C. We have got there an official body, which carries it through on our behalf in a way which is the admiration of the whole world. As regards the films, we were not alive to this issue at the beginning. We have great admiration for the trade in the way they did their own pull up on this point. But now the thing is bigger, and there are different demands, and that is why we feel that voluntary effort has done its best.

In so many different towns there has been enquiry into this. In Edinburgh our elaborate enquiry, which is for sale on the bookstall. In Dundee, in Aberdeen, in Birmingham, there have been endless enquiries, and there is evidence now to show to a Departmental Committee that there ought to be some change.

Our second point is that we who have been working on this do not think that even the Home Office model conditions are satisfactory, because they do not touch the censorship as a whole, in particular the problem of the young adolescents. Our enquiries have shown us in Edinburgh that the influence of the films is perhaps even greater in the adolescent population over sixteen than in the section below sixteen. If you advertise that an 'A' film is to be on view, what happens? A very large proportion of that adolescent population over sixteen will go to it.

Are these 'A' films always of the type we want them to see? There is a big case for general improvement of the standard of films in our country.

I want also to stress the instructive work being done through the British Film Institute, and now, I hope, through the newly constituted Scottish Film Council. But neither of these two bodies have anything to do with censorship at all.

We have to work constructively, and we have also to work through national control. Then I think I need only look around and think of the Welfare of Animals Sectional Committee of our own Council to see how much has got to be done as regards the position

of animals in the films.

MRS. OGILVIE GORDON : In supporting this Resolution I wish to remind the Council of two outstanding features in our Report of 1931. First, we clearly stated the Council's support of the principle of *local control* of film exhibitions under the cinema-licensing authorities ; second, we asked the Government to appoint a *central body* mainly representative of these authorities, as a means of co-ordinating their powers and rendering them more effective.

At that time we fully hoped that the Scottish cinema-licensing authorities would soon be given the same powers of local control as were held in England and Wales, and that a uniform basis of public administration would thus be secured throughout the whole country. This has not taken place. Instead, owing to the Scottish action, we have a divided system in the neighbouring areas, under the trade and under the authorities, which constitutes a disastrous blow to the principle of public control.

Again, on our second request little or no progress has been made. A small Consultative Committee was appointed, but without executive power. There still continues the lack of any central body to keep in contact with the local cinema-licensing authorities in England and Wales and to enable any group of them to take collective action on occasion. At present, individual action to ban a particular film in their area may be taken by one authority or another, but such isolated action has had no appreciable effect in stemming the output of unsuitable films.

The "model condition" on this subject, as recommended by the Home Office to the Licensing Authorities, has also proved ineffectual. Among other requirements it states that "no films shall be shown which are likely to be injurious to morality."

As Chairman of the Cinema Committee of the Council, I submit that in view of failure on these and certain other fundamental points for which our Council has consistently worked, we must find some other means of approach to the very urgent Cinema problems. And I trust that you will vote unanimously in support of this Resolution for a Government Enquiry.

MRS. POTTS (Birmingham) : I feel, in cordially supporting with all my heart this Resolution, I cannot do better than to tell you a little story, because sometimes I think the N.C.W. needs a little encouragement in being persistent.

Two frogs once fell into a pail of milk. One was a gentlemanly little frog ; he did not like making a fuss, and he died at the bottom of the pail like a gentleman.

The other frog said, "No, while there's a kick in me, I will go on kicking." And he went on, and the next morning he was sitting on a pat of butter.

If this demand for a Government Enquiry goes through, I think we, as a National Council, ought to feel that we are sitting

on a pat of butter.

It was moved by Miss CONWAY, seconded by Miss SWAISLAND, and **carried**, "That the question be now put."

CHAIRMAN : I think it would be your wish that Mrs. Fyfe should exercise her right of summing up.

MRS. FYFE : I feel we are so perfectly unanimous on this important point that I would spoil the effect if I said anything now.

The Resolution was **carried** unanimously.

13. Limitation of Armaments.

DAME ELIZABETH CADBURY, M.A., J.P. : On behalf of the Executive Committee I beg to move :

The National Council of Women is convinced :

(a) *That only by maintaining and strengthening the collective system based on the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Briand-Kellogg Pact can war be averted and civilisation saved, and*

(b) *That a general limitation of armaments by International agreement is absolutely essential to peace and economic recovery. It welcomes the action of the British Government in continuing to give whole-hearted support to the League and urges it to persist in every endeavour to reach an International agreement, limiting the armaments of all nations.*

Further :

(c) *The Council supports the following resolution passed by the International Council of Women in Paris 'which welcomes the proposals for the drastic control of the manufacture and trade in arms recently adopted by the Committee for the Regulation of the Trade in and Manufacture of Arms and implements of War of the Disarmament Conference.'*

It urges the acceptance of these proposals by H.M. Government so that they may be included in a general Disarmament Convention; the conclusion of which is indispensable, if the race in armaments is to be stopped.

The Covenant of the League, accepted by 59 nations, was founded, as stated in the Preamble, "In order to promote International Co-operation, and to achieve International Peace and Security." How are the representatives of the nations in Council and through its six Commissions and its Assembly fulfilling the intentions of its founders? With alternate successes and failures.

Only those closely involved have any conception of the extreme difficulties of the task. Criticism is easy. Prejudice, fear, suspicion, conflicting interests, racial animosities, and a thousand obstacles hinder and retard progress.

In Great Britain we are shortly to have the chance of giving our individual opinion as to the future of the League. In the Resolution before you, the Executive of the N.C.W. asks you to register your conviction that the League is the only alternative to chaos.

In considering acceptance of the Resolution, however, there are certain points that we must stress. Collective action must be all-embracing; Alliances or Ententes within the League may be very helpful, but they must be carefully watched.

This year has seen a dangerous growth of the fatal conception that the League can be used as a cover for diplomatic scheming of the old kind, and for the consolidation of alliances against particular nations. In other words, some nations (vide M. Barthou's speeches) seem to be using the League, not so much for the preservation of the general peace, as for assuring that they are on the victorious side in the next war. That clearly is a complete travesty of the real purpose and intention of the League, which is, or should be, an all-inclusive association of disarmed States, co-operating in the preservation of peace and for the common good.

The psychology of Germany is bewildering and inexplicable. One does not know whether to hope for the waning of Hitler's star, or for a continuance of his power.

Mussolini has made very disquieting speeches lately, but worse still is the order that definite military training must be given in the schools from childhood upwards.

There are other danger spots in Europe; the Polish delegate made a passionate appeal at the Assembly last month for revision of the Minorities' Treaty, and threatened to leave the League if it failed to call a Conference on the subject.

The vote to be taken in the Saar as to its future is fraught with danger, whatever be the result of the ballot.

Which brings us to the second paragraph of our Resolution: that without disarmament the League cannot possibly fulfil one great function for which it was originally intended, set forth in Article 8 of the Covenant:

Reduction of Armaments to the lowest point consistent with National safety.

The makers of the Covenant clearly saw that without disarmament the League would become very little better than an alliance of armed States, against those who happen to be outside its ambit. Hence the Disarmament Conference. And now, after all the high hopes of the Disarmament Conference, we stand where we were two and a half years ago.

Can Great Britain help at this juncture? The British Government is in a position to take the initiative in summoning the Air Commission of the Disarmament Conference, and to endeavour to get an International agreement on the Air question: but even if it could be argued that international agreement is impossible, the policy of security through increased Air Forces is surely indicative

of bankrupt statesmanship.

But Mr. Baldwin would seem to be ready to do this. We have his assurance that the British Government is not prepared to admit failure. He said in March last:

"If the Disarmament Conference fails, I would not then for a moment, nor would the Government, relax our efforts, if a Convention on our lines failed to start at work the next morning to try and get an Air Convention among the countries of Western Europe, even if we could not get in some that are far away for the saving of our European civilisation."

Mr. Baldwin recognises the necessity of action, but in the meantime there is widespread evidence of considerable re-armament in many countries. I quote facts from the *Economist*:

"France has her Frontier Defence Organisation started in 1931, out of which about 2,000 million francs is still to be spent; Mussolini in Italy announced at the end of May, that an additional 2,000 million lire (£33,000,000) would be divided between the Navy and Air Force, between 1934 and 1940; in Japan the new Naval, Military and Air Programmes for 1935 will raise the Defence estimates to a record figure; in Germany the 1934 Reichswehr estimates were increased by a third, while the total Defence appropriations show an increase of more than one-third over 1933-34, and amount to one-sixth of the total Budget; in our own country, the estimates for 1934-35 showed an increase of nearly five million pounds over last year, and now the Government by its decision regarding the extension of the Royal Air Force has committed itself to an additional expenditure in this regard, estimated at 20 million pounds, and to be spent over the next five years."

Yet all these nations have been discussing reduction and limitation. America is talking of a great increase in aircraft, and Japan immediately decides to do the same. Therefore one of the most vital concerns at the moment is the campaign to secure the abolition of military aircraft, and the internationalisation of civil aircraft. *The Times* in a recent article said: "There is universal abhorrence of the idea that civilised nations should sink to methods of barbarism to the extent of making war upon one another by bombardment from the air." (May, 1934).

And Mr. Baldwin has said: "I think it is well for the man in the street to realise that there is no power on earth that can protect him from being bombed, whatever people may tell him. The bomber will always get through. The only Defence is in Offence, which means that you have got to kill more women and children more quickly than the enemy, if you want to save yourselves." (November, 1932).

But though every human being would assent, we know that without stringent and drastic regulations warfare in the air will be the prime factor in another war.

There is one more country I should refer to. Soviet Russia has for long been a source of disquietude and anxiety in Europe. Perhaps you may be surprised if I say that her entrance into the League, was probably the most cheerful event of the Assembly that has just closed. I was in Geneva during the days previous to the invitation, and heard much discussion on the subject; the majority were in favour.

M. Litvinoff lost no time in showing the line that his Government would take and in putting forward a proposal which as a matter of fact had in substance long been under consideration by the League. Speaking in the Assembly, he said: "After two and a half years, it was natural that the Council, if not the Assembly, should show some interest in the work of the Disarmament Conference, and should take stock not only of what had been done, but of what had not been done, and take measures that might help its work or give it some new direction. His own proposal was for the creation of a special permanent organ of the League for dealing with all questions relating to peace, including disarmament."

The Times, commenting on the situation, says: "The view prevails that this would offer a satisfactory way out of the deadlock, by affording the opportunity for a fresh start, and would at the same time secure the closer co-operation of the United States."

Paragraphs *c* and *d* of the Resolution will be spoken to by the seconder; the proposals by the U.S.A. were far-reaching, but I might say in passing, that we must go further, and demand international supervision as well as national. The armament manufacture in Italy, Czechoslovakia and Belgium is practically under national control, but those three countries did not respond when the Council of the League urged States Members not to supply arms to Bolivia and Paraguay.

The menace that confronts us is the danger of harking back to the international anarchy of the "great illusion" and the competitive race in armaments. If this is not arrested, it means death to the League and the Collective System, and ultimately to the real security of each nation. This security can only be achieved by collective action which will reduce and not increase armaments; and collective action is only possible if the League, as the instrument of co-operation is sustained energetically and loyally by each nation concerned.

MRS. HARTREE: I am privileged to be able to speak on this most important subject. The Disarmament Conference, as you know, in June decided to set up four Committees, and I am speaking simply on paragraph (*c*).

France's great need for security we all have to realise, and France has always been for the supervision of the armaments and the manufacture of armaments in all countries of the world, and has been willing to have her own manufactures supervised. Germany

and Italy also accepted full supervision, and the other countries were ready to fall in, but we have unfortunately rather lagged behind. We did at last put forward a suggestion that we were willing to accept supervision automatic and regular: originally Britain had decided to object to that, and only have supervision if attention was called, but they have come round to that.

This particular Committee brought out their proposals very quickly at the end of June.

The first is the prohibition of the manufacture of any forbidden arms.

Secondly, no arms to be manufactured except by persons licensed by the Governments. The licenses will be valid for a certain maximum period and will be renewable for a fixed period. Each license must stipulate what categories of arms the holder is permitted to manufacture, and the holders must communicate every order that they receive to their Government, who must report the information to the Permanent Disarmament Commission within fifteen days.

Within sixty days from the end of the fiscal year each Government must send to the Permanent Disarmament Commission a return of all the arms manufactured on its territory during the year either by itself or by private manufacturers, and of all exports and imports of arms.

No arms are to be imported or exported without the authorisation of the Government in each case.

The Convention provides for control, including permanent and automatic inspection, to see that its provisions are observed, but the methods of control remain to be defined. They are to exclude investigation into methods and secrets of manufacture, or the management of factories.

Eighteen countries have agreed to put this forward. Their representatives at Geneva have agreed to put this before their Governments in order that a draft Convention on those lines may be made. That is what we want you to urge the Government today to agree to consider and adopt as far as they possibly can. The I.C.W. have agreed to urge this on their Governments; therefore we should urge it on our Government. It is obvious that there is a certain sacrifice of sovereignty, but you cannot get collective action without something of that kind.

The present position of affairs, as Dame Elizabeth Cadbury has shown, is due to us who have not worked as hard as we ought to have done; it is due to the apathy of the people who have not helped to push their Governments; it is due to the politicians who have not been able to change their ideas from last century to this.

It was moved, seconded and **carried**, "That the question be now put."

The Resolution was **carried**, with 3 dissentients.

14. Maternal Mortality.

MISS MATHESON : I beg to move :

That in view of the serious rate of maternal mortality and morbidity, it is desirable that more practical experience should be required of medical students during their training in midwifery.

I feel that it is a curious position for me to be moving this Resolution, but I am to be followed by a doctor, and I am glad to have the opportunity because I have seen so much suffering among mothers of all ages that I am frightfully keen, in common with many medical workers, that something should be done to alter the medical training.

It is a common lament that during the past thirty years we have done very little to lower the rate of maternal mortality.

In 1911 we lost 4,000 mothers' lives. In 1933 we lost 3,446 mothers, either in childbirth or from allied troubles. That was a slight increase on 1932. We have had no practical decrease since 1921, when the rate was abnormally high. Of those mothers in 1933, 70 were under twenty years of age, and 687 were between 25 and 30.

The most interesting information comes from detailed investigations that have been made into 2,400 cases, where particulars have come in.

In about 1,050 of those cases, the mother died and left a living child. Considerably more than half the women have died from various forms of poisoning. In only 21 have the doctors had to say that they would only have been saved if they had not become pregnant at all.

But here are some significant figures. In 406 cases there was lack of ante-natal care. In 456 at least a factor was lack of proper obstetrical facilities and adequate special treatment. Please remember that 1,300 of these women died in hospital. In only 12 cases were home conditions so unfavourable as to cause the result. In only 17 cases could anything be put down to malnutrition and debility.

Nor were the mothers themselves to blame : 650 had booked previously with a doctor, 267 with a hospital or maternity home ; only 176 had made no arrangements.

I am giving these figures to show that we cannot blame circumstances nor work. Nearly 1,600 of the women were doing domestic work. Only 49 were in industrial work. 40 per cent. were classed as poor but not as underfed ; 1 per cent. were destitute, and 47 per cent. well-to-do or comfortable. 80 per cent. of the births were legitimate and 7 per cent. illegitimate.

So that the mothers had made due preparation ; the majority of them were adequately nourished and adequately comfortable ; the majority of the babies were born in wedlock. It seems to me

that all our usual trite excuses go by the board in these cases.

Why do so many die from the accidents of confinement or from allied or special diseases that require extra and special knowledge in their association with pregnancy? Because pregnancy and childbirth do sometimes intensify diseases from which the mother has suffered, sometimes bring latent illness to light, and in many cases a special study of diseases is necessary as and when they are connected with pregnancy.

Far be it from me to say the doctors were wholly to blame, or even mainly to blame, but as a lay person I should like to ask whether the doctors have a proper chance when they start general practice. A young doctor, in doing his course, if he is a man is not generally very keen about the midwifery part of it. He must have obstetrical instruction extending over two terms. He must attend systematic instruction in the principles and practice of surgery and obstetrics ; and after that there must be continuous attendance for hospital obstetric practice for three months, during one of which he should perform the duties of an intern student of the lying-in ward, including attending 20 cases under adequate supervision, of which at least five must be practically delivered. Is it right that young men should be allowed to go to women in a critical hour of their lives, when they have only attended 20 cases? And when it is entirely a chance whether those cases were normal or abnormal? Twenty cases does not give an adequate knowledge of normal childbirth, let alone the various abnormalities and complications that may occur.

A DELEGATE : On a point of order, those figures have been increased lately.

MISS MATHESON : The figures are from the 1933 Report issued by the Ministry of Health.

Years ago my own doctor said to me that she considered it was a public danger and a public disgrace that our young doctors should be allowed to carry on obstetrical practice with so small a preparation.

You have got an amendment before you saying the midwives also require more preparation. But you must remember this, that even with rather more preparation the midwife who goes out may not touch any case of special difficulty without calling in a doctor, but she has no guarantee that that doctor has seen anything more than his 20 cases, if he is a young man doing locum tenens or working for the first time.

We want to urge upon the professions that there should be a revision on this point, and that we should insist that our young doctors should be obliged to have a more adequate knowledge of the conditions attending childbirth in which young and old, married and single, we are all keenly interested, than they have at present before they go into the highways and byways of life, and especially attend the women who may not be able to get into hospital.

LADY RUTH BALFOUR : I have great pleasure in seconding this, as I am not only a doctor, I am also a mother.

I would like to emphasise again those figures that Miss Matheson gave you, and add that out of those cases she mentioned in the last year in England and Wales 872 cases were normal cases, and they were not all taken by midwives. I do not wish to abuse the doctors, but they are not given the training that they ought to have.

In Denmark and in the Netherlands the percentage of maternal deaths is about half what it is in England, and I am sorry to say even less than half what it is in Scotland, because the figures of maternal deaths are higher in Scotland than in England.

In the final Reports of the Departmental Committee they went into the training in these different countries where the figures compare favourably with our own, and though they did say that the surroundings and the food and the housing were very large contributory factors, they also went into the question of training, and there was no doubt that the training in those countries was much longer and more comprehensive than it is in England and Wales and in Scotland.

In Denmark the training for the student is four months, and after he has passed his examination he is not allowed to practise until he has had a further period as an intern doctor. In the case of the Netherlands they have continuous training mixed up with their other work on midwifery lines for eighteen months. The whole course of training for a doctor in those countries is longer than it is with us. Our longest training is 5½ to 6 years, and theirs is 7 to 8 years. The additional time taken is almost entirely due to the additional care taken in midwifery and diseases of women.

I should like to say a little more about my own experience. I have known in hospital, when I was working there, cases to be brought in of women where the doctor outside had attempted to put on forceps and failed, and then taken in these cases to the hospital when the patients were already gravely ill, and in certain cases it was too late to save them. Such a thing should never happen, and I know it still happens. That is obviously a sign of deficient training.

I have known also of cases where a young doctor has gone out on the district; he has had to put on forceps, and has had to ask the nurse how to do it. I do not think that does happen with women doctors. The training in the women's hospitals, in London at any rate, is better; but, of course, in many of the medical schools there is no special training for women unless they like to take advantage of the women's hospitals.

First Amendment.

MISS KELLY, C.B.E., J.P. : On behalf of the Portsmouth Branch I beg to move the following Amendment :

After the word "students" insert "and pupil midwives." After

the word "midwifery" add "and that additional post-graduate courses should be arranged for doctors and midwives practising midwifery and all possible encouragement should be given to them to attend such courses periodically."

In moving this Amendment to include pupil midwives as well as medical students in our suggested plans for further experience during their training in midwifery and in pressing for post-graduate courses, I want to make it clear that we want to help midwives, not to harry them. They have had a very difficult time of recent years. They are often blamed quite unjustly for the high mortality rate. On the whole I think they came out of the various enquiries rather well. As new rules come into force, they must often feel that we are adding to their yoke. I gather they are dealing with their fresh load at this moment in the regulations which came into force on October 1st.

Let me deal with the point first as to training. A large number of vacancies in the best training centres with over 20 beds and where there is a chance of seeing abnormal cases in hospital and where the district work is good, are taken up often by trained nurses who are qualifying as midwives to render themselves eligible to apply for administrative posts where this qualification is essential. Obviously, pupils cannot be bound as to whether they will devote themselves to midwifery or not, but it would seem that the best training centres should be reserved as far as possible for those who have a reasonable chance of practising midwifery after training.

Many of the approved schemes of training are weak on the side of District training and midwives qualified to accept pupils for the district part of their training should be granted approval for a limited period only, subject to re-appointment, if suitable, and subject to their attendance at post-graduate courses periodically. There should be a clinical as well as a written and oral examination for pupil midwives.

It should be a statutory obligation that a midwife who has passed the C.M.B. examination should have three months post-certificate experience under supervision, while carrying out all the duties herself, before she is eligible to have her name placed on the roll for independent practice. Such experience should be gained under an approved district midwife or at an approved centre. She should receive a salary ordinarily during this period.

We suggest further that, after a date to be determined, midwives should not be recognised as the heads of training centres with over 20 beds, unless they have obtained their certificate as Teachers of Midwifery.

As to post-graduate courses : it is a matter of amazement that, while it is a requirement today that trained nurses should have to be six months at least in training in midwifery, and untrained women twelve months, before taking their C.M.B. examination, midwives

who had three months training only as long ago as 1903, and others who have had half the present period of training, should be allowed to be in practice without there being any requirement that they should have an opportunity of studying modern methods under the best possible conditions.

Times are bad, and it is difficult for midwives to meet the expenses for attending such courses. Further, if there is a demand, the number of courses in connection with the best training centres are limited, and we must have more of such courses arranged. There should be some variety to meet the needs of different types—those responsible for training, Matrons, District Midwives. We ought to see to it that every 'practising' midwife should attend an approved course at least once in five years, better still once in three years, and that no one should be permitted to practise midwifery after having been away from this work for three years, without taking a post-graduate course. The Local Supervising Authority should be empowered to insist upon this before including the name of a midwife on their roll of practising women.

We suggest that midwives who hold the post of Inspectors of Midwives should be kept up to date by attending an approved course once in three years, so that they are really qualified not only to inspect their work but to help them with advice. It seems to me an insult to experienced and devoted midwives that their work may be inspected sometimes by those who have had no clinical experience since they took their training years before.

One of the great difficulties in the way of insuring that midwives should only practise when in the fullest enjoyment of their powers, and while they can assimilate fresh ideas, is the total absence of financial provision for the future. It may well be that that question, although outside the discussion today, may have its effect upon the rate of mortality and morbidity. Meantime, midwives may practise at eighty years of age or over.

It is equally important that doctors engaged in midwifery should take post-graduate courses. Their opportunities of keeping in touch with modern developments are certainly much better than is the case with midwives, and it may be difficult to make it an obligation that they should take courses at the best hospitals. As they deal with abnormal cases, it does seem essential that it should be made as easy as possible for them to be kept up to date.

I hope this amendment may be carried, as I consider it may help those who support the Resolution that the words I suggest should be added to it.

MISS B. RUNDLE (Portsmouth): I have great pleasure in seconding this Amendment.

LADY RUTH BALFOUR: On behalf of the mover and myself I wish to say that we are willing and anxious to accept this Amendment if these words are added: "and future midwives intending to practise midwifery." It is only that difficulty which did not allow

us to agree with her motion before.

I am thoroughly in sympathy with the post-graduate courses for both midwives and doctors, but I do want to make it quite clear that the available clinical material should not be taken up by people who only wish to take the C.M.B. for administrative posts and do not intend to practise midwifery.

This sort of thing is not allowed in the Netherlands and in Denmark. People are not allowed to come up and take the training unless they intend to practise it.

A DELEGATE: At present are there two qualifications for midwives, one for midwives intending to practise and another for midwives not intending to practise?

CHAIRMAN: No.

A DELEGATE: This will be introducing two qualifications.

LADY RUTH BALFOUR: No. It would stop people taking the course unless they intended to practise.

MRS. OGILVIE GORDON: How long would it lengthen the course?

CHAIRMAN: How is one to know whether a woman is going to practise? Lady Ruth is herself a qualified doctor; she is not practising.

LADY RUTH BALFOUR: I mean they should undertake to practise it for a certain period. You could not compel them to do it, but they might sign an agreement which they would honourably expect to carry out.

A DELEGATE: Could we ask what would be the value of an administrator who was going round inspecting midwifery if she did not have as much experience as the people she was inspecting?

CHAIRMAN: That is what is happening at present.

MISS KELLY: The point at the present time is that this amendment of mine is the only amendment before the meeting, and presumably if the President decides to take the vote on that amendment, it will be voted on, and, if accepted, then Lady Ruth Balfour can move an amendment when it goes forward.

The CHAIRMAN put the Amendment to the vote. It was **carried** with 3 dissentients.

Second Amendment.

LADY RUTH BALFOUR: The second part of the amendment I am in entire agreement with. I move after "pupil midwives" to insert the words "intending to practise midwifery."

MISS MATHESON seconded.

MISS KELLY: I do implore you to throw out this Amendment. I think I am quite right in saying that it is a most dangerous thing to have two standards of training for people who are going to take one certificate.

What I suggest is perfectly practicable at the present time.

There are a certain number of places of training for midwives which are in receipt of a grant from the Board of Education. They are supposed to take only those persons who intend to practise midwifery. In most cases they honourably carry out their obligations in that way.

What may happen, if the Amendment is carried, is that we should get these less experienced people with an inferior type of training. A person can say she is going to apply for an administrative post and take the shorter course, and twenty years afterwards she can be approved as the head of a maternity home. It would be a most shocking thing if we did agree to any such suggestion. I do not worry about it even if you pass it; I know we shall be protected by the Ministry of Health and the Central Midwives' Board and every other body.

The CHAIRMAN put this Amendment to the meeting. It was **lost**.

Discussion on substantive Resolution.

DR. MACKAY (Wolverhampton) opposed the Resolution on the grounds that it was casting a very grave reflection on the responsibility and trust put in the medical profession.

Every conscientious doctor took advantage of the facilities for post-graduate courses and other things. If he wanted to practise midwifery, he took advantage of all the facilities. What was wanted was better material; if there were healthier women, there would be fewer abnormal cases to tackle.

The public did not recognise the responsibility of a doctor practising midwifery. Maternity cases were a very grave responsibility, and accordingly they should be better remunerated and the trust in the doctor increased.

DR. CHRISTIE (Cheltenham), supporting the Resolution, said the point was—were there enough places where ordinary general practitioners could get practice on abnormal cases?

As regards the training of the students, it used to stand in the Statute Book at five, now every student did at least three weeks on the district. When she herself was on district she attended seventy cases.

But coming to general practice, doctors were only too glad to see those cases where difficulties had arisen. The midwives sent for the doctor at any time of the night or day. The doctor went, perhaps, to a case he had never seen before, never examined, and was up against an unknown quantity. In her own case she had worked for four years in a Women's College in America, and then gone to a post-graduate school in Dublin. The students there got excellent instruction, but for practical work it was useless. There were practically no places in England where they could go to and really do the work. She was, therefore, whole-heartedly in support

of arranging post-graduate courses for doctors practising midwifery.

MRS. POTTS stated that the General Medical Council Regulations were three months clerking in gynaecology and obstetrics and the conduct of 20 cases of labour, but several Universities, Birmingham included, demanded more and had done so since 1932. They demanded two months clerking in gynaecology, practical midwifery four months, including two months responsibility in hospital and attendance on 20 cases. More universities should be encouraged to follow this example.

LADY RUTH BALFOUR, summing up, said: I wish to answer two points. Dr. Mackay objected to this resolution on the ground that it was not showing confidence. In the official Departmental Committee Report, which was a Report of trust, they say this: "There is a serious lack of facilities for training students. This is partly owing to the training of pupil midwives who will not eventually practice, and also to the fact that no satisfactory arrangements have yet been worked out." It is just that point that we want altered by this Resolution, to get all these additional patients in hospital for the purpose of teaching our students.

They also say: "Post-graduate facilities for doctors are inadequate. It is most difficult for older practitioners to obtain instruction in post-natal work even if they so desire." That is the expressed opinion of a Committee composed entirely of doctors.

Last year we held a Conference in Edinburgh on this subject. On each occasion we had distinguished gynaecologists and specialists to address us, and they all supported us in this field.

As regards Mrs. Potts' objection, I should like to say that the training varies in every University. Some are as good as can be expected; others are very far below what they should be. We want the whole standard raised.

The CHAIRMAN put the substantive Resolution to the meeting:

That in view of the serious rate of maternal mortality and morbidity, it is desirable that more practical experience should be required of medical students and pupil midwives during their training in midwifery and that additional post-graduate courses should be arranged for doctors and midwives practising midwifery and all possible encouragement should be given to them to attend such courses periodically.

The Resolution was **carried**, with 3 dissentients.

15. Supervision of Syphilitic Children.

The CHAIRMAN asked the Meeting for leave for Hornsey to move Resolution 15 in an amended form, which had already been circulated. **Agreed.**

MISS SWAISLAND : On behalf of the Hornsey Branch I beg to move :

The National Council of Women, in Conference assembled, is impressed by the damage done to children suffering from congenital syphilis who, by reason of the neglect or refusal of consent by their parents or guardians, are deprived of the medical treatment necessary to prevent the onset of blindness, deafness, or mental deficiency.

It welcomes the recent action of the Ministry of Health in issuing a circular to Local Authorities on this important subject, and urges its Branches to do all in their power to study the conditions existing in their area with a view to encouraging both the Ministry of Health for England, and the Department of Health for Scotland, to take such administrative action as will secure treatment for these children.

I want, first of all, to speak on the first paragraph of the Resolution, because I think that it is desirable that we should understand what the position really is in regard to a good many of these children and why the position exists.

The child cannot be brought to the treatment centre either for examination or for treatment without the consent of the parents or guardians. Furthermore, in actual practice usually the mother has to accompany the child.

The treatment for congenital syphilis is of a very lengthy kind, something like 250 weeks may be necessary. I want you to realise what that means to the working mother of a family. It means that for a period of something like five years she may have to pay a weekly, fortnightly or monthly visit to the clinic. It also means that the child, who may under certain circumstances find the treatment somewhat painful may resist, may beg or plead to be let off the treatment. We are in a very difficult position over this particular subject, and it is absolutely essential that these children should be treated.

Dr. T. Burke, who is the Medical Officer for Salford, told us that the child suffering from congenital syphilis has a concentrated dose of the disease, since during pre-natal development the spirochaete has an ideal medium for its growth, etc. and that means that these children are in a far worse position than the ordinary adult who takes treatment for this disease. Blindness, deafness, mental deficiency are only some of the results of untreated congenital syphilis. The length of treatment required to deal with these cases satisfactorily means that there is a much larger proportion of defaulters than in the case of adult patients. For instance, in one very well known clinic, 30.7 per cent. defaulted in the case of children suffering from syphilis, whereas the proportion of adults defaulting is only 8.8 per cent.

Now what do we want in order to meet this? The plight of

these children is very great indeed; not only are they a burden to themselves, but they are liable to become a burden on the community.

We do not want any new legislation. We have power to deal with the neglectful, the callous, or the irresponsible parent who neglects to provide the necessary medical treatment. We have power to deal with them through the Children's Act of 1908, the particular clauses of which are practically unaltered in the Act of 1933. It is a serious offence for the parent to neglect to provide the necessary medical treatment for the child.

We have that power, and why is it not exercised? I am going to leave the discussion of the reason why it cannot be exercised to the seconder, but we all know that the real crux of the matter is that according to the regulations issued in 1916, the case of any person coming to a treatment centre for those diseases must be regarded as confidential. That is stretched to include, not necessarily patients who are treated themselves, but any parents of children who bring the kiddies.

That is a very serious point in two ways. First of all, it prevents the Medical Officer from giving evidence: but what I think is even worse than that, is that if a Medical Officer who is treating a child knows that the parents are leaving the district and that they will need to be gingered up to go to a new treatment centre, he cannot as things are at present send a message to his colleague to see that these people are looked up when they go into the new town.

I want to come to the second part of the Resolution, because we are extraordinarily glad that the Ministry of Health has issued a letter to Medical Officers in charge of treatment centres accompanied by a questionnaire, Form 63 Medical, in which the Medical Officer is asked to give his experience in regard to failure to bring children to the clinics and the result of any measures that may be taken by the clinics to induce them to return for treatment.

What I want to ask is that in your Branches you should urge upon all women who are sitting on Public Health Committees to make enquiries as to what replies are being sent to that circular. Also that you should in every way possible get women on to the Venereal Disease Sub-committee of your different areas in order that this question may really be pushed from the point of view of what we women feel about it.

There is an enormous amount that can be done in the Branches and through the Branches to get the real interest of the Public Health Committee, and more especially the Venereal Disease Sub-committee, as to the conditions that are actually existing in your area.

I want to plead for one other thing. I have spoken about the mother who finds it difficult to take her child to the clinic and who defaults partly because of home difficulties. I do feel that that is a thing that is only going to be met by more social care. There again people say that the secrecy clauses make any form of social

care difficult, but after all most of you are in touch with bodies of organised women in your own area. You can do much to remove the stigma that attaches to the person who is treated for this disease. You can do a certain amount under circumstances to lessen the difficulties of the mother. It might be possible to have special facilities made in your town whereby the arrangements for women taking children to clinics were made easier, the waiting period not so great—there are all sorts of different things that if we have imagination we could devise.

MRS. M. V. MACKIE, seconding the Resolution, said: I want to call your attention a little more to the secrecy clause which so greatly affects the treatment of these children who should be taken to the clinics. Until 1916 the Children's Act of 1908 worked perfectly well. These children had to be taken by their parents or guardians to the treatment centres under penalty of fine or imprisonment. The child who was suffering from syphilis or kindred disease was not differentiated from those children suffering from rickets, tuberculosis or any other complaint. But this very necessary war-time measure, the V.D. Regulations, just cut across all the good work that was being done in that direction. The Ministry of Health ruled that this secrecy clause must be applied to all cases of syphilis. So that any child who is suffering from syphilis or from any form of Venereal Disease may be neglected by its parents or guardians, and there is no legal way of bringing pressure to bear upon these people for the neglect of the child's health.

I am sure that the framers of these V.D. Regulations never intended that the secrecy clauses should harm the children. I think that the Ministry of Health in England and the Department for Health in Scotland are really fully alive to the situation. But we want them to read into the secrecy clause some humanity. The children must not be allowed to suffer because of certain regulations for the benefit of the adult. It was a necessary clause for the adult, and it has worked splendidly and one would not wish it to be altered, but we wish the Authorities would modify their ideas upon the subject and allow these children to be notified from one district to another, or that the School Medical Officers should be able to deal with them.

MISS MUIR said she spoke as a lay person and took part in the discussion because she was interested in the children attending the schools, many of whom are suffering from this disease. Administrative action was long over-due, and as in the case of mental deficiency, there was here also urgent need for ascertainment. As long as the onus was put upon the parent of taking a child to a clinic for treatment, this question of ascertainment was impossible.

She did not ask that the evidence of this disease should form part of the School Medical Officer's Report on children to the teachers, although in the interests of the teachers one might quite fairly ask that. But, it should be part of the doctor's duty to report

to the parents of children who were suffering from the disease that treatment was urgently required. In her twenty-six years' experience as a teacher, she had never known of such a case being reported to the parents.

If a child suffered from a comparatively minor ailment, the parent was notified immediately, urged to have medical attention, again urged if no notice was taken the first time, and yet this much more serious disease was allowed to go rampant among certain classes of children and nothing was done. For the sake of the children she urged the Council to pass the Resolution.

MRS. NEVILLE ROLFE, supporting the Resolution, said: Progress in this field depends entirely on the public opinion of the women of the country, and it is largely because women are rather ignorant of the details that are required that Local Authorities tend to make this the Cinderella of the Public Health services.

Miss Swaisland has emphasised certain points. I want to add two more. In this circular for the first time the Ministry of Health are really asking Local Authorities whether the appointment of trained social workers at the clinics will not be beneficial. It is an extraordinary thing that the initial step in this direction was taken in Great Britain. We proved that the appointment of a trained almoner and social worker made the whole difference in bringing in the home contacts and maintaining continuity of treatment. France has adopted that and has made it part of her whole scheme. In 50 per cent. of the treatment centres in this country they have not yet got it.

I want all the Branches to take it up in connection with their areas and ascertain whether their own scheme does provide for a whole-time almoner at the treatment centre. We must maintain secrecy, but we must have within the bond of medical secrecy those trained workers who can carry out the continuity work that is absolutely essential to the success of the voluntary scheme.

The Resolution was **carried** unanimously.

**SCOTTISH STANDING COMMITTEE AND REGIONAL
AND BRANCH REPRESENTATIVES MEETING.**

October 3rd, 2.30 p.m.

Chairman : THE PRESIDENT.

The Meeting began with the Annual Reports of the Scottish Standing and Regional Committee Reports.

SCOTTISH STANDING COMMITTEE.

Report given by EX-BAILIE ISABELLE KERR, *Convener.*

The Scottish Standing Committee meets quarterly, and is composed of members from each of the Scottish Branches and from eleven National Societies. The branches are at Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Greenock, North Ayrshire, Perth, St. Andrews and Stirling.

Membership has been well maintained—three of the Branches showing an increase.

Interesting Educational Meetings have been held throughout the year. The position of women in India, Russia, the Balkans, Bulgaria and the Transkei are among the subjects studied.

Two of the Branches were visited by Lady Steel-Maitland, who gave most interesting addresses, helping by her visit to stimulate interest in the work at Headquarters.

Practical work has not been forgotten. At two Branches members attend weekly Child Welfare Clinics, another visits, at the request of the Education Committee, invalid children in their own homes, another gave assistance with a "Safety First" Exhibition, at another the Girls' Club continues its good work, while two have been pioneers in acquiring and re-conditioning property. In one of the Branches a Study Circle was held and lectures of an educational type arranged; while one Branch records with gratification that their President was this year elected President of the Local Branch of the League of Nations Union.

This year the Scottish Standing Committee met in Dundee, Perth, St. Andrews and Glasgow.

It is with great regret the Committee record the loss to their Hon. President and the nation sustained in the death of Lord Aberdeen. They were represented at his funeral by Lady Adam Smith, and now record with gratitude his many kindnesses to the Scottish Standing Committee.

The "Cinema Sub-committee" approached the Secretary of State for Scotland on the pressing need for legislation to procure greater powers for Scottish Magistrates, and sent a strong appeal to all Scottish Members of Parliament. They protested against the agreement between the Scottish Cinematograph Exhibitors' Associa-

tion and the Scottish Office, later pressing for a Departmental Committee.

The Maternity and Child Welfare Committee have gathered information which is tabulated concerning all Maternity and Child Welfare Centres in Scotland, and along with three other Committees are printing a Memorandum with useful information which will be distributed where helpful.

The Women Police Sub-committee circulated copies of the petition to the Branches—Aberdeen (T. and C.) obtained 32 signatures, Argyll 10, Ayr 34, Alloa 3, Berwick 9, Bute 15, Clackmannan 5, Dumbarton 83, Dumfries 2, Dundee 33, Edinburgh 679, Fife 16, Greenock 74, Glasgow 635, Hawick 16, Inverness 20, Kilmarnock 11, Lanark 12, Peebles 6, Paisley 24, Perth (T. and C.) 45, Stirling (T. and C.) 28, Wigton 5, West Lothian 13—a total altogether of 1,812.

The Deputation to the Home Secretary was received on July 23rd. Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland introduced the Deputation, and the speakers included the Dowager Lady Nunburnholme and Miss Tancred.

A Household Research Committee was formed this year, of which the Heads of the Domestic Science Colleges in Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Glasgow are joint conveners. The primary object is to collect Scottish Information to lay before the International Congress in Scientific Management to be held in London in 1935.

It has been evident for some time that additional funds were required to carry on the Scottish Standing Committee successfully, the Convener therefore approached several outside friends and recently handed £63. 6s. to the Hon. Treasurer. This will enable the Committee without undue financial worry to continue the constructive work of the National Council of Women in Scotland.

EASTERN COUNTIES.

Report given by MRS. HARTREE, *Treasurer and Secretary.*

The Eastern Counties Committee comprises four Branches, Cambridge, King's Lynn, Norwich and Peterborough, and meets twice a year, at the different towns in turn. Our efforts to form new Branches at Great Yarmouth and Bury St. Edmunds have so far been unsuccessful, and indeed we have to report that the Sub-branch of Huntingdon, attached to the Cambridge Branch, has not survived the valiant efforts of Mrs. Carr, J.P., Mayor of Godmanchester, to form a full Branch.

All four Branches have formed successful Luncheon Clubs, in some cases membership of the Club being confined to members of the Branch, and in other cases the Club is more independent, the officers of the Branch being ex-officio on the Committee of the Club. The Cambridge Club has a membership of 360, which makes it necessary to hold two meetings a month.

The Norwich Branch finds its "Tea and Talk" meetings very popular: and I think it is obvious that such regular meetings as luncheons and teas do meet a demand, so to speak, among members.

Other activities common to the Branches are the organisation of help to the unemployed and their wives, and interest in the Housing problem, leading in some cases to the formation of Public Utility Societies for the provision of houses.

Work of Branches.

It is quite impossible to give a detailed account of the work of the Branches, and in some respects the work of all Branches is similar, but I may mention some interesting points.

Norwich has a special sub-committee dealing with Cinema questions, which co-operates with other organisations: and it also formed a sub-committee to make enquiries as to the Housing position. With the co-operation of this committee a Public Utility Society has been formed to provide houses, the Branch as such taking up shares. The Executive Committee protested to the City Council on the occasion of the appointment of two untrained male rent-collectors for the Housing Estates, although the Housing Committee of the Council had recommended the appointment of trained women estate managers. There was no *direct* result, but the appointment of a woman Assistant M.O.H., in spite of the objection of many Councillors, may well have been an indirect result of the action. As a result of a meeting on Birth Control, addressed by Lady Limerick, members have taken a prominent part in establishing a Clinic in the city.

King's Lynn has suffered a grievous loss in the death at an early age of the energetic Hon. Secretary, who took office when the Branch was under a cloud and raised it to a position of respect in the minds of the townspeople. A special feature of the work of this Branch is the annual collection of funds for the Colchester Institution for Mentally Defectives, and recently the Committee has co-operated with other societies in obtaining a Moral Welfare worker in the town.

Peterborough has held an enquiry into the need for lodgings for women, and had hoped to take a deputation to the Watch Committee on the need for Women Police, but permission was refused. Like the Branches in other places, it has urged the use of the Humane Killer in slaughter houses, and since the Act came in, it has arranged a deputation to the Town Council on the subject of the inclusion of sheep within the provisions of the Act.

HOME COUNTIES.

Report given by MISS CECILE MATHESON, Convener.

The Home Counties Regional Committee has held three meetings, two in London (by invitation of the Convener and the

President of the London Branch), and one as the guest of the Berkhamsted Branch, when a community lunch was followed by the meeting and tea at the Branch Girls' Club.

There are now 12 Branches connected with this Regional Committee, including the new Chorley Wood and Rickmansworth Branch, which we have been delighted to welcome. Nine Branches have been represented at every meeting, and none of the others has missed more than once. There has been an average attendance of 29.

The Committee has had the great pleasure of welcoming among its guests and speakers the Countess of Clarendon, Miss Winnifred Kydd, President of the National Council of Women of Canada, Lady Nunburnholme, and the late Lady Trustram Eve.

Lady Clarendon gave us a short address on South Africa, particularly emphasising the extraordinary diversities of climate and physical features, and also of race, with the two and a half million white to eight million black inhabitants. She paid a warm tribute to the educational work of the missionaries and gave cheering evidence of the dawning social consciousness among the black people, as shown by a spontaneous collection of £30 as a gift for infant welfare work.

At another meeting Lady Steel-Maitland told something of her recent visit to Canada and the United States, and especially of the development of culture and education among the descendants of the negro slaves.

Work of the Branches.

However, most of the time of the Committee is always devoted to hearing reports from the Branches and asking questions. The Branches are extraordinarily diverse in character. For instance, Bedford is a country town, Aylesbury a market town in an agricultural district, Ruislip almost a dormitory town, Ealing a suburb of London, and London a county in itself! All are working hard to solve the problems of securing the co-operation of local Societies, etc., of increasing membership, of training a civic sense and of raising funds. The variety of interests is illustrated in the educational work—Aylesbury has co-operated with the Workers' Educational Association in a Course on Social Psychology, and Ruislip has had short courses on Ancient Rome, Common People in the Age of Elizabeth, Cooking and Sketching, with an exhibition of members' sketches.

The single lectures include a refreshing variety of subjects. In the domain of public work there have been several lectures on Juvenile Delinquents, Penal Reform and Women's Prisons, lectures on Housing, Local Government, Women on Juries, the work of a County Councillor, a borough surveyor, etc., and the Unemployment Bill. Social work has included Girls' Clubs, education and recreation during unemployment, temperance, home safety,

tramps, choosing a career, and the People's Dispensary for Sick Animals of the Poor. International interest has been aroused by talks on Women's Work in the League of Nations, Women's Place in the Future Constitution of India, Labour in India, Slavery, and Turkey of Today. The History of medicine, The Countryside, Sterilisation, Psychiatry and Psycho-analysis, Clothes and the Woman, You and Me and the Fashion, and Money Problems of Today are among the more general subjects, and the inclusion of music, folklore, the drama, and the exhibition of English Art at Burlington House show that the Branches are mindful of the importance of all-round development in mind and character.

Several of the Branches supplement their lectures by visits to institutions, factories, etc.

Education, even in its widest sense is, however, by no means the sole or even the dominating concern in the Home Counties.

Aylesbury has been instrumental in securing the election of a new woman Councillor. The Housing Estate Sub-committee in Bedford organises entertainments, etc. for the Community Hall in a newly-developed district. Ealing raised £16 by public appeal for an Anti-Litter Week with poster distribution, essay competitions in the schools, speakers at meetings, 20,000 slips sent out with the rates notices, and concluding with a special service in the Congregational Church. The monthly At Homes for Queen Mary's Needlework Guild have resulted in 250 garments as well as many interesting discussions, and an N.C.W. Day, including a Sale of Articles beginning with N, C, or W, has been instrumental in raising funds. Another interesting feature in the work of this Branch is the Group Meetings to receive and discuss reports of the Headquarters Sectional Committees.

Hornsey's Trust Housing Scheme is now independent of the Branch that originated it, and has re-housed nearly 120 persons in flats costing from 6/- to 17/6d. a week.

The inauguration of a similar Public Utility Society has been the chief occupation of the London Branch, and one house has already been purchased and occupied. The Lunch Club continues to provide most interesting and varied addresses, including as subjects Modern Germany, Russia (Mr. Alan Monkhouse), Kenya and African Magic.

St. Albans has been active in securing the use of the Humane Killer in slaughtering sheep and in agitating for improved methods of rubbish disposal.

Watford has arranged for the exhibition of films on the care of the teeth at children's matinees, and bi-weekly all-day rotas at the Clothing Room for Unemployed prepared about 1,300 garments for distribution during the winter.

Gerrard's Cross is also active in collecting garments and in partly maintaining a bed for the S.O.S. Society, while the Chairman organises an allotment scheme to help the local unemployed.

In other Branches old enterprises too numerous to mention continue to flourish. Membership is rising in most Branches (Berkhamsted has more than 260 members) and the many devices for raising funds everywhere stimulate a local sense of solidarity and interest in the Branch as well as publicly demonstrating that the N.C.W. is by no means only a collection of dull and would-be improving old fogeys.

EAST MIDLAND.

Report given by MRS. G. A. LEWIS, Convener.

There are now 5 Branches in this area, and though, owing to the long distances between some of the Branches it is not easy to arrange many Regional Meetings, the co-operation and interchange of visits has increased.

The plan of holding a one-day Conference in connection with different Branches in turn has proved successful; both the Derbyshire and Burton-on-Trent Branches, having held them, benefited by the publicity gained and the interest aroused.

Burton-on-Trent.

This Branch has had a successful season with better attendances at the meetings, which are held regularly on the last Friday in the month.

A Tea Club has been formed on the advice of Miss Cécile Matheson, who addressed the Branch in 1933, and the meetings are now held in the afternoon very successfully.

The one-day Conference held in April was well attended by members of the other Branches and the local members and friends, and resulted in new members being enrolled. The President, the Dowager Lady Nunburnholme, presided at the morning session, attended the Luncheon, and gave an interesting address at the afternoon meeting.

A Resolution was proposed by the President, supported by several of the Members present, that the Convener and Secretary for the area should be elected from each of the Branches in turn and hold office from 2 to 3 years. This was carried. Derby has provided a Convener and Secretary for 2 years, and now members of the Nottingham Branch have been nominated for next year.

The speakers and subjects at the meetings were as follows: "Work of the National Council of Women," Mrs. Johnson; "Women Police," Miss Tancred; "Report of the Torquay Conference," Miss Holland; "Cinemas," the Hon. Eleanor Plumer; "Housing," Miss Goodyer (a Vice-President of the Branch, Councillor and Deputy Mayor); "Should Married Women earn?" Miss Holland; "Work in the Courts," a probation officer for Burton.

A short report of the London Meetings has been given at each monthly meeting and the Branch has been represented in London every month.

Chesterfield.

As this is a comparatively new Branch and the first time a full Report has been given to the Regional Committee, it may be interesting to the members present to give a brief account of the Branch from its beginning.

The inaugural meeting was held by invitation of the Regional Committee. The Convener was in the Chair, the speaker being Miss Cécile Matheson, who spoke most eloquently on the history of the National Council of Women; the result was very gratifying. 35 of those present offered their support to form a Branch, and Mrs. Philip Robinson was elected the first President, Mrs. Timmins the Hon. Secretary.

The next meeting was held in the President's grounds and was well attended.

The Winter Session opened at Bradbury Hall in October, when the late President, Lady Trustram Eve, gave a most delightful talk on her trip to Stockholm to the I.C.W. Meeting.

Meetings have been held regularly since then, some of the speakers and subjects being: "Area Organiser of the N.S.P.C.C.," Mrs. Griffiths; "Psychology of the Housewife," Miss Randle; "The Empire—Its Past and Future," Rev. W. W. Foulston; "Prisoners of Today," Mr. M. L. Hylton (Governor of Manchester Prison); "Peace," Mrs. Wilson; "In and out of the Limelight" (a garden meeting), Mrs. Forbes Robertson Hale.

The membership stood at 73 at the time of sending in the Report, but it is reported that a substantial increase is expected when the Autumn Session starts.

Derby and Derbyshire.

We have much pleasure in reporting considerable progress in the Derbyshire Branch. There were, in July, 1934, 30 new members on the roll. Meetings have been well attended and both interesting and educative. The quarterly luncheons continue to prosper.

Subjects chosen for discussion during the year were: "Women as House Property Managers," "Discharged Prisoners," "National Playing Fields," "Married Women in the Modern World" (Miss Vera Brittain), "The Codex Sinaiticus," "A Lantern Lecture," "Travels in the East," "Reminiscences of Thirty Years," by Miss Norah Green.

Also a Garden Meeting was held in July, when bridge and whist and a social afternoon ended the season's meetings.

Much work has been done by members for the Personal Service League—knitting and sewing—and the Depot recently opened in Derby is a direct result of Branch activities.

A Cinema Rota has been formed.

Lincoln.

The Lincoln Branch reports a year of real progress, with more and better attendances; and an increase of 29 in the branch membership.

The speakers have included Miss Cécile Matheson, Professor Winifred Cullis, Lady Steel-Maitland and Mrs. Hartree.

Following a talk by Dr. MacArthur (Medical Superintendent of Lincolnshire Mental Hospital) on Mental Illness and the Law, a Sub-committee is in process of formation, the members of which will undertake the aftercare of patients who have been discharged from the Mental Hospital.

Once again we have helped in the provision of warm clothing for necessitous cases. During the winter garments were contributed by Branch members and distributed through the agency of the Lincoln Voluntary Clothing Committee.

At a Regional Meeting, Lincoln also reported activity in a house-to-house collection organised by them for a Cancer Hospital Campaign.

Nottingham and Nottinghamshire Branch.

The Branch continues to increase, and the attendance at the monthly luncheon is well maintained and the subjects of the talks cover a wide field. Among them are "The Cinema," the Dowager Lady Nunburnholme; "Local Education Schemes," the Director of Education; "Roads," the County Surveyor; "The Romance of Water," Alderman Alkey (Chairman of the Water Board); "The Work of the Personal Service League," the Marchioness of Reading, whose enthusiastic and inspiring address resulted in the formation of a Depot in Nottingham by the Branch, which has done good work since October, distributing 20,000 garments, bedding, furniture, etc., and has continued during the summer months to supply maternity and special cases.

The Branch has also brought to the notice of the Corporation the need for shelters for the many children who play on the various recreation grounds in the city. The Town Clerk replied that the Committee responsible had decided that a sum of money should be allocated for the purpose suggested, and that the work would be proceeded with at the earliest opportunity.

WEST MIDLAND.

Report given by MRS. EMANUEL, Convener.

I have been asked to give you some account of the work of the West Midland Regional Committee comprising the Branches, Wolverhampton, North Staffordshire, Malvern, Leicester, Coventry, Bilston and Birmingham.

About three meetings are held during the year in Birmingham, as that is considered to be the best centre. They are mainly consultative in character. Some time before each meeting a subject is chosen for discussion, and each Branch reports on the work being done. Subjects discussed have been Winter work among the unemployed, Summary Jurisdiction (Domestic Procedure) Bill, Working of Children and Young Persons Act, the practice in the various localities re Women on Juries, Use of powers conferred on Local Authorities by the Town and County Planning Act, 1932.

The meetings are informal and seem to be much appreciated. Unfortunately, our excellent Hon. Secretary, Miss Locock, is leaving Birmingham, but Wolverhampton has nobly come to the rescue and has persuaded one of their members, Mrs. Tomlins, to take the post.

Now a few words as regards the work done by individual Branches. **Wolverhampton** has undertaken the whole of the voluntary work at the Maternity and Child Welfare Clinics, about 50 helpers being supplied. An American Tea or Bridge drive is held annually to supply a fund on which the nurses are able to draw for cases of sickness requiring immediate relief. They also run Clubs for unemployed girls, and a sewing party for the Personal Service League. The Luncheon Club started by the Branch is now independent.

North Staffs. This Branch had an address on the Church Army Housing Scheme and raised £325 for the fund—a really remarkable achievement. It has also increased its membership.

Malvern. You will remember that in 1920 the Malvern N.C.W. formed a Public Utility Society and built 18 flats in pairs in Bungalows. In 1925, 24 more flats were built and opened by Lady Emmott. The venture has proved a great success both from the workers' and the investors' points of view. This year another 4 flats have been erected at a cost of £1,000, making 46 flats in all.

Leicester arranged a deputation to the Watch Committee on the question of safety for pedestrians. They had a favourable reception and were promised that practical measures should be taken to deal with the matter. They also report an increased membership.

Coventry has not yet been able to find a President, and therefore has not done any special work.

Bilston, a young Branch, is feeling its way, and increasing its membership.

Birmingham. The most important work done by this Branch is the outcome of a report from the Women Magistrates of the greatly increased number of separation orders coming before them. It was felt that this was largely because young people got married without realising what this relationship implied—that often it was misunderstanding and maladjustment and that a little wise advice might prevent the wreck of a home. Feeling that before taking any

course of action we wanted to clear our minds on the subject, a Conference was arranged, with Mrs. Neville Rolfe as chief speaker, on "Standards of Morality and Family Problems." Subsequently an Advisory Council was formed to study and further the understanding of the Marriage Relationship which was inaugurated in March and addressed by Mr. C. Mullins. Another meeting was held in July to arrange a programme of work.

A two-part Conference on the Unemployment Bill was held, at which the Bill was expounded by various members. This part of the proceedings was open to members of the Branch only. Subsequently there was a public meeting on the Bill, at which the speakers were Miss Picton Turbervill and Mr. Salt, M.P. for Yardley.

NORTHERN.

Report given by MRS. PHILLIPS.

For some time the North Regional Committee has been in abeyance owing to the difficulty of arranging meetings suitable to all the Branches.

In January of this year, however, the Committee met in Newcastle. All the five Branches were represented, and Lady Steel-Maitland, our Treasurer, was also present. At this meeting Mrs. Zealley, of Stockton, was elected Convener, and Mrs. Phillips, also of Stockton, was appointed Hon. Secretary.

After discussion it was decided that, despite the scattered nature of the Branches, results achieved warranted the carrying-on of the meetings of this Committee, especially as the scheme of sharing good speakers and pooling expenses of these, which had been tried during the previous winter, had proved a great success. It is hoped to continue doing this during the coming season, and already our President has graciously consented to make a combined visit.

Branch Activities.

Carlisle reports an interesting session, helpful talks, good attendances and about 20 new members. Seven Branch meetings were held, including the annual summer meeting, when the members were entertained at "Gale," Keswick, by the President, Mrs. Wakefield.

We regret to report that Mrs. Donald has resigned the position of Hon. Secretary after 6 years. Miss Lucy Cartmell has been appointed to be her successor. During the winter the Branch undertook a collection and distribution of clothing to necessitous persons. Thousands of garments were sorted, put in order, and sent out. Receipts for the year amounted to £70. 3s. 1d., and expenditure £56. 13s. 3d.

Middlesbrough reports that the Nursery School started last year flourishes and is now able to take 38 children. A great step forward has been made in that this school has now been recognised by the Board of Education. Five Branch meetings have been held, at which a wide variation of subjects were discussed. On the social side also this Branch has been active, and three money-raising efforts, to wit, a dance, a puppet show, and a garden party, realised £67.

Newcastle reports 9 meetings during the year. In January a Bring and Buy tea raised £19 for the funds.

An interesting series of lectures by members of the Armstrong College, who dealt with the population problem from the geographical, biological and economic aspects, were well attended and much appreciated.

The Branch has been considering reports of the activities and plans of the Cinema and Civic Committees, and a resolution, pointing out the shortage of institutional accommodation for mental defectives in the Newcastle District, was forwarded to the appropriate authority.

Stockton and Thornaby. Six Branch meetings have been held, when addresses by various speakers were given. In addition the members were privileged to pay an afternoon visit to the great chemical works of Imperial Chemical Industries at Billingham. A Luncheon was held in June, and in July the President, Miss Whitwell, very kindly opened her gardens at Yarm to the members, a small charge in aid of the Branch Funds being made. An afternoon Bridge drive, held last week, has commenced this season's activities. The Branch has chiefly concerned itself during the past season with the appointment of suitable local women magistrates, and it is hoped that we shall shortly see on the local Bench several women with an intimate knowledge of women's trials and troubles in this district, and also who will be more understanding in the application of the New Children's Act.

Whitley Bay. This is a new Branch, formed in 1932, from which I regret that a full report has not reached me in time to be included in this report. It is pleasing to note, however, that they are progressing, and that their numbers are slowly increasing.

In conclusion, may I say that although the results set forward above are not perhaps startling, a deal of honest endeavour has gone to their making, and we are satisfied that in each case at least, something, even though it be small, has been usefully accomplished.

NORTH EASTERN.

Report given by DR. STACEY CLEMINSON, J.P., Convener.

Regional meetings have been held every quarter in different areas. A special Regional Sub-committee has been formed for Cinema work in Yorkshire, so that joint action may be taken more

often. The Branches exchange invitations to visit one another's special meetings, and share special speakers whenever possible. It is hoped to start some new Branches early next year.

Branch Activities.

Spensorough. As a new Branch the work has been mainly educational. A course of lectures has been well attended, and Lady Nunburnholme addressed a special meeting in the Town Hall. A Flag Day was organised and £90 raised for the funds of the Local Unemployment Committee; in addition a committee of the Branch helped to run a canteen and provide dinner for unemployed men.

Harrogate. Monthly meetings have been held. In April a Jubilee meeting was held, addressed by Lady Nunburnholme, and attended by the Mayor and Mayoress and many other visitors. An effort to complete the £5,000 Maternity Ward Fund was successful, Miss Fleming giving the last £60 to bring it up to the total. Arrangements are being made to hand over this Fund, which was started by Mrs. Bailiff and Lady Lawson Tancred, to the Hospital.

Leeds has concentrated on organising an occupational centre for wives of unemployed. Weekly meetings are held and outings arranged. Current questions have been discussed and information collected on questions of local and national interest.

Huddersfield has been unfortunate in being without a secretary this year. A public meeting on Cinema and Public Life was well attended. The Regional Committee met here in June, and was entertained to luncheon after business; in the afternoon a drawing room meeting was held in the President's house, when Dr. Frank Eve gave an address on Child Guidance. The Bring and Buy Sale had a good result.

Bradford held five meetings, all well attended. A group to study Housing Problems has been formed, which has inspected slums and new areas and considered the nature and cost of building materials and the planning of houses.

Bridlington arranged four meetings during this year. An important Luncheon Meeting was addressed by Lady Nunburnholme, and a most successful sale was held in aid of funds for the Branch.

Hull has held eight Branch meetings since the last Conference, one taking the form of a debate on "Should Women minister in Christian Churches?" A Resolution on Children's Allowances (Unemployment Bill) was sent to local M.P.'s. A successful effort has been made to improve ladies' waiting rooms at Paragon Street Station. Members help at the Sunlight Maternity and Children's Clinics, also at unemployment Clubs.

York has held nine Branch and open meetings, and had garden parties and musical At Homes to raise funds for various appeals. A stall is being provided at the Five Day Sale in aid of York County Hospital's Women's new ward. Lady Nunburnholme

addressed a tea meeting on N.C.W. affairs and the I.C.W. Conference.

Action has been taken and resolutions passed on Children's Allowances, Milk Rations for necessitous children, Allocation of Budget Surplus. Action has also been taken on questions of film magazines, etc. The Women Police Petition was signed by over 60 leading citizens, headed by the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Hull (now Bishop of Ely), the Dean of York, and many magistrates and councillors.

Practical work started nearly two years ago in the form of a Women's Service Club for wives of unemployed has proved of great use. The membership is now 120, with an average attendance of 80 mothers and 45 children under school age. Welfare work is carried on, and during the summer special Garden parties were given by friends on the outskirts of York. A camp was organised, to which small parties—22 women and 6 children—went for three days at a time. A whole-day outing to Scarborough was arranged for 86 women and 95 children. Great interest was shown in the methods of working this Club by the Prince of Wales during his visit to York. It is financially sound, and is the means of giving help and pleasure to a large section of women. The Lady Mayoress is now President of the Club.

Sheffield held an important conference on Dietetics, presided over by Lady Nunburnholme. The medical profession was represented, and spoke on various aspects of diet and malnutrition. As the outcome of this Conference a scheme is now under consideration for providing good mid-day meals for expectant and nursing mothers who are wives of unemployed.

CHAIRMAN: I thought it would interest the meeting to hear one or two words from Mrs. Turner on how she raised that remarkable sum of £5,000 through the Branch.

MRS. TURNER (Harrogate): It is certainly not all due to the Secretary or the Committee of our Branch that we have succeeded in raising the £5,000. I might say that I think every member of the N.C.W. in Harrogate has done her part. We have two or three members who are not able to come to the meetings, as they are cripples, and they have made things at home which could be raffled. I think about £60 was made in this way.

We have tried every method possible—van parades, flag days, anything we could think of to complete the fund. In Harrogate it is rather difficult, because there are so many other organisations under separate heads which also want money, so we have had to think a lot to get this £5,000.

Having arrived at this glorious sum we are, of course, presented with other difficulties. The hospital in Harrogate at the present time is £65,000 in debt. We, as an organisation, have been asked to hand this money over to them. We said we would give it only

for a Maternity Ward Fund, using the name of the N.C.W. We feel when we decide what to do, we should make a full report to the Executive.

I would like to say that Lady Nunburnholme coming to our Jubilee meeting in Harrogate this year gave a great impetus and a great stimulus to all the members, and the other people present who were not members.

NORTH WESTERN.

Report given by THE HON. MRS. CAWLEY, Convener.

This Region includes the Barrow-in-Furness, Liverpool and Birkenhead, Llangollen, Manchester and Salford, Oldham, Southport and Birkdale Branches. With the help of Miss Green, the Colwyn Bay Branch was revived. It is hoped soon to start a Branch at Wigan.

During the past year the Regional Committee met five times. At each meeting the Branches represented gave reports on their own activities. A representative was appointed to the advisory committee of the Welsh League of Nations Union.

Branch Activities.

Barrow-in-Furness is situated in a very badly hit industrial area, but under the energetic supervision of some of its members the Branch has worked with renewed vigour. Efforts were made to raise funds. Lady Steel-Maitland visited the Branch, as also did the Convener of the North West Regional Committee. The variety of addresses given ranged from "Geneva" to "The Nudist Movement."

Liverpool and Birkenhead. The Committee continues to be strongly representative of all branches of women's work in Liverpool. Excellent Press notices were given to all meetings. Several interesting meetings were held, and the addresses given included "The Unemployment Bill" by Mrs. Mott, and "The Hours of Shop Assistants" by Miss Cecile Matheson. Amalgamation with the Women Citizens' Association was still under consideration.

Llangollen. Subjects considered at meetings of this Branch include "The Local Water Supply," "Bookbinding," "Recent Legislation" by Miss Bright-Ashford, and "Biology in Human Affairs" by Miss Swaisland. A new Sub-committee was formed to deal with the work of the Council for the Preservation of Rural Wales. The reading circle meets once a month. Great interest is taken in the local centre for the unemployed.

Manchester and Salford. The Branch is greatly interested in the Fellowship and Service Club for unemployed women, opened twelve months ago.

Six Council Meetings were held, subjects considered being "The Sedition Bill," Mr. P. M. Oliver; "The Inheritance Bill,"

Dr. Erna Reiss; "Child Guidance Methods in America," Miss McCulloch; "The Social Position of Women in France," Madame Vassal; "Domestic Courts," Mr. Shaw (Clerk to the Justices of Manchester); and "The Sterilisation of the Unfit," Dr. Herd, School Medical Officer of Manchester.

Oldham. A petition was organised by the Branch and sent in for the appointment of women police. Members of Parliament were circulated and asked to support a bill to bring Scottish cinemas into alignment with English cinemas. Members of Parliament were also asked to support the amendment to the Shops Bill.

Miss Lees, President of the Branch, is to be given the freedom of the Borough.

Southport and Birkdale has worked very hard to get new members, and has doubled its membership. A luncheon, attended by 200 people, was arranged, at which a short address was given by Mrs. Reed on "Psychology in National Life." Subjects discussed at other meetings included "Home Science," "Dramatic Art in the Villages," and "The Young Delinquent," by Miss Lilian Barker, Governor of the Women's Prison at Aylesbury. Informative addresses were also given on various social services in the town.

SOUTHERN.

Report given by MISS CROSFIELD, Convener.

The Southern Regional Committee has met three times since the last Annual Conference—at Farnham, Petersfield and Guildford.

Branch Activities.

Farnham has held meetings on the use of the National Mark and on the Children and Young Persons Act, when Miss Warner, from the Home Office, spoke to a large audience. A luncheon was arranged at which the headmaster of the Farnham Art School spoke on "Modern Architecture." "The Good Companions"—a club run by members of the Branch for women workers in the town—is well attended, especially in the winter months. 24 new members have joined the Branch this year.

Guildford has held a meeting to discuss the desirability of the opening of Sunday cinemas; also two lectures have been given: one on the Children and Young Persons Act, and one, by Mrs. St. Loe Strachey, on the political position of women today in the Empire. An interesting leaflet on the work of the Branch has been printed for propaganda purposes.

Haslemere has had lectures on Housing and Unemployment at Home and on the Continent, and a lantern lecture on Town Planning; also a well-attended public lecture given by Mr. S. P. B. Mais, which raised a profit of £10. The H.Q. circular letter with regard to seats for shop assistants was sent to the Haslemere Chamber of Trade for their consideration, and the Guildford Division M.P.

was asked to support amendments in the Shops Bill, and also to take up the question of the entry into this country of indecent American publications.

Portsmouth held a large meeting, attended by doctors and townspeople, on "Maternal Mortality," addressed by Dame Louisa McIlroy; and another meeting on the care and after-care of women prisoners, addressed by Miss Size, Deputy-Governor of Holloway Prison. This Branch has pressed the local Watch Committee to make the cinemas in Portsmouth conform to the Home Office model conditions, and this has now been carried through.

SOUTH EASTERN.

Report given by MRS. WILSON POTTER, Convener.

This comprises the Branches of Brighton, Bromley, Croydon, Eastbourne, Folkestone, Hastings and St. Leonard's, Maidstone, Mortlake, Tunbridge Wells, and Worthing.

The honorary officers of our Region remain the same, with the exception of the Hon. Secretary. Miss Greenwood had to resign, owing to professional engagements, and her place has been taken by Miss Norah Green.

Bromley has suffered a severe loss by the death of Mrs. Kenneth C. Chalmers. Lady Campbell has succeeded her as President of the Branch.

Brighton's energetic and capable Hon. Secretary, Miss Basden, has retired.

The South Eastern Regional has held its usual three meetings. The summer one, by kind invitation of Tunbridge Wells, was followed by a largely attended luncheon, when our President gave us an inspiring address, and urged young members to make their voices heard at our Conferences. I fancy she had in her mind this Resolution, which our Regional had the temerity to send to the Executive:

That Branches should be urged, where possible, to appoint from among their members young speakers to bring forward and speak to their Resolution.

The Executive politely replied that Branches should themselves appoint young delegates.

Branch Activities.

The Branches have all done practical work in connection with the unemployed men, women and children: running clubs, allotments, libraries, recreation centres, clothes depots (**Eastbourne** supplied 387 families with clothes). **Croydon** was especially successful with its Fellowship Club and large panel of helpers; included in this was an allotment, library, thrift club, lessons in rug-making and dinners at 2d. a head. **Hastings**, at the request of the Mayor, ran a canteen at a bathing pool, where men were

given free drill, and by organising a gold, silver and brass collection raised £131 for the Mayor's Work Fund.

So much for the unemployed; but the Branches have been active in other directions.

Brighton is buying a new house as a hostel for a superior type of lodgings for women and girls.

Tunbridge Wells raised £18 for "Crown Hostel"—a common lodging house for women and girls.

Croydon, after a long struggle, has succeeded in getting its ex-chairman, Miss Glazier, on to the Board of the Croydon General Hospital. Croydon has an Annual Women Citizens' Day and Service.

The Cinema has naturally had much attention; **Hastings** has a very active Cinema rota under Mrs. Daunt, and their suggestion of Regional Conferences has been well received. **Mortlake** has a rota for the Sunday performances. **Brighton** reports the formation of a local film institute. **Worthing** has asked for special matinees for children.

All branches co-operated with the Women's Police Committee in getting signatures to the Petition presented in July to the Home Office.

The Branches have listened to interesting addresses from Lady Nunburnholme, Lady Steel-Maitland, and Lady Emmott.

Addresses on the new Children and Young Persons Act have been given by Dr. A. Norris and Miss Warner, both from the Home Office.

India, South Africa, and Palestine have been the subjects of interesting addresses by experts.

Mortlake has found that its members prefer Reports on Headquarter's Committees for their meetings—sensible members!

Bromley has a meeting specially for reports from their affiliated societies. On one occasion at **Brighton** six members spoke, each for five minutes, on "Why I belong to the N.C.W."

Last, but certainly not least, come the Luncheon Clubs, which have proved enormously successful as a meeting place for their members, and also as a recruiting ground for the N.C.W.

SOUTH WESTERN.

Report given by MISS PATERSON, J.P., Convener.

The Committee met as usual three times, its meetings being held in turn at each of the towns within the region where there were Branches. The Branch Secretaries and Officers had always been most helpful in co-operation, and it had been possible to hold the Regional meetings prior to a Branch meeting when a special speaker had been arranged. The Regional Committee had, therefore, the opportunity of hearing Mr. E. J. Patterson (a professor of Exeter University), speak on "The International Mind," at Dorchester; Miss Tancred on "Women Police" at Parkstone;

and the Hon. Mrs. Home Peel on "Nursery Schools" at Andover.

Efforts have been made to start new Branches, but so far without success.

Branch reports were made at the Regional meetings, and the Chairman, as their representative on the Executive, reported on activities at Headquarters.

Branch Activities.

Andover has co-operated with the National Institute for the Blind in organising a local Sale of Articles made by the Blind, and helped the Hampshire Association for Care of the Blind in launching a district committee. The Branch has also raised funds to help support a Soup Kitchen. Special speakers at Branch meetings have been Miss Ida Chamberlain, C.C. on the Health Services of the Hampshire County Council; Mr. Herbert Finch on the Grith Fyrd Camp; Mrs. Radcliffe (Salisbury) on N.C.W. Aims and Work—a special effort for new members; Miss Cécile Matheson on the I.C.W. and its Work; and Miss West, on the work of the G.F.S. (an affiliated society).

The **Bournemouth** Branch has made visits to the Grith Fyrd Camp for the Unemployed, and the Girl Guides Camp at Dudsbury; also to town services such as the G.P.O., telephone exchange, refuse destructor, Stokewood baths, and the sewage farm.

Social events have included an At Home, when Alderman Mrs. Laney (Branch President) was presented with her aldermanic robe by the Branch and sixteen other local women's societies; an outing to Wimborne Minster and a garden party to fifty ladies attending the British Medical Association Conference in Bournemouth and fifty Branch members.

Among the speakers at meetings were Mrs. MacWilliam, on the I.C.W. at Stockholm; Lady Nunburnholme on N.C.W. past history and future enterprises; Miss Randle on the Household Service League; Mrs. Lefroy on "The King's Peace," and Miss Jones on Girl Guides.

East Dorset has heard addresses from Miss Harding, on social work done by Alexandra College (Dublin) Guild, and from Miss Tancred on Women Police. It has made efforts to get a policewoman for Poole, and sent a Resolution to the Dorset County Council. Discussions have taken place and much interest aroused on the housing question.

Salisbury has held a bridge drive for Branch funds, and had a stall at the Y.M.C.A. Bazaar for the unemployed. A meeting was organised by the Branch to secure funds and public support for a children's recreation ground. A one-day study school on the Cinema, led by the Hon. Eleanor Plumer, was held.

South Dorset has heard lectures on "The International Mind," Mr. E. J. Patterson; The Children and Young Persons Act and

Remand Homes, Mr. D. Arthur Norris ; Local Government, Miss Bright Ashford. Meetings for discussion were generally held, not on the same day, but after the lectures.

WESTERN.

Report given by MISS L. DEANE, O.B.E.

The Western Regional Committee, composed of representatives from Bath, Bristol, Cheltenham, Gloucester and Torquay, has met three times.

The Annual Conference of Western Branches was held in April at Bristol. The afternoon meeting, specially for members, discussed the subject of "Increasing Leisure: the best way of using it." Many members took part, and very interesting ideas were put forward.

The second meeting was a public one ; the subject, by request, was that of "Discharged Prisoners," and the best way of arousing interest and support on their behalf. The Bishop of Bristol was in the chair ; the speaker was Colonel Turner, assistant prison commissioner at the Home Office, and the meeting was a great success. There was a very good attendance, fresh subscriptions for the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society were received, and five guineas were contributed from the collection to the Society. The meeting was arranged by the Bristol Branch.

For the September meeting of the Western Regional Committee, invitations were sent to all representatives on Headquarters Sectional Committees from the five Branches, to join in talking over the Resolutions to be brought to the Annual Conference in Edinburgh. A most useful and interesting discussion took place.

Miss E. H. Smith, J.P. and Miss I. Stirling were re-elected Chairman and Hon. Secretary respectively.

Branch Activities.

Some special features of the different Branch Reports may be noted.

Bath, by organising two very good meetings, raised £36, which was divided between two Wayfarers' Homes, and they also presented a wireless set to the District Nurses.

The **Bristol** Branch, at its summer meeting, had as speaker Mr. Vivian Carter, secretary of the Indian Colleges Appeal Fund, and the Branch hopes to support a public meeting to be called by the Lord Mayor on the subject.

Instead of conducting the ballot for the choice of Resolutions for the Annual Conference by the Council proper, this year the whole Branch was invited to discuss, and vote on the Resolutions. The experiment was an unqualified success.

A special feature of the work of the **Cheltenham** Branch has been the organisation of Branch luncheons. Representative guests

are invited, e.g. the Mayor, the Head of the Hospital, etc. ; special subjects are discussed, and it is hoped that one result will be the formation of a Child Guidance Clinic in Cheltenham.

Gloucester has co-operated with Cheltenham over the subject of the Child Guidance Clinic. They have also put much work into obtaining signatures for the Police Petition.

The **Torquay** Branch has had a Cinema rota, when visitors attended in pairs. It was noticed that film advertisements were not as bad as formerly.

This Branch receives a report from its parliamentary secretary every month, and thus keeps informed of the progress of legislation.

METHODS OF BRANCH CO-OPERATION.

Address by Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon, D.Sc., J.P.

If I venture to do some heart-searching into the ways and methods of our Council, it must be understood that I do so in the spirit of a worker and devotee in its midst.

When I pause to consider what has been the success of the National Council of Women as a whole, I should say it has risen to its full power as an exponent of existing public opinion among women's organisations in the country, able at any moment to place before the Government or the public the diverse views and the majority and minority opinions held by women on the leading social, economic and legislative questions of the day. For this aspect of its success the Council is largely indebted to the goodwill and co-operation of its affiliated Societies, both those that affiliate with Headquarters and those Societies or groups that affiliate with the local Branches.

Therefore my first word to the Regional and Branch Representatives here today is a reminder of the high importance of our Council and every Branch as a *central* body, inviting the affiliation of other women's organisations and combining with them and with public bodies in any form of useful work for the community. As an illustration of the varied initiative that can be taken by a Branch in this direction, I need only refer to the remarkable record and wide range of the activities of the Edinburgh Branch as briefly stated yesterday by Lady Ruth Balfour. There can be no question that this part of our Council's aims and objects has been kept well in the forefront of our minds.

On the other hand, I do not feel that the inner machinery of our Council is being used to its full capacity as a formative and informative force in the actual shaping of public opinion. There appears to me to be a lack of effective control and co-ordination between the work of the Sectional Committees which meet at the London Headquarters and the work of the Branches throughout the country.

The Sectional Committees pass through their hands a vast amount of specialised knowledge; but although a certain number of Branch representatives attend the meetings, and "Minutes" may be purchased, the expense of travelling to and from London is a heavy handicap on attendance from a distance, and only a limited proportion of the valuable knowledge eventually filters through to all Branches. By means of a little careful re-organisation the position might be greatly improved and the usefulness of the Council much enhanced.

For instance, after our Conference, there might be a *vigorous "follow-up" campaign throughout the Branches in respect of the more difficult or controversial subjects*. Agreement might be reached in the Regional Standing Committees on the more urgent of these to be included in their winter programmes of work and meetings. And the Sectional Committees at headquarters conversant with these particular subjects, could supply expert advice and assistance as to literature and speakers. Seeing that the Executive has decided that the January meetings are to be transferred to December, there will be meetings at headquarters both in November and December, and this should help to speed up the correspondence and arrangements for subjects and speakers, and enable the Branches to complete their programmes in good time for the ensuing year.

There are mutual advantages for the Sectional Committees and the Branches in a well-ordered recognised plan for simultaneous study of the leading questions. The advantages for the Branches are that speakers' tours could be more economically arranged, and it would be more worth while for a first-rank speaker to visit a series of Meetings than to go to one isolated Branch; for the Sectional Committees, that they could make sure of receiving reports from the Branches on the local aspects of the special subjects at the fitting moment when public interest was keen, or a Bill was being brought before Parliament, or a deputation led to some of the Ministries. I believe also that with increased support and the security of good speakers, many Branches would feel encouraged to arrange public Conferences in their localities and neighbouring areas, which would serve to spread information and interest in wider circles.

I am well aware that there is occasional co-operation of this kind between the Committees at headquarters and the Branches; what I suggest is that it should be systematised and particularly attended to during the two months succeeding the Annual Conference.

As an illustration of effective co-operation, take the excellent results achieved by Miss Tancred and Miss Cowlin in securing signatures from all parts of the country for the National Petition which had been prepared by the Sectional Committee on Women Police. I may also add that I have been running an experiment in co-operation with the Sectional and Joint Cinema Committees

during the past two years. These Committees suggested to individual N.C.W. Branches and local groups of the Mothers' Union and the National Federation of Women's Institutes to arrange jointly for a Public Conference on Cinema questions in their areas, to be addressed by the Hon. Eleanor Plumer. A considerable number of Conferences were held, and they were in every respect an unqualified success.

Another direction of the Council's work in which more ought to be done is *in spreading interest in the international activities connected with the International Council of Women*. These activities are of world-wide interest and importance, and are deserving of an International Sectional Committee all to themselves, one of whose duties should be to carry information to our Branches on the work of the permanent International Committees, and the events and Resolutions of the Congresses that are held from time to time by the International Council.

I have been asked to say a few words on the formation of new Branches, which is a very special charge on the Regional groups. In general terms I recommend strongly the holding of Conferences and meetings in different localities within your regional areas. The more liberally you can supply new light and leading on the endless problems that arise nationally and internationally the more likely it is that intelligent women will desire to join the organisation.

In addition, there is a usual routine which no doubt you follow. Do the individual Branches report regularly on possible areas to their respective Regional Committee?

Do you keep an up-to-date list of some of your members who are willing to do preparatory work in visiting representative women in new areas, and motoring here and there for the purpose? And do you also have lists of those members who would be willing to speak to small groups of interested women with a view to a preliminary meeting?

I was particularly pleased to hear that the Branch in Colwyn Bay had been re-started, and I hope that other Branches may follow both in North and South Wales. It is all-important that we should keep on growing in the number of our Branches and Affiliated Societies. And at the same time we must always have courage to criticise our methods and to alter or develop them as required.

FIRST PUBLIC MEETING.

October 2nd. 8.30 p.m.

Chairman : MRS. E. W. BARNES, President, Birmingham Branch.

PHYSICAL FITNESS AND ITS VALUE TO THE NATION.

The CHAIRMAN, in her opening remarks, said that the title of the meeting, "Physical Fitness and its Value to the Nation," suggested a slight anxiety, which no doubt the speakers would dispel. To herself, as a Pacifist, physical fitness did not present itself as an asset of good war material for the country. Quite the contrary: the mere thought of the two in conjunction deepened for her the horror of war.

Nor would she see physical fitness used as a means of gain. The commercialisation of sport spoilt the essence of a game and provoked quite needless dissension. Nor would she unduly exalt athletics. Folk dancing was not a religion; military drill was not the only discipline which could regulate a school, and she believed that colours or a cap, even though it were a blue one, was still a lesser glory than a First Class. Rather would she see in physical fitness a building stone to that perfection which was still perhaps the truest definition of the Divine. The nearer the body could be brought to perfection, the better should it be able to fulfil itself in its greater functions and purposes as the temple of the spirit. Bodily perfection in fact, physical fitness, was not an end in itself.

Recently she had heard two recipes for health and happiness. The first, provided by an old Welsh minister, was: "Never get tired; never hurry; never worry." That recipe could perhaps be used in the Millennium.

The second, by a distinguished physician, was: "Choose your parents carefully. Be moderate in food and drink. As far as possible live peaceably with all men." This last recipe seemed to fit that evening's subject, for much the most important factor in physical fitness, as it seemed to her, was a wise choice of parents.

Where there was a sound inheritance, health triumphed. Owing to slum clearance, better housing, welfare work, after-care, nursery schools, hospitals, and so forth, much had already been done. Legislation, looking ahead, promoted preventive work also, such as advice on birth control given at many welfare centres. Such advice was concerned to raise the quality and not merely to reduce the quantity of the children. That was a point worth labouring.

Some people hoped that new and further legislation would strengthen the hands of those who would, by voluntary sterilisation, stem disease at its source. Such subjects aroused controversy, because this generation had not yet grown accustomed to them. She mentioned them simply as aids to the physical fitness of the community.

If they set out to eliminate disease, it could only be done by the careful choice of parents from the responsible members of society. Incidentally, they would help thereby to lower the national expenditure in curative treatments, hospitals, and the like.

Such an ideal of responsibility in the nation would help the second ingredient of the recipe—moderation in food and drink. The healthy young ought surely to grow up undesirous of excess. Natural appetites of all kinds fell into line with plenty of open air and regular habits. An extension of the school age was needed, and more opportunities in the course of it for air and exercise.

A population well balanced in mind and body would surely come to see where the true greatness of its future lay, not in arms and armaments, not in jealousies and war, but in the paths of peace. The sound mind, which presupposed the sound body, was surely the hope of the world.

HEALTH AND HOUSING.

DR. W. G. CLARK, Senior Deputy Medical Officer of Health, Glasgow, said it had been shown quite clearly that people removed from "slum areas" to new houses responded in a very marked manner to their new environment. Taking the death rates as an index, these were found to have dropped quite definitely, and the vital statistics for such re-housing schemes were much better than those of the areas from which the people came and were tending towards the figures for the average of the population. The infantile mortality rate—generally regarded as the most delicate index of unfavourable conditions—was in the re-housing schemes not much above that of the general population.

They were satisfied that the removing of the "slum class" from their unfit houses to new dwellings had been a pronounced success from a social standpoint. The movement was beyond the experimental stage, and experience had shown that the misfits were really few in number, and the percentage of successes high.

Experience had also shown that a kindly supervision of the tenants in their new accommodation was essential in the interests of the tenants themselves, and that this supervision was not resented, at least not by those desirous of improving their environment. In Glasgow the person appointed to supervise the welfare of the displaced tenants was not also interested in the collection of rents, although in many places such functions were carried out by the one individual. Nurse inspectresses were charged with welfare duty and they were satisfied that the friendly relationships existing between them and the tenants would tend to be strained were they to be made responsible for the collection of rents.

He thought the re-housing of the poorer classes had been the great outstanding public health achievement of this generation. The present Government had declared its intention of solving the prob-

lem of the slums within a period of some five years, and had recently indicated that the next problem to be tackled was that of overcrowding. Legal draughtsmen were busy at the moment in the preparation of Bills, and he understood that Scotland was to have an Act of its own. The overcrowding problem in Scotland was infinitely worse than that of England. Taking the low standard of three persons per room as constituting overcrowding, 15 per cent. of the total houses in Scotland were overcrowded, while the figure for England was not 2 per cent.

The insanitary house and overcrowding were problems that could only be solved by the provision of sufficient alternative accommodation. This accommodation must either be in new houses or in existing houses which were fit for human habitation, or in existing houses which had been reconditioned. What was necessary in a house from the health standard? It should be dry; it should have provision for adequate ventilation; it should be light, and have direct access to the sunlight at some period of the day; it should be provided with modern sanitary conveniences, including inside water and bath; its site and the house itself should be suitably drained. Further, the temperature within the house should be capable of being regulated; and there should be provision for the proper storage of food, crockery, and domestic utensils, also for domestic fuel.

The Moyne and Whitson Committees had recommended under certain conditions the reconditioning of existing houses, causing considerable controversy thereby, more especially as it has been recommended that a grant be given, under certain safeguards, to private owners to recondition their properties. He thought that no question of reconditioning of old properties would have arisen had it not been for the acute shortage of houses for the working classes. Every health official knew of the discontent amongst the working classes, who were not fortunate enough to live in a slum area, when they compared their existing house with that provided to rehouse the slum tenant. Few old buildings could be reconditioned to give a reasonably sized house, easily worked, and with really modern conveniences. Not even the most strenuous supporter of reconditioning would argue that he could provide anything but the minimum of modern requirements in a reconditioned old house.

It had been computed that at least 200,000 houses in Scotland, almost one-fifth of the total houses, required reconditioning in varying degrees to bring them up to a minimum standard of fitness. If the economic position was such that sufficient really fit houses could not be built to assure that the whole population was properly housed, then public money would have to be spent on reconditioning, as it was quite clear this could not be done by private owners.

The people who built industrial Scotland paid little attention to town planning and the density of population. They erected stone structures fit to brave the elements for hundreds of years. Diffi-

culties today were increased, because of the very nature of the structure, and the heterogeneous placing of industry and dwellings. When an area was cleared in the centre of a city, it was inevitable that many of the tenants must be removed to districts long distances away, as only about a quarter of the number of houses demolished could be erected on the original area. The question of transport and its cost had exercised many minds, and there was a definite tendency today to re-house many more tenants on cleared areas by building high dwellings. There were indications that ten-storey tenements might be erected shortly in London, where the difficulties of re-housing sites and transport facilities were even greater than in Scottish cities.

The people to be re-housed were the working classes, and re-housing should be mainly in the interests of children. His own experience was that families in which there were several children did not desire to live in an upper flat; young couples with young children did not desire to live in an upper flat; neither did old people, nor those afflicted with chest or rheumatic complaints, and he felt that really high buildings would not meet the requirements of the class of population to be dealt with. Difficulty had been found on the continent in letting the upper flats of their six and seven storey buildings, and these had had to be given to the young bachelors of both sexes and to the professional classes.

From the purely medical aspect, also, there were objections to high tenements and the congregation of large numbers of people with common entrances and passages. It had been shown quite clearly by Dr. Chalmers, formerly Medical Officer of Health for Glasgow, and others, that in the Scottish tenements there was an increased incidence of diseases of the respiratory system and those infectious diseases spread through close contact. Dr. J. L. Halliday showed that measles was mainly a disease of pre-school years in the poorer type of tenement property, whereas in the cottage type measles was a disease of the school years, when mortality was less than in infancy and in the toddler stage.

Public Health officials in Scotland would view with some concern any suggestion to solve the problem of scarcity of sites by building sky-scrapers. It might be that the ingenuity of architects would produce a high building which could meet all objections, and some of the best brains in the country were busy with this and other such housing problems just now. He would feel happier if he knew that these architects had frequent consultations with housewives who knew the problems of the working-class housewife; and also that the Government were determined to see that local authorities built houses which would stand the test of a life of forty to sixty years from the various angles of health, both public and individual, aesthetic value and domestic usefulness.

Under the 1933 Housing Act the activities of local authorities were curtailed, and their function might be said to be limited to

the provision of houses for the poorer classes. It was sometimes argued as to whether a bath was necessary in a working man's house. Neither a bath nor an inside water closet was a necessity some thirty years ago; but standards kept rising, and the luxuries of today were the necessities of tomorrow. A bath with both hot and cold water and an inside water closet were, in his opinion, necessities today, certainly in the city. The outside water closet, which might be quite sanitary in the country, ignored the requirements of comfort, age and sickness.

In a new property he had seen recently in Rotterdam, in which there were 72 families, there were complete washing facilities in a semi-basement flat, and alongside of each washing compartment an enclosed space open to the air, where infants could be kept under the mother's eye. There were very adequate drying facilities. In this flat was also a lock-up compartment for each tenant, in which were stored all kinds of heavy stuff, including perambulator and the ubiquitous bicycle. Each home had its private balcony giving that access to open air which was needed so much in Scotland. There the infant could be put out in safety, and there the parents and the elderly people could rest in peace when the time was opportune.

In one or two housing schemes near Paris, they had fitted in a method of refuse-removal which did away with the ashbin. All the household refuse was placed in a receptacle connected with the sink and protected by means of a water-seal. The housewife could run it away whenever she wished and then forget it. The solids and fluids were separated in a tank; the solids taken by means of vacuum pressure to the destructor, and the fluids run into the drains.

There was much to learn in housing from continental countries, both from their errors and successes, but perhaps the most obvious things were the cleanliness of the houses and people, and the provision made for playgrounds for children and open spaces around the houses. The playgrounds and open spaces could be emulated here, but what about their cleanliness? They had not to deal with the dirty polluted atmosphere of Great Britain's more populated parts. The struggle against dirt in the house was not so heavily weighted against the housewife, but even, after making allowances, they really were cleaner. They had more sunshine, certainly, but perhaps the real reason was that they were much more home-loving. The poorer classes had little but nice furniture; they went in more for light coloured materials in the house, and admitted light and air, not using window curtains nor casements to the same extent. Another point worth mentioning was that it was rare to find on the continent the living room being used as a bedroom. The rooms were used as they were intended to be used, and the result was naturally pleasing to the eye, and must be healthy.

In conclusion, Dr. Clark said that the lay-outs of the new housing schemes should not be the result of the activities of any one depart-

ment of a local authority, but the work of all interested departments and concerns: education, parks, housing, health, and finally commerce and industry, for the latter surely should be interested in where and how its potential employees were being housed. "In the past we have suffered from financial stringency, both local and national. Let us hope that wise counsels will prevail in every direction, and that it will be recognised that architecturally sound and artistic dwellings amid pleasant surroundings will exercise a profound influence on the health and happiness of all who dwell in them."

HEALTH AND THE OPEN-AIR LIFE.

SIR IAIN COLQUHOUN, BART., said, the open-air life might be taken to include all forms of out-of-door games and sports and pastimes and athletics, although one connected it more intimately with hiking, walking, and camping. There was no branch of sport that he could recollect which had not been invaded or patronised by the ladies since they became generally interested in such matters only a few short years before. The success which had attended the invasion, or the patronage, had at least proved that woman at her best could compete on very nearly level terms with all but the best male athlete or games player. The weak point of the invasion to his mind was that women never seemed to invent any form of sport or games for themselves. Nor did they even attempt to adapt the rules made by men for men to meet their own particular requirements. In other words, they contributed nothing whatever towards the evolution and advancement of the national outdoor life beyond joining merrily in it.

It was to his mind high time that some purely feminine game made its appearance, as it was the reverse of refreshing to see women struggling along rough and rocky paths which were never intended for them. For instance, he could not think it desirable that women should take part in such purely masculine sports as Association and Rugby football and wrestling, although if they must do so it would be perfectly simple to adapt the rules to make their more robust features a little less robust. But there again he was opposed to such things, because he hated seeing women taking part in them—or rather, reading about them, for he had never seen such spectacles—than from any deep conviction that it was bad for them physically or mentally. He could watch with pleasure women athletes running a 100 yards race, but he could not watch them running the more punishing distances. He could see grace and beauty in a woman throwing the javelin; nothing but pathos in a woman putting the weight or throwing the hammer. For all he knew to the contrary, the hammer thrower might make the better mother, and by decrying her pastime he might be depriving the race of a chance of an improved physique.

Perhaps the most unlooked-for development in this mechanical

age was the quite sudden and overwhelming popular passion for hiking, as it was now generally or rather vulgarly called. He could imagine no more beneficial movement, because for general health there was nothing known to compare with walking. It was the basis of training for practically every form of athletics and had the additional advantage that it was not confined to an acre or two of green ground, but opened up to all the manifold glories and graces of dear Scotland—or rather of the beautiful British Empire.

The Youth Hostel Association was the immediate outcome of this sudden desire to walk and to get back to the land, even if only for a few short hours per week. The Youth Hostel Association had chains of hostels opening up different parts of Scotland, and the demand was so great that probably at no distant date members would be able to travel the length and breadth of Scotland and obtain adequate, if simple, accommodation at one shilling per night.

The Youth Hostels Association had started off under the worst possible auspices. Landowners, farmers, and country dwellers each wholeheartedly condemned it. They were naturally apprehensive of the damage which hordes of undisciplined young people might do to the countryside. Others pointed out the danger of moral laxity. And the usual number of scoffers jeered at the movement as a mere evanescent craze.

But the Association had fought their battle, and he thought they had won. They were not composed of saints and archangels; but generally they had maintained a high standard of conduct and of courtesy, and he had never heard a word breathed against their morals.

He was a tremendous believer in the advantages of membership of one or other of the many outdoor organisations, for he had found that in his own country of Loch Lomond the unattached person was responsible for much of the damage done, and much of the litter left. Whether the organisation had a very high standard, such as the Scouts and the Guides, or a much lower one, the point was that it had a standard and a code, to which its members were expected to conform, and its members, whether they knew it or not, would acquire a certain pride in upholding that code and a responsibility towards it.

He had attempted no analysis of the effect that the open air life had upon women, because he both hated and feared analyses. People were far too inquisitive and daily getting worse. They probed and prodded and investigated and attempted to explain what the Almighty meant to be inexplicable. Children were psycho-analysed out of their poor little minds. As a father he said with pride that he infinitely preferred his own little troop of normal, happy, healthy, naughty, dirty children to any heterogeneous collection of anaemic and scientific exhibits.

His whole experience of the open air had been that it was beneficial in the highest degree to men and to women, whether

mentally, morally or physically. With regard to the woman's point of view he thought her participation in games and sports and outdoor exercise generally had broadened her outlook, given her an added interest in life, and made her a better fellow and a better companion both to her own sex and to his.

In conclusion, Sir Iain said: "There is one final point: that of chivalry. Companionship suggests a free and an easy relationship, a sharing of all difficulties, of all dangers, and a complete equality in everything. If that be the definition of companionship between man and woman, then it means the death of chivalry. If you expect nothing in that way from us you can be perfectly certain of this, that you will get nothing. Please expect, and let us see that you expect, and you will not be disappointed. And remember this, there can never be true equality between men and women. Woman must ever be physically the weaker sex, and man her natural protector. I am not qualified to say what effect that basic fact has upon the mind of women, but I do know this, that it brings out all that is honourable and gallant and true in Man: so if you women need chivalry the less, we Men need it the more. Please do not let chivalry die."

PHYSICAL EDUCATION: MUSIC AND HEALTH.

MISS HELEN DRUMMOND, Principal of Dunfermline College of Hygiene and Physical Education, said that among some of the essentials underlying physical fitness she would stress good posture, the right mental and physical poise, and the power to relax. Particularly she would stress at the present time the power to relax. Closely bound up with all these three, especially on the physical side, was the power to perform rhythmic movements, and, associated with this, to have a sense of rhythm.

The system of physical training upon which the children of Great Britain were brought up in the schools was the Swedish system. That system, as it was first started in Sweden in the seventeenth century, was quite definitely a military system, meant entirely for men, and as it was taught for many years in the schools of this country the military character lasted. There had, of recent years, been a very definite tendency away from that military character, and particularly in the work for women and girls a realisation that what was suitable physical exercise for men and boys was not necessarily the best exercise for women and girls.

Music was being introduced today as the complement of the exercise, and was only done to certain particular types of exercise. How far music should be used was a very questionable point. Her own view was that it could be used with advantage to a small degree if the teacher was really musical.

But it had a very great value, because she was certain that children and young people did enjoy moving to music, and if they

were not given the opportunity to move to music, they would seize their own opportunity. Clubs or gymnastics and other kinds of games, would not have in this country, at any rate, anything like the same appeal as the dance hall had. That was probably to a large extent because in the dance hall they got the opportunity of the companionship of the opposite sex, and in the gymnastic club they did not. But there was more to it than that. At the end of a day they were tired, and the chance to move in rhythm to music was restful.

In clubs, girls' clubs in particular, where an effort was being made to give them really good physical work and improve their posture and health, this desire for rhythmic movement should be taken into account, but care was needed in one respect. The clubs were having a big fight to get away from the old musical drill. They did not want to go back to that; but with the introduction of the great rhythmic gymnastics which had recently come from Finland and the very careful introducing of music in certain exercises, she thought a great deal could be done towards the desire of these girls for exercise, for rhythmic movement and at the same time really developing their posture and their poise.

In conclusion, Miss Drummond said she had one word to say about relaxation. She was perfectly certain that children and young people tended to overdo physical things just as much as they tended to overdo mental things. They could not be still. If they had an hour with nothing particular to do, off they dashed to the cinema. She felt that in their physical education as well as in their ordinary general education, the children should be taught how to be still and how to rest. She was convinced that it was not enough to teach posture, a right carriage, games, dancing, but they must also teach the children the power of physical repose.

She thought the maxim given by the Chairman of the essence of good health, which ended up, "Don't hurry and don't worry," was an excellent one, and there was no need to wait for the millennium. "Let us train our children to have that poise, that posture, that sense of well-being, and with it that power of repose, physical and mental, so that they can do what they have to do, and when it is done, rest and be ready for the next thing."

PROFESSOR WILKIE, in moving a Vote of Thanks to the speakers, said that when the immense amount of money spent every year in maintaining institutions for the care of the sick, both in body and mind, and the immense economic loss occurring through accidental illness among the workers of this country, were taken into consideration, it was obvious that physical fitness was not only a personal blessing but a national asset. He thought the N.C.W. had done a very great deal in bringing health questions before the public notice and had been the means of promoting legislation in many very important regards.

The question of Nursery Schools, he considered one of the most important of all, because during the first five years of life a much greater influence could be exercised on the health of the community, and particularly on longevity, than ever again. In the new housing areas there was a wonderful opportunity for starting Nursery Schools and for carrying out this particular experiment in public health, beginning with the child actually before it was born, caring for it in Infant Welfare Centres and Nursery Schools, right through youth up to maturity. It was an opportunity that had been given to few generations, and the question was, were they going to make the most of it?

He thought there could be no doubt that the urge to get in the open air, the walking and cycling clubs, sun-bathing even on days when there was hardly a glint of sunshine, all these were tending to rear a generation physically fitter than before, and the advantage of this would be reflected in the next generation.

There was one most important question with regard to health, which had not been traversed that evening, and that was dietetics. It was the greatest national requirement of the present time. Malnutrition was seldom due to the fact that the individual could not afford to buy sufficient food; it was because the available money was spent on the wrong kind of food. Similarly, a person did not as a rule become obese because he ate too much, but usually because of a lack of discretion in what he ate. He thought women had given a wonderful example to men in introducing that admirable process of slimming which had been so popular in the last few years.

In conclusion, he would say that cultivation of physical fitness led to an increase of self-respect and so to a better moral tone. The only way to combat vice was by some positive measure, and he believed the best measure of all was to enthrone physical fitness as one of the highest ideals of daily lives.

SECOND PUBLIC MEETING.

October 4th. 8.30 p.m.

Chairman: THE PRESIDENT.

The CHAIRMAN introduced Professor Zimmern as Professor of International Relations at Oxford University since 1930; as having been in the Political Intelligence Department of the Foreign Office from 1912-15; as Deputy Director of the League of Nations Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in Paris from 1926-30; as Director and Founder of the Geneva School of Intellectual Studies; and as brother of "our Miss Elsie Zimmern."

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

PROFESSOR A. ZIMMERN said he was very glad that the closing meeting of the Conference should be devoted to international relations. The women's movement was and had been one of the great stimuli for international peace and international understanding. Indeed, he thought it was the function of women to promote understanding in general between individuals as between nations. He was going to take it for granted that they were "converted," and he proposed to devote his time that evening to a discussion of the existing situation.

He would start with their own movement, because it was not simply a force making for better international relations. It was an extremely accurate barometer of the existing state of civilisation in individual countries. The status of women, the respect paid to women, the customary relationships in a country between men and women, formed one of the best tests as to the general condition of any country.

There were other tests. One was the infantile mortality rate. Another was the normal expectation of life for the population, which, incidentally, had a good deal to do with economic conditions. There was much dispute about systems, but the result of economic conditions was revealed in healthy conditions and other matters. Another very good test was the administration of justice in a country. Where the judiciary was independent, honest and trusted by the people, the condition of the country was good.

Other tests were the quality of the Civil Service, whether it was run by patronage and corrupt, or trusted and doing a good job; or the character of the local government; or the amount of freedom and the amount of equality allowed to voluntary organisations in a country. And yet another, which he could not forbear to mention in Scotland, was the amount and the quality of public education. However, with regard to that, he would say that literate people might be politically very backward; it did not follow that, because everybody could read and write, a country was civilised.

Comparisons between one country and another were odious, as between individuals, but the fact remained that some countries were more civilised than others. There were standards in politics, and these did not depend on the individual virtue, niceness or agreeableness of the citizens but on the political virtues, and political virtues required training, experience, what was called public spirit. So that they might and did find countries inhabited by very nice people, who yet were politically very retrograde and even in the strict sense of the word barbarous.

What he had been saying was really a platitude, but nevertheless a platitude which was very often forgotten by enthusiasts for better relations between nations.

Taking the world as a whole, looking at the globe and meditating on it, the outstanding fact was that at present the world was in a very unequal stage of development. Some countries were far in advance of other countries politically. We were not moving internationally on a single broad front: all countries moving forward with equal keenness, with equal experience and with institutions of equal value and effectiveness. Unfortunately the political advance of the world rather took the form of a procession, in which there was a group of countries in advance, and then a rather long tail.

That fact had been borne in upon him often enough as he had looked down from the Gallery of the League of Nations Assembly at Geneva at the delegates beneath, representing some fifty sovereign States, and he had asked himself, "What are the Ethiopians thinking about? What are the Siamese thinking about? The delegates from this or that Latin-American country, what are they thinking about, and how is it possible for countries A and B and C really to understand the standards, the outlook, the attitude, the opinions, the ideals and traditions of countries X, Y and Z?"

The root problem of international relations was the problem of impenetrable minds, that some countries were quite unintelligible to other countries, and that the number of persons in the world competent to act as interpreters between the countries was extremely limited.

If they asked why the League of Nations did not do more, why it had not achieved more in the last fifteen years, just let them ask themselves, "What can the League do?" The League passed laws—they were called treaties or conventions—but who administered those laws? The authorities in the various countries. If they went on to ask what kind of civil service was administering those laws in A, B and C they would realise what he meant by the advance not being on a single front, but a procession in which groups of countries tried to set standards for other countries.

Professor Zimmern said he started on this theme because he had vividly in mind the debate to which he had listened at Geneva about the question of Russia's entry into the League. The most notable speech made on that occasion was a speech made by the

delegate of Switzerland, M. Motta, an Italian Swiss, a devout Catholic and very experienced statesman, who had been for something like twenty years the Foreign Minister of Switzerland.

It was a very dramatic moment. The application was from a country which was in many respects totally different from the other countries in the League. There rose up the delegate of the oldest democracy in the world, one of the oldest States in the world, the most tolerant country in the world; the country where "minorities" were the best treated, because the frontier between German, French and Italian Switzerland was an invisible frontier. In many respects Switzerland was a model country. What was M. Motta's argument?

It was really an ethical and religious argument. M. Motta did not argue against the Russians because he did not like their economic system. He said: "They are not a Christian country. We do not like their standards. They are outside the comity of Christendom, as we have hitherto understood it." In arguing thus, he was supported by the delegate of Holland, a country where Protestantism entered into politics more than in any other country.

The speech of M. Motta, which was very moderate but delivered with deep feeling, had a great effect on the Assembly. He received great applause, and probably he expressed the feeling of the majority of the delegates. They *voted* against him.

Why was Russia admitted into the League in spite of the fact that she stood for something very different from the moral and religious ideals of many members of the League? The reason why Russia was admitted was because the League was in principle a universal League. The League of Nations was founded on the basis of admitting everybody. It was therefore not a League of Christian States. If it were, there would be no room in it for Moslems, or China, or Japan—there were even non-Christian countries in Europe, in the sense that their leading statesmen were Rationalists rather than Christian. The League was not a League of Christian States, nor a League of Constitutional States like the British Empire.

Still less was the League a League of democratic States. The really democratic States were in a rather small minority. Therefore it would have been totally illegitimate and wrong to refuse to admit Russia and to keep in a State like Liberia, where there was a horrible system of forced labour, or Abyssinia, where, although the Emperor was doing his best, there was still a great deal of domestic slavery.

They must realise what that universality meant. It meant that they wanted to get everybody into the League. It meant that the British Empire was committed, and France too, to trying to get Germany back into the League.

But what did that mean? It meant that Germany would take her seat on the Council officially charged with the protection of minorities in other States. That was not a very agreeable thing to reflect on, but it was the result of the strict League theory.

He thought people ought to realise very completely that

President Wilson's League no longer existed, that they had got a new sort of League. Motta's speech was really a sort of funeral oration on the kind of League which was hoped for in 1919, i.e. a League where there would be a common moral and political ideal, a league of democracies. The idea was that the League was to be a co-operative organisation of countries with common standards, common ideals, and a common outlook.

The situation today was totally different. Did they realise that there were at present in the League two countries that had been at war for over two years—Paraguay and Bolivia—and that the representatives of those States came and sat in the Assembly and on the Council and did not even blush?

That war was not, however, wholly the fault of those countries, because the munition makers and even the oil interests had done a good deal to foment it. Still, their Governments could stop that war if they wished.

There were also other countries, who would go to war tomorrow if they saw a chance of winning. That was not Wilson's League. In fact, the world was at present in a very dangerous condition. Europe was in a very explosive condition. It very narrowly escaped war on July 25th. If July 25th had happened before June 30th it was quite likely that the Nazi party would have succeeded in overthrowing the Austrian Government, that there would have been a more or less general rising, and in that case there would have been Italian, Jugo-Slavian, Czechoslovakian troops, perhaps also German troops in Austria. Europe just escaped a very, very dangerous situation at the end of July.

President Wilson's mistake was that he did not realise the slowness of political progress. He did not realise sufficiently that progress was not on a broad front, but on rather a narrow front, and that time was needed for the education, for the movements of opinion which alone could make such a scheme as he had in his mind fully successful.

He did not realise that about Germany. If he had, he would not, in October, 1918, have insisted on overthrowing the constitutional monarchy which came into existence at the beginning of that month, or on taking the second step to a republic. Europe had suffered a great deal through the ignorance of Americans of the nature of constitutional monarchy. It would have been very much better if the Kaiser had stayed in a subordinate position, subject to constitutional advisers, and had been forced to face all the difficulties resulting from the last war. If they cared to look up all that, they should read the Memoirs of Prince Max of Baden, and they would see the beginning of how things went wrong in Germany after the war.

There was another side to this. Russia's application was also a sort of funeral oration, a funeral oration on the Russian project of a world revolution carried through by the Third International,

resulting in a simultaneous economic change, on the lines of the present Russian Government, throughout the world or throughout Europe. The Russian theory had been, up till recently, economic revolution first, peace afterwards. Now the Russians had realised that peace was more important; that they must be assured of peace in order to carry through their own experiment at home, and then, perhaps, by their example rather than by the use of force, propaganda or intrigue, bring about similar changes in other countries.

To put it in a nutshell, both the League and the Russians were now on a much more realistic basis than they had been up to quite recently, and that was some compensation for a good deal of disappointment.

There was not time to speak about economic questions, but he would say in passing that to put peace before economic reform was not to say that economic reform was not needed. Of course it was. He would put it in this way: there were two evil spirits in the world, Power and Greed, Moloch, god of war, and Mammon, god of money. Moloch was the more immediately dangerous, because when he got loose, he could cast down the pillars of the temple and bring the whole of civilisation down; whereas Mammon might be corroding and corrupting the world all the time, but his problem was not so immediately urgent. That was the way the present Russian Government regarded the problem.

President Wilson's original design assumed three things: firstly, that democracy would be a practically universal system of government. It assumed, secondly, that these democracies, being friendly, being co-operative, would want to help one another when they were in difficulties, and therefore everybody would protect everybody else. America would protect Belgium, Great Britain would protect Greece or Poland, and so on. Therefore, owing to this general guarantee (which he thought he had put into the Covenant, Article 10), each individual country would be enabled to reduce its own forms of protection; and that was how disarmament came into the Covenant. The programme of disarmament was associated in the mind of President Wilson with guarantees, and disarmament was in its origin an American policy associated with guarantees.

There was so much difficulty with disarmament because it was a hang-over from a complete design, most of the rest of which had disappeared. Everyone wanted disarmament, but it was unfortunately harder to get disarmament when they were not in a position to provide for the countries to be disarmed the protection which they were entitled to get under the original form of the Covenant.

The third part of Wilson's scheme was economic: these democracies, assured of peace, friendly, co-operatively disposed, would want to trade freely with one another. Thus it would be easy to reduce trade barriers, and the world would gradually get

back to the condition of free trade which was realised more or less about the middle of the nineteenth century. These things were all linked up together—freer trade, disarmament, mutual protection, world safe for democracy.

Things had not worked out that way. The greatest of all the democracies, the United States, had not joined the League. The majority of the Great Powers—not the most important but the numerical majority of the Great Powers—in the League were not democracies, and the guarantee scheme was never carried through because it was considered impossible to give it a strict meaning owing to the fact that the United States were not prepared to take part in it.

Was this a reason for despairing of the League or disparaging the League, abandoning the League? It was not. The abandonment of the League was unthinkable, because it would involve for British policy either isolation—or alternatively a system of alliances without any of the safeguards that were got under the League system.

Either of these two alternatives, isolation or alliances, would be bad for Great Britain and bad for the world. Alliances led sooner or later to counter-alliances. Those led to war, and in such a war we could not keep out because, whether we liked it or not, we were a European Great Power, and we had not for four hundred years disinterested ourselves of the Continent. Our interest in the Low Countries went back to the time of Queen Elizabeth, and air power had made that connection more vital than ever.

To return to Russia—why did she want to come into the League? Because she was afraid. She was frightened in the East of Japan. That was one of the reasons for the particular form taken by the Five Years Plan.

The Russian Government, instead of industrialising itself (as we did) by starting with the textile industries or industries making consumption goods, considered it necessary to concentrate, first, on the heavy industries for purposes of national defence, and they had moved their heavy industries into the interior of the country. They were in a much stronger position to defend themselves against Japan than before the Five Years Plan.

Similarly Russia was threatened on the West by the present German Government. The advent of the German Government of Chancellor Hitler had caused a complete transformation in the European diplomatic situation. People did not trust it. He might say what he liked, but he was not trusted. Violence was practised inside Germany, and Germany's neighbours felt that the same methods might be employed in Germany's foreign policy. So peaceful countries like Holland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden had all started increasing their defences. These were facts for which we in this country were not responsible. He thought it might be said of the present German Government that never in modern history had a great country been so irresponsibly governed. That

created a very nervous and anxious situation.

That being so, the Russians wanted protection. They had a choice—protection through the old-fashioned method of alliances, or protection through joining the League of Nations. They let it be known to the French that they needed protection, and the French were not sorry to receive their overtures, because the situation in Central Europe had become much more difficult for France through the rather curious vagaries of the policy of Poland, which was trying to exercise the rights and perhaps the lack of consideration for others supposed to be associated with being a Great Power. Thus there was a choice between a Franco-Russian alliance of the old style of 1892 or the post-war system of alliances, defensive arrangements, regional pacts, drawn up within the framework of the League.

Undoubtedly the system of regional pacts or an Eastern Locarno was much more satisfactory than the old system of alliances. They could not have a perfect League in an imperfect world, but it was better to have some League control over a dangerous international situation than no League control. But there was more to be said about the League than that. It was the nucleus of a better system.

The League provided assurance against secret treaties, and he thought the secret treaty clause was a real protection. The Covenant provided for public meetings for the discussion of such matters. It provided for an international Civil Service, not perfect, but better than anything that existed before. It provided also what he would call the mobilisation of shame. In an Assembly Meeting moral issues were raised and discussed, and it was more difficult—though Bolivia and Paraguay had succeeded in doing it—to stand up to the whole world in an international gathering and be faced with the fact of having broken one's word to the community of States.

Thus the Covenant was a sort of outline sketch for the future and that was all we had a right to expect in the generation following the war.

We should not get the League improved, we should not get the Covenant doing its job better, unless the advanced nations in the League supplied the driving force.

That advanced group had, of course, been sadly impaired by the abstention of the United States, but there had been a very important event this summer in the entry of the United States into the International Labour Organisation. From the point of view of getting an organic League of real co-operation, that event was more important even than the entry of Russia into the League as a whole.

The advanced group, the free people of the world, were not a majority; they were a small minority, but they were by far the most powerful group of countries in the world. Since the end of the war the free people, the democratic peoples, had had the preponderant power as against the non-democratic peoples. They had

sea power, and they controlled the major part of the economic resources of the world, particularly those required for armaments. If they looked up the facts about the distribution of minerals, particularly the key minerals needed for armaments, they would see that was the case. Thus it was true that the war made the world safe for democracy in the sense that the democratic countries, which were politically in a minority compared with the autocratic empires in 1914, were now, through the disappearance of those empires and the weakening of their successors, far more powerful than they were in 1914.

A great deal was heard of dictatorships, because dictators needed to advertise; and that need arose because they lived in weak, or backward countries. It was quite a mistake to think there was a crisis of democracy. There was indeed a crisis in government. It was harder to govern than it was twenty years ago. The tasks of government had changed and become more complex, and what was required today was a stronger executive and more scientific methods of administration. Compared with a hundred years ago, of course, Governments were entrusted with tasks, social legislation and administration, which would have been unthinkable for people like old Metternich or even Sir Robert Peel.

In this crisis of government the backward peoples had adopted crude, old-fashioned methods of government, despotism and tyranny, which were as old as Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar. The same crisis had been met in the advanced countries by all sorts of adjustments to meet their particular need. One form of adjustment in the United States. Another in, for instance, Holland. There had been coalitions of parties leading to a straightforward executive in four British countries—Great Britain, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. They were not wholly satisfactory, but they formed at any rate a more satisfactory response to the need than the crude systems of certain Continental countries.

It might perhaps be worth pointing out that within the last fortnight two rulers of great democracies had publicly praised the system of government in Great Britain and the way in which the nation has met the situation. President Roosevelt did so, and President Doumergue of France; and France was in the middle of trying to make an adjustment which would diminish the powers of Parliament by granting the Executive the power of dissolution which it had enjoyed for a long time here.

These free countries did not advertise, because they were doing the job in their own way.

If they asked him "What is your practical programme?" he would say that for the British Cabinet at the present time it was very difficult to see even months ahead in the uncertainty of the situation, but the general direction was clear: to hold fast to what we had got in the League of Nations and international organisation; to promote by every means closer association with the group of

advanced countries—the United States, our own Dominions, and in Europe: France, the Northern countries, Norway, Sweden and Denmark, also Belgium and Switzerland.

The democratic front was much what it was in 1914, but there had been one addition, and it was that very remarkable democratic country in Central Europe, Czechoslovakia. Not much was heard about it, but President Masaryk and Dr. Benes were far greater statesmen in the eyes of history than the more resounding gentleman of a neighbouring country.

The overwhelming primary need was to ensure peace, to make it certain that there should be no more wars of violence by one country against another. The best instrument for that seemed to him to be the instrument initiated by the Americans themselves, and to which they were much more responsive than to the peace provisions of the Covenant, i.e. the Kellogg Pact.

What was wanted was not new pieces of paper but greater confidence, greater trust, greater sympathy, greater understanding between the democratic peoples, and particularly the United States and ourselves. If we could get between the United States and ourselves a confidence and an understanding as complete as there was between ourselves and Canada, the problem of peace and war would be solved, because then it would be certain that in a crisis our aims and the aims of the Americans would move in the same way; because we had the same moral standards to go for. That was what was meant by saying that the real sanction against aggression was public opinion. If the people of the advanced countries were really determined to make peace, they would see to it that their Government took the right action in an emergency.

Professor Zimmern concluded: "There is no need to despair. You cannot make a time-table for international advance. You may sometimes have discouragement for years. Then suddenly you may make a very swift advance. All you can do is to go on with your education, to keep firm hold on your ideals, to develop your movements so that when the moment comes, you are ready to seize the opportunity: and it may be that the moment will come much sooner than most of us expect in the present rather dark hour."

VALEDICTORY ADDRESS.

The VERY REV. J. HARRY MILLER, C.B.E., said that the task of the delegates, now that the Conference was over, was not to lose sight of the wider vision that had been theirs during those days in Edinburgh. He would warn them that there was no high experience which had not got its immediate corresponding depression. They would never come from any Mount of Transfiguration without finding a tragic case at the foot of the mountain. Therefore he would suggest to them some very simple rules.

The first was to keep their minds open. He implored them to

keep proportion in their thinking. Professor Zimmern had laid weight upon that, not over-hasting or over-resting but keeping the right steadfast pace.

The second thing was equally trite and simple: it was to honour little duties. Little duties were the consummation of our task on earth. If we failed there, no success on a broader field was worth having. It was the little things faithfully done that made the spirit both of a community, of a nation, and of the world. It was the keeping faithful in the little things that was so difficult and yet so essential.

The next thing was that while they walked the earth, they breathed the air of heaven. Occasionally their hands and feet would be soiled with their work, but their souls could be clean in the grimmest conditions if they kept their hearts open towards the air of God.

He was himself still an old-fashioned believer in the extraordinary power of home life. He often wished that he could get witness either in writing or speech of the numbers of people who owed all they had been enabled to do to the influence and movement of very early days and the atmosphere of a home that held service as greater than success. He would like to give his tribute once again to those of his audience who might think that their work was circumscribed and narrow; if they had contributed to the building and making and keeping of the pure and noble intellectual and spiritual atmosphere of a good and happy home, they had done a greater work than they were able to realise. From such homes would come the men and women of the future.

It was a tragic thing that in this narrow part of Europe were those three nations, so close together, eyeing one another with a certain anxiety and fear: Germany, with her thoroughness and splendid power of industry, France, with her brilliance and merciless logic, and Britain, with her genius for compromise. Let them think for a moment of the contributions of each of these nations. If mathematical accuracy in detail was wanted they would go to Paris: if thoroughness to Germany; if genius for government and understanding of handling other people, to Britain. And they were all necessary.

In conclusion, Dr. Miller said: "Is it too much to ask you reverently to read sometimes in the next few days the brilliant, humorous and beautiful letter of that often-quoted little Jewish ambassador of Christ, Saul of Tarsus, I. Corinthians xii. from the twelfth verse? Is it not a picture of the world as it ought to be, every member bringing his own special contributions? Is it not a picture of this Conference of women, one body working for one purpose, the bringing of a kingdom which is righteousness and peace and joy in a holy spirit.

In that spirit I would give you valediction—the God of Peace be with you."

VOTES OF THANKS.

The CHAIRMAN: I think one of the saddest things in life is that all beautiful things must come to an end, and we are now feeling that this, one of the most wonderful weeks of our life, is finished except for tomorrow's amusements and excursions. How can we thank you, Lady Ruth, for all you and the Edinburgh Branch have done for us? Words seem too feeble to say what is in our hearts.

I have been asked by my Council to name all those people to whom we are so grateful, and first of all must come the Lord Provost and Corporation of the City of Edinburgh for the magnificent welcome they have given to the whole Conference, and for their help in facilitating preliminary arrangements, and especially to the Lady Provost, without whose kindly help it would have been difficult to draw together all women and their various associations in Edinburgh.

In particular for the City Reception, which we all enjoyed so much, including the thrill of the bagpipes; and to the Trustees of the National Gallery for the loan of their building for this purpose. The Floodlighting of the Castle, which has been an unending joy. The Police and Parking arrangements.

Our thanks are also due to the Dean of the Thistle and the Kirk Session of St. Giles and to the Rev. Mr. Ritchie, for the inspiration of the Opening Service; and to the Rev. Mr. Marshal Robertson and the Kirk Session of the High Church for the privilege of the use of their Church for morning prayers.

To the Principal of the New College for the wonderful facilities given by him to the Conference.

The peacefulness of the President's room—Lady Leslie Mackenzie's delightful flowers, so beautifully arranged everywhere, a joy to the eyes—the comfort of Rainy Hall, the refreshments—for all these we are very grateful and to Mrs. Russell, who has been responsible for catering throughout.

To the Edinburgh and District Branch and its President and officials:

Lady Ruth Balfour, who has been such a tower of strength to me as President during this Conference.

Miss Cowan, whose flaming enthusiasm has been so contagious and has resulted in a Conference which has never been surpassed and has had few equals.

Miss Blair, who has so ably seconded Miss Cowan in every way, and to her Hon. Assistant, Miss Cameron, who in Miss Blair's absence for two months bore the weight of the Conference on her young shoulders.

Miss Syms and all the office helpers.

To the Conveners of the Sectional Committees.

Mrs. Bowie, for her zeal in the difficult task of raising money.

Lady Wallace, and her helpers of the Entertainments Committee for the marvellous amount of entertainments and hospitality which they have arranged for us. Miss Hay, her Hon. Secretary, whose untiring zeal and executive ability have been quite invaluable.

Our hostesses who welcomed us at innumerable tea parties in their lovely houses:

The Lady Provost, Lady Thomson.

Lady Holland.

Lady Salvesen.

Professor and Mrs. D. K. Henderson and Board of Managers of the Royal Edinburgh Hospital, Morningside.

Mrs. Chalmers Watson.

The Marchioness of Linlithgow.

The Countess of Rosebery.

The Countess of Cassillis.

The Marquis of Lothian and Lady Margaret Kerr.

Marie, Lady Stewart Clark.

Mrs. James Hood.

Mrs. Douglas Strachan.

Mrs. Bartholemew.

Miss Grace Drysdale.

Mrs. Alice Ross.

Miss Wingfield.

Councillor Mrs. Morison Millar.

Mrs. Hannay.

The Hon. Lady Hope and the Edinburgh Luncheon Club.

Miss Turcan.

Stirling Branch—Lady Steel-Maitland, Mrs. Munro of Auchinbowie.

The Town Council of Dunfermline.

The Dunfermline Carnegie Trust.

The Glasgow Branch.

The Directors and Staff of the various Institutes:

Gogarburn Institution.

College of Domestic Science.

Prestonfield Housing and Child Welfare Schemes.

Bellevue Technical School.

Wardie School.

After meeting so many charming hostesses, how cordially we agree with the Spanish Ambassador—Don Pedro de Ayala—who came to Scotland in the middle of the fifteenth century! He described the ladies "as being exceedingly courteous and honest. They are very graceful and handsome, dress much better than Englishwomen, and are absolute mistresses of their own homes, and even of their husbands."

We have seen how true this is, for in so many cases the husbands of our hostesses have so ably seconded them in their most generous hospitality.

Then we must thank Mrs. Hood, Mrs. Ashworth, Miss Jamieson and Miss Gaudin of the Hospitality Committee for all the hard work they have done.

Miss Turnbull, Convener of Publicity and Handbook Committee, for her direct and personal touch, and our wonderful allies, the Press.

Miss Cadigan, Honorary Treasurer, for her help with the Blue Handbook, which has been so very useful.

Miss Callender and her Assistants at the Bookstall and particularly to the new and interesting way in which this bookstall has been arranged. I hope that every delegate has taken away a copy of its interesting list for future study at Study Circles.

Miss Martin Stewart and the Juvenile Organisations who have helped to shepherd this audience throughout the various days of the Conference.

And Mr. Murray, the janitor, for whom no trouble has been too much.

And lastly we must thank Messrs. Jenners, for their magnificent hospitality to the South African goods.

May I express the hope that the coming of the Conference to Edinburgh may mean a special stimulus to the Edinburgh Branch and to the work of its Associated Societies.

I know that the Branches visiting Edinburgh must have received inspiration not only from the Conference, but from your lovely City itself, and perhaps especially from your wonderful War Memorials—with their message of self-sacrifice and their call to service, to which may we all be true.

I thank you, Lady Ruth, in the name of the entire Council.

DAME ELIZABETH CADBURY, in proposing a Vote of Thanks to the two speakers, said that it was a particular joy and pleasure to her to thank Professor Zimmern for the delightful and most interesting address which he had given.

Professor Zimmern had been talking to them about international understanding. A girl acquaintance of a friend of her own was walking in Westminster the other day, when she met a German in a brown shirt. By force of habit he said: "Heil Hitler! Can you tell me the way to Westminster?"

Quick as thought she replied: "God save the King! Round the corner."

They both laughed! She thought that as long as we could understand each other's national loyalties and keep our own, and as long as we could greet each other with humour, we were on the way to international understanding.

Professor Zimmern had said that certain backward countries were advancing in their civilisation, intelligence and so on. She thought he would say the same of the Conference when he was told that, for the first time, an international Resolution has been

accepted without one dissentient voice.

To Dr. Miller she would like to say how much he had helped them. The Conference had begun with that wonderful service in the Cathedral, and it was breaking off on the same note. They all thanked him very much indeed.

LADY RUTH BALFOUR: I rise with great pleasure to say, on behalf of the Edinburgh Branch, how much we have enjoyed receiving you here.

I have been given the bouquets that ought to have been given to others. I have been put on the platform and I feel I have done no work at all. I do not live in Edinburgh and I have only come in to Committees, heard of the many things that have been done, and said, "Yes, yes, excellent." Except that I think I have spoken too much at the Conference. Now I have to end up, and I feel a great responsibility.

You have had a vision put before you, and I do not want to destroy that vision, but I would just like first of all to repeat again on behalf of the Edinburgh Branch the thanks our President has already given to the Lord Provost and Lady Provost and all the other ladies who have given hospitality.

I would just like to say that, as Professor Zimmern was speaking, I thought of what he said about politically advanced people and how our own country is one of the most politically advanced, but because it is so, it has a great responsibility. And how has it become so? Because it is broad-based upon the people's will, because all great movements in this country have started on the voluntary basis, and that our own Society represents one of those great voluntary movements. I want us to feel that we, as a Society, are one of the Societies in Great Britain which have a sense of responsibility, and that we will feel that all we do carries weight because we are members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. I want us to feel that we can never forget that, and that we will never take an action without realising that we have a great effect in Europe and America.

I have great pleasure in thanking all who have come here today, and especially our Lady President, whose extraordinary ability in the Chair I have so much admired.

RESULT OF POSTAL BALLOT
FOR
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 1934-35.

President :

The Dowager Lady Nunburnholme, J.P.
(Returned unopposed.)

Acting Vice-President :

Mrs. Hartree.

Hon. Treasurer :

Lady Steel-Maitland (Returned unopposed).

Hon. Parliamentary Secretary :

Mrs. A. F. W. Johnson (Returned unopposed).

Executive Committee :

Miss Allington-Hughes (Returned unopposed, as resident in Wales).

1. Miss Norah E. Green.
2. Mrs. M. I. Crofts, M.A., LL.B.
3. Miss Picton-Turbervill, O.B.E.
4. Mrs. W. A. Potts.
5. Miss M. G. Cowan, O.B.E., M.A.
6. Hon. Mrs. Home Peel.
7. Mrs. Morison Millar, J.P.
8. Miss Bright Ashford, B.A.
9. Mrs. J. S. Courtauld.
10. Councillor Mrs. M. Lane, M.A.
11. Mrs. Angelo Raine.

Elected by the Affiliated Societies :

Commissioner Adelaide Cox.

Mrs. Neville Rolfe, O.B.E.

Mrs. Percy Bigland.

Miss Susan Villers, J.P.

Mrs. E. M. Hubback.

Miss Alison Neilans.

Mrs. J. M. Phillips, J.P.

Miss Helen Ward.

Miss E. R. Conway, C.B.E., J.P.

Miss J. S. Walker.

Mrs. Karlake.

Mrs. L. G. Killby.

Mrs. Edwin Orde.

Mrs. M. S. Cant.

Miss Maud Galton.

Mrs. S. W. Gladwell.

NEW OFFICES FUND ACCOUNT, 1926-34.

		RECEIPTS.					PAYMENTS.		
		£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
1926-27	To Donations	2,382	5	5	By	Cheque Books and Commission	0	10	2
1927-33	„ Donations	691	8	8	„	Income Tax (5 years)	159	4	6
1926-33	„ Interest on War Loan	691	14	5	„	Solicitor's Charges	21	7	8
	„ Interest on Conversion Loan	2	12	6	„	Additional Rent (1929-33)	292	12	5
	„ Interest on Deposit	66	11	8	„	Rates (1929-33)	472	11	1
	„ Bonus on War Loan	26	11	4	„	Additional Rent (1933-34)	66	0	0
	„ Mrs. Patrick Ness's Lectures	68	11	4	„	Rates (1933-34)	100	5	7
1933-34	„ Interest on War Loan	92	19	8	„	Income Tax (1933-34)	24	2	6
	„ Interest on Conversion Loan	5	5	0	„	Office Equipment	47	16	8
		<hr/>					<hr/>		
		£4,028	0	0	„	Balance carried to Balance Sheet	1,184	10	7
		<hr/>					2,843	9	5
		£4,028	0	0			<hr/>		
		£4,028	0	0			£4,028	0	0

HOUSEHOLD SERVICE LEAGUE ACCOUNT. February 14th to August 31st, 1934.

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		RECEIPTS.					PAYMENTS.				
		£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.		
Miss Muncaster :					General Account :						
	Balance of Funds	49	7	8		Share of subscriptions	1	2	0		
Grant from Headquarters :					Research Sub-committee, Expenses :						
	(December to February)	1	5	0	Postage and Travelling :						
Rowntree Trust Grant for Re-					Miss Squire	2	7	10			
search Purposes only		40	0	0	Miss Randle	1	16	2			
Subscriptions :					Miss Noel-Hill	0	14	11			
	Members	11	7	0		<hr/>			4	18	11
	Co-operating Societies	2	0	0	Printing				2	12	0
	Groups	0	15	0	Typing				0	2	6
		<hr/>			Magazines				0	4	0
		14	2	0	Bank Charges :						
Donation (Mrs. Hooper)		0	5	0	Cheques	0	8	4			
Sale of Literature		0	10	10	Commission	0	1	3			
		<hr/>				<hr/>			0	9	7
		£105	10	6					18	18	9
		<hr/>			Balance				86	11	9
		£105	10	6					<hr/>		
		£105	10	6					£105	10	6

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT.

1933		RECEIPTS.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.			
£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
			To Subscriptions:						
301	11	6	Members	279	19	0			
299	8	7	Branches (25%)	262	12	9			
373	0	0	„ (£5 Fee)	367	0	0			
121	9	0	Societies	118	7	0			
							1,027	18	9
129	13	8	„ Donations:						
			General	50	15	4			
			Torquay	60	0	0			
			Mrs. Patrick Ness's Lecture at Lady Steel-Maitland's Home	52	9	0			
							163	4	4
38	6	0	„ Public Service Minutes				33	6	0
27	3	0	„ Hire of Committee Room				11	10	0
52	10	0	„ Advertisements in Handbook				66	0	0
5	1	0	„ Sales of Badges				5	11	0
			„ Sales of N.C.W. Literature:						
34	3	4	Pamphlets	24	16	1			
24	3	6	Reports	19	17	11			
254	16	8	“Women in Council” (including adverts.)	250	2	3			
							294	16	3
			„ International Council of Women Subscrip- tions				13	10	0
17	0	7	„ Sales of I.C.W. Bulletin				19	19	6
22	14	10	„ Household Service League Subscriptions				11	18	6
			„ Stall at Conference				6	10	1
9	11	0	„ Refunds				19	19	7
			„ Dividends and Interest:						
5	5	0	Conversion Loan, 3½%	5	5	0			
0	5	0	Deposit Interest	0	5	0			
							5	10	0
66	0	0	„ Transferred from New Offices Fund for Rent				66	0	0
1,782	2	8					1,745	14	0
86	10	3	„ Deficit carried to Balance Sheet				256	10	10
1,868	12	11					£2,002	4	10

For the Year ended 31st August, 1934.

		PAYMENTS.		1933		1933	
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Salaries					729	11	11
„ Printing					179	12	9
„ “Women in Council”:							
Salary	85	0	0				80
Printing	240	7	5				184
					325	7	5
„ Postage					121	7	0
„ Stationery					57	3	4
„ Rent					286	0	0
„ Office Expenses (including £50 for cleaning)					68	14	6
„ Telephone and Telegraphic Address					29	1	2
„ Electric Light					10	13	7
„ Committee Expenses					55	10	0
„ Travelling					18	3	6
„ Insurance					19	11	1
„ Subscription to League of Nations					2	2	0
„ Various Donations					0	12	2
„ Badges					15	2	1
„ Refunds					—	—	—
„ Pamphlets and Papers					10	5	4
„ Press Cuttings					4	4	0
„ Audit Fee					4	4	0
„ I.C.W. Bulletin					18	9	0
„ Balance of I.C.W. Quota of £200					27	8	0
„ Household Service League					9	16	9
„ Bank Charges					9	5	3
					£2,002	4	10
							1,868
							12
							11

BALANCE SHEET as at AUGUST 31st, 1934.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	ASSETS.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
New Offices Fund :							New Offices Fund :						
Balance per separate Account				2,843	9	5	Investments :						
Special Organisation Fund .				41	18	8	£2,597 16s. 11d. War Stock						
Staff Emergency Fund :							3½% at cost	2,640	0	0			
Formerly Miss Jane's Pension							Market value, 31/8/34, £2,721 4s. 10d.						
Fund				88	10	9	£200 Conversion Loan, 3½%,						
Household Service League .				86	11	9	at cost	198	6	0			
Staff Pension Fund				304	8	6	Market value, 31/8/34, £207 10s.						
General Fund				246	0	0	CASH—Current Account	5	3	5			
Bank Balance Overdrawn .				130	12	2		2,843	9	5			
Income Account :							Special Organisation Fund :						
Deficit for the year from Receipts							Cash—Deposit Account				41	18	8
and Payments Account	256	10	10				Staff Emergency Fund :						
Petty Cash deficit, Aug., 1933	5	4	9				Cash—Deposit Account				88	10	9
				261	15	7	Household Service League :						
Less Balance as at Sept. 1st,							Cash—Current Account				86	11	9
1933				131	13	9	Staff Pension Fund :						
							Cash—Bank in Hand				304	8	6
Debit Balance per Contra	130	1	10				General Fund :						
							INVESTMENTS AT VALUATION, 31/8/31:						
							£100 Co-partnership Tenants						
							Stock	100	0	0			
							£200 Conversion 3½% Stock	146	0	0			
							Market Value, 31/8/34, £207 10s.				246	0	0
							Income Account :						
							Debit Balance per Contra				130	1	10
							Petty Cash in hand				0	10	4
											£3,741	11	3
				£3,741	11	3					£3,741	11	3

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We have examined the Receipts and Payments Account for the year ended the 31st August, 1934, and the New Offices Fund Account for the period ended the 31st of August, 1934 ; also the Household Service League Account for the period 14th February to 31st August, 1934. There have been produced to us vouchers for the payments and we have compared the Subscriptions with the counterfoil receipts and found them in accordance therewith. We have verified the Investments and the Cash Balances. We have received all the information and explanations we have required, and in our opinion the above Balance Sheet sets out correctly the state of the Council's affairs.

PRIDEAUX FRERE BROWN AND Co., *Chartered Accountants.*
14th September, 1934.

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

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED.

1. Sexual Offences Against Children.

"This Conference urges the Government to amend the legislation governing sexual offences against Children and Young Persons in the following respects :

1. That in cases involving sexual offence against children under thirteen years of age the offender shall, after conviction, be remanded for examination by specially qualified doctors and where abnormality is diagnosed, the Court shall have powers to order detention for treatment.

2. That in all cases involving children under thirteen years of age, where the offender has been frequently convicted of offences of this nature, even if only of a minor character, the Court shall have power to order detention for treatment and subsequent release on conditions to be determined by the Court."

Carried, 7 dissentients.

2. Control of Armaments.

"The National Council of Women urges the Government to introduce measures which will take the manufacture and sale of armaments out of private hands and place them under national control."

Carried : 257 for, 96 against.

3. Woman Assistant Commissioner of Prisons.

"The National Council of Women urges the early appointment of a Woman as Assistant Commissioner and Inspector of H.M. Prisons, to take part in the consideration of general Prison problems, including the recruitment and selection of the staffs of Prisons and Borstal Institutions, and the domestic side of all Prison Institutions, and, including also, special problems in connection with Women's Prisons and Women Prisoners, and that arrangements should be made between the appropriate departments for the services of the Woman Assistant Commissioner to be made available to assist the Prison Department of Scotland."

Carried unanimously.

4. Solicitation Laws.

"The National Council of Women notes that the Government has taken no action to carry into effect the recommendation made in 1928 by the Departmental Committee on Street Offences, namely, that the existing general and local legislations in England and Scotland relating to solicitation between the sexes should be repealed and replaced by a simple enactment of general application to persons of either sex.

The National Council of Women has at its Annual Conferences in 1917, 1925 and 1926 called upon the Government to repeal the existing Solicitation Laws and replace them by a law equal between the sexes, and, in 1930, the Conference unanimously reaffirmed this request, referring also to the perfunctory and unsatisfactory evidence upon which women are frequently convicted at present.

The National Council of Women now calls upon the Government to introduce and carry through all its stages without further delay the necessary legislation to provide a law dealing with solicitation between the sexes which shall be on an equal basis for men and women in regard to administration, evidence and penalties."

Carried, with 2 dissentients.

5. Reform of Matrimonial Law.

"This Council holds that, as divorce cannot now be obtained unless adultery (or, on the part of the husband, unnatural conduct) be proved, the present law both encourages immorality and leads to much individual hardship. This Council therefore urges the Government to review the law concerning the dissolution of marriage and at least to carry out the recommendation of the Majority Report of the Royal Commission on the Divorce Laws of 1912 or to support legislation such as has been twice passed by the House of Lords by which the grounds for divorce for both husband and wife shall include adultery, desertion after three years, persistent cruelty, habitual drunkenness, incurable insanity after five years confinement, or imprisonment under commuted death sentence. It further urges that all inequalities between men and women under matrimonial law be removed."

Carried.

(The Mothers' Union dis-associates itself from the passing of the above resolution.)

6. Traffic in Women.

"The National Council of Women, being deeply impressed by the facts disclosed in the Report of the League of Nations on Traffic in Women in the East, and being convinced that concerted action by the Governments concerned is necessary and urgent, welcomes the decision of the Assembly to seek the co-operation of those Governments in promoting the conference in the East under the auspices of the League.

It also notes with satisfaction that the Secretary-General of the League has been instructed to collect and report further information as to Russian refugees in the East who have become victims of the Traffic.

The National Council of Women calls on the Government :

- (1) To act on the recommendation of the fifth Commission, and to appoint a larger number of trained and experienced women officials to the staffs of the British Authorities concerned with this problem in the East.
- (2) To co-operate in the inquiry into the conditions of Russian victims of the traffic who may be in British possessions.
- (3) To promote discussion at the Conference of measures designed to stimulate interest and maintain co-operation between the various countries.

The National Council of Women recognises the importance of immediate preparatory steps on the part of Branches, Missions and all non-official organisations in the East in order that local public opinion may be aroused and instructed ; also, that all available information as to local conditions may be collected for the Conference, it recommends that Regional Preparatory Conferences be promoted throughout the East during the coming year."

Carried unanimously.

7. Report of Departmental Committee on Sterilisation.

"That the National Council of Women, having considered the Report of the Departmental Committee on Sterilisation, and being in general agreement with the recommendations therein, urge upon the Government the need for the introduction of a measure to legalise Voluntary Sterilisation in the three classes of cases specified by the Committee, viz. :

- (a) a person who is mentally defective or who has suffered from mental disorder.
- (b) a person who suffers from, or is believed to be a carrier of, a grave physical disability which has been shown to be transmissible.
- (c) a person who is believed to be likely to transmit mental disorder or defect.

Carried : 339 for ; 99 against.

(The Mothers' Union dis-associates itself from the passing of the above resolution. The Edinburgh Branch and the Leeds Branch of the N.C.W. also wish to dis-associate themselves from the passing of the above resolution.)

8. Nursery Schools.

"The National Council of Women draws attention to the vital importance of care and nurture in promoting the all-round development of the pre-school child. It recognises that, because of the gap that exists between the infant welfare centre and the elementary schools, the health and general efficiency of a large number of children are impaired, with the consequence that many of them are unable properly to benefit from their subsequent education.

The National Council of Women therefore calls upon the Government (a) to remove the embargo upon new nursery schools

in England and (b) to encourage Local Authorities to exercise their powers under Clause 19 of the Education Act of 1918 and under Clause 8 of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918.

Recognising also the opportunity that now exists for comprehensive planning in new and reconditioned housing areas, the Council calls upon Local Authorities to take advantage of this opportunity by reserving sites for Nursery Schools in all such areas and/or providing Nursery Classes in existing schools."

Carried, 4 dissentients.

9. Juveniles in Unregulated Trades.

"The National Council of Women considers that the hours and conditions of all Young Persons in "unregulated trades" should be regulated by law, and urges H.M. Government to introduce legislation, as soon as possible, to regulate equally as between both sexes the hours and conditions of work of such juveniles."

Carried, with 7 dissentients.

10. Housing Estate Managers.

"This meeting of the National Council of Women considering that trained management for all working class properties is an essential urges the Government to take steps to ensure such management for all properties in receipt of national financial assistance, whether by way of subsidy or guarantee, and to emphasise particularly the desirability of employing women trained on the lines laid down by Octavia Hill in the management of all schemes for rehousing of tenants from slum areas."

Carried, with 3 dissentients.

11. Ascertainment of Mental Defectives.

"That the National Council of Women in Conference assembled, urges His Majesty's Government to require from Local Authorities strict compliance with their statutory duty to ascertain the number of mental defectives in their area, and to provide for them institutional accommodation, and other appropriate means for their adequate care and protection."

Carried unanimously.

12. Cinema Enquiry.

"Seeing that the Secretary of State for Scotland has been advised that Scottish Courts would be unlikely to follow English Court decisions under which the local control of cinema exhibitions is lawfully exercised by the cinema licensing authorities in England and Wales, and that the lack of uniformity reacts most seriously upon the maintenance of satisfactory public standards in this form of popular entertainment throughout the country, the National

Council of Women makes urgent appeal to the Government to appoint a Departmental Committee of Enquiry into the whole question of legislation regarding the exhibition of cinematograph films, and matters relevant thereto, throughout Great Britain."

Carried unanimously.

13. Limitation of Armaments.

"The National Council of Women is convinced :

- (a) That only by maintaining and strengthening the collective system based on the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Briand-Kellogg Pact can war be averted and civilisation saved, and
- (b) That a general limitation of armaments by International agreement is absolutely essential to peace and economic recovery. It welcomes the action of the British Government in continuing to give wholehearted support to the League and urges it to persist in every endeavour to reach an International agreement, limiting the armaments of all nations.

Further,

- (c) The Council supports the following resolution passed by the International Council of Women in Paris: 'which welcomes the proposals for the drastic control of the manufacture and trade in arms recently adopted by the Committee for the Regulation of the Trade in and Manufacture of Arms and implements of War of the Disarmament Conference.'

It urges the acceptance of these proposals by H.M. Government so that they may be included in a general Disarmament Convention; the conclusion of which is indispensable, if the race in armaments is to be stopped."

Carried with 3 dissentients.

14. Maternal Mortality.

"That in view of the serious rate of maternal mortality and morbidity, it is desirable that more practical experience should be required of medical students and pupil midwives during their training in midwifery and that additional post-graduate courses should be arranged for doctors and midwives practising midwifery and all possible encouragement should be given to them to attend such courses periodically."

Carried, with 3 dissentients.

15. Supervision of Syphilitic Children.

"The National Council of Women, in Conference assembled, is impressed by the damage done to children suffering from congenital syphilis who, by reason of the neglect or refusal of consent by their parents or guardians, are deprived of the medical treatment necessary to prevent the onset of blindness, deafness, or mental deficiency.

"It welcomes the recent action of the Ministry of Health in issuing a circular to Local Authorities on this important subject, and urges its Branches to do all in their power to study the conditions existing in their area with a view to encouraging both the Ministry of Health for England, and the Department of Health for Scotland, to take such administrative action as will secure treatment for these children."

Carried unanimously

AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION.

Article XIII, 1, shall read :

1. Resolutions for the Representative Council shall be sent to the Secretary at a date to be fixed by the Executive Committee. Only one resolution may be sent in by any one Branch, Society, or by the Scottish Standing Committee.

(This amendment to Rule 1 involves the insertion of the words "Scottish Standing Committee" in Article XIII, rules 3, 4, 5 and 6 in the appropriate places.)

PAMPHLET