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The Religious Aspect
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Being a Series of Addresses delivered
at Meetings at the Queen's Hall,
London, on June 19, 1912

Published by
THE COLLEGIUM
Temporary Address :—
232, EVERING ROAD, CLAPTON, LONDON, N.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

The following addresses were delivered at the afternoon and evening meetings held at the Queen's Hall, Langham Place, London, on 19th June, the Chairman in the afternoon being Mrs. Creighton, and in the evening the Bishop of Oxford.

The meetings were convened by a number of persons representing various religious, educational and social interests, who shared a common conviction ; a conviction that more consideration ought to be given to the religious aspects of modern movements among women, movements which must vitally affect the life of the Church, of society, and of the home.

This volume is issued by THE COLLEGIUM, a body which has been formed to study, from a distinctly Christian standpoint, all questions which affect the life of the community to-day.

The Secretary of THE COLLEGIUM, Miss Lucy Gardner, will be glad to get into communication with persons desirous of arranging similar meetings, or small conferences for prayer and discussion on the same subject.

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FORM OF INTERCESSION.

I.

Let us bow in Prayer :—

First let us seek the help of the Divine Spirit that we may realize God as the final fact, the immediate presence, the inexhaustible energy, and, withal, the most understanding Father.

(Silent Prayer.)

O God, the Supreme Mystery, the Supreme Reality, Who art Love unspeakable and full of glory, as we turn aside to Thee in the throbbing life of this city of power, vouchsafe to us to know that we are not leaving the realities and turning to the shadows. Reveal to us that Thou art the Fountain of strength, Who enablest for all duty, Who alone canst make us adequate for the demands made upon us. Grant us to believe in Thee with fulness of faith. Persuade us and assure us that Thou art All-Sovereign, that Thou reignest, and that Thy rule is Holy Love. Hear us for the sake of Him Who has revealed unto us Thy Will and Love Amen.

II.

Let us confess our ineffectiveness, our ineptitude, our mingled sloth and rashness, our variableness and hesitancy, our imperfect preparation for the work to which we have been called, our broken endeavours to do the Divine Will, our partial vision of what the Divine Purpose is. Let us humble ourselves and receive the forgiveness, declared and granted through Jesus Christ our Lord.

(Silent Prayer.)

Most patient God, Who hast called us to service and hast caused us to hear Thy call, we beseech Thee to forgive the sin of our labour for Thee. Forgive us all lack of dependence upon Thee, any self-complacency or over-anxiety. Forgive us that we have oftentimes flinched

from the facts of life, that we have been content to creep past the dark and shameful things in our modern society. Forgive us the poverty of our pity, the shortcomings to our love, the negligence of our service, the lack of the last effort which would have ensured success. Forgive us for His sake, Who alone was perfect in life and death and is Thy perpetual witness.

III.

Let us give thanks for all tokens that the wind of the Spirit moves among us. Let us praise God for any arousal of conscience and of expectancy and for any deliverances achieved for stained and wronged womanhood. Let us magnify Him for this present purpose to seek the deeper springs of energy, the purer founts of truth, the warmer fires of love which are in Himself alone.

(*Silent Prayer.*)

Almighty Father, we praise Thee and magnify Thee for all the ministry of Thy Spirit, for His rebukes, and for His encouragements, for all deliverances for the oppressed wrought by His power, for all tasks undertaken under His guidance, and for our present purpose to seek deeper knowledge and purer enthusiasm on behalf of the desolate, the weak and the defiled. Glory be to the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

IV.

Let us seek grace to accept responsibility, to be made willing for the burdens involved in high undertakings. Let us entreat God to lead us into clearer judgments, a reasoned passion of conviction, and as He shall choose for us, the service of sacrificial love.

(*Silent Prayer.*)

*O Lord, we beseech Thee mercifully to receive the prayers of Thy people which call upon Thee, and grant that they may both perceive and know what things they ought to do, and also may have grace and power faithfully to fulfil the same through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

V.

In especial let us make supplication for all women whose lives have been warped or enslaved, for all women who despair of justice or of purity, and for any at present in imminent danger of soul and body through the wiles of the devil and the deceitfulness of men. Let us entreat the Father's favour for all societies and movements on behalf of womanhood, in so far as they accept His counsel and seek to fulfil His will.

(*Silent Prayer.*)

Our Heavenly Father, Who didst consecrate a woman of our race to be the mother of Thy dear Son, our Lord, and Who in ancient days didst endow Thy chosen handmaids to be the prophetesses of Thy Church and Kingdom, we beseech Thee to preserve the mothers of our nation from pollution of life and thought, to grant Thine effectual grace to protect all women tempted in any way, and to foster with Thy continued favour all movements for the uplifting and the enrichment of the womanhood of our day and generation. Through Jesus Christ, our Lord and elder Brother.

VI.

Let us beseech God for the Spirit of expectancy, for a steadfast hopefulness, for an unwavering reliance upon His succour in all righteous causes. Let us beseech Him to cast out of us all that thwarts the doing of His will, and in especial the unbelief which hinders the working of miracles in our souls and the souls of men.

(*Silent Prayer.*)

*O God, Who by Thy Word hast given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, encourage us by Thy Spirit to a confident expectation of all good things from Thee, that we may abide and labour in the cheerfulness of a Godly Hope. Amen.

VII.

Let us humbly pray to be delivered from all bitterness of spirit and from all malice. Let us seek Grace to make controversy the opportunity for the use of Charity. Let us ask willingness to be as ready to suffer for love's sake as for any article of our creed.

(*Silent Prayer.*)

* O Lord Who hast taught us that all our doings without Charity are nothing worth, send Thy Holy Ghost and pour into our heart that most excellent gift of Charity, the very bond of peace and of all virtues, without which whatsoever liveth is counted dead before Thee. Grant this for Thine only Son Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

Finally let us commit to the Fatherly and Almighty Hands ourselves and all enterprises dear to us, in especial the aim and movement which has united us together in this act of repentance, faith and worship.

(*Silent Prayer.*)

* Almighty God, Who hast given us grace at this time with one accord to make our common supplications unto Thee ; and dost promise, that when two or three are gathered together in Thy Name Thou wilt grant their requests : Fulfil now, O Lord, the desires and petitions of Thy servants, as may be most expedient for them ; granting us in this world knowledge of Thy Truth, and in the world to come life everlasting. Amen.

OUR LORD'S PRAYER.

BENEDICTION.

* From the Prayer Book.

OUR LORD'S TEACHING ABOUT WOMEN.

THE RIGHT REVEREND J. A. KEMPTHORNE,

Bishop of Hull.

THE coming of Jesus Christ wrought many great changes in the world, but none greater than the uplifting of women.

A new reverence for women was a natural result of the Incarnation. When the Son of God became Man that the children of men should become sons and daughters of God, it was the outcome of the love of God ; but He chose in His inscrutable wisdom to fulfil His purpose through the co-operation of her who said, "Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to Thy word." "Twice," it has been said, "the destiny of our men hung upon a woman's answer : the serpent spoke to Eve, and through her answer sin and death came into the world : the angel spoke to Mary and through her answer new life was given."

But my subject has to do not so much with the stupendous fact of the Incarnation as with the message of the Incarnate. Let me say at once that I assume that the Nicene Creed is true, and that the four gospels give us a trustworthy account of our Lord's Life and Teaching.

In order to bring a very large subject into manageable compass, I will lay down three clear and obvious propositions.

I. Our Lord regards each personality, whether man or woman, as of equal value.

II. Our Lord reverences woman : He believes in her capacity : He has for her a ministry and mission.

III. Our Lord loves the home : He safeguards it by a strict marriage law, He regards the law of purity as binding both man and woman.

I. It is a truism that each man, woman and child is of equal value.

It was not a truism before Christ came. The inferiority of woman was almost universally assumed in the old days. The Roman matron might win high respect in the best period of the Republic: but she had lost it before Christ was born.

Among the chosen people a Deborah, a Huldah, or an Esther might be pre-eminent in good, a Jezebel or an Athaliah in evil, but these are notable exceptions. Woman does not count for much in the Old Testament. But when the Son of God took upon Him our human nature and was born of a pure Virgin, a new hope came into being. It was a hope of close personal relationship between each individual child of God and their eternal Father. This hope knows no distinction between the sons and daughters of God. All may see Him and be brought near to Him, in Jesus Christ. A Mary of Nazareth as well as a John rejoices in "God my Saviour": a Mary of Magdala as well as a crucified robber is led through repentance to personal devotion.

Yet the Gospel is not a system of bare individualism. It speaks of fellowship. Those who are in union with Christ are in union one with another. And this fellowship transcends all limitations not only of race and of class but also of sex. St. Paul was making an inevitable inference from the teaching and example of Christ when he wrote: "There can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male and female: for ye are all one man in Christ Jesus."

The great Sacraments which Christ ordained give striking evidence of the double truth that God desires each of His children to be in close personal touch with Himself and all to be united in a fellowship at once human and divine. Children of either sex receive an equal gift in Baptism: men and women are partakers of the same living Bread, are strengthened for the same battle of life and equipped each for their appointed vocation and ministry, by the same indwelling Christ.

II. This leads to my second proposition. *Our Lord reverences woman: He believes in her capacity: He appoints to her a vocation and ministry.*

Our Lord's respect for the intellectual and spiritual capacity of women is shown by the wonderful revelations of truth which He made to them. To the woman of Samaria He declared the true character of worship: to Martha He revealed Himself as the Resurrection and the Life: Mary of Magdala was the first to see Him after He had risen from the dead. With the one exception of the centurion of Capernaum, the highest praise for victorious faith was gained by the woman who was cured of her twelve years' sickness and the Syrophenician mother whose humility and perseverance in intercession won deliverance for her daughter.

On the day of His Cross four women had courage and faith to draw near—four women and one man.

If we turn from inner faith to outward activity, we note that He gladly accepted the ministry of the woman who followed Him. She who first saw the risen Christ was commissioned to give the first message of His Resurrection. The ministry of women which had an important place in the early Church was in accordance with the mind of Christ, even if it was not supported by His direct authority.

In a word, the idea of any rivalry between man and woman is inconceivable. The ministry of woman is different from that of man, but there is no question of superiority or inferiority. Both are needed by Christ.

III. While it is evident that our Lord was very far from narrowing the ministry of women or confining it to the duties of the home, it is equally clear that He had the highest possible reverence for home life. With regard to vocation there is no question of higher or lower: that vocation is the highest which is appointed by God. Yet the vocation to the ministry of the home was specially dear to Christ. We remember that the greatest part of His life on earth was spent in the home at Nazareth: He began His ministry by giving His blessing to the opening of a new home life in the marriage at Cana. He would allow no hindrance to the mothers who placed their children in His arms.

It is therefore not surprising that He safeguards the home by insisting on a strict marriage law. There is the more reason to lay stress on this, inasmuch as His usual practice was to lay down moral principles and leave His followers to form their moral precepts for themselves. Our Lord's teaching on divorce is given by St. Mark (chap. x.) as follows: "Whosoever shall put away his wife and marry another, committeth adultery against her. And if she herself shall put away her husband and marry another, she committeth adultery." Such teaching is in the boldest contrast to the teaching of the Old Testament and of the Rabbis.

They permitted re-marriage after separation: our Lord forbids it. They made a wide difference between husband and wife: our Lord gives one law for both. It is plainly not my business to deal with the whole subject of divorce, or to give my judgment on the one difficult and doubtful exception mentioned in St. Matthew's Gospel.

I will only express my strong conviction that our Lord insists on equality between husband and wife, not by allowing to both an equal licence, but in requiring from both an equally strict regard for the indissoluble tie of marriage. Separation, alas! may sometimes be necessary, re-marriage never.

This, unhappily, is a matter of controversy. There is no controversy as to our Lord's teaching about that sin which wrecks the home: He regards the law of purity as equally binding on man and woman. Here, as elsewhere, He succeeds, as no other has succeeded, in combining an uncompromising loyalty to the standard of righteousness, with the tenderest compassion for those who have transgressed. He stands for the purity of the home, but He uplifts the fallen. When He was on the cross there stood beneath Him Mary His mother, the type of perfect purity, and Mary of Magdala, the woman (so, I believe) who had been a sinner. His arms are outstretched to protect the home and the homeless.

The woman's movement is a larger matter than a claim for the suffrage. Yet many of you may fairly ask me what I consider to be the teaching of Christ on that contested question. I must answer that, in my judgment, any

proposition with regard to our Lord's attitude towards the political status of women must be made by way of inference. If we say that every follower of Christ is bound to be a supporter of woman's suffrage we shall uphold a good cause by a bad argument, and a good cause can suffer no greater injury. If there are some who hold that a woman may best attain without the suffrage the high status which Christ intended, it is very probably their conception of representative government which (in our view) is at fault rather than their interpretation of the doctrine of Christ.

This seems to me to be the soundest line for us to follow. We hold that all who share our Lord's reverence for women are bound to find the best available means for protecting women from wrong, for abolishing those crimes which are crimes against womanhood, and for enabling women to fulfil without let or hindrance their full mission in the world. It is impossible at this time of day to deny the supremely important part that legislation and civic administration must play in achieving these results: and if representative government means anything at all one cannot see why woman should not take her direct and immediate place in those activities of the State which affect women's welfare. Only, seeing that Christianity deals with duties rather than rights, it will be natural for Christian women to lay their greater stress on the claim for reasonable opportunity to fulfil their mission and do their duty.

I hope I have said enough to show that there is the closest possible relation between the teaching of Christ and the woman's movement. It will be a bad day for that movement if (which may God forbid) it is ever divorced from the Christian Faith. That Faith does not provide an armoury of argument for woman's suffrage, but it gives the salt which preserves any great cause from corruption, and it offers the one inspiration and power which will enable the right to triumph.

APOSTOLIC TEACHING ABOUT WOMEN.

THE REV. J. SCOTT LIDGETT, D.D.,

Warden of the Bermondsey Settlement.

I HAVE been asked to say something this afternoon on apostolic teaching in regard to women. You will see that the Bishop of Hull has laid the foundation for me so well and truly that upon several most important subjects I need hardly say a single word. I think those who have carefully considered the New Testament upon this subject will see at once that my chief text must be the teaching of St. Paul. If you will look at the other apostolic writers you will see that their references to women are very slight indeed. In the Epistle of St. James, for example, we have just a casual reference to "any brother or sister," showing that the general laws of the Christian Church were the same for the one and the other and that both had equal recognition in membership. You might be tempted perhaps to turn to the delightful Second Epistle of St. John, but any inference you might draw from that epistle would have to be qualified by our uncertainty whether the Elect Lady referred to is not the Church as a whole. When you come to St. Peter the passage which you will find in the first epistle dealing with what is called the subjection of women, is well known to those who hear from time to time the Exhortation of the Marriage Service; but there is nothing essentially different in the teaching of St. Peter from that you will find in the teaching of St. Paul. Therefore it is to St. Paul's writings above all that we must go to find out what is the nature of apostolic teaching in regard to women.

Now I would like to say at once that in considering it two limitations must be borne in mind. In the first place we must not expect to find in St. Paul any detailed teaching in regard to the State, much less in regard to the position of women in the State. There are several reasons why you cannot expect to find any treatment of that subject in his writings. To begin with, because his belief in the impending Parousia caused him to think that "the time" was "shortened," and that the whole fabric of human society would shortly undergo transformation. In the next place because the conditions of his life, as he travelled from country to country, forbade him acquiring those fixed and local interests out of which any practical doctrine of citizenship proceeds. And, further, because the wealth even of his inexhaustible energy was entirely concentrated upon the planting of the Christian Church throughout the world. Nor must you expect to find in the writings of St. Paul any final doctrine as to the status of women in human society. There is no such finality in the apostolic writings. There is a parallel case which will absolutely justify that proposition. I refer, of course, to the case of slavery. It is clear from the Epistle to Philemon that the whole spiritual status of the slave is conceived in a totally new way by St. Paul as he deals with the case of Onesimus, while so far as the outward framework of the relationship is concerned, he says nothing about it at all. Yet no one who is an abolitionist to-day could find any source of higher and nobler inspiration for his task than he would find in that little epistle, or in any other reference to bond slaves that you will find in the apostolic writings. The same principle, then, must be applied to the teaching of St. Paul in regard to women. We must not fetter the freedom and largeness of his principles by expecting him to give to them detailed application for circumstances and conditions of society which had not arisen in his time and of which he had no pre-vision whatsoever. Further, we must expect, I think, to find on his treatment the marks of limitation; the limitations of his times, the limitations of his social environment, the limitations of the tradition which he had received, and to some extent the limitations of his temperament. And, therefore, what it seems to me we have to

ask simply resolves itself into two great questions. First of all, what are the principles which governed the Apostle from first to last? And, secondly, how does he go to work to apply those principles in the life of the Church? How far do his principles reach? and in the case of their application, are there any limitations which hinder their full expression? If so, can we find any cause which dominated the situation in suchwise that he was forced to impose for the time being limitations upon his principles which are not of permanent, or need not necessarily be of permanent, application. Now when you ask these two questions and go to St. Paul's teaching in that light, I think you will be surprised to find how high, how broad, how far-reaching his doctrine as to women really is. In the first place I must touch for one single moment upon the Apostle's doctrine on marriage; not to raise the issues to which the Bishop of Hull has referred, but because I believe that a sound doctrine of marriage must underlie all successful and true teaching as to the general status of women in the community. Now at first sight there is a good deal of difficulty in determining what St. Paul's doctrine upon this subject really is. I am not now speaking of the indissoluble character of marriage, as to which I am in general agreement with the Bishop of Hull, but what I want to deal with is the question of the so-called subjection of women. Now there are two great passages in St. Paul to which you must refer. The first is to be found in the seventh chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and the other, the really vital passage as it seems to me, is in the Epistle to the Ephesians. In the First Epistle to the Corinthians there is some difficulty in deciding the matter, because, to begin with, the Apostle gives us a warning in advance. With, for him, strange hesitation, he says, "I have no commandment of the Lord, but I give you my judgment." He then goes on to speak of how "the time is shortened." Before, therefore, we can draw certain inferences as to his teaching we have to come to apprehend by careful reflection, what must be the difference to us who understand that, in the sense in which the Apostle used that phrase, the time has not been shortened as he expected. And then I need hardly point out to you that the Apostle

was face to face with the difficulties of mixed unions and of all kinds of impurity which made his Church regulation a matter of the extremest difficulty and complexity. And, therefore, I would have you turn to that great saying of his in the Epistle to the Ephesians, the twenty-fifth verse of the fifth chapter, where he says, "Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the Church, and gave Himself up for it." I would ask you to remember that our Lord's headship of the Church is a headship founded upon sacrifice, carried out for sacrificial ends, that seeks in regard to every member of the Church, as for the Church as a whole, the perfecting of personality in fellowship with Himself. Now it is clear that the headship of our Lord over His Church cannot be pressed to any extreme limits of analogy in the case of the relation of a husband to a wife. But what is essential, as it seems to me in St. Paul's exhortation, is just this, that the whole headship which he gives to the husband is a headship of self-giving and that if it be true to the Divine analogy which he sets before us, it is not for the suppression of personality but for its perfecting—for the uplifting of the wife to share that full measure of fellowship and partnership to which her capacities entitle her.

And so I pass on to the question of women in the Church, and I would ask you to notice just a few things which stand out in the Apostle's writings. First of all, those intimate friendships with women which are one of the outstanding features of his life. They are friendships on the highest level of spiritual influence, exercised and obviously received. I need hardly point out the case of Priscilla to you in illustration of what I mean. Further, the Apostle's writings show to us that women in every one of the Churches with which he was concerned held a commanding position both in work and in influence. Read the salutations in the Epistle to the Romans, read the references in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, read even that little exhortation to two distinguished Church ladies at Philippi to agree with one another, and then his description of them, "They laboured with me in the Gospel," and you will see that the whole position of women was an honoured position, an influential position, and that then as now the

Church could not possibly have gone on without their labours.

Passing from the Apostle Paul for a moment, you may turn to the Seven Letters of the Apocalypse and you will see there too how influential for good or for bad the position of women really was.

The Bishop has referred to that cardinal principle of the Apostle Paul, for which I think he has rightly claimed the authority of our Lord, "There can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male and female ; for ye are all one [personality] in Christ Jesus" (Gal. iii. 28). And, further, the Apostle recognizes fully that women under a special Divine inspiration may take part in the ministry of the Church. He speaks of their "praying or prophesying." Now I would venture to suggest that if afflatus may secure recognition for women in the Church, upon the same principle and as the ages go by capacity must stand as equally a gift of God as momentary inspiration. After all this, it comes almost as a thunderclap when the Apostle suddenly turns round and says, "Let the women keep silence in the churches : for it is not permitted unto them to speak ; but let them be under subjection, as also saith the law" (1 Cor. xiv. 34). Now why did he say that ? Conservatism, somebody will object. Well, I daresay even the Apostle Paul shows marks of that "natural conservatism" of which Lord Hugh Cecil has recently been speaking to us. But expediency above all. Here we have one of the crucial examples of the great spiritual revolutionary who is also a practical statesman, of the man who sets free incalculable spiritual forces, and then has to come forward at least for the time being and restrain the operation of those forces in order to meet the exigencies of an immediate situation. But I ask you to believe that in all such circumstances in Church history from the time of the Apostles onward, it is the principle which is eternal, and that the act of the practical statesman in limiting or hedging about its application is simply for what the Apostle calls the "present distress." And, therefore, I am perfectly certain in my own mind that the Apostle would hold us, who stand for the full emancipation of women according to the highest ideals of our time—

alike as to the marriage relation and as to the position of women in the Church, and I will add as to the position of women in the State—I am sure that the Apostle would hold us to be faithful to his authority and example in seizing upon his principle of sex equality, and giving it the most far-reaching application which the circumstances and possibilities of our age will allow to be accorded to it.

THE WORLD-WIDE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT.

MRS. F. E. WILLEY, M.D.

Jean Bennett

SIXTY-FIVE years ago a devout woman who was the mother of a great man published a very remarkable book which she modestly called, "Thoughts from the Heart addressed to Women." That book was written in a spirit of deep devotion, and it was written to show that woman was sent into the world to be the free spiritual helper of man and not to be his servant or his toy. In that far-off time she pointed out that wherever women have been degraded from that high level there have the people and the race to which she belonged been degraded too. She showed that one might almost measure the greatness and the progress of any people by the freedom of its women, and with prophetic insight she looked forward to the future and exclaimed, "We believe that a glorious dispensation of women is coming which shall bless and help the world." About the same time light began to dawn in the hearts of a few women in America and other parts of the world, and it is significant that the origin of that uprising was the help which women gave and the enthusiastic interest which they took in the abolition of slavery. That was in 1847 and the years that came after.

Since that time knowledge has come to woman like a flood which has swept before it all preconceived ideas. Knowledge has come in many channels, but I would like to speak of three. It has come, as everyone admits, through the great spread of education. Many people in opposition say as they look at the world of women to-day, "This is what comes of educating women." It is indeed, for you can

never keep any people at a lower level than their possibilities unless you keep them ignorant. Thus, even theoretical knowledge has shown woman many things, but practical knowledge, too, has come to her in these years. Knowledge has come through the economic compulsion which has sent women out into the world whether they like it or not to earn their living, and to do work in trades and professions in direct friendly competition with men. That experience, which has sometimes been very bitter, has taught women much. And knowledge has come in another way which is perhaps not so well recognized. I mean it has come through the changed views which women have come to take with regard to philanthropic enterprise. Education has taught us that we have no longer to concern ourselves wholly with trying to remedy symptoms, but that if the great sufferings and evils in the world are really to have any alleviation we must know the cause from which they spring, and we must devote ourselves to abolishing it. We have found that when once a view of that kind is taken of the evils in the world, very quickly we are up against a disability which ties our hands and renders our efforts futile. So by knowledge, both theoretical and practical, we have come to realize that there are in the world many anomalies and hardships from which women suffer and many harmful results in the lives of men in consequence of those anomalies. For let me mention, if I may, just three types of women who will illustrate my point.

Let us think of the worker, of the mother, and of the outcast. There are many others, but those will serve.

The working woman when she goes into the world to earn her living finds to her surprise that she is handicapped. By all the rules of playing the game that we have ever learned we have thought that it was the strong who should be handicapped and not the weak, but we find it is otherwise in the world of life. Women are in the world earning their living through no fault of their own. They are forced to be there, otherwise they could not live at all, but when they are there, though they are told that they are more frail, that they are less capable, that they need more delicate nurture than the other sex, yet they find that they have to do as much or more difficult work for less pay, and

also that many of the better paid and more easy posts are entirely closed to them. Now it is said in explanation, and I believe the larger part of the community believe it, that this is because a man's wages has to support a family and a woman has only to support herself, but again we find that when a woman is supporting the family and the man has only to support himself, the prices of labour do not change. It does not seem to be the point which regulates that price. Of course the only thing that does regulate the price of labour is the price at which it can be bought, and in the case of many women we have seriously to admit that that limit is where it is just possible for the worker to still keep alive. Those are some of the sad facts which women have learned in doing the work which will earn their living.

But when we turn to the mother, the mother who is glorified by every set of people alike, surely there we shall find that woman is placed upon her high pedestal, and there is no strange lesson to be learned. But unfortunately it is not so. If we were really to come into the world for the first time and begin to study the laws that relate to motherhood, I think that we should imagine that those who framed them had in view the penalization of honourable marriage and child-bearing. The married mother has laws which limit her power which are not imposed upon the mother of the illegitimate child. One of the most cruel and serious things of all is that law which tells the mother that she is not the parent of her own child. These things, as those realize who know anything of the poor, are met with sometimes in forms which are pitiable indeed, and I believe that very few people who have not known work among the poor realize that even to-day there is no law which will compel a man to support his wife and children merely because of the need of that wife and children. Only when they go to the workhouse and the township has to pay for their support, can the law begin to touch them, so much more sacred it seems is the pocket of us ratepayers than the need of a poor mother.

But there is another class of woman. Women have come to think to-day very differently about those thousands and thousands of outcast women that throng the streets of

all our great cities. It is a most significant thing that the feeling of women is changing in a way which indicates that this Movement for the freedom and emancipation of women is a great religious Movement. No longer do we think of those outcasts as beings different from ourselves. We know now quite well that they are neither better nor worse than the ordinary run of humanity. We know that they are there, with very few exceptions, through what is practically no fault of their own, because they have been either tricked by promises which have been unkept, or they have been driven through need—I am sure there must be many in this great hall who know those who have been forced by the need of those very dear to them—and there are worse still those who have been captured and sold like slaves. That is the state of things which has roused a feeling in the hearts of educated women to-day that nothing is ever going to put out.

There is another side to these so-called wrongs. There are no wrongs to women that are not wrongs to men. Whatever people may try to do to make an artificial separation between us, we stand or fall together, whether we like it or not. For what of those women of whom I have spoken?

What is the result on men of the conditions of the woman worker? It means that there is less work for men because the poorly-paid woman gets it. It means that the wages of men are lowered, and that means a lowered standard of living among the men and the families that they have to bring up. That is a loss which is incalculable and which the working-men of this country are only just waking up to realize.

And what of motherhood? Can we degrade motherhood without degrading the home? It is absolutely impossible. Can we deprive mothers of the necessary nourishment and all the other things that she requires without for ever depriving her infant of that development which means a perfect manhood in the future? We cannot do it. Whatever we think about the possibility of its being only the poor mothers, it is the race of the future that we are for ever spoiling.

And what of the outcast? Can these women exist in the

streets of a city without lowering the ideals of every member of a community which is aware of it, yet permits it? Does it not mean a lower standard of morality for all life? And does not that mean a loss of the chivalry, which in the olden times, however much we may scoff at it now, kept things sweet and pure. Our boys are just as thrilled by the thought of going forth to rescue princesses as ever they were. There are imprisoned princesses in London to-day, but there are not enough knights to rescue them. The tragic death of one true knight who for this subject risked scorn and contempt and suffering to come to the rescue has re-roused that spirit of chivalry in men and women alike. No longer are women going to do rescue work, as it is now understood, alone, because we know that effective rescue is prevention, and men are coming to our help. We know that laws which may be passed are going to help, but that is not all. Laws that can be passed which help to make regulation possible are not the great deep root of the whole thing. What has ever been the root of slavery? It is the conviction that the race enslaved is an inferior race. No white nation for many many a long time would tolerate the slavery of a white man even when they tolerated the slavery of a black one; and what is the meaning of the great movement for the political enfranchisement of women? The meaning of it is that it does away with this false idea that there can be any question of equality or inequality between the sexes. Whether we realize it or not, when that vanishes, all the evils that are attendant upon it will slowly melt away too.

What is to be the end of all the great activities and movements that are going on? Some people say that it is going to die out, that the Women's Movement is going to cease, that it is only for a moment. They do not realize in what it had its birth. It is not the mere demand of something by woman for herself, it is not the mere asking for a vote, though that may happen to be the centre round which all activities concentrate at the moment, it is something far larger and far greater, it is that in which it had its birth, the desire to help. It has been kept alive and roused and stimulated through the long battle of these sixty years by the obstructions that have come all along

the way, by the increasing realization of the difficulty of helping in the ways that were available to us. Women did not begin to help the world by asking for political enfranchisement, they began by trying to help in such ways as they thought possible, they worked in various forms of philanthropic enterprise, but they found there were things they could not do by that method; then they asked those in power by meetings and resolutions, by agitating and signing petitions, for the great objects which they felt were good, but they advanced very slowly, and we know now that the possession of freedom, and the possession of political freedom is an essential part of the whole. That is why all the great women's movements in the world to-day, in every country are concentrating just at this point. It is only a concentration for the moment till we have it. It will not stop the great movement of women towards giving themselves. That is behind it.

In connection with this, may I read some words which Mrs. Creighton has just handed to me written by the Bishop of Sarawak to this meeting? He says: "I am keen to help the Movement because I am a patriot and a Christian. I know very little about English conditions now, but I have had some experience of life in other parts of the Empire and in order that those who represent us there may live clean and upright lives, I want a parliament that will care for these things, and I see no hope of getting such a parliament till women have the vote. At present the higher and highest sides of life are forgotten in the excitement of political warfare and there is no one who will consider great moral questions. My hope is that when women have the vote that first things will be forced in the first place. The hope of the women in the Far East lies in their enfranchisement, but I have no hope of help from men in such a Movement. Until women have power and parliamentary power men will not take the trouble to see their point of view. I have often heard men discuss the question, but I have seldom if ever heard any recognition of the rights of women, and in my opinion that recognition will not come so long as women are a negligible quantity in politics."

And what of the future of this great Movement which is

represented in one side of it in these meetings to-day? Is it going to be a failure, or is it going to be a success? People have told us that the whole question in the last few years has changed from one of justice to one of expediency. No one asks any longer, is it just? They know it is, but what they do ask is, is it expedient? No, it is not expedient for those who believe in expediency, who believe that the soul of sacrifice is dead and would have it so, but it is expedient for those who believe that the progress of the world is founded on sacrifice and that women have learned something of that lesson. As the stone falls to the earth, as rivers run to the sea, as knowledge overflows the boundaries of apparent contradiction to become one whole, as the heart of friendship leaps to the heart of friend, such is the irresistible force behind the movement for the enfranchisement of women. Nothing can stop it, for it is the great uprising of the larger half of humanity to form a free part of the whole and so to fulfil its life.

THE DEEPENING OF POLITICAL LIFE.

MR. T. EDMUND HARVEY, M.P.

IT is not an easy thing for us to descend from the mountain of vision and inspiration to which we have been taken, to come back into the dusty plain to deal with the difficult subject of political life, and yet surely, after these moments of prayer, we must be prepared to return with courage and with faith, to face the hard realities of the present day. It will be with faith, because we must realize that just in so far as a country has a wealth of good men and women within it, just in so far will its institutions at any given moment only imperfectly and inadequately express the desires of those men and women at their best. It is surely a sign of life and of hope that we realize how inadequate and how imperfect our political life to-day is, in that it does not properly give place to some of the very best elements in our national life, and yet as we look back over the last fifty years we may gain encouragement by comparing the way in which the field of political action has widened. If you compare the legislation of to-day, the thoughts that are in the mind of our statesmen, with the legislation of fifty years ago, you feel that we have entered into a new era. One cannot do better than illustrate this by looking for a moment at the private bills that in the present session of Parliament have passed their second reading. You note amongst them a Bill dealing with the housing of the working classes, a Bill dealing with the amendment of the Criminal Law and the removal of certain grave moral evils from our midst, you find a Bill dealing with the promotion of temperance in clubs, you find another Bill dealing with the employment of children, another again

with the raising of the school age, and you note yet another dealing with the great question of the feeble-minded. These are Bills that have all of them been brought forward, not by the great party machine on either side, but by private members, and they are Bills that have all of them received the assent of the House of Commons in a second reading. And that surely shows how wide the interest of political life to-day is, how far-reaching it is, how it comes down to almost every home in the land. And yet, perhaps, some may feel that, with this widening of political interest, there is a danger that we may lose something by the very width and variety of the subjects which are being discussed. We may lose a depth that is necessary, we may lose the vision and the prophetic power that we associate with men like Lord Shaftesbury or John Bright in past years. And I think that the more that we feel this, the more we realize the widening scope of legislation, the more we shall feel how urgently and vitally important it is to the whole community that the very highest and best minds in the country without any regard of sex shall be able to give themselves to these problems, that we should be able to feel that throughout the country men and women alike are taking an active interest and participation in the solution of these questions which affect almost every home and every life. And I think we must feel that women have a peculiar contribution to give which is very necessary if these questions are to be solved in the right way. It is obvious that you cannot deal with education, you cannot deal with any one of those questions which I have named, satisfactorily, unless you have the knowledge and the experience of women guiding our legislation, unless you have the sympathetic co-operation of women in the carrying out of the laws that may be passed. And I think that at a meeting like this there is something more even than this thought which will make us feel the urgency of the co-operation of women in this great task: it is that woman has a peculiar place to fill which no man can possibly take, that woman can give to the State a conception of the family, a conception of the individual, which is essential to our national welfare. If we do not get that deeper spiritual conception of the family life and of all that it means at the

very root of our legislation, this civilization of ours with all its progress in material advancement must come to ruin. We need the vision that woman can give. Unless we can have that vision realized in our legislation we must fail to attain our goal. We are in law after law extending the activities of the State in one way and in another, yet we need to feel that the State is not built up like a machine, but that it is a living organism, built up of living cells, built up out of the various families which make our national life, and I believe it is given to woman especially to realize this and to help men to realize it.

We are not speaking merely from theory when we say this. We have the advantage of the experience of municipal bodies in which women are already taking part. We know how during the last century the whole horizon of municipal life has been widened, the whole range of its activities enlarged and strengthened, and I think in no small measure through the deepening interest of women throughout the country in the problems of municipal government, in the problems of the poor-law, and in the active co-operation of women both as electors and as administrators in those two great fields. I can speak from personal experience of three years upon the London County Council, some little time ago, just before the County Council was open to women, but when women were members of the Education Committee; and I can say from personal knowledge how much those women members brought to the work of the education of London. Looking back I cannot recall a time when any woman member of the London Education Committee made a speech when she had nothing to say, and I think every member would be willing to admit that often and again we had contributions made to the work of education which could not have been made so well, or even at all, if we had not had those women actually working on the same level as the other members of the Committee. We have seen the same truth being worked out in the administration of the Local Government Board and of the Home Office, the admitted necessity for women factory inspectors, the need that is now recognized of women visitors to look after the children who are boarded-out, and of health visitors to carry out provisions for the

prevention of unnecessary infantile mortality. And, surely, just as in these spheres of local legislation and administration woman has helped to enlarge our horizon, to deepen our hold upon the things that matter, so too, in our national life, we need the full co-operation of woman. I think it would be a very poor and inadequate ideal if we set before us simply equality. A mere mathematical relationship is not the thing that we want. We want something much more, we want true comradeship and fellowship, and we want a comradeship which is based upon justice. And so in this great political question that awaits us in the future, in the near future, we feel that the question of the franchise is not a small thing because we think of it not merely in view of the immediate effects that will follow the franchise, but we regard the franchise as a symbol of something very much bigger, and we feel that it is not only a symbol, but that it will be a great instrument in co-partnership. We want to see in our national life a true fellowship and co-partnership between man and woman founded upon justice, founded upon mutual understanding, built up, built higher by mutual sacrifice.

THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT.

THE RIGHT REV. CHARLES GORE, D.D.

Bishop of Oxford.

IT is no doubt a formidable thing to speak on so large a subject as the religious aspect of the Women's Movement. When you speak of the Women's Movement, as when you speak of any other movement, you speak of something large and, what is more to the point for me at the moment, with vague and indefinite edges. If I take my stand in imagination at the centre of the Women's Movement I find myself confronted on the one side with a great deal which is, in the strictest sense, revolutionary. I find myself confronted with bodies of people so disgusted with what they find to be the actual situation that they are prepared to do what is, in my judgment, revolutionary, to sweep away, in their disgust with things as they are, a great deal that to me, maturely thinking, appears to be part of the very structure of all that is most sacred in human life. And then I find myself on the other side face to face with the argument about the thin edge of the wedge. I am quite sure the devil invented many things, but there is nothing which I am more sure about than that the devil invented this argument about the thin edge of the wedge. It ministers to everything that is in the worst sense of the word revolutionary in human life. It is used by people standing opposed to just claims and noble aspirations, and because those just claims sometimes are urged in an excessive manner, and

because those noble aspirations sometimes have run riot, therefore they say I shall remain exactly as I am, I shall ask myself no new question, I shall stand exactly where I stand to-day; and that is for ever the cause of the worst kind of revolution. I am quite certain that, with regard to any large and mixed movement like this Women's Movement, it is our duty to confront it with a candid mind and to ask what is right, what is just, and to take for our maxim nothing but "Be just and fear not." Well, then, when I look back and ask myself what I mean by the Women's Movement, broadly I understand quite well. I look back over the time covered by my own memory and a little while beyond it and I see along a great number of lines a movement which has led to the opening out for women's activities of a vast number of new fields of activity. Such opening out of new fields of activity is represented by names like Florence Nightingale and Ellice Hopkins and Josephine Butler, and the great founders or re-founders of religious communities and sisterhoods, and those who have been pioneers in the re-entrance of women into medical work, and those who have been the pioneers, known and unknown, into the great place which women now take and into the greater place which women are destined to take in the whole educational movement in our country, on all committees and societies which deal with education, and in the whole region of municipal life as inspectors, as councillors, and in all the varied activities which we identify with the revived and reviving life of our municipal bodies. Here, then, is something undeniable which has characterized the period during which I have grown from infancy to old age; and I know it and have seen it; and looking back over that period I do not suppose that now, however many things to the disadvantage of this movement I have heard said at different times by my grandmother Lois and my mother Eunice, I do not suppose that now as we sit in this hall or as we walk about our streets, there would be anybody to dispute the legitimacy of this movement of emancipation. But it has found that it is necessary to go further, and to enter more deeply, more intimately, into the political field. Here I touch a more controversial subject. This meeting is not in any sense

a political meeting, nor called to advocate any political claim. When I was asked to preside here to-night, I was in no way asked whether I was an advocate or an opponent of women suffrage; but I am going to make a statement. As it presents itself to me, the entrance of the Women's Movement into the strictly political area, and the demand for the suffrage, has been part of the movement in its essence. It has been necessary for the securing of that ground which individual initiative has always taken the first part in securing, but which demands something which at the last can only be secured by legal and formal action. That is the way in almost all departments of human activity. Where individual initiative is the pioneer, legal and formal action has to follow.

Now I have been myself lately taking part in various ways in the movement for passing the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. I need not in any way describe to you what that measure is or why this amending law is necessary. You know. The abuse, the horrible, hideous abuse which we seek by this Bill to remedy, is the relic of a state of things in which the worst part of male society was allowed in great part to model our legislation. Women were regarded distinctly as beings who might be supposed to exist in part to minister to the lusts and selfishness of men, and I am as sure as I can be of anything in the world, that the maintenance of the law as it exists at present in England has been possible because the mind of women was not represented in the legislature of the country. I also am bound to say with regard to a good many facts in the industrial life of the country and in the educational life of the country, that it has been possible that woman's true place should be ignored and her interests overlooked only because the legislature of the country represented exclusively the male point of view. I have felt obliged to say this because I cannot otherwise seek to define that which it is my object to define the relation of religion, and of what I believe to be *the* religion, to the Women's Movement. I could not define that without saying what I have said about the suffrage. If the Women's Movement represents the freedom of women in self-realization (and that, I take

it, is the great idea which correlates all the different strands of the Women's Movement), if that be what it means, then I am as certain as I can be of anything in the world, that the Women's Movement, however much it may benefit by the individual activities of men and women, will never secure its position without legislative change, without such legislative change as makes women side by side with men voters and constitutors of our legislature.

Now I come to ask what is the relation of religion to this Movement. I cannot hesitate as to the general answer to this question. I am quite sure that the fundamental principle of the morality of our Lord is, that every human being, separately and equally, is an end to itself and to God, and that it can legitimately be made in no case a means to another man's end merely. If I think of our Lord's dealings with women, and of the astonishment with which His dealings with women were observed, if I think of Him talking to the woman by the Well of Samaria, or to Martha, or to Mary of Bethany, or to Mary Magdalene, or the woman who was a sinner (not the same person I believe), or to the woman taken in adultery, I am confronted with a principle which is unmistakable, He dealt with women exactly equally with men as being human persons. That is to say, beings who are an end to themselves and never to be a means to other men's ends. He was confronted, in the woman who was a sinner, and in the woman taken in adultery, with that extraordinarily base and extraordinarily universal system under which women have been treated as the ministers and instruments of men's lusts, and when they have lost the capacity for serving that end, have been, like a squeezed orange, chucked aside as something debased, disgusting and useless. There is nothing in the world so awful as the wrath of the Lamb. There is nothing in the world so awful as our Lord's indignation, and you know what His indignation was in face of that attitude towards the class represented by those unhappy women. And in that indignation you see His fundamental friendship with all that is deepest and most central in the Women's Movement, of which I thus claim the highest name as the greatest

advocate. I make this claim in St. Paul's words, and they are central to Christianity, that in Christ Jesus there is neither Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, male nor female, but Christ all and in all.

Of course, we must remember, that this right and duty of everyone to realize himself and herself, the glorious right and privilege of everyone, has corresponding obligations in the way of self-control and in the way of willingness to fill our part in the whole Body of Christ. That is to say, that self-realization is bound up with our duty to others, and I do not doubt that in this as in every other movement which has exhibited revolutionary qualities, there have been examples of the lack of self-control. But the justice of the central claim is not thereby in the least affected.

Then I go further and ask what are the vocations which I see opening up before women? What are we to say to this, or that, or the other particular claim or particular aspiration? I will try to answer very briefly; and I will say that, first of all, I speak as one who is a quite unmitigated and unashamed Christian; and there is nothing I am more certain of than that the Divine principle of indissoluble marriage and the unquestionable supremacy of the dignity of motherhood remain for ever in this question central and determinative principles. I read a letter in *The Times* this morning which told us of a great many contradictions of these principles which have been uttered in the name of the Women's Movement. I have not read these contradictions myself, but I daresay they are uttered. That does not affect my position at all. I have already talked about my feelings towards the thin edge of the wedge argument. I really know no movement in which things which I most violently disagree with have not been said, but it does not affect my feeling towards the Movement, if I believe it to be fundamentally right and true. But I want to say as plainly and as articulately as I can in this and any other audience that I desire to be to the end of my days a foe with every form of legitimate hostility to anything which from any point of view seeks to derogate from the supreme dignity of motherhood or to alter or

mitigate the unspeakable severity and glory of the law of indissoluble marriage.

And for the rest, there are a great many questions asked about what the Women's Movement is going to attain to, and whereunto the Women's Movement is going to get in respect of this claim or that claim or the other claim, and my answer is that I desire in almost all respects to wait and watch and learn by experience. There is a physiological difference between man and woman, and I do not doubt that that physiological difference carries with it enormous other differences. For my own part as I read history and seek to take in its lessons, it does not seem to me that the fundamental psychological and moral and intellectual differences between men and women diminish on one's view. I think it is certainly extraordinary,—and now I am going to say something which I daresay will be very distasteful to a great many people here,—I think it is extraordinary how in the region of music, poetry, and art, a region in which the education of women has, over a great area of society and for many generations, been superior on the whole and more assiduous than that of men, I think it is extraordinary how few first-rate artists and poets and musical composers, there have been among women. I wonder whether that fact, if indeed it be a fact, has not a deep significance. But that may be only my brutal prejudice; and with regard to these things I see no question of principle involved at all. I am content entirely to wait for the leadings of experience, because we have plenty of people to watch us, plenty of people to note dangers in women's education and women's movements as in men's, and on the whole I believe we are a sane society, and I do not see any greater tendencies to neglect the teachings of experience now than heretofore. I am content, I do not see, in fact, that I have any other course, but to leave this large and general open question to be determined by experience.

But now I come to a matter which is a matter of detail, yet a matter which it would be impossible for me to sit down without attempting to deal with, because it has been to me

very often a stumbling block and a difficulty. I mean the specific attitude not of the New Testament writers in general, but of St. Paul in particular towards this question. About that, then, I want to say a word. I am not troubled by the fact that St. Paul says, speaking with regard to the marriage relation, that as the head of every man is Christ so the head of the woman is the man and the head of Christ is God. In an indissoluble partnership, I conceive there must always be ultimate headship; but when St. Paul ends his sentence by saying that the head of Christ is God, it is plain that He speaks of a subordination which from the point of view of a Christian faith involves no inferiority whatever in nature or essence, but only difference of function. But there are other sentences in St. Paul of a rather different kind, and I wish to draw a difference and distinction between St. Paul's *principle* and the details of St. Paul's legislation. For instance, St. Paul laid it down, that clergymen were not to be twice married. That this is so I cannot doubt. Well, a great many of my friends in the clerical profession have married twice. I have seen no deterioration in their moral character. I am quite serious. I am not the least prepared to maintain that this particular legislation of St. Paul, or the particular legislation of the Christian Church at any period, is to stand for ever. Principles are eternal, but not particular enactments. Again, when St. Paul says that women are to be veiled in the Christian assembly I recognize in that no principle at all, but a particular and, I believe, temporary enactment. St. Paul would not have been in the least propitiated by someone coming to church in a small hat. He wanted women to be veiled in the Oriental manner. Well, now St. Paul was dealing with a great and radical movement, and he was doubtless very anxious that it should cause no unnecessary obstacles or scandal; he insisted that Christian women should not shock their contemporaries. But I am quite sure that this kind of legislative enactment in detail is not necessarily permanent. You have got to get to the root of Christian principle; that is permanent; and then we must be content to apply the principle in particular enactments from time to time. Looking at the whole Christian movement I am never prepared to say that civilization at any

particular moment represents Christian finality. I am quite sure that neither the early Church, embedded in a pagan society and bound not to do anything which would shock pagan society, nor the early middle age, nor the later middle age, nor the Renaissance period, nor the modern Roman Catholic Church, nor modern Protestantism, nor the Anglican Communion, represents finality. That is not a brilliant paradox but a truism, but it is a truism of which I think people do not always take in the full measure. We have got to try to get deeply at the great principles which lie at the heart of Christian society, and having got those principles we have got to believe in the power of the Christian society to make its own rules with a Divine authority. I am not altogether pleased with my own part of the Church in this respect. I think our present Church of England legislation with regard to women, so far as our renascent Christian assemblies are concerned, is something of the nature of a scandal. I should very much like our Church legislators to reconsider their position in this respect. But that is my point. We are to try to get a firm grasp of what the Christian principles are, and then we must believe in the liberty of the Christian society in every age to apply these principles so as to give them fresh and fresh applications according to the need of the situation as it arises.

Well, now, I cannot attempt to go further in this matter. I have not the least doubt that in this as in every other great movement which stirs human life to its depths we shall be hard put to it to solve the questions which arise, but I wish to say again, ending with what I said at the beginning, that, however, many particular questions may arise hard to solve, I am quite sure about the fundamental question. We cannot determine offhand or rapidly what are or what are not the particular kinds of human activity to which women can safely and rightly advance. Experience will be our guide in this. But in principle I am quite sure that Christ our Master requires of us that we should assent to and not shake our heads at the claim of women to free self-realization. I am quite sure that the Women's Movement is needed, because our present arrangements in society and the present legislation of our country have

at the root of them here and there and in many places the refusal by men of this legitimate claim. I am quite sure, therefore, that the Women's Movement must enter into politics, and must demand and must obtain its place in legislation ; that is, must make the women's voice and the women's point of view heard in moulding the legislation of the country. And I am also sure that the Master of women as of men is Jesus Christ, the Son of Man, and that He has laid down in regard to marriage and in regard to human life as a whole, certain great and difficult claims which neither man nor woman individually or in large movements can ignore or violate without disaster.

THE ETHICAL ASPECT OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT.

MISS MAUDE ROYDEN.

MY LORD BISHOP, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Being like our Chairman, a quite unashamed Christian and having been informed even by those who criticize us that we are here to-night "under the cloke of religion," I suppose that I may assume that the ethical aspect of the Women's Movement means the ethic of Christianity. There will undoubtedly be those here who do not hold the Christian faith. To them I would only say that I must speak the language of the Christian ethic because it alone is familiar to me and it alone is real, but I believe that what I say will appeal to all those who are in the Women's Movement, whether they are "under the cloke of religion" or not. Our Movement evokes the hostility of the judgment of the world because we stand morally in direct antagonism to the judgment of the world. We speak sometimes of a double standard of morals between the sexes. I would rather speak of a divided standard of morals, because the judgment of the world has chosen the easier path of "letting off" each of the sexes from some of the virtues. The judgment of the world, always in opposition to what I should call the human conscience, has assigned to men and to women certain virtues, and it has implied that the other virtues are not necessary to them. I think that the essence of the opposition to us, if we go down deep into the matter, lies in that dispensation which men have given to themselves and to women, of the practice of certain virtues. I am not speaking now in the narrow sense of the word

"morality," but in the broad sense. There are some virtues which are not expected of women, and some not expected of men, and though the human conscience has always revolted against this standard, and given us men-saints in whom were found all the virtues of women, I think it is the supreme distinction of the Christian Church that it has given us many women-saints with all the virtues which are generally expected of men—women like Blessed Joan of Arc and St. Theresa, and St. Catherine of Sienna, who were distinguished not only for tenderness, devotion and obedience, but for courage, for independence, for judgment and for knowledge. The judgment of the world has invariably encouraged the rest of us by slaying those women and men who opposed its standards. The world-wise have always stoned the prophets, and although they have afterwards built their tombs, they were quite right in supposing that the stoning would remain more vividly in the mind of the average person than the building of the tomb! We have been warned that it is not for the ordinary person to adopt such a standard as that. Well, we here to-night in the Women's Movement, do stand above all for the ordinary person. It is the ordinary woman for whom we are putting forward a claim, and when we are told that the ordinary woman must not, for instance, practise the virtues of public spirit, a broad and sane judgment, a wise knowledge, when we are told that these virtues are not required of women, in the words of one writer; or in the words of another that ignorance of public affairs is an unalterable defect in woman; we reply with indignation that these defects, if they are ours—I am not here to discuss whether they are ours or not—that these defects should be educated out of us. We look for our standards not in contemporary literature or in ancient literature, except in the Bible, and we see a standard set by our Lord which is not the standard of the world dispensing either men or women from the practice of certain virtues. Christ said to us, "Be ye perfect." He spoke not only to the Apostles, nor only to a nation, nor only to a sex. He said to every man and woman in the world, "Be ye perfect." In what sense did He say it? Did He say, "In those virtues which become your class," or "your sex"? He said, "Be ye perfect,

even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." I spoke just now of "ordinary people," but there are no ordinary people. Why do we not get rid of this ridiculous night-mare which sees a world full of ordinary people. Ordinary people with a standard set before them like that! There are no ordinary people, nor is there anyone here who has permission to be ordinary! "Be ye perfect." It took a God to say that. No human being dared to say it to human beings; but once said, who shall absolve us from any particular of that august ideal? In whose name shall we receive dispensation from any of the virtues which Christ set before us? Christ gives us no commission to absolve ourselves from any virtues, but said to all of us, as to the children of God, "Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." The Women's Movement stands for a re-affirming of that ideal. To me it is the most profoundly moral movement, not only at present moving the peoples, but the most profoundly moral movement,—perhaps with the exception of the movement against slavery to which essentially it stands so nearly allied but with that, the most moral movement,—since the foundation of the Christian Church, for this reason, that it is the direct development of the spirit of Christ working out at last against human judgment, against the spirit of the world, against that extraordinary folly that we call worldly wisdom. Working out against all that, it is at last moving the waters here and re-affirming in the world the whole ideal of Christ.

Let us for a moment see how the world's judgment works out. It sounds so sensible! It is very difficult to aim at an ideal of perfection and it means the pain of perpetual failure. It would be simpler if men practised those virtues which are easiest to them and women those which are easiest to them. How simple—and how utterly destructive of any virtue at all! Virtue is one, as Christ's ideal was one, and you cannot dispense yourself from a part of it without corrupting the whole: you cannot break one of the laws but you break the whole of the law: and in our specialising in virtues we have produced the most extraordinary perversion of those very virtues in which sex is asked to specialize.

To-night I would like to speak especially of the virtue of chastity, because, of all the virtues, this is the *one* which the world has regarded as the most essential in a woman and least essential in a man. What is the result of that sensible procedure? Look only at the women, because it is the women who have been expected to specialize in that virtue, and you will see that in direct consequence of that attitude, you get in the world a class of women which is deliberately set apart for eternal loss. How far their souls are corrupted we cannot judge. If we did not believe, as Mrs. Butler told us, that Christ Himself could go down to those dark places where we cannot reach them, we should hardly be able to retain our sanity when we confront this problem; but as far as the world is concerned, their bodies and souls are set aside for eternal loss. This is the result of specializing in virtue! Then, on the other side, you get the other women, to whom the word "virtue" has actually come to have only one meaning, and to be virtuous is to be—not one of the outcast class. And the attitude of those righteous ones—does it justify us in this division of virtues? You have women who call themselves virtuous, women who would be insulted if they were called anything else, who will deliberately assert—I suppose they do not know what they say—that unless that class of lost women existed they would not be safe. Safe! What do they mean by safety? Chastity? What a conception of chastity have we come to if we can suppose that in the eyes of God Who is Spirit and Truth that is virtue which is bought at such a price! There are women, apparently kindhearted, virtuous in the narrow sense, who deliberately shut their eyes to the sufferings of other women because they honestly conceive, such is the caricature that we have made of the standard of Christ, they actually believe that virtue is possible when it is bought at the price of another soul's eternal loss. Is it then strange that over this problem there should rest, as a kind of cloud, a black despair? We women sometimes ask ourselves why it is that society is able to endure the facts that are laid before it, how it is that men can endure this state of affairs? I know the answer is that they have at the backs of their minds a deep despair. They do not *believe* that any other state of

affairs is really possible. Such is the logical and inevitable result of this divided standard of morality in one particular virtue. I believe that this horror touches the life of every woman at some time. Women are brought up to play the coward when they learn this thing. They are brought up in ignorance, so that the shock may be as terrible and overwhelming as it can possibly be. They are brought up to believe that ignorance is in itself a kind of purity. They are trained and educated to fail when the moment comes. But yet I think there is no excuse for failure when a woman realizes what this problem means ; when it comes to her in book or in life, when she reads or feels, when it touches herself, or touches those she loves, when it comes home to her and becomes a real thing, then I think there is no excuse for failure. She may, if she chooses, deliberately refuse to think about it ; she may decide that those who suffer, suffer because they are naturally wicked ; she may determine that she will not think of it, or look at it any more ; but if she does, I think that woman has made "through cowardice the great refusal." It seems to me at this time of day, when we can have knowledge if we choose, when after all we have achieved a certain degree of freedom, to turn our backs upon the problem which means so much suffering, to refuse the pain of knowledge, is verily to make through cowardice the great refusal. There are certain moral propositions from which the whole being should revolt in horror, and to be told that women must be lost in order that other women may be safe is such a proposition. On the other hand, a woman may, if she chooses, deliberately receive the burden of knowledge. She will never be altogether lighthearted again. It will make just the difference between the perfect lightheartedness of youth and the responsibility of those who are no longer entirely young. That is her little, little share of the sufferings her sisters undergo, that is her small, small contribution to the solution of the problem : to know, to understand. What is at the bottom of all this suffering and sin ? We ask for this measure and that of legislation on morals, because the law is a schoolmaster and should not set an evil standard ; but it is against the standard that we are in revolt. Whose fault is it, that this hideous thing exists, we ask ? A boy once asked of

Charles Kingsley when he was told of the horrors of the Chartist Riots, "Whose fault is it that such things happen ?" And Charles Kingsley answered, "It is our fault." It was a good answer. It is the answer we must all give to-day. Ladies and gentlemen, it is our fault if this problem exists. It is not the fault of God Who made men so ; it is not always or only the fault of the individual sinner ; but it is always our fault. It is always our responsibility. We have created this state of affairs ; we have perpetually created it with our divided standard of morality. It is the inevitable result of that standard, and as long as we acquiesce in it we are guilty.

Even though we know little about it, and our own lives are immaculate, we cannot escape responsibility. As long as we acquiesce in the judgment of the world, we are responsible for what the judgment of the world has created. We in this Movement do not any longer acquiesce. Ah ! it is so easy for us here to-night, all thinking alike and aspiring together, it is easy for us to refuse to acquiesce ; but it is not easy in the face of the world. It sometimes takes a finer heroism to believe a great truth than to do a great deed. For personal devotion perhaps St. Thomas was greater than St. Peter, before the Resurrection of the Lord. He said, "Let us also go, that we may die with Him," while St. Peter denied Him with oaths and curses. But the spiritual audacity of St. Peter when he cried, "Thou art the Christ," made him a greater man than St. Thomas. And from us is demanded that spiritual audacity that, in the face of the world, we should deny the great lie under which the human race has suffered so long. Remember what it means, remember all that is meant in the phrase "the oldest profession in the world." Remember how good men and women, calling themselves Christians, have despaired of any alteration in this matter ; remember that we are fighting a thing which all the world believes to be true, and then consider if it does not take some heroism to believe a great idea, to believe that this thing is a lie, to act on that belief and pray upon it, to live it always in the face of all the facts, in the face of all history, in the face of all the world. This it is to be of the Women's Movement. I speak of one virtue only because it has been

more deeply differentiated than any of the others, but we stand here to affirm the whole ideal of Christ for every human being, man or woman. This is not, as it has been called, a *feminist* movement, but more rightly a *humanist* movement, because we ask for the whole human ideal for all, for purity and gentleness and self-sacrifice in men; for courage, judgment and wisdom in women. Everything that we can claim we do claim. The franchise that we ask is the franchise of the Kingdom of God. We ask for the freedom of all the virtues. We know that even to state our claim, to accept such an ideal, is to condemn ourselves individually and as a movement to perpetual failures; we realize that we shall fail and fail again; that in spite of brave words and brave thoughts we shall again and again betray the ideal that Christ gave to us. Individually, how unworthy it makes one feel even to voice such a claim! All the individual errors of the individual speaker, and all the general errors of the movement as a whole, seem to wither the words upon our lips. It seems as though only saints should dare to claim such a faith as we are claiming. But I suppose the soldiers of Joan of Arc were not all heroes, were very few of them saints, and yet one feels to fight in such a cause was in itself a kind of consecration. And we who realize, as our opponents can never do, how profoundly unworthy we are of our own ideal, yet trust that the grace of God, because we make so great a claim, will to some extent sanctify those who make it. We stand to re-affirm the whole ideal of Christ, and we know that the anguish of falling below His sublime teaching will be a goad and a spur, when the low standard and cramped ideal the world has given us will always be a chain.

CITIZENSHIP AND THE HOME.

MRS. RUNCIMAN.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I believe there are still some people who regard with considerable apprehension any development of the Women's Movement in connection with a larger opportunity for citizenship because they honestly believe that the attractions of a public career may tend to draw women away from the more simple and primary duties of their home. But there is no antagonism between citizenship and the home. I do not know that it is worth while comparing the satisfactions which a woman may derive from the joys, anxieties and fame of public life with those which she derives in her own home. If there is any rivalry between these satisfactions, I cannot believe that it is the home that will suffer, for the supremest joys which can come to any woman are centred in her home. The content of a happy married life, and the glory and pride of motherhood, can easily defy the attractions of civic honours, however exalted, and can challenge comparison with the fame of a public career, however important. I believe there are very few women for whom praise from their own children is not sweeter than the applause of any audience, and who do not feel it a cause of greater gratification to have the devotion of their *grown-up* sons and daughters than the enthusiasm of any electorate. But I do not think that because we are wives and mothers there is any need for us to forget that we are also citizens, or to forget that as good citizens, we can more completely and adequately fulfil our duties as wives and mothers. A woman is no worse a mother because she is able to extend her interests outside the narrow boundaries of her own home and her own friends. It is not because we love our own children any less that we wish to do something to help the lives of other

children who are less fortunate ; it is not because we do not care for our own homes that we long to do something to take away the unloveliness of so many of the homes that are around us. It is not because we have a low conception of our present opportunities and duties that we wish for a fuller extension of our powers as citizens ; it is not because we want to shirk the responsibilities that we have ; it is because we want to give to these responsibilities a wider and more lofty interpretation. I believe that there are very few of us who do not wish for our children something of that sense of civic and national responsibility which we call public spirit, but narrow and selfish homes do not breed public-spirited men and women. We want our children from their very early life to realize that their home is not an isolated unit which may content itself with being happy in its own way and with its own social circle whether that circle is large or small, and may be satisfied in doing the best for itself alone in this world and the next. We want them to realize that every home is a part of a whole ; that every home has a share in our national life, and every home has its own responsibilities to all the other homes which make up our town and our city and our empire. The health and welfare of every community is the concern of every home in that community. It matters just as much to the homes of the rich as to the homes of the poor that slums should be swept away and children should not be allowed to sicken and die under unsanitary conditions. It matters to us all that there should be a high standard in our towns and in our country of public life, and that our public duties should be efficiently carried out by people who have a high conception of the work we ask them to do. We certainly have not reached the fulfilment of our civic duty if we confine ourselves to grumbling at the magnitude of the rates or the folly and incompetence of our town councillors. We have great sympathy with such complaints, but they do not carry us very far. We want a more substantial patriotism than that, and what we believe is, that the more women can take part in the duties of citizenship, and the more they realize their opportunities, and are able to extend those opportunities, the greater will be the sense of citizenship in all our homes. I want the mothers

as well as the fathers to be competent to teach the duties of citizenship, and I would go further and say that I want the mothers, wherever it is possible, not only to teach the duties of citizenship, but to give a practical example of the duties of citizenship in whatever public work may be open to them and possible for them to undertake. But I also want the mothers to take a rather different conception than is sometimes taken of the duties of home life with regard to their children. Homes, after all, are not only places where husbands are fed and children clothed and educated ; for children grow up, they learn to feed and clothe themselves, and we do not want their associations of home to consist merely of memories of childhood, precious though these memories are. We want to feel that our sons and daughters when they enter upon manhood and womanhood, and have to face for the first time all the perplexing and deep problems of life, should be able to come back to their homes and find there not only love, and the sympathy which is born of love, but also the sympathy, which is born of knowledge, experience, understanding and sound judgment. The wider and fuller a woman makes her life the broader will be her knowledge and sympathy, and the better able she will be to give sound advice, not only through the very precious years of childhood, but also in the later and more critical times of the lives of her children.

But when we ask for any extension of our powers as citizens, do let us make it quite clear it is from no sense of jealousy of the privileges of men, and from no feeling of sex animosity, which I regard as a degraded moral and intellectual aberration. The claims of the Women's Movement do not rest on any foolish sensational attempts at violence ; they rest on the fundamental fact that our nation is composed of women as well as men, and that patriotism is the birthright of every girl as much as of every boy. All that we want to do is to extend that co-operation between man and woman, without which no home can be complete or happy, to the wider affairs of our country. I cannot understand that theory of self-renunciation by which we are told that woman will add to her value and usefulness in our national life by deliberately cutting herself off from a large part of it, as being outside her sphere.

All matters which affect human interests are the concern of women just as they are the concern of men. We care just as much for the careers and opportunities and difficulties of our sons and our brothers as we do for those of our daughters and our sisters. The affairs of the world, whether they are political, social or economic, cannot be divided up into two sections, one for men and the other for women. Good laws, good houses, good drains, good education, law, justice, good foreign relations, peace, are all equally vital to every home in our country, and to every single member of that home, just as much to every woman, whether she realizes it or not, as to every man.

It is more and more recognized in all those social problems which form nowadays so large a part of our public duty, that the co-operation of women with men is absolutely essential if a solution is to be found based on a thorough understanding of the problem. Why should we not extend that co-operation a little further into the sphere of legislation? Many of us here no doubt are specially interested in some particular social problems to which we may be devoting a good deal of our time and energy. Well, if it is right and womanly, and it is always admitted that it is right and womanly, that we should give personal service to any social reform which we have at heart, how can it be wrong and unwomanly if we want to go one step further and ask to help with our vote some particular measure to promote a reform which by means of this measure will receive at one bound a greater impetus than by years of patient endeavour? Do not let us fear or shrink from any extension of our public duties and responsibilities. If we do want a vote it is not in order that we may boast about it, and it is not in order to remove a sense of grievance, great though many of us feel it to be. It is because we want to use it, because we recognize in it a valuable weapon in our fight against the ignorance and unhappiness around us; because we hope by means of it to help to remove some of the dark blots on our national life, which we want recognized as our responsibility as much as men's responsibility. We want a vote in order that we can help to guide the destinies of our country along the way that seems to us right, and because we hope in this way to have an opportunity of

enlarging the conception of our home life, and to do something for the lives of those for whom life has made it impossible to have any conception of the beauty of home.

Let me sum up by emphasizing the four points that I wish to make. First, that there is no antagonism between citizenship and home. Second, that home is all the better in which there is a high standard of social responsibility and a high ideal of citizenship. Third, that in our desire for full citizenship, it is co-operation and not rivalry between men and women that we want. And, lastly, that co-operation between men and women is just as necessary in all the deep problems of life as in all the small questions of our every-day home affairs; and it is only by such co-operation that our country can gain the full advantage of the beneficent influence which must come from women with a high standard of their duties and a lofty conception of their obligations.

EFFECT OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT ON THE EDUCATION AND IDEALS OF WOMEN.

MRS. CREIGHTON.

THE unrest of which we hear so much on all sides at present, and which, whilst it fills some with alarm and fear, seems to others a stirring of the waters, a sign of life, has for the last hundred years or more been slowly at work to bring about a complete revolution in the position of women. What we speak of as "the Women's Movement," or the "Emancipation of Women," is really the freeing of women from old conventions. The essence of its teaching is that the whole nature of women must be developed, that they must be given freedom to realize themselves, to develop whatever gifts and capacities, whatever power they may possess. This needs to be done not primarily for themselves but for the community, for the service of man, because in serving man, they can best serve God. That there are diversities of gifts but the same spirit, applies to women as well as to men. The old ideal placed before women was home life—they were to be wives and mothers; submission was their crowning glory; they were to have no opinions at all on subjects outside the home, and very few opinions of their own within the home. Think of the phrase in the Eton boy's journal "Got up, had jolly breakfast. Talked to mother about things she can understand."

Remember what were the conditions of life when home was the only sphere allowed to women. Mothers, young girls, little children, were driven in shoals to work in pits and factories; people were suffered, they still are suffered,

to live in cottages and tenements where any real home life was impossible. We all believe in the importance of the home, but have social conditions in the past made the best home life, even a decent home life, common in any class of society? But, at least, the ideas of the past gave to women a definite ideal for which they might be prepared, if only they were sure of reaching it—it was the fear lest they should not reach it that made the pursuit of possible husbands the duty of mothers and the chief object of daughters. The Women's Movement which took shape first in the improvement of girls' education, by that means slowly opened out to them new occupations, and so helped to free them from regarding marriage as the only outlet for their energies.

Has it not also done much for the old ideal, the home? Has it not heightened and transformed that?—What does the home exist for? Too often the narrow outlook of a woman, sometimes the selfishness of a man makes them think and act as if the home existed for itself, as if home life were an end in itself. Surely the truth is that the home exists for the good of the community, as the place where the young can best be prepared and trained for the service of God and man. But for long, by very many even now, only one form of service was recognized for women; they were to be wives and mothers, and if they could not attain that, still to make the home their sphere by tending or amusing aged relatives or other people's children, work entirely good, necessary, often even noble, but not enough. For the working-class woman, the ideal was the same; they were to be employed in domestic service or factories or shops till they should marry and become absorbed in home life. But even their necessary and devoted work in the home often loses much of its dignity, much of its possible usefulness, because of the narrowness of its outlook. No one expects of them to take an interest in public questions, yet how much of our present legislation concerns them even as domestic servants or factory hands, and how much more concerns the future home to which they are to give their lives? What a benefit to the state it would be if the hard-working and capable working women were encouraged to think about, and give their considered opinion

on, much of our social legislation! What a loss the community suffers through being content to leave them with this narrow outlook! And why are people content to have it so? Many of us feel that this is mainly because they have never learned to look upon women as citizens, because they have not recognized their full citizenship.

It would be absurd to pretend or expect that to recognize it would at once make women good citizens; it has not made all men so yet. But it will at least make women begin to recognize their responsibility; it will make people think it worth while to try to educate them as citizens. It will give them an outlook outside the home; it will make them feel that they too can do something to secure needed legislation, to remedy grievances.

The possession of full citizenship will give women a higher sense of what their own share in political life should be. They will not believe that all that is asked of them is that at election times they should throw themselves as wives and sisters into men's political struggles, they will gain the responsibility of having to form and express opinions of their own.

The mother who feels herself to be a full citizen, who recognizes and lives up to her citizenship, will wish that her sons and her daughters alike should be good citizens, and she will educate her daughters for liberty, she will wish to make it possible for them to realize themselves.

But we are now in a period of transition with all its special difficulties, with all its inherent ugliness. There are those who scream and clamour; there are those who dislike all thought of change; whose attitude leads to the opinion so often expressed that women do not want the vote. Yes, perhaps these women do not want the vote, but that does not prove that they do not need it, need it to shake them from their content with poor ideals of service, with unworthy estimates of their own capacities. Others for more worthy reasons oppose the franchise because they believe that it will not tend to the best kind of advance for women. Amidst all this conflict of opinion we do not see clear. I think people are often clearer about what they want a woman not to be than about what they want her to be. We are naturally afraid

of change, we dread losing what is good in the old things—we do not think things out—we do not trust liberty—does not that mean that we do not trust human nature? We do not in hope and confidence let things work themselves out. So there is struggle and unrest, discontent and rebellion. Ideals are not clear. Ask the ordinary middle-class man what he wishes his daughter to be. You will get no clear answer. He has not thought it a problem worth considering. Of course, she is to be a good girl; charming if possible, pleasant to him, [and then perhaps she will be pleasant enough to another man for him to take the responsibility for her future.

The right of a woman to live her own life, to be herself, to develop all her gifts and capacities is not freely granted; and it is not crowned with the right to the suffrage, the mark of full citizenship. It may be true to say that the vote in itself is a small thing, that many of those who have it value it very little. Perhaps it is a small thing, but the refusal of the right to exercise it and all that that involves is a great and important thing, a mark of disability, of depreciation, a recognition of inferiority. The fact of this refusal in its effect reaches right back to the treatment of a girl from infancy. She is not considered to exist for herself, in order to develop herself, but she is to be brought up to live for other people's comfort, or pleasure, or delight. We do not ask it for her own sake that she should be given as good an opportunity to develop herself as a boy gets, but because only by so doing can she render the full service that she is capable of giving.

I am sure that people in general, especially in the middle and upper classes, do not see clear at present about what they are training their girls for, and that thoughtful girls are not clear about their own future. We talk about the necessity that women should be womanly, about the beauty and dignity of true womanhood. Are we quite sure what we mean? Are not many of our ideas on this subject mere conventions. Conventions have their place, and in their place they are very useful. They exist to help us by making small things easy, by settling for us a number of unimportant things about which it will no longer be necessary for us to make up our mind. But there come

times when conventions need to be revised, to be changed. If we cling to them when their use is over, they become hindrances to real life. We need to be really alive, to have always more life and more abundant life. But life involves liberty for growth, for development, for effort. We must have an ideal to inspire and nourish life. Surely if there is such a thing as womanliness, it must lie in the very nature of women; opportunity for growth and development cannot hide it, cannot hinder it from showing itself, rather it can only help to bring it out more fully.

We shall only find out what is the full contribution of women to the common life, by giving them the opportunity to develop and use all their powers. The state, the church, both need their contribution in many ways that have already been proved. Give them opportunity and responsibility, remove those disabilities which lead the ordinary man to consider himself superior to any woman, and you will see far more women fitting themselves for the peculiar service that is so much needed from them in church and state. But more than this, as men and women learn increasingly to work side by side, each giving their special contribution to the common task, advantages quite unexpected will appear. The work together will produce something new, not merely a double amount of work.

But if we are to get the best from women that they can give, three things are needed: (1) The recognition of the importance of their contribution; (2) a better preparation for the work of life, that is, at least as good an education as their brothers get; (3) a greater sense of responsibility on their part. For this the recognition of their citizenship is necessary. I do not expect that the gift of the suffrage will work a magic change; but the fact that it is refused is a constant bar to progress; it leads to make many of them take far too low a view of their responsibilities; it produces in others a deep-seated fund of bitterness and discontent; it causes men to ask much too little of them in the way of service, much too much of them in the way of submission.

We need new and higher ideals of service than we possess. St. Paul has taught us to think of the fulness of Christ, and

all the ages are needed that we may even begin to realize that fulness. We have learned to see that we shall not understand it till the Saviour of the world is accepted by all the races of the world, and each brings their own particular contribution to the service, to the setting forth of the Master of all. May we not hope to learn, too, more of the meaning of that fulness, and of the nature of the service which every individual will be able to render, when each sex possessing absolute freedom for the development of all its powers, comes to bring to the service of the Master every gift, every latent force, every capacity?

The Church as well as the State asks for a variety of services from women as it is. There are not enough women for the work that is waiting to be done at home and abroad. Many anxious to be of use are hindered, sometimes by convention, sometimes by lack of adequate preparation. Again and again, women offering themselves for missionary service or other important work, have to make up with much toil and through many difficulties for the deficiencies of an imperfect education. Many more do not feel any call to be amongst the workers. Why should they? They have not been taken seriously in their homes. The liberty that has so far been won for women is used by them to get more pleasure, more amusement into their life. The ideals held up before them are poor and unsatisfactory. Submission and obedience have long been preached to them as the virtues they should cultivate, and they have revolted against these. The Christian ideal has been lowered by giving these qualities most useful, under certain circumstances, a place amongst the highest virtues. The great Christian virtues, love, hope, faith, are active and must be realized in service.

What are we asking for? The recognition of the right of each woman to give her best, and in order that she may be able to give it, a life full and free enough to enable her to realize it; we ask that she should be as free to give work as to give pleasure, as free to take up new duties as to seek new amusements. There is much experimenting needed, much thinking to be done, before it will be clear what, under conditions of perfect liberty, the full contribution of women to the common life will be. Liberty is

not easy ; it is shackles that simplify life. When we are told on all sides where not to go we can walk straight on. But new ways are needed, new paths have to be found, and as they are found new adjustments will have to be made, new difficulties to be faced. The ideal must be the life of service, but the best form of service may not be clear, and meanwhile the issue is confused and blurred by struggle and conflict. The way in which some try to win liberty, makes others inclined to shrink back and long to keep things as they are. What are we to do ? We need enthusiasm and we need patience ; enthusiasm in our love for others which shall make us long to give ourselves, and because we wish to give ourselves, to make those selves worth giving ; patience which will lead us to do all the work that is open to us now as well as we can, even while we wait for the recognition which will make a fuller service possible. We need to be very careful to keep away bitterness, the bitterness which comes when what we are convinced to be justice is denied ; when it is denied in a way that seems to us an offence, that seems to imply contempt. This is not a question of class or even of sex. It is a question of our common humanity. It is not for themselves that women ask for liberty to be their best selves, to give their best service. They ask it for the sake of home and state and church. But as we ask, we need to remind ourselves that perhaps our first task is to bring society as a whole to see what we mean. We have to gain the help of society as a whole to give us a new and higher ideal of true womanliness. Self-assertion, impatience, false tactics must harm both us and the cause for which we care. They have already done it cruel injury. But the mistakes, even the wrongdoing of others, must not diminish our zeal nay, they must rather increase it. We must learn that hard lesson to combine enthusiasm, pertinacity, and perseverance with moderation. Let us show that devotion, that patient enthusiasm, that untiring determination to do good work for church and state wherever we may, which must in the end convince even the most unwilling, and remove all the obstacles in the way of our rendering to church and state the fullest service which it is in our power to give.

HOW THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT MAY HELP THE CAUSE OF RELIGION.

THE REV. WILLIAM TEMPLE, M.A.

Head Master of Repton.

MY LORD BISHOP, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The question which is occupying us to-night is quite undoubtedly the profoundest question and the most far-reaching in its ramifications of any that now confronts European civilization ; that is why those who oppose this Movement do well to be in earnest about it, and that is why we who support this Movement also do well to be in earnest about it and take the most serious thought we can concerning its bearings upon our whole life. In one sense it is not new as a problem. The supreme intellects of the old world were confronted with it. Plato found himself in his ideal Republic recommending that men and women should be identically educated and have identical pursuits except in so far as purely physical differences led to a diversity of activity. And Aristotle, of course, had to comment upon this. Plato had drawn the analogy of other animals showing that we did not use this differentiation of sex in our use of them, and Aristotle said it is monstrous to argue from the other animals, "for they have no home life and this is woman's sphere." That is Aristotle ; and that was three hundred years B.C. and more, and we are still in the same place. And yet look at the great heroines of literature ; who are they ? Is there any heroine in ancient Greece to equal Antigone ? But her heroic qualities are those usually regarded as belonging to man—independence, strength of purpose, power to stand alone. In modern literature, the moment that Nora (I think her name is) went out of that Doll's House, the moment when Clara Middleton fled in the wild weather from Patterne Hall, are epoch moments

in the literary presentation of women. We know that the situation in Jane Austen has gone, not to return. We want to know what difference this has made and what difference it is likely to make. It is the emancipation of half the world. That cannot leave things unaffected, and here to-night we are meeting to consider specially the religious aspect of this Movement. And so in closing we come back to ask what is its bearing upon religion, as we started by asking what is religion's bearing upon it; for it must affect religion.

Let us look at the very inner life of religion itself. It has two main sides to it, and first is worship. Now it is the duty of all men to worship God, but I suppose we shall not dispute that undoubtedly, as has been proved over and over again, and by the continuous experience of the Church, women have a greater initial facility for worship than men. It comes to them more easily; and because of the position which women have occupied in society, this, the very life blood of religion, has come to be regarded in many quarters as something beneath the dignity of man. For men do tend to despise worship and all forms of churchgoing: we remember Clough's satire:

"And the great World, it chanced, came by that way
And said
His wife and daughter must have where to pray
And whom to pray to, at the least one day
In seven, and something sensible to say."

But when it is claimed for women that they with all that they specifically and especially stand for are on the same level with men and all that they specifically stand for, then it will be seen that the great part of religion which comes most easily to women is not something which men can afford to despise. The Women's Movement, I believe, will raise worship to a new place in the life of the whole Church by teaching men to revere something which women most easily do. It will make worship what it ought to be—the climax and inspiration of life.

Again in the inner life of religion we are concerned with our thought about God, and in every age popular religion conceives of God on the analogy more or less of its own political government. That can be traced, but this is

not the time to trace it. It is so. People generally—apart from the few specialists in theology—think of the governing power in the world more or less as they find the governing power in their own country. The raising of woman to an equality with man will, therefore, of necessity involve this in popular thought about God, the raising of those qualities in which women are most easily conspicuous to a level with those in which men are most easily conspicuous. Spiritual life as we know it is divided into sexes, but there is no reason, so far as we know, for supposing that those graces which are most naturally characteristic of men are in any fuller sense a revelation of God than those which are most naturally characteristic of women; and we know that in the course of human religion much that is most fervent in the old world consisted in the devotion to the old Earth-Goddess. We know that within Christianity itself much that is strongest and most beautiful in the devotional life of the largest section of the Church draws its life from the veneration of the Madonna. We must not turn our backs upon these things. There is something here which women can give us in our thoughts about the Divine, and about the relation of man with the Eternal which cannot come from elsewhere, and the rise of women to full equality with men in our ordinary political and civic life will assist that process in our thought about God. When Isaiah wanted an image for the gentleness of God, it was from woman he took it. "Can a woman forget her sucking child? Yea, They may forget. Yet will I not forget thee."

Or, again, we worship through the Spirit of Christ, a God revealed as One who declareth His Almighty power most chiefly in showing mercy and pity. I wonder if it is true, as I am inclined to think, that on the whole men find it easier to be merciful, while women find it easier to be pitiful? I mean this, that, broadly speaking, is it not true that men are more lenient to guilt, while women are more tender to pain? And may it not very well be true of our somewhat sentimentalised religion that we have thought of God as being much more lenient than He is towards guilt but much less concerned than He really is with the world's pain? I think that may be so and may explain part of our

profound religious indifference to the sufferings of a large section of our fellow Christians and fellow citizens. But if so, then here again is another element, revealed by Christ as a quality of God, which we have allowed to sink somewhat into the background, and which will be restored to its true place and province when women are fulfilling their whole function in the nation and in the Church.

I believe, then, that this Women's Movement will enrich the inner life of religion and through doing that of course it will strengthen the expression of religion in practice ; but it will not only strengthen it ; it will here also, I think, give a new emphasis and a new guidance.

I suppose again that it is true, is it not ? that men tend rather to think always in large generalisations when they think at all, which is not frequent, whereas the peculiar and natural gift of women is in direct intuition and spontaneous sympathy in understanding the individual. Now is it not true that we find breaking out over and over again in our schemes for social reform, even when they rest on a religious basis, a willingness to sacrifice the individual which cannot be the will of God ? Is not it the case, I appeal to the men who are present, that over and over again we find ourselves almost daily giving up a large section of individuals and saying we must leave them to go under ? And against all that the influence of women will be a perpetual and continuous protest, and a protest most immensely needed.

One other thing most vital to our welfare and to the welfare of the whole life of the Church, which in our thought cannot be separated from the life of the nation, must be mentioned. The Women's Movement, precisely in the degree in which it is successful, will secure a recognition from all citizens of the sanctity of children and the quite unique and supreme importance of education. We know it is true that children are peculiarly holy ; yet we do not believe it, that is, we do not act upon it. We know it is true that the whole future depends upon education, and yet it cannot be said that in our public activities as a nation we very commonly put education in the front place. It cannot be said that the organization of our educational system and our care for it occupies anything like that

place in our public life which should belong to it when we consider its importance to the nation. Here is something which most undoubtedly women will do for us ; and I cannot help thinking that there is something which to the Englishmen of two hundred years hence will be supremely ridiculous in the spectacle of a large number of men trying all by themselves and without the help of women to determine what is the best method of imparting religious faith and knowledge to little children. The only people who have any success in doing it are not consulted. And so here again, we shall find a new balance, a new emphasis, a new guidance given by the success of the Women's Movement in the training of the future citizens alike of the nation and the Church.

But everything depends upon the motive with which the thing is approached. This is the most annoying thing in the world to say, but it is true none the less. We may get a very long way by mere enthusiasm whatever our motive, but we shall never reach the goal unless the motive is pure. It hardly needs to be said, and yet at the conclusion of these meetings to-day it should be said.

May I sum up the impression of these meetings somewhat in this way ? Daughters of the new era, claim your share in the world's movement, not only for the removal of your own disabilities, but rather for the privilege of offering the fullest service of which you are capable. Claim your share in the general life of men, not for the gratification of ambition, but for the spiritual enrichment of mankind. Claim your share in the moulding of the world's destiny, not for your own pride but for God's glory. For if it be so, then as your forerunners in the sacred story ministered in love to Christ's humiliation, so in the great days that are surely coming when He shall be exalted in all our life, private, civic, national and universal, as manifest Lord and King, you may minister the more abundantly to His glory.

APPENDIX.

LETTER FROM THE ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY.

LAMBETH PALACE, S.E.

18th June, 1912.

DEAR MRS. CREIGHTON,—

I am much interested in the meeting over which you preside to-morrow "to consider the Religious Aspect of the Women's Movement."

From communications which reach me I gather that the purpose of the meeting, owing perhaps to what I cannot help regarding as the rather unfortunately limited choice of speakers, has been largely misunderstood. I hope I am right in believing that the purpose of these meetings—in part at least—is this: To get people's minds away from dwelling unduly upon the single controversy about the Parliamentary Franchise, which is occupying so disproportionate a share of public attention, and to show that the present-day questions as to the position which women should hold in our common Christian life range far more widely across the field of our common responsibilities—moral, religious, social, economic, and educational—and that people in general ought to be reminded of this by those who have thought most deeply on the subject. To circumscribe these questions within the ring-fence of the Suffrage controversy would be as false in principle as it would be inaccurate in fact. Among all kinds of political thinkers, both men and women, both suffragists and anti-suffragists, are to be found those who care intensely for the religious aspect of the Women's Movement, and your meetings will, I hope, do something to raise the whole level of our common thought and effort with regard to a matter which is of

obvious and vital importance to the England of to-day. I realize that your special endeavour on this occasion is to bring these larger considerations home to those who have become absorbed in the Suffrage discussions, but the words spoken by yourself and others will ultimately reach a much larger circle, and I look forward hopefully to the result.

Beyond question, the changes which have, by common consent, come about respecting the place of women and of womanhood in our country's life call for a far-reaching reconsideration or re-statement of certain old-world phrases and formulæ, which have become perforce inapplicable to the facts of to-day. But this reaction has elements of great peril. It needs careful watching and safeguarding by thoughtful men and women, and in my judgment there is nothing which will more forcibly tend to the right resetting of our facts than a quiet re-consideration of them in their religious aspect. If certain phrases and even modes of thought belong distinctively to the past, the religious truths which underlie the whole question are unchanged, and it is to these, as I hope, that attention will be directed in the Queen's Hall to-morrow. Once see clearly what is the Christian message as to women and womanhood, and what the Christian Faith as such has done and is doing to make that message tell, and these whole discussions will range upon a higher plane, and the larger and smaller questions will take their true proportions.

For that reason I rejoice that such a meeting should be held, and, if I have rightly understood its purpose, I very cordially wish it God-speed. I am,

Yours very truly,

RANDALL CANTUAR.

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NOTES OF ADDRESSES

GIVEN AT

St. Mary the Virgin, Soho,

BY

LONDON :
THE BOTOLPH PRINTING WORKS,
8, GATE STREET, KINGSWAY, W.C.

The Rev. H. M. Ward,

On APRIL 4th, 1914,

At a LENTEN RETREAT.

(Arranged by the Church League for Women's Suffrage.)

THE CROWN OF WOMANHOOD.

I.

"Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women."—St. Luke i, 28.

THE mystery of the Incarnation—the mystery! Not something that cannot be understood—that is not the meaning of the word mystery. A secret, rather, hidden for the present, that in due time it may be revealed. "By the mystery of Thy Holy Incarnation, good Lord, deliver us." The Incarnation of the Son of God was not different in kind from the ordinary lot of motherhood; not different in kind, I say; but certainly different in method. The ordinary lot of motherhood is by the indirect will of God; that is to say, God gives to His children the power to give life; it comes from Him. All life is of the Holy Ghost; He gives it as a permanent abiding possession. The Incarnation was wrought by the direct will of God; the direct will of God that, nevertheless, was conditioned by the will of her whom we call "the Blessed Virgin Mary." To her was given an honour so deep as to be almost beyond believing; to her it was given to will that the world should be saved at that time and in that way. Had she refused, God's purpose must have been altered and postponed.

The subject I have chosen to speak to you upon this afternoon I have called 'The Crown of Womanhood.' What is the crown? What does "the crown of womanhood" mean? We use the phrase "crown" to mean perfection; the crown means that which perfects. When the king puts on his crown it is the completion of his royal robes, and stands for his sovereignty. It does not mean his sovereignty is incomplete if he does not wear it, but it is the symbol. What is the crown of womanhood? That which completes and reveals the completion. Womanhood implies sex. There is something in her which marks her off—that is the capacity for motherhood. At the beginning I would put before you the thought of the crown of womanhood as three jewels: the amethyst, the diamond, and the ruby—motherhood, womanliness, Christlikeness, if I may coin the word. Which shall come first? I have chosen to put motherhood first, because motherhood is in the natural order. There lies behind and beyond a greater thing—womanliness; and then, after the

human order, and last, as the climax of our meditation to-day, Christlikeness ; for this is in the divine order.

Motherhood, then—the amethyst, a very beautiful stone. In it there is the blue of the sky, the blue sea beneath reflecting the brightness of the sky above ; in it is the brightness of the Spring flowers, and in it a fair woman's eyes. The amethyst shall stand, then, as the type of motherhood. What is there in motherhood ? Surely there must be the depth as of the sea. Who can know the depth of a mother's love save a mother ? There must be the width of the sky—wide enough to embrace all whom God and her own will have given to her in the sacred relation of motherhood. In it will be the tenderness of the flower ; for who like a mother can tend the little children in their helpless need ? In it will be the beauty of a fair woman's eyes ; and all are revealed in motherhood. "But," you say, "he has sketched an ideal almost too great for realization." We must have our eyes fixed on the ideal ; it is the ideal I am here to speak of. Alas, we all fall far below the ideal ; but it will not do for us to drag down the ideal because the practice is far below. We must lift ourselves to the things that are above if we are to attain anywhere near the ideal. But motherhood is still in the natural order ; it is the accomplishment of sex ; it is the very fruition of a woman's vision. But it is only for life, and only for time. I do not mean to say that in the Spirit World beyond there shall be no knowledge of the sex relation of mother and child ; but I mean that it is one of God's ordinances which is to do with this life, this time. At its best it is the crown of womanhood in the natural order. I know as one turns one's eyes from the ideal to what, alas, is sometimes the actual—I know, that what is, at its best, so holy, may be at its worst the desecration of sex—motherhood that bears and then neglects, and even ill-treats the children of her womb. But what does it reveal at its best ? Think of the patience and love ! There is the patience that waits, that cares, that provides for the life that is not yet come, but is coming. Then there is the love that grows while waiting, that grows and grows, and then suffers—suffers in the bearing, and sometimes dies that it may give life. My sisters, the marvellous mother's patience and mother's love are things almost beyond our believing if we did not see them so continually ; gifts which God has put into your heart. To you He gives it to be life-givers with Himself. If there were not something greater beyond, I might say it is the greatest gift that man might imagine. And the patience and love do not cease when the new-born life has passed its first stage ; if possible, they grow greater. Think of the patience which nurtured us year after

year ; so content to spend the best years of its life in the little daily trifles for little babies growing into little children. Think of all that motherhood involves ! Broken nights, perhaps for months, or even years, when all the woman's weary nature cries aloud for rest. The mother tends with infinite patience and love, and not only gives, but with the utmost willingness. And later the patience often has to bear with the ingratitude of the child who takes it all for granted. Years pass before the child even thinks of all the mother has given up for his sake, and it is not always that the child is touched with the mother's love. Sometimes children grow up from being ungrateful in childhood to be more ungrateful in youth, yet her patience and love fail not. Grave faults come into the child's life, but the mother does not cease to pray for him, and to show him the right way. The mother's love and care go on all the same, all through life, training and teaching in earthly and heavenly things, living in and for her children—such is the mother's lot. It has failures and disappointments, and is not always rewarded ; yet the patience and love never fail. How can she do it ? There is only one answer, it is the power of the Holy Ghost within her, the inspiration of Him who breathed on Mary that first Lady Day that she might become the mother of the Son of God. And that same power is the mother's to-day. She was inspired, and you may have the same inspiration that she had. And not only you may, but you must, if you are to realize your crown of womanhood in motherhood. You do not always know how great a power is yours for the seeking. If you realized it always, it is the greatest thing that life can give you—the power of a good woman to shape and mould the characters of those who will be men and women twenty years hence. See how Mary, the type of her sex, shows this patience. She waits for God's vindication of her. The things that are most dear to every woman—her name and character—are made light of, and it must be so. And she is content to wait patiently, and accept whatever of ill-repute is hers, till that far-off day when God will vindicate her character. Were there not patience, humility, and resignation there ? In the face of the honour so stupendous, which comes in such strange guise, it must have tested her to the utmost ; she met it with patience and resignation. Only Abraham's answer of faith, as he went up Mount Moriah to sacrifice his son, can be compared to it. There was also love. Love is always most manifest in sorrow ; the greater the love, the greater the sorrow ; and to Mary, as there was no sorrow greater than hers, so be sure there can have been no love so great as hers. Therefore, because she

shows to us this example, we raise her rightly to the highest pinnacle of reverence and praise. We do not worship her—we keep our worship for her Divine Son—but we give her the honour, praise, and reverence which are short of worship, and we can gain from her example, by the grace of God, something of her qualities: to obey, to accept the Divine Will, to love with patience that knows no failure. Every mother who shows qualities like hers has a right, and justly so, to the same title of “Blessed.” Blessed is she in her children; blessed is she in her example. If God has called you, or if He shall call you to this high dignity, and this high privilege of motherhood, I pray you seek to be worthy of it, by following the example of her whom the generations call “Blessed,” that you may be fit to wear the jewel—the amethyst—as the crown of your womanhood.

II.

“Strength and honour *are* her clothing; and she shall rejoice in time to come.”

“She openeth her mouth with wisdom; and in her tongue *is* the law of kindness.”—Proverbs xxxi. 25, 26.

If you look carefully at the text, it may have occurred to you that it is cast in an Eastern dress—that description in Proverbs; and it is a sublime conception, such as perhaps only the Eastern mind could have conceived.

I have chosen for our second meditation ‘Womanliness.’ There is a natural order, but it is not the highest—the law of nature goes down even to the animals and the things which God has made. The human order stands higher than the natural—it concerns man: and womanliness stands on a higher level than motherhood. There is something higher still, and that is the divine order, and later we shall find the climax in the divine order. But now see the second jewel in the crown. Many women are barred from motherhood by the will of God: it may be God’s will manifest in their bodies, or in the circumstances of their lives; it may often be by their own will; they have not found the one for whom they care sufficiently, to choose him for a partner; or he whom they would choose may be barred from them. To those to whom motherhood is impossible there is a stone of still greater value—there is the diamond. Their womanhood is not to be frustrated because circumstances, or the Will of God, or their own will have barred them from the first glorious crown of motherhood. There is still something at which they may aim. The diamond should be their crown—it means womanliness: not womanishness. How different, though the words are so much alike! Womanliness—that

which is in the likeness of woman. We understand it as one of the highest qualities of praise we can give. Think of the diamond! The beauty of the stone, cut into various facets; how it flashes light! Even in a dark room it seems like a point of light. Not only does it catch back every gleam of light, but breaks it into its component parts. As you look at its beauty and perfect whiteness, you realize that, though it seems one simple colour—white—it is a compound of three colours: the red of love, the blue of truth, the yellow of loyalty. And the red and the blue and the yellow (love and truth and loyalty) are blent together into a perfect whiteness, and we call it womanliness. It is greater than motherhood. Does it seem a strange thing to say after all I have said about motherhood? It is not to cast the slightest slur on motherhood, but it includes it and something more, and the greater must be higher than the less. The human order must be higher than the natural; it includes the natural, but carries it further still. Man is animal on one side, but touches God on the other. If you should be barred from the lower crown—you who are not mothers, who know that you cannot hope that God should call you to that honourable estate—do not say, “My life is vain, barren; I have nothing to hope for.” God forbid! You should seek fruition in the higher, in the human order. And if to some of you God has granted the lower crown, seek for the higher one also. The true mother will display all true womanliness; she who is the example of true motherhood is true woman also. We trace the development of her character, and we realize that she was just as true a woman as she was a mother. All mothers do not realize the greatness of their vocation—do not realize and attain to that development of character which might have been theirs; so too, as women, they do not realize what God has meant by womanliness for themselves. If we can see a little more clearly and fully what womanliness involves, and how to gain something of the grace of true womanliness, is it not good? It is not easy to pick out the qualities that are distinctive of womanliness. Doubtless there are others, but I have put down three, and I have combined these with their vocations. Womanliness is connoted by gentleness, tenderness, and purity. The gentleness of the teacher of a little child, the tenderness of those called to nurse the sick and suffering, and the purity of those whose lives are devoted to God and religion. It may occur to you that it is rather strange that a quality like strength should be put by this writer at the head of qualities of womanliness. We are used to thinking of women as weak, but the writer does not put it so. Is there not, indeed, a

tenderness of strength greater than the tenderness of weakness ? I suppose that when you do find a really tender man, I fancy his tenderness would be greater than the tenderness of a woman by the very reason of his strength. So then the tenderness of strength is greater than the tenderness of weakness ; it is something to be sought for. The tenderness of the nurse :—

“ O woman, in our hours of ease,
Uncertain, coy, and hard to please ;
When pain and anguish wring the brow,
A ministering angel thou ! ”—SCOTT.

Words that go to the very foundation of a woman's nature. Is it not a fit symbol of what, under all circumstances, a true woman should display ? Roughness, hardness, are not pleasant in a man, but we abhor them in a woman. We look, and expect to see tenderness in a woman. But it is not a quality that it is always easy to display. There are times when the emotions are stirred, and it is easy to show tenderness ; but there are times, in the strain and stress of life, without number, when it is not easy to show it ; when haste and impatience are apt to banish it. It is at times like these, when it is the test of character, that we should watch and guard it. But beside strength the text places honour—not the honour that is self-sought, which only springs from vanity, and is not worth the having, but the reverence that is always accorded to the true woman because of her purity and self-effacement. Of course, there are women who have natural capacities and qualities which attract admiration, and they must be a terrible temptation. But this is not honour, it is not a true quality. Why ? Because it springs from vanity and self-seeking, and nothing that springs from such is worth a true woman's having. Admiration which comes to the woman who lays herself out to get it is not worthy of a true woman. Honour which comes because of purity and self-effacement are the qualities which mark true womanliness. It is not in flattery, admiration, beauty, and wit that true honour consists. People may admire the wit, and laugh, they may be attracted, and be burnt, like the moth, at the candle of beauty ; but it is not these that necessarily win for them honour. Purity and self-effacement—these are woven into the honour which is her clothing. Honour shall be found in humility, purity, and self-forgetfulness. Humility—how wonderfully does Mary show us the example. There is nothing can ever justify any man or woman in uplifting himself or herself ; whatever we have is of God—it is His gift. Is it beauty ? It may be the outward revelation of the soul within, but it is not

always so. Is it wit ? It may show forth wisdom, or it may show cruelty. But humility brings us nearer to God. And the purity—you know that is the one thing beyond and above all others which makes the true woman. You keep that word, “ a woman's honour,” to mean one particular thing. God has given you that sublime gift, that through that which makes your sex, you shall hand on new life, therefore, beyond all other qualities of womanhood, stands out that of utter purity as the ideal of your sex. And self-effacement—it is part of the true woman's character not to push herself forward, not to seek for her own. Self-effacement—not to seek for yourself ; not seeking for the things self desires or wants, not demanding what *you* wish rather than others. He adds two more qualities—wisdom and kindness. We expect her to speak kindly ; but what about wisdom, and how are kindness and wisdom to be joined ? We are bidden to seek two qualities which seem very, very different. How often we make that false antithesis between wisdom and kindness ! There is no antithesis between them ; true wisdom will be kindly, and true kindness will seek to be wise, but they are hard to combine. It is easier to show kindness when we know the things we say are not quite wise ; it is easier to say wise things without much kindness and sympathy. They are not easy to combine. Wisdom may be very harsh and cold, and kindliness may be very sweet and complaisant, but it may not always be quite pure. How to combine them both ? We want them to go side by side in true union. It is this harmony which makes up true womanliness, and we find it sometimes, thank God.

We go to her for counsel, and she never fails us, because, if she cannot answer us at once, she says, “ Wait till I seek guidance in prayer, and I will tell you what God tells me.” And there is the kindness which feels for our difficulties, and which gives the word of counsel and advice. But it is rather a strange phrase to write, “ clothed with strength and honour.” Had he the same thing in his mind as St. Paul ? I think perhaps he had ; not the vain decoration of the body, which is a mockery, unless those qualities are behind it. Seek the inward graces. We do not appreciate our friend because she wears her clothing with a good grace, but because she is good, and we can rely on her discretion and wisdom and friendship. So it would be right to say that such an one is clothed with strength and honour. Yet I am sure the writer had in his mind another text in the Old Testament. Who is “ clothed with majesty and honour ” ? It is God. The clothing which we should seek—strength and honour—is the clothing which

comes from Him. And how shall you gain the strength which is tender, and the honour that comes from humility, and the lovingkindness which is wise ? It is easy to put them before you as something to aim at, but the difficulty is to attain them. How can you gain the strength which is tender ? Who is there strong and tender like Christ ? How shall you gain the honour which comes from humility ? Who was it who "being rich, became poor," who "humbled Himself unto death, even the death of the Cross," and was born in the form of man ? He it is Who in Himself is lovingkindness and wisdom. How shall you win the diamond for the crown ? Remember the parts : red for love ; blue for truth ; yellow for loyalty. Love, without which womanliness cannot be complete ; truth, which is sincerity, without which nothing is good in man or woman ; and loyalty, without which nothing is abiding. Whence shall you gain these qualities which are divine ? Women ! learn to gain Love from Him Whose Name is Love ; the Truth from Him who is very Truth itself, and loyalty from the Spirit of God whose function is "not to speak of Himself," but to receive the things of God that He may reveal them to men.

III.

"Yea rather, blessed *are* they that hear the word of God, and keep it."
—St. Luke xi. 28.

Rather than what ? It was a woman who said it. She had said "Blessed *is* the womb that bare thee, and the paps which thou hast sucked," and Christ said, "Yea, rather, blessed *are* they that hear the word of God, and keep it." Was she not blessed, that holy mother of whom I was speaking, she who is the very type of motherhood ? Yea, truly blessed. And yet greater than any crown of motherhood—even hers—is to hear the word of God and to keep it. What does that mean ? Just, the one word to which we have now come, Christlikeness. It is to express in one sentence the whole of Christ's life—"I come to do Thy will, O God." He took it from the Old Testament, and claimed it for Himself ; and truly His whole life was that of setting forth the Will and the Word of God, and there is no greater blessing than that : to hear the Word of God, and do it. The amethyst, the jewel of motherhood, may be yours, or it may not ; the diamond, the jewel of womanliness, can be yours if you will have it ; but if so, the ruby must be yours also—the ruby of Christlikeness. There can be no true womanliness apart from Christlikeness. I do not mean to say that in heathen lands and times, there have never been any who

may be said to have the true character of womanliness ; but I do say that in Christian lands it is impossible for true womanliness to exist apart from Christlikeness. It is the absence of Christlikeness which degrades womanhood.

A missionary once told me he found the Zulu women almost hopeless. I asked him, "Why, what is the cause ?" He said the native customs and practices. I asked him why the men allowed it, and he said they did not mind. And yet the men were not so degraded as the women ; the practices degraded the women more than the men. It was once my lot to work in a district where I perceived that the standard of womanhood was a great deal lower than in many places. I realized that it was impossible to raise the whole standard until the women became better. Thank God, in the course of time there was an improvement. The degradation of womanhood springs from the absence of Christlikeness. You may say how can a man be the type of the crown of womanhood ? If it were *a* man, the objection would be real and true ; but we cannot say *a* man. Christ is *the* Man, the type and representative of the whole of humanity. He does not stand only for what we call the male sex, but he stands for the feminine graces. He stands for the power and glory of manhood, but, seen in Christ, they are greater than in the best of men. He stands for the type of perfect humanity—perfect womanhood as much as manhood.

Why have I chosen the ruby ? It is red, the colour of blood, the colour of the heart, the colour of love. Do you remember how St. John, the same disciple who at times sees with eagle eye and glowing glance into the depths of heaven, at other times seems to reveal in the simplest expression the nature of God as love ? In his Epistle how he brings out that truth, "God is love." Again and again comes a phrase of that kind in his Epistle. It was not only that he taught the love of God, but he practised it. There is a beautiful story of him when, as Bishop of Ephesus, he entrusted the care of the Church to one whom he had consecrated bishop. He came back after an absence, and inquired for a certain person whom he missed. He was told he had deserted Ephesus, and had become the captain of a robber band. The aged saint said, "I must find him." They told him it was foolish to run the risk of being killed, but he set off. He found the robber band, and the fierce captain turned and fled. As quickly as he could the saint followed, and called him to return, and he won him back by his example of a love which never failed. He practised and preached alike the sublime lesson that God is love. Now,

what is the key-note of Christ's revelation of God? (We are to know God in Jesus Christ.) It is love. It is the only word that covers it, but it covers it utterly. Love that moved Him to come from heaven to a lost world; to come in utter humility, to leave His life of glory in heaven to preach to a nation that crucified their King; that moved Him to abide on the Cross till all the burden of men's sins fell upon His heart. Love is the revelation of God in Christ. And you—you have to gain that characteristic—Christlikeness, and not only to gain it, but you have to show it forth. He came to show forth God to man, and we have to do exactly the same.

At the end of the second address I left you at that point; it is love and truth and loyalty that you need to gain true womanliness. Love must come from God the Father, truth from God the Son, loyalty from God the Holy Ghost. There is all the crown of your womanliness. How shall you find it? how gain it? how put the diamond in your crown? You must find it in Christ. Will you come to Christ to put the jewel in your crown? You must use the necessary ways, Bible reading, prayer, the sacraments, meditation. The ways of religion are the only ways in which you can come to Him to gain the diamond for your crown; you must seek Him with your whole heart. It is only by earnest effort and continual striving that you can gain it. But what are the works of Christlikeness by which His servants can be known? What are the characteristics which you must show forth? Sometimes in bygone ages they said that the saints, by long meditation upon Christ in His sufferings, received what they called "the Stigmata." It meant that in their hands and feet came marks like the very wounds of Christ. No doubt in an age which had not the knowledge of modern science, these things could be exaggerated, but I think that even in these days such a thing might happen. I do not say we ought to desire it; there are, perhaps, better marks by which the servants of Christ may be known. To have the sympathy of Christ, to have the selflessness and devotion of Christ, would be better than to have the Stigmata. Travellers tell us that among the monks of Mount Athos sometimes there are found men who, by earnest meditation and fasting and prayers, have attained to the "Beatific Vision," in which they have seen God. What it exactly consists in, seems not quite clear, save that, in some sort of trance, they have seen a vision of Christ; and further, they tell us that when a man has once seen the "Beatific Vision," though he comes back to earthly

things, the world is never the same again. Ever and ever in the things which are seen, through a golden mist, there seems to be the vision of God present in everything and at every moment. Oh, that such might be ours! Oh, that we might attain to the Beatific Vision! And in some sense it may come. Not possibly in quite the same sense; we may not see the Vision as the eye of the body sees; but to see Christ by the eye of faith is possible to any one who desires it earnestly enough. This is not beyond the reach of any, but the one qualification for it is this: you must want it with all your heart. The things we really want we can get. Desire with all your heart to have the Vision of Christ, and the Vision of Christ you shall obtain. Truly "blessed," if only we, by meditation, might see Him.

The sympathy of Christ! How He felt in every way with the people He came across. See Him at the well of Samaria; look at the poor woman, the outcast of the town, who could not come till the evening because of what the other women said. Christ knew it all, but how gently He dealt with her, feeling the way till He got her acknowledgment of her sin. And then instantly He points the moral. It is the feeling of her sin that is keeping her back; she must part with her sin. Or the woman in Simon's house: Simon would not believe that He knew what she was, or He would not have permitted her to lay a finger upon Him. He had sympathy, and that sympathy brought them back from their sins. Or was it the woman taken in open sin at the Temple? They were not able to condemn her, and when no man could condemn her, neither did He. It is not that He makes light of sin, "Go, and sin no more." He has sympathy with the sinner, but no word strong enough to condemn the sin. Or is it Peter walking upon the sea with that touch of arrogance that marks him? He fails, and Christ feels with him, and help is at hand. But He only speaks a word of gentle rebuke. Or is it Peter fallen into deeper sin, denying Him thrice with cursing? It is no bitter reproach that Christ hurls at him, but a look of infinitely tender love. Sympathy is there; He knows the temptation, and Peter's weakness. Or is it Nathaniel, the simple Israelite, whom Christ saw under the fig-tree? It is wonderful, the sympathy with which Christ enters into all around. Or is it the rich ruler? He has everything that wealth can give, and Christ calls him to give it all up. And he cannot. He is very sorry, he wants to follow Christ, but he does not want with all his heart—not yet. Cannot you fancy his looking back, hoping that Christ will give him a test less severe? Christ loved him, and I am sure in the end Christ brought him

back. It is just that one thing that gives the greatest power of helping anybody—the power of putting yourself in another's place, and thinking what they think, and seeing what they see ; never losing your own standpoint, but able always to feel what they feel. Just like all other gifts, it comes of God. You need it to understand others. Forgive me if I say it is your greatest need ; to put yourself into the place of another, to feel what he or she feels, to understand what he or she is thinking.

Then the selflessness of Christ ! It is the very opposite of selfishness, which is the very root of all sin. Selflessness—how Christ shows it forth ! Self never entered into account at all ; it is the Father's will, the Father's glory He always seeks. His Father's work has to be done ; that is the only thing that matters. The men were hungry—He has been hungry too ; His disciples want rest—Christ remains to calm the passions of the multitude, and to send them quietly home, and the disciples are sent away. Or He goes out into Gethsemane, and the soldiers come to take Him ; Peter uses the sword, and by attacking a representative of the Roman Cæsar he has made himself liable to the penalty of death. Christ heals the man. They all fly and leave Him. It is never Himself. On the Cross He thinks of His mother's loneliness when He is gone, thinks of St. John, and gives them to one another. He thinks of the dying thief—he needs pardon ; He thinks of the sins of men, and makes His cry to God for them before comes the human cry for Himself. Self comes ever last with Him. And it is just the characteristic of selflessness that we do admire always. Men have sometimes wondered why a certain born leader of men can get volunteers, enough and to spare, many times over, for any forlorn hope which he is about to lead through the deserts of the Sahara, or across the wind-swept plateau of the Antarctic Pole, and one who knew him gave the explanation thus : " No one ever knows whether he is hungry when the rations are running short, or tired in the long tramp over the Polar snows, or thirsty in the burning heat of the Sahara ; but he never forgets whether his followers are tired or hungry, hot or cold ; they know he will know and care to the uttermost that is possible for their needs, and for such an one men will lay down their lives with a smile and a jest ; such a leader they will follow down to Gehenna, or up to the throne."

And then, Oh, last and best, the devotion of Christ ; I mean His devotion to God. He Who was God from all eternity, having put on human nature, in that human nature

prays to God. He tarried behind when He was twelve years old that He might learn of God ; He spent hours snatched, after long days of healing and teaching, in prayer on lonely mountain tops. Think of His agony in the garden when His whole Soul was poured out in prayer to God to gain the resignation by which His Sacrifice was made perfect. Would you have these qualities ? Then must you follow Him to Jerusalem that you may learn of God ; then must you follow Him to the mountain-top for communion with God ; then must you follow Him to the Garden of Gethsemane. Yes, you too must have your Garden of Gethsemane, and you *will* have it, be sure of that, if you follow His steps—those moments when it seems like plucking out your heart to offer it to Him ; when the sweat of blood bedews your forehead because you have to say, " Thy will be done." And it is only by toil and sweat that you can say it to the uttermost. And when it comes to you—your Garden of Gethsemane—know by this token that you have found the ruby of your crown.

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EXTRACTS FROM
MAY MISSION SPEECHES

Delivered in London,
BY
A. MAUDE ROYDEN,
Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.

Caxton Hall, Westminster, May 11, 1910.

The Church and Women's Suffrage.

In addressing members of the Church League—and I shall assume to-day that most, at least, of my hearers are both Church people and suffragists—I am forcibly reminded of the fact that I have never heard such hard things said of the Church to which we belong, as at meetings of the Church League. And I cannot help asking myself, when I hear these accusations, against whom are we bringing them? The Church? What is the Church? It is not made up only or chiefly of bishops. We are the Church—we here, ordinary men and women—and if the Church lacks spirituality, and lacks insight into the meaning of the great movement we are here to advance, is it not our fault? Have we not lacked spirituality? Have we not lacked faith?

The Real Enemy.

The forces opposed to suffragists are largely such as can only be conquered by faith and prayer. They are forces, not of reasoned opposition, but of prejudice and of moral baseness. It is useless to reason with prejudice; it is worse than useless to reason with moral corruption. For among our opponents there are some, at least, to whom the reasons we advance for the enfranchisement of women are precisely the reasons for which they refuse it. To such, it is useless to point out that political freedom will make women less cheap in the labour market; they desire that women should be cheap. It is useless to show what women have done

elsewhere to abolish venal vice; they do not desire to have it abolished. It is useless to assert that women will not tolerate the "double standard" of morality upheld by our divorce laws: they prefer the double standard of morality.

Cowardice.

I do not propose to labour this point now. It was dealt with most ably by another speaker last night. I want to speak now, not of the brutal selfishness of men, but of the brutalising cowardice of women. There is in the hearts of many of our opponents a fear which seems to me to disfigure and to degrade our humanity. I have heard such women speak of men with a bitterness and a contempt which I thank God I have never heard any suffragist use; and when I marvelled that with all this horror and terror of masculine cruelty, there should still be no willingness to arm women at least with the protection of political power, I found that in fact this seemed to them to be no protection at all. There was *no* protection—there could be none—but the weapon of sex. Against the brutality of men, the sex-charm of women! To ask for the vote would only be to arouse the half-slumbering hostility of the former, and at the same time to detract from the power of the latter. What a ghastly picture! Surely it is a profanity against God and against our fellow-men to conceive of humanity in such terms.

And Cruelty.

I spoke of this fear as brutalising. It is no less; and unless we realise that, we shall perhaps hardly realise how vile a thing is fear. I mean, not the physical lack of courage, which often accompanies physical weakness (and is often overcome by moral heroism), but that baser fear which implies a doubt of God Himself, which conceives it possible that Evil may in the end be triumphant over Good, and calls it "prudence" to act on that belief. Such fear is the parent of cruelty, and, therefore, I call it brutalising. It is this fear which permits us women to shut our eyes to the evil that is in the world, because we *dare not* think of it. It is this fear which makes it possible for us to believe that most hideous of all lies, that there must be a class of lost and outcast women in order that the chaste woman may be safe. *Chaste!* As if there could be chastity at such a price! There is no honourable man—no man but the basest—who would accept life on the condition that

another's was taken. And we women are to be content to believe that we can save, not our lives only, but our very souls, on the terms of another woman's eternal loss! What a world have we made by our cowardice! Surely, if we cannot rise to the level of the New Testament, if we *dare not* believe in, and work for, a Kingdom of Heaven on earth, we might rise to the level of the Old Testament, and rather than accept such tainted "safety," pray "Blot me, I pray Thee, out of the book of life."

The Need of Prayer.

Against this moral baseness, both of men and women, there is no weapon but the weapon of a religious enthusiasm, the faith that removes mountains. We are urged to be practical; by all means let us be practical. But to be truly practical, it is necessary to be religious. Hitherto our great movement has not been conspicuously so. It has always been ethical, it has had a moral enthusiasm, but it has not been essentially religious. And for this reason, I think—noble as it is—it has lacked something of the directness and swiftness which should belong to a great crusade. Suffrage work will never be easy to do. It is, and must be, often wearisome, and hard, and even dreary. It is sometimes spiritually dangerous. But for us of the Church League it will henceforth be irradiated not by prayer only, but by that *common* prayer, which "makes all things lovely and unlovely to shine in the light of Christ's great Love."

Anerley Town Hall.

MAY 11.

The Church and Politics.

In striving to relate our Church life with the movement for the enfranchisement of women, we are often met with the objection that the Church has no concern with politics, that she should not be "political." It is a very natural fear. The Church has sometimes played too much the political partisan in the past. And yet, looking back upon the ages of her history, are we not often proud to know that she did take the lead in some great moral reforms? Do we not deeply regret that in others she was apathetic or opposed? We know and care too little for the magnificent history of our Church. Ought we not to cherish with thankfulness her great tradition of education? To remember that all through the Middle Ages, and the darker centuries that preceded them, she not only cared for education but was alone in caring? She kept alight

the torch of learning, she nursed universities and schools, she gave freedom to many a serf by giving him the education which enabled him to take orders. She made possible the proud retort of Newman:—“*There is not a man here who writes against the Church but owes it to the Church that he can write at all!*”

And because education is now in England a political question, is the Church to deny her great tradition, and care no more for it?

Again, it was the Church who gave a precedent for the setting free of serfs. She set hers free first, and taught the duty to others, And when a new slavery had appeared, and there was question of the abolition of that, should we have wished her to stand aloof, to forget her past, and ignore the work of Wilberforce because it became at last political?

These great moral and human questions are bound to become political. There is an increasing tendency to settle—or try to settle—social problems by legislation. And when the Church has taken the lead in some great question of human well-being, is she to cease her work, to drop the subject, to withdraw her guidance and her inspiration just at the moment when all the help that may be given is needed to set in force the action of legislators? It might be safe for the Church to stand aloof from politics, but I think it would not be very safe for politics!

Women's Suffrage a Great Human Question.

The only doubt here is, is women's suffrage a “great human question,” such as the Church should care to help and inspire? Surely; for the denial of political freedom to women is the denial to them of the right to develop their full humanity. Look at the laws—statute or judge-made—that affect women. They are a series of prohibitions, especially with regard to their work. Women are *not* to be barristers; they have very hardly won permission to be doctors. They are *not* to have the training necessary for most of the skilled professions; they are *not* to do the best-paid craftsman's work. Such prohibitions, observe, imply the power of women to do these things. Laws are not made to forbid people to do things they cannot by nature do. There is no law, it has been pointed out, forbidding men without arms to become blacksmiths! Therefore it is assumed that women can do these things, but must not; have these powers given them, but must not develop them.

Who gave them these powers? To deny their use, is it not to impose on women a standard less noble, an ideal more cramped

and narrow, than their Creator gave them? To offer them, not all the scope God gave them, but only such as men desire for them?

The Individual and the Community.

It is true that the liberty of every individual must be limited by the right of community. We should all fix that limit differently, no doubt, but we should all agree, in principle, that the individual must not exercise his liberty to the hurt of another. And it is arguable that to repeal all these limitations upon women's capacities might injure the race. Agreed. But is it fair to either women or men to leave so difficult a decision entirely to those who must be competitors with women for the work they desire to do? Would any honourable man consent to judge in such a case? Would he not say, “My interests are too nearly concerned for me to decide here without prejudice”?

The question of the enfranchisement of women is, then, a great human question, since it concerns the right of women to develop the full stature of their humanity; to find scope for all the powers that God has given them, subject to the common good, as seen by the whole community—not as judged by one half, incapable (as women themselves would be incapable) of giving disinterested judgment.

When the Church may be Political.

Let me put this question as bluntly as I can. There may some day—there *will* some day—be question of the disestablishment of our Church. I do not know on which side you will fight, for there are devoted Church people on both sides. But I think there is no one who would say the Church should not speak, and speak politics, when such a question as that becomes political. *Is she to enter the political arena in her own interests and not in those of the helpless and the oppressed?*

Essex Hall.

May 12.

Is the Vote Important?

Our mission is drawing to a close, and we shall all soon be going on our various ways, to do the ordinary work of our various societies. We shall be taking part in meetings very unlike these, and we shall be meeting once more the old familiar “arguments” against the enfranchisement of women. I suppose there is one form—not of argument, but of discouragement—which is especially familiar to us all; the assurance that the thing we are demanding is a very

little thing, and votes but a small part of life, and the millennium not likely to arrive because women have political power. And I suppose also that we have all admitted this; have said—and truly said—that votes *are* a little thing, are a very small part indeed of the reforms we seek, only a removal, indeed, of an obstacle to reform.

But while admitting this, I confess I have sometimes been conscious of a feeling of rebellion against so one-sided a statement of the truth; and it is to this rebellion that I wish to give expression to-night.

What "Votes for Women" Means.

After all, the political enfranchisement of women is not a small but a great thing. Even if none of the reforms we look for should follow, if all we have prophesied and hoped of it should prove an unfounded dream, yet it remains a great thing. For the granting of political power to women, by men, means the definite and final denial by them of the belief that might is right; the definite and final assertion that the basis of the State is not force but justice.

That is not a little thing; for we have too often heard the contrary of late. We have been told that men are governed by brute force, and that the State is based on that alone. And though this statement is so grotesquely untrue, so ludicrously divorced from all connection with fact, as to seem impossibly fantastic, we shall do well to remember that there is nothing so grotesque or so degrading but it will be believed at last, if it is said often enough and loud enough. All human progress is a denial of this dis honouring belief. The mere fact that human progress has been possible in spite of the meagre equipment of human beings as fighting animals compared with other animals, is the first and most tremendous denial. And every advance of civilization—above all, every measure of enfranchisement extended to the poor and the oppressed—has but underlined that denial again and again. The fact that it is asserted once more, and with increasing vehemence, that we are ruled by physical force and know no other government than the compulsion of the strong, is a call to us to make the denial final. We claim our freedom, we women, who are physically weak, and in claiming it we claim the spiritual heritage of mankind. We repudiate this degrading and brutal conception which would put humanity on a level—below the level—of the brute creation. We

call upon men to assert in the face of the world, the might of spiritual force, to take a step—a long step—forward along the difficult path of the Ideal, towards which we set our faces when we first conceived the glory of fellowship in freedom.

Should Christians Join a Political Struggle?

But in speaking to those who were Christians before they were suffragists, I cannot forget that many Christians find it hard to believe that they are called upon to enter into a political struggle. "To live a good life," they say, "is more than any kind of public agitation. We need not more voters, but more Christians." It is true that "to live a good life" is first and last of Christian duties. But do we realize what an exacting standard we accept when we say this? What is it "to live a good life"? It is not less than everything. It implies no choice, no limitations, no refusal; for if we have chosen or limited our sacrifice, it is no longer "good." There are times when our fight is the fight of the individual soul, but there are times also when the great forces of Good and Evil are locked in a tremendous struggle, and we are bound, publicly, to take sides. There was a time for St. Catherine of Siena to tend the sick of her city, and a time for her to heal the sores of Europe, and end the schism of the Church. There was a time for Joan of Arc to knit and spin in Domremy, and a time for her to lead an army, and save the kingdom of France. There was a time for Christ Himself to live in Nazareth with His mother; but if He had stayed—in Nazareth?

Can we choose which life we would rather lead? or say we had not thought when we began to follow Him, that we should be asked to follow him beyond the sacred and peaceful walls of home?

The Spiritual Adventure.

In the Church there are, necessarily, many saints, whom God guides. And there are some, no doubt, who having never tried the way of Christ, can yet, when the call comes, rush upon self-sacrifice with all the ardour of spiritual adventure. But there are more, I think, who have tried and have not greatly succeeded. There are those to whom the cross of Christ makes an appeal too touching, too moving, to be denied; to whom the Christ Himself seems too adorable to be rejected. But though we—for with such let

me rank myself - were thus saved from making the great refusal, we could not make the final choice. And to us the Way of the Cross is perhaps the hardest of all. We have known something—a little of self sacrifice, and for us it has lost its romance. We have dimmed the radiance of the vision by our hesitations, and spoiled the glory of renunciation by offering a sacrifice too half-hearted to be glorious. And to none is it harder than to us to recapture the radiance of that spiritual dawn which is the awakening of the religious sense in any human mind.

To us is offered once more the great adventure; to us, all unworthy and dishonoured, comes the call to arms. And that which we had lost heart to do alone, we find a new joy in doing in a great army, whose honour is ours, whose defeat must be ours also. "Let us see," said a great preacher the other day, "if we also cannot find a way to 'lay down our lives for the brethren.'"

Here is a way.

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The Church League for Women's Suffrage.

AN APPEAL TO CHURCHMEN.

(Report of a Speech delivered on May 2nd, 1910, by the
Rev. HUGH CHAPMAN,
of the Royal Chapel of the Savoy.)

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I COME to address the meeting as a clergyman of the Church of England because I am anxious to try and make it felt that religion consists of a great deal more than mere services and the fighting about shibboleths. I want you to understand that there are those—and thank God they are not in such a minority as is generally alleged—who believe that religion has to do with the whole conduct of life, and that every minister of God, who preaches love and pity to all living things and does not express it in civic action is an anomaly against which all sensible men and women naturally revolt. I have come here purely because I believe that this movement is essentially a religious movement in the largest sense of the word, whereby I suppose is meant the bringing back of man to God and the restoration of human nature to something of the image in which it is supposed to have been created.

I think the Suffragists have been enormously misunderstood. I think that every one who is engaged in such a movement must suffer misunderstanding at the outset. The Master of my particular faith is an example of that.

But the time will come when people realize that the women engaged in this movement have been sent among us with an enormous mission, which their peers at first did not fully appreciate, but which I am absolutely certain will eventually effect its purpose.

A Question of Justice.

Let us consider what is at the back of the movement. There are in the first, the principles of justice. I cannot understand anybody calling himself a priest of any Church whatever unless justice is one of the main things which move and express the whole tenor of his life.

We all know Anti-Suffragists who tell us that it is the methods, not the cause itself, to which people are opposed. But now that those methods are quiescent they have not come in the numbers which one expected them to do

to rally round the cause. Therefore there must be a great amount of prejudice in the human heart ; and as for chivalry which men are supposed to have, my practical experience is this : that when they care for a particular woman or are in the state known as "in love," they are exceedingly chivalrous, but when it comes to the female *en masse*, I think that men are exceedingly cruel. Indeed, true chivalry, shown towards women as a whole, is so extremely rare that it makes me, as a man, intensely ashamed.

There is no one who knows anything about life but must realize that women suffer from grave disabilities on every side, and it behoves every man to undo this inequality, which I do not believe God ever intended. It is purely human in its origin, and is due to the unfairness and the lordliness, and in many instances the indifference of the male creation.

I am exceedingly moved with regard to some of the difficulties in which I find my sisters. For example, when I discover that a woman is divorced for certain things and that a man goes scot free, I think it absolutely and cruelly wrong.

The Tale of Suffering.

Living in the slums, as I have done for a quarter of a century, knowing the poor not only by reading about them, but by going amongst them, and being their brother—for although I am a royal chaplain at the present moment, I am essentially a parson from my head to my foot—I have come across scenes and troubles amongst women that it is impossible to express. I do not believe in speaking sentimentally, but no man can have lived amongst the poor, no man can have realized the lives of the women of the working classes without coming to the absolute conviction that women should have an equal voice at the hustings.

These things have been going on not only for years, but for centuries, yet women have been left without a voice. I do not doubt that very different things would be done, very different laws would be passed as regards women if they were an equal factor with men—if they elected members and sent them to Parliament.

I have no idea, ladies and gentlemen, of saying anything at all extravagant, but I want it to be brought home to you that you are not the hub of the universe, that every one has not got a motor-car, that every one has not got a band of servants and so forth, that there are thousands of women on the borderland of starvation at this present moment who have to perform arduous and ill-paid labour, and who at any time may be offered a five pound note for the price of their shame, and yet they go back to their work and accept these wages sooner than give their bodies, which they could do at any moment. When women work to secure the means of altering these things, believe me, they are initiating something which will go down through the centuries, and will make women proud indeed of being women.

There is nothing very extraordinary, there is nothing very revolutionary in women having the vote. It appears to me a very ordinary thing that women have a voice in sending men to the House where they make the laws for the whole community.

The Real Demand.

There is another aspect of the case which appeals to me even more strongly than justice itself. Justice is a thing which men have been willing to die for, which they have been burnt for. They have done this in the past, and they will always do it to the end of time.

But there is another thing which interests me and inspires everybody who thinks of what is at the back of the movement. I mean the readjustment of the relations between men and women.

Any one who helps forward a healthier relation between the sexes is a benefactor to her country, in whose praise enough can never be said for having thus aided in the preservation and restoration of morality. And I think it is well for us to realize that women count from the patriotic point of view, that the end of a woman's life is not so much marriage as the good of the State in which she lives, that she also has a civic side, and that the aim of her life is not purely to be peaceful and moral, not purely to get something without labour, not purely to be man's ornament, not purely to sit by his side in a carriage, or as hostess at his table, but that she has got her duties towards the world in which she lives, that she is not a man's toy, but his equal in polities. The end of a woman's life is not to be a man's temptation, not purely flirtation ; and it is because you women stipulate for that, that some of the women in society dislike you. You are spoiling their game, and I hope you will go on spoiling it. It has been taken for granted—and some theology is at fault in this respect—that woman is man's temptation, and there is hardly a book I have read on the subject which has not always told me that she is to be avoided almost as a creature of the lower regions. But I believe that a healthier era is setting in—I believe that men and women will eventually live in a saner way ; I believe that, although the vote no doubt is your immediate objective, it includes far more than appears on the surface. There is a certain atmosphere, though it is very difficult for me to put it into words, at Suffrage meetings for which I am always grateful, an atmosphere which sends me away a better man, and reminds me of the best women I have ever known. That is why I gave myself up to this movement. I owe to this influence a debt which, if I use the rest of my life until your movement is successful I shall not have perfectly repaid.

A New Era.

When women make you feel that they are interested in things intelligent, in things which are broad, in the helping forward of those who are ignorant, and those who are enormously tempted in life ; it is then we understand it is worth while serving such women.

When you get that mutual relation between men and women, believe me, a better day will dawn for the country. I want to impress upon you that men and women can work together, and that there need not be something essentially doubtful and uncertain about it. I do not want romance to cease, for it is the very joy of life, but I want it to be coupled with something else, for woman can be not only the woman you love, but your companion and friend. I say that if this were more clearly understood there would be fewer unfortunates on the street. Women would not sell their bodies when their brains were developed !

Apart from the sin of it, it is a sadly stupid thing to do. Some day it will become impossible. I want you, by the grace of God, to bring about a new type of womanhood, who will be man's helpmeet, and will be able to take a full share in his life. When women have the vote they will realize that they have something to do in the State.

Responsibilities.

Women will then be considered of more importance, and will therefore become more important to themselves. They will begin not to live as mere cyphers, and they will understand that they have got to give a reason for the political faith that is in them. It will help enormously in making them educated women, and I believe that at the back of the lust and passion in this world is the utter absence of mentality on the part of idle women who are the slaves of men. A lady who worked in the East End told me that among 200 children seven articles were missing in five minutes, that they were born little thieves. Do you mean to tell me that it is not time for women to save them from their fate, which is assuredly either immorality or prison ? And when you think what could be done by means of the vote to help children, to help women, I wonder all women do not join the Suffrage Movement, and thank God, as I do

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FROM EAST TO WEST.

Women's Suffrage in Relation to Foreign Missions.

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Published by

THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

SEPTEMBER, 1913.

THE
CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Offices:

6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Office hours: 10-1, 2-5. Saturday, 10-1.

Telephone: 2500 Regent.

Colours: Gold and White.
Bankers: London County and Westminster, 34, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, W.C.

OBJECTS AND METHODS.

The objects are to band together, on a non-party basis, Suffragists of every shade of opinion who are Churchpeople in order to

1. Secure for women the Parliamentary Vote as it is or may be granted to men.
2. Use the power thus obtained to establish equality of rights and opportunities between the sexes.
3. Promote the moral, social, and industrial well-being of the community.

The methods used are:—

- (a) Corporate Devotions, both public and private.
- (b) Conferences, Meetings, and the distribution of Literature.

CONSTITUTION.

The affairs of the League are managed by a General Council working through an Executive Committee.

MEMBERSHIP.

Men and women are eligible for membership who

- (a) Are members of the Church of England, or of Churches in full communion therewith; (b) approve of the Rules of the League; (c) pay an annual subscription as fixed by the branch to which the Member belongs.

FROM EAST TO WEST.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE IN RELATION TO FOREIGN MISSIONS.

By Helen B. Hanson, M.D., B.S.(Lond.), D.P.H.(Oxon.).

late of the Mission Hospital, Lucknow, India.

"Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?"—LAM. i. 12.

THE World's Missionary Conference in one of its pamphlets issued prior to its meeting in June, 1910, took upon itself the responsibility of suggesting that some inherent weakness of Christianity, as practised at home, might be the cause of its comparatively slow extension abroad. The exact quotation is: "Whether the Christianity we are sending from land to land is not loaded with some disparagement that forbids its wide expansion." Thus the Church has been invited, on world-wide and pan-denominational authority, to examine itself as to its conduct of affairs at home; and coincident with this invitation, there is an ever-increasing belief amongst religious people that the attitude that the Church has assumed towards the most amazing movement of the present day is a real stumbling-block in the way of its evangelization of the world. I refer to the manner in which it has officially totally ignored, and individually often bitterly opposed, each fresh development of the women's movement: e.g., when women desired higher education (in the earlier days), or the degree of a doctor, or now when they would serve their generation as members of the legal profession, or by participating in legislative power. It is all the more strange that it should be so, when one reflects that one of the Church's chief indictments against non-Christian religions is the low position they accord their women, but the melancholy fact remains, and the name of perhaps the greatest champion of women all down the centuries is not that of any distinguished Churchman, but of John Stuart Mill! To some, of course, the juxtaposition of a science which deals with the welfare of humanity as a whole (which is called politics), and one that deals with the good of humanity individually (a vital part of which they consider religion) is a most undesirable anomaly. Yet I would ask them to remember that

the Old Testament rings with appeals for civic righteousness, and also that it is missionaries in China who make most ado about the opium evil, and missionaries in Africa who had at first most to say about the Congo atrocities. Yet both these subjects are Parliamentary, political, and even international.

So that one should be able to approach the subject in the confidence of a fair hearing : all the more, as in the pamphlet alluded to above, one day of preparation for the conference was set apart for prayer and confession concerning the work undone, and the social wrongs permitted in lands called Christian, and the blindness that fails to see the greatness of the present opportunity.

All the more again, because the following weighty words occur in the message sent out by the Conference as a whole after its close :—

" Our survey has impressed upon us the momentous character of the present hour. We have heard from many quarters of the awakening of great nations, of the opening of long-closed doors, and of movements which are placing all at once before the Church a new world to be won for Christ. The next ten years will in all probability constitute a turning-point in human history, and may be of more critical importance in determining the spiritual evolution of mankind than many centuries of ordinary experience. If those years are wasted, havoc may be wrought that centuries will not be able to repair. On the other hand, if they are rightly used they may be among the most glorious in Christian history.

" It is not only of the individual or the congregation that this new spirit is demanded. There is an imperative spiritual demand that national life and influence, as a whole, be Christianized : so that the entire impact, commercial and political, now of the West upon the East, and now of the stronger races upon the weaker, may confirm, and not impair, the message of the missionary enterprise.

" The providence of God has led us all into a new world of opportunity, of danger, and of duty. God is demanding of us all a new order of life, of a more arduous and self-sacrificing nature than the old. But if, as we believe, the way of duty is the way of revelation, there is certainly implied, in this imperative call of duty, a latent assurance that God is greater, more loving, nearer, and more available for our help and conduct than any man has dreamed.

" Assuredly, then, we are called to make new discoveries of the grace and power of God, for ourselves, for the Church, and for the world ; and in the strength of that firmer and bolder

faith in Him, to face the new age and the new task with a new consecration."

To begin therefore a brief examination into the subject. Woman *qua* woman is still governed in the West as she is in the East, without her consent—the very definition of slavery according to Swift. Man alone makes the laws that rule her, takes her money without her permission, and uses it without her advice (a state of affairs—taxation without representation—termed " robbery " and " tyranny " when practised by men on men), and decides what her work shall be.

Now St. Paul has commanded that " women should rule in domestic affairs " (1 Tim. 5-14, Weymouth's translation), but notwithstanding this dictum, it is man alone, elected by man, who discusses and decides in Parliament how the infant shall be clothed, where it shall sleep, how the mother shall be attended in child-birth, when she shall be allowed to labour for her bread, &c. The woman is not, even in the eyes of the law, the parent of her own legitimate child ; with the father rests the decision as to residence, religion, education, vaccination, and other things. An interesting letter was published recently, written by the wife of a civil surgeon in India. She related how a Hindu woman had come into her husband's dispensary, suffering from the effects of a bad burn. Her story was that she had lived happily with husband and children until one day her garments caught fire, and the resulting injuries were such that she was no longer able to do her household tasks. Her husband therefore cut her adrift and married again. She came to the doctor begging simply that he would restore the use of her hands sufficiently for her to go back to her husband as a wageless servant, so that at any rate she might be near her children. A piteous tale enough, but, alas ! even in this country there was at the same time as the publication of this letter the following case being discussed. A married Christian woman had been robbed by her husband of her two children—one only a few months old. He had decoyed her out of the house on the pretext of taking her to them, had had the furniture sold up in her absence, and then disappeared. The woman applied to the police to help her in her search for husband and children : they said the case was not criminal, they could not help. She appealed to the Highest Authority in Ireland. He answered that he was advised not to interfere. In defending the case in the House of Commons, the Chief Secretary for Ireland stated that the man was within his legal rights—the law gives to the father the custody of the children ! What is there to choose between the two stories ? I do not wonder that the wife of the civil surgeon went on to say that she prayed God that the women of England might speedily win their enfranchisement, because when they were free they would not suffer their

Indian sisters to be treated as they were. Surely that should be the view of those interested in missions, for how shall a stream rise higher than its source? Another case, less striking perhaps, but illustrative notwithstanding, came under my own cognizance. When we wish to repress women's personality and faculties, we justify ourselves by saying "Woman's place is the home." But when she herself desires to remain there, our legislative and municipal machinery appears carefully calculated to thwart her wishes, as the subjoined instance shows. A very respectable woman, with five children, whose husband was in prison for theft, had been before marriage a machinist. She went to the relieving officer and said that by the help of her skilled trade she could tide over the period of her husband's absence, and keep the house going, if he would allow her 5s. out-door relief. This was, however, refused; she was told she must go into the workhouse, and there accordingly she would have been driven: but fortunately a poor law guardian came to hear of it, and finding that it would cost the rates 2*l.* to keep her in the house, made arrangements for her to be helped with food outside. But this was merely accidental—it was by chance only that the guardian came across the case. In the normal course of events, the State was prepared to pay 35*s.* extra a week for the sake of separating a devoted, capable, respectable mother from her children! The women of the nation have thus often no voice in home affairs, and this flagrant breach of God's law lacks also, as might be expected, the merit of success, for about half the children of the working classes die under 5 years of age.* Moreover, in the home (unless her husband actually desert her or be guilty of persistent cruelty or some such thing), a woman, however wealthy he may be, and however hard-working she may be, cannot claim maintenance for herself and her children. Her only remedy in case of inadequate provision is to break up the home and go to the workhouse, when the officials, to spare the rates and taxes, will recoup themselves by suing him for maintenance. But here, of course, the woman seldom sees her children, and has no authority over them whatever.

Moreover, man, by depriving women of the protective power of the vote, prevents her from forcing the Government to standardize her wages; hence, pressed by hunger, she undersells man and consequently he loses his employment, and she is driven forth to the labour market to support the family, and has no time for domestic matters at all! Not only are they directly forced out into the world, but they are encouraged to go when not driven: take, for instance, the effect of the present Insurance Bill. No married woman, unless going out to daily employment, is permitted

* Whereas in Australia, infant mortality, which before women had the franchise was worse than in almost any civilized country, has now decreased till it is almost the lowest figure.

to insure under it, however much she and her husband may desire it, and however willing they may be to pay the extra "employer's premium" necessary in voluntary insurance: and Mr. Lloyd George excuses himself on the score that these devoted domestic workers might "malingering." So is the home-keeping woman deprived of benefits, and able only to get them when she goes out to work. The result of this state of affairs, as any one with first-hand knowledge of the poor knows, is melancholy in the extreme. Thus are the words of God made of none effect by the traditions of men, all the while some of them ignorantly thinking they are doing God service.

Then again the laws of inheritance and divorce place woman at a great disadvantage. Even a Mohammedan woman was mistress of her own property, but the Christian married woman till 1882 had no control over hers. The Hindu woman is also mistress of hers, and at her death it goes to her own relatives, if they in the first instance gave it; whereas an Englishwoman's property, however acquired, if she die intestate, goes to her husband, &c., never to her own family. We condemn Mohammedanism, and rightly, for its polygamy, yet the English law allows a man to have another woman living in the same house as his wife, and unless his conduct result in the deterioration of her physical health she cannot count on obtaining a magisterial separation.

Early marriage is another crying evil of the East, yet what is the marriage age for a girl in England? 12 years! It is by no means unknown, alas! for children of 12 and 13 to give birth to children. Is there no beam to remove from our own eye? When has the Church officially—and on our Anglican Church especially rests a heavy responsibility—protested against these matters?

We are told that woman is sheltered and protected in a Christian country, yet, if accused of wrongdoing, so far from being tried by her peers, she has a man judge, a man jury, a man counsel for and against, the trial is according to man-made laws, and she is often the only woman in court. Nay more, I have known even girl children—when they have had to give evidence in cases of immorality—who have been refused the supporting presence of their own mothers, and have seen them driven out of the court before the case has begun!

Then the sentences passed by magistrates on men convicted of assault on women and girls are notoriously inadequate. I give three instances. In one case, in December, 1906, a working man went to see a comrade. The wife, with a baby in her arms, opened the door and said her husband was out. The man had a difference to settle, he said, but the wife would do as well, so he proceeded to give the baby and herself three blows, injuring both of them. The magistrate gave the man a 5*s.* fine. More recently another man

kicked his wife out of bed, bruised her till she was black and blue, and left her unconscious. For this he was fined 21s. Again, in July, 1911, a man was convicted of criminally (indecently) assaulting a little girl of 10. For this he was sentenced to ten days' imprisonment in the second division! Yet a hungry man for stealing 2d. worth of milk has been sentenced to as much as eighteen months' hard labour! Such is the legal preference for property over person—and yet no woman is allowed to be a magistrate!

It was a prosaic and matter-of-fact wardress who said that a few days in the police court was enough to convince any one that women needed the vote! It was a New Zealander who, when asked at the 1910 election to sign a suffrage petition, replied in graphic language, "Not much! In New Zealand, where women have the franchise, you get six months for knocking your wife about, here you can do it for 5s.!" It was the Trades Unions of the country that, when towards the end of the life of the last Conservative Parliament a judge gave an adverse decision against them, worked hard at the next election for the return of forty Labour members, and who thus got the decision reversed in the early days of the new Parliament. It is a well-known City magistrate (Cecil Chapman) who says: "Half the crime and more than half the misery I come across professionally is due to the idea that man alone is lord." "And it's your fault," said an American working woman when addressing the Governor of an American State on the suffrage, "for filling his head so full of conceit."

Then we have the question of financial unfairness to woman. Woman *qua* woman is prevented from following most of the higher professions. In many cases she is refused degrees after passing the requisite examinations; she is not allowed to engage in the more lucrative (though not by any means the less arduous) part of many trades. She is paid solely *qua* woman again—less than man for equal work, by Government and by private firms. For instance, in the case of the Post Office, women's salaries range from 65*l.* to 110*l.*, men's from 70*l.* to 250*l.* Boy pupil teachers in the L.C.C. schools begin at 7*s.* 6*d.* a week, girls at 4*s.* In the shoe trade men and women work side by side, receiving 29*s.* and 9*s.* a week respectively. The reason alleged is that "it is not right to pay a woman the same as a man." This, charitably interpreted, probably means that a man presumably has a family to support—a woman has not. But this argument breaks down theoretically and practically. First, men are not paid according to their needs, else a distinction would be drawn between married men and bachelors; and secondly, there are districts in London where 80 per cent of the children are supported by their mothers. As an instance of this, I will give the case of the L.C.C. schools. Here the headship of mixed schools is often thrown open to men and women. If men only apply, and a man is

appointed, his salary is so much; if a woman apply, and is appointed over the head of all the men, because from intelligence and experience she is considered the most fit, she receives a lower salary, sometimes less by 100*l.* Nor is the successful man's salary lowered if he is found to be a bachelor, nor the successful woman's raised if she is found to be a widow with a family. And this unjust and unequal expenditure of public funds is carried on in a country nominally subservient to a God whose abomination is a "false balance," and whose delight a just weight. As another instance, I quote the case of a woman known to myself. Her husband was supposed to be employed in braiding army coats for the Government. In reality he was habitually drunk, and she did all the work. He died. She as usual went on with the business and took the work up to be paid. Her tale was met by incredulity, and not until the officials had seen her doing the braiding themselves did they graciously consent to let her do the coats at exactly half the old remuneration, because they had found out she was a woman! And as yet a third instance, I give the case of a woman whose husband was supposed to open and shut the gates at a level crossing. In reality he was a cripple and she did the work: he managed to do some of the necessary cooking, &c., and, resting in the day time, mounted guard at night and woke her in time for the trains. Moreover, a porter was sent to take over duty once a week, and if there was extra work there was extra pay. The man died: the wife kept on as before, but the porter was no longer sent to relieve her, and however the traffic increased, she was allowed no extra money. As a result of having to keep watch ceaselessly day and night, she became sleepless and broke down under the strain. By some irony of fate I had only just come across this case when I received a request to write a short pamphlet on India. In order to give me an idea as to what size was required, a second pamphlet dealing with Indian widows was enclosed. All that was said about them was lamentably true, but at the end came a statement to this effect: "At home we tenderly nourish and care for our widows." Could anything be a more inadequate rendering of the real facts? And can we, who are sometimes grieved at the indifference English people show to the sufferings of the women in far-off India—sometimes pained at their assertion that "Hinduism is good enough for the Hindus"—be surprised at it when we see a Christian educated Englishwoman so grotesquely ignorant of the state of affairs in her own country? If we, as Christians, are not foremost in loving the sisters we have seen, can we wonder at others not loving the sisters they have not seen.

Mr. Lloyd George was asked recently whether he had been able to do anything for widows in his Insurance Bill. He replied, "No."

Now under the present measure for the enfranchisement of women, before the House of Commons, about half the women-electorate would be widows. Is it quite thinkable that if they, as a class, gave the "casting vote" in the election of members—as in many cases they would do—there would have been no carefully thought-out provision for them in the Bill? Lloyd George officially "regretted it," but there are those who appear to be animated by a disregard for, and contempt of, widows. That painfully reminds one of India, for Sir Maurice Levy, speaking of this very Conciliation Bill, actually objected to it openly in the House of Commons on May 5th last on the score, amongst other things, that it was in "the interests of widowhood!" Could any statement more thoroughly contradict the spirit of both Old and New Testaments: nor does it make us less ashamed to remember that, amongst the Hindus, widows and other women of the family are thus much protected that they are at least entitled to maintenance.

Government, moreover, does not standardize women's wage—as it does men's—in the case of her own work. Ninety per cent of the sweated trades are run by her, and some of the work—shirt-making and kindred industries especially undertaken by women—were, notwithstanding irrefutable facts and figures, excluded from the influence of the recent Trades Boards Act, which deals with sweated trades. So that women may still earn 3s. a week, working from morning to night, at skilled embroidery.

The sceptic may ask, what difference will the vote make? I can only give the authority of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, in the Albert Hall in 1908, stated that when women have the vote this double standard of Government pay can no longer be maintained. I can only give the authority of the son of the late Archbishop Temple, who, in one of the finest speeches of the recent Pan-Anglican Congress, concluded his address on social work by an impassioned appeal for all Christian men and women to work and pray for women's suffrage, for only so, he said, can this sweating iniquity be stopped. It is true that this fact is not widely known, for the papers that gave almost verbatim reports suppressed the final part of his speech!

I can only say that in those countries where women *do* have the vote—Australia, New Zealand, Norway, and in some States in America—the Government double standard is no longer maintained, and not only so, but private firms are following in the Government wake. I can only say that at a Labour Conference in 1910, the question of the minimum wage came up, and it was decided that a woman's should be less than a man's, because the Government paid her on a lower scale, so why should they demand an equal! At the end of this last July, Sir Walter Lyne, Treasurer of the

Australian Commonwealth, and ex-Premier of New South Wales, stated in the London Pavilion that "sweating in Australia was non-existent."

The average wage of the Australian woman has risen in the last few years from 8s. to 18s. In Government employ, 110*l.* a year is now the minimum salary for women in one of the Australian states.

Yet the idea of equal wages and fair wages for women was as chimerical there before women were enfranchised—so prominent Australians say—as it is now in England.

In view of these facts, we may continue to condemn the Hindu religion for its cruel treatment of widows, but would it not be more consistent for us to leave off thus devouring widows' houses first? Is this the fast God has chosen? Is this loosing the hands of wickedness, undoing the heavy burdens, letting the oppressed go free, and breaking every yoke? Is this dealing bread to the hungry and covering to the naked? Is this the way to carry out pure religion, visiting the fatherless and widows in their affliction, is this doing justice and loving mercy, as the Lord our God has required? It needs some very cogent arguments to prove that it is so, and some very weighty reasons to justify us in opposing, by indifference or opposition, the strenuous work of those who are labouring to remedy these ills.

Then again there is the terrible subject of immorality. Let us take, first, necessitous vice. Many women are driven on to the streets as the sole means of support for themselves and their children. There is the deadly alternative of the workhouse, but one must remember that there women are separated from their children, and the devotion of a great many of these mothers to their offspring—as I have seen it in a great many years' daily contact with the poor—is a thing to admire and marvel at. Then there is the shop-girl class—not once, nor twice, nor three times have these women been told to supplement their insufficient earning by means of the latch-key! What state of affairs is it in a Christian country, too poor, in its own estimation, to afford woman a living wage—that men can spend so much on their immoral pleasure as to make a trade in vice more lucrative than almost any other profession? If women had some share in the handling of the revenue, would this be so? Apart from the question of right and wrong, the actual physical results of immorality are terrible. Half the blindness in the world, thousands of gynaecological cases, and hundreds of thousands of cases of infantile disease and death, are due to the sins of the husband and father; while the more immediate victims of these men—driven often to their appalling existence by betrayal or poverty—seldom survive more than five years of street life.

Meantime, too, hundreds of innocent girls are decoyed abroad by sham advertisements to a life of shame. Yet how slowly and inefficiently does legislation deal with these subjects! I will mention here one glaring instance of the indifference to morality of, and the unequal treatment meted out to, men and women by the State as a whole. It is eighteen years since the London County Council erected its first cheap and decent lodging house for men. They have three now—the last being palatial—and together with the three Rowton houses, they accommodate thousands of men. They are built by the rates (contributed to by women and men alike), though they pay working expenses and a small interest on capital. *But there is no house of the kind for women in London.* Yet surely any one knows—let alone those who claim to be chivalrous enough to protect woman's interests—so that she has no need of the vote to protect herself—that there are far worse dangers lurking on the streets for women than for men. Not only theoretically, but practically, the results are appalling—a Christian police inspector in one of the worst districts in London stating that no less than 25 per cent of girls, to his own knowledge, go wrong owing to this lack of suitable accommodation. Sometimes, indeed, it appears that the police cell is the only safe place for them: what a hideous state of affairs that such should be the only accommodation available in the richest country of the world for respectable women—able and willing to pay for a decent night's lodging!

It took Josephine Butler seventeen years to get the Contagious Diseases Acts repealed in England, and the Cantonments Acts still disgrace us in India. How can we expect Indians to turn anything but a deaf ear to the claims of the superiority of Christianity, when they see a so-called Christian race sending to their villages for "attractive girls" to fill the "chaklas" (or bazaars) for their soldiers, and when they know that not many years ago a high military authority—a prominent anti-suffragist by the way—authorized this state of affairs.

Again one says: "Will the vote help?" Well, during the last Liberal Parliament but one a deputation concerning the white slave traffic waited on Mr. Gladstone. He told them he fully sympathized with their aims, but that nothing could be done until sufficient pressure could be brought to bear on the Government. The women of our country, who, when they realize the state of affairs, care so much, are without the only means that the Premier, Mr. Asquith, has expressed himself as willing to recognize as indicative of the wishes of the electorate, viz., the ballot-box! There is corroboration of this view, too, in the dastardly remark of a recent member of the House of Commons, who said some time ago concerning this question, "that votes would make women too

expensive!" They are cheap now and have little choice. There is also the evidence of our own colonies, where for twenty-five years the temperance party has worked for the raising of the "age of consent" in vain, but six months after women had the vote, they obtained their desire. When a somewhat similar Bill was being discussed in the House of Lords in England, one of the peers demurred to it on the ground that if it was passed (which it was not), the advantages of their sons would be curtailed. Again, this last year the National Council of Public Morals was desirous of sending a deputation of well-known women to interview Mr. Churchill on this very question. He replied that press of business this Coronation year forced him regrettfully to refuse their request! But any woman of public experience knows that this Coronation year was the very year of all others when the alteration in the law was most necessary, for there is a certain set of men and youths in this country for whom "festivity" spells "licence." Is legislation with a moral aim likely to be sedulously striven after in a Parliament where any man can dare to give vent to such an utterance?

It is significant that this demand for enfranchisement comes not only in England, but all over the civilized countries of the world, from those who have had most experience of social work, the dwellers in slum settlements and sisterhoods, the members of the Salvation Army, &c. A large and ever-increasing number of divines, bishops, and nonconformists, educationists, and authors are in favour of it, and 97 per cent of medical women. Moreover, the parliaments of countries where women have the vote are loud in the praise of its beneficial effects. I quote here the opinion of the Rt. Rev. W. Robert Mounsey, Bishop of Labuan and Sarawak. "I signed the petition in favour of 'Votes for Women' in Sydney ten years ago, and am glad I did. . . . A poor missionary bishop sees the question in all its sadness, though he wonders if Christian England is, after all, much more just than are the heathen he knows."

It is true that there are still many women that do not want it. Yes, but many slaves in the old days cried out against their emancipation, and many women in Indian Zenanas now regard their captivity as a compliment and an advantage. There are, too, people who maintain in the face of the above specific instances, that a Parliament elected solely by men will always safeguard women's interests. But a member of Parliament—himself largely supported by women's wages—has before now admitted with regret that he had no time to attend to their grievances, he must devote his energies to the men who, besides helping to pay him, also elected him. That his sorrow was genuine is seen from the fact that he was the introducer of the Conciliation Bill, 1910. Moreover, it is now forty-one years since a Bill for the enfranchise-

ment of duly qualified women passed the second reading by a majority of thirty-three ; and from that day to this, though similar Bills have reached that stage five times, the Commons have not found time to discuss the question on the floor of the House. Last year not one extra week was taken from golf course or grouse moor to finish the Conciliation Bill, though it commanded a majority of 110. This year, too, though the majority for the same Bill in a slightly modified form commands a 167 majority, and has the support of 122 county, town, and district councils, including Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, &c., we are told we must wait till next Session—till 1912—before facilities for full discussion can be given us !

Take two very recent instances of legislation—the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill and the Bill for Old Age Pensions. We may agree with the former or not, but a pitiful Parliament now permits a widower to secure, if he considers so, the best possible mother for his orphaned children in the person of their aunt ; but it has no pity for the widow, and it does not permit her to secure the best possible father for her orphaned children in the shape of their uncle ! Yet such would only be in line with the Mosaic economy. Then, again, a respectable Englishwoman of 70, who has lived in England all her life, cannot receive an old age pension if at 18 she married a foreigner, even though she may have been a widow for fifty years. Thus does England repudiate her own honourable daughter. A man may marry a foreign wife, but he does not thereby lose his pension, yet the scriptural order is that a man should leave his father and mother and cleave to his wife, *i.e.*, that the husband should identify himself with his wife's people, not she with his.

Moreover, the history of the Factory Acts shows how necessary it is for women to deal with women's affairs. There were the usual objections to the appointment of women factory inspectors—the women workers, it was said, never made any complaints. But the first year women were appointed over a thousand legitimate complaints were lodged.

Some years' residence in India led me erroneously to imagine that one difference between a country ruled ostensibly by Christianity and one ruled by Hinduism or Mohammedanism was that, in the former, as distinct from the latter, a proven lie carried with it some disgrace ; but a return to England corrected this impression, for *The Times*, in July, 1910, published an article in which it said, that had voting on the Women's Bill been by ballot, the result (a majority of 109) would probably have been different. I have seen no official refutation of this statement, so it appears that the Commons acquiesce : and that they would have gone back on their pledged word to the men and women in their constituencies and

lied about it afterwards again if the secrecy of the ballot had ensured their not being found out. At any rate, they have not repudiated the charge, which appears to have been made in a friendly spirit in order to excuse there being so large a majority in favour of women's suffrage.

There is a saying in the old Indian code of Manu : “ It is not a sin causing loss of caste to swear falsely to a woman ! ” We can parallel that also in English politics. In 1884 over a hundred members of Parliament pledged themselves to support an amendment, carrying women's suffrage, to a franchise Bill. But they voted against it, at Mr. Gladstone's direction, and still continued members of the House of Commons. Manu also says, “ Trust a thief, trust a murderer, trust a savage, but never a wife.” This is sometimes quoted to show the inferiority of non-Christian religions, but we also say, “ Trust an ex-criminal, trust a man who, by his immorality, has sown the seeds of death in his wife and children, trust a naturalized alien, but never trust a woman to vote.”

There is, however, a broader aspect of the case. Is it not a moral anomaly, in a country called Christian, where we worship a God who is no respecter of persons, that we should so respect mere physical endowment that we choose to be ruled entirely by the sex which, as a sex, so far from fearing God most, commits five times more crime than the other, that drinks more, gambles more, swears more, and that, according to seven out of eleven high legal authorities before the Divorce Commission, is so frail morally that it is only common-sense to allow it a little license ? Has the Church at home advocated Christian principles ? Are her hands clean ? Has she protested where a protest is due, or, while ostensibly offering to humanity abroad the liberty that is in Christ Jesus, has she by silence connived at the restriction of that liberty at home whereby women are not free to serve their generation either by the legal defence of the poor and the oppressed, or by a participation in legislation, as well as other ways ? Has she not rather permitted the binding on their shoulders of burdens too grievous to be borne ?

It must be remembered, too, that without one word of official protest the Christian church has heard the highest court of appeal in this land—one in which Bishops sit—state that in law women are not to rank as persons ; she has heard the judicial bench compare them with cattle (for on the finding of one judge only, and on that argument rests the whole of their disability which Parliament really removed in 1867), it has seen the highest legislative body class them with criminals and lunatics, and the country generally in all its fervid appeals to the populace in January, 1910, virtually deny that they are people.

Now amongst these 12,000,000 women, so vilified, are multi-

tudes of living temples of the Holy Ghost. To them has a human personality been denied, and while the Body of Christ does not protest at hearing His temples thus traduced, is it to be wondered at that God withdraws His blessing from her work for Him abroad?

While we compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and yet refuse our moral support to the enfranchisement of women at home, are we not in danger of meriting our Lord's contemptuous terms of reproach, "pharisees, hypocrites?"

This unworthy estrangement, too, of Christian Missions from the suffrage movement is responsible for the loss of sympathy on the part of people at home, and is creative of difficulties in the mission-field abroad.

At home we have thousands of capable, educated, devoted women and men, who to such an extent love their neighbours as themselves, and who so greatly hunger and thirst after civil righteousness, that they will stand incredible amounts of fatigue, insult, and suffering in pursuance of their object. What is their attitude to the women of the East? Sympathetic enquiry. Now when the vote is theirs, and they apply themselves effectively to the solution of these Eastern problems—are they to act without the co-operation of missionaries? Are we not already regretting the secular character of advancing Eastern education, and yet I believe no missionary society has even as much as passed a resolution in favour of the object and aim of these splendid women, whereby we may bind them to us for united service when the opportunity shall arise! May I give one personal instance? Not long ago the committee of a huge international (non-religious) congress was in process of formation. Those composing it were foremost in the professional, philanthropic, and social world. To my intense surprise I received a request to interview the secretary and join the committee. I did so. I had over an hour's conversation on things Indian. I was asked for models of women's mission hospitals and lists of operations, and the interview resulted in a very interesting collection of missionary models, photographs, and curios being shown. The secretary wanted, he said, all the evidence of women's work in India he could gather to show at the exhibition. I wondered how he had discovered my insignificant name, and at last found that, at some Anglican meeting for women's suffrage, I had sat next a prominent professional woman, a friend of his, had discoursed to her on India, and she had told him about me. Now if that can happen to the least of missionaries, what interest could not accrue from the interest of Mission Boards and Councils? As a matter of fact, when we do not treat women's suffrage with silence, we generally treat it with contempt.

There are, unhappily, still Christians in England not interested

in missions, still people in England not in favour of Christianity. Are these people likely to change their convictions when they know that inside an Anglican missionary meeting they may listen to appeals for pity for the low and degraded position of woman abroad, and outside they may see a woman also pleading for woman—by the distribution of notices of an Anglican suffrage meeting—treated with scorn and contempt by the clergy that have supported the meeting?

When non-Christians at home ask how the Church is dealing with this great reform, the reply must be given with shame and humiliation.

Yet again. Continually in missionary magazines do we see reports of Zenana women who were eagerly listening to their Gospel lessons, but who had suddenly, with tears, to cease to have any more lessons from their Miss Sahib because the men of the house had forbidden it, and they were thus completely cut off from all missionary effort! Is that nothing? Yet when you have at home a Christian man who is such a tyrant in his own house that, for the sake of scenes before the children, the wife dare not mention the subject of suffrage—or work for it much as she longs to—when you have that, can you expect public opinion, which for all legislative purposes is man's opinion—to urge forward any wise schemes to remove the helpless women of India from the undisputed control of their men relatives? These may and do often treat them kindly, it is true, but they may, as at home, cut them off from their children and all that life holds dear; and they may, as I know full well, do them to death with poison, without fear of discovery or retribution.

What we need is the ardour and the tact of women who have chafed under restraint themselves and seen their highest powers of service thwarted by artificial and man-made restrictions to press for reforms in these matters. But again our record is not clean at home. In the East one looked forward sometimes to returning to a country where woman's life was held sacred. Yet last November I read these two cases in the papers. One was that of a man who attacked his wife so brutally that she died in a few days. He received no more than a six months' sentence. The other was a man who attacked his grandmother, who was in a feeble condition, and who succumbed to her injuries. He received three months'. A well-to-do publican's son in Bath was lately convicted of causing the death of his illegitimate child by throwing it into the river, and, admitting it, received six months'. Yet Mrs. Proudflock, killing a man about to commit criminal assault, in self defence, was sentenced to death! The sentence was afterwards revoked, it is true, but by what iniquity was it passed on her? It would seem almost as though the English standard of the relative values

of the life of a man and a woman were attuned to the Hindu, as exemplified in "suttee." That it is so is corroborated by the fact that a well-known Hindu scholar, an honoured member of the Church Missionary Society, devoting a chapter to some of the good features of the Hindu religion, mentions "suttee." He condemns it, of course, but adds that it gives evidence, although of a partial nature, of the sacredness in which the marriage relation was held! It does nothing of the sort! As well say that a robber baron, daily accustomed to plundering his neighbour's lands, must still have some ideas as to the sacredness of property because he invariably murders any child who trespasses on his estates. Suttee showed simply the masculine pride of possession run riot: and that any Christian man can be so unengrossed with its iniquity that he can spare admiration for one of its imaginary aspects, shows surely how little effect the standards of their Master in this matter have on the lives and thoughts of otherwise irreproachable Christians. The scholar in question is an elderly man of most gentle and lovable nature.

Then the hindrances to mission work abroad. We approach the Indian man and demand in the name of Christianity a more enlightened treatment of his women. Is he so stupid as not to see the illogicality of our own "thus far and no further." He maintains, *e.g.*, that his own womenfolk are well enough off without learning to read. A century or so ago this Christian country maintained much the same. Seventy-five years ago we were aghast at the idea of their receiving higher education; fifty years ago nursing and doctoring horrified us; twenty-five years ago the presence of women on public bodies—and now we still vehemently oppose women in law or women with political power.

What is the educated Hindu to think? He can see a Prime Minister during the entire length of his tenure of office in one Parliament—a Prime Minister that has leisure to interview bodies of working-men—refuse after repeated requests to receive a deputation of English women, though amongst those that wait on him are an Indian princess, peeresses of the realm, wives of cabinet ministers and colonial statesmen, the first woman mayor of England, the earliest and the foremost women educationists, well-known authoresses, distinguished women doctors, and prominent social workers.

We can hear a Member of Parliament publicly state that thousands of the best women of England are engaged in a grossly immoral movement (woman's suffrage)—can hear him refuse to justify his statement publicly, and see no man man enough to make him retract his words.

We can learn also that a great pro-consul of Empire can state at a public meeting that women are corrupting and corruptible, and therefore unfit to vote.

Alas! we do know what the educated Hindu thinks. In a letter circulated in tens of thousands all over the world he asks, where is the superiority of Christianity in its treatment of women? All the pioneers—the leaders of every step in woman's advancement—Josephine Butler, Florence Nightingale, Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell—have met with opposition, misrepresentation, and often foul abuse. Not only so, but in numerous Indian papers—Hindu, Mohammedan, and Parsi—have we seen articles laughing at the pretensions of the English nation to expound the right way of treating women when they so treated their own, and saying, that now India is, like the rest of the East, waking up; it will soon be ahead of Christian England in this matter. The large amount of feeling in the East in favour of the enfranchisement of women is not, I think, sufficiently realized. It was regretfully admitted to me lately by the secretary of a big Indian association. She said: "Yes, I am sorry to say many Indian women are mixing themselves up with this sort of thing." That they are doing so with the approval of their compatriots is evidence from the fact of the continual "shabashes" (bravos) that greeted the Indian contingent of the Women's Coronation Procession on June 17th all along the route. Not only did the English crowd cheer vociferously to see Indian women evidencing their desire to be enfranchised, but the numerous Indian men in the crowd cheered also. Nor is it without significance that the Maharajah and Maharani of Baroda should have attended a huge suffrage meeting afterwards and have given a substantial donation, nor that another Indian gentleman—coming in casually at the last moment—should have added £250 to the collection. It would at least reassure these humane and advanced men as to the high ethical advantages of missions could they know that their supporters had progressed enough to desire the enfranchisement of women. I cannot help thinking that there are, however, yet other considerations that should lead those interested in the extension of the Kingdom of God to take also an interest in the suffrage question. No one now will deny that the highly educated college woman, the trained nurse, and the medical woman have been of use in helping to extend that Kingdom abroad. Yet years ago, when the movement for the higher education of women was set on foot, Christian people were quite blind as to what part it would play in the evangelization of the world; and although some individuals were in favour, officially the Church of Christ helped not at all. Now once more we are confronted with another step forward: are we again to prove ourselves blind? Just to take the lowest consideration, that of finance. On looking round the audience at missionary meetings and down the lists of missionary subscribers, one is struck by the fact that at least half our supporters are women. If it were a recognized fact that woman's

work should be as well paid as man's, what would that mean as to the enlargement of "tithes" and the increase of donations? Then there might well be a second motive—gratitude. Who, through ill report and good report founded one of our great woman's colleges? Miss Emily Davies; and she is still working hard for the enfranchisement of women. Thanks to the courage with which she advocated an unpopular cause, we reap with joy where she sowed in tears—have been able to spread the good news of the Kingdom—what return are we making her now? We did not share the earlier calumnies heaped on her, though we have not been slow to take advantage of the result of her work. Are we going to stand aloof from her once more—in this fresh struggle—and then without word or sign of regret or gratitude enter rejoicingly into her labours later on? Can this be according to the mind of Christ? Then take Florence Nightingale, severely stigmatized as unwomanly because she ventured to nurse her own sex! Now unhappily not with us, but an ardent and lifelong suffragist. Thanks to her courage and bravery, medical missions owe more than they can ever repay, for I at least am entitled to testify to the absolutely invaluable work our Indian and English nurses do. We have benefited by her sufferings—how have we helped to solace her? Take Mrs. Garrett Anderson, our pioneer English medical woman. Do missions owe her nothing? Hers is the most striking case of all. Years ago—in the face of opposition expressing itself in insult and stones and mud—she fought one good fight. Now—frail and nearly 80—not content, as she well might be, with her earlier victory and the high civic and professional honours paid her, she must needs once more expose herself to abuse and physical ill-treatment to gain for women a still greater power, whereby they may serve their generation. Years ago mission enthusiasts helped to equip places where women might learn the rudiments of medicine, to make use of it abroad. They thought it was all, or even, perhaps, the only right thing they could do, for how could a woman ever be trusted to take the responsibilities of a full-fledged doctor? Mrs. Anderson had more courage, more insight, and more determination, and at great cost to herself she carried the battle through, and, again, how are we thanking her? Is ingratitude a specifically Christian virtue?

We saw last month, at the Universal Races' Congress, this sad yet enlightening spectacle—a nominal Hindu, a suffragist, impressively pleading for the abolition of child marriage; a nominal Mohammedan pleading for the abolition of purdah as against the laws of nature and God; and a nominal Christian, an anti-suffragist, Mr. Calderon, asserting the right of each country to keep its own customs, such as child marriage, &c., and condemning any strictures on or interference with the same.

Not only does suffragism make for practical Christianity, but over and over again, on suffrage platforms, ostensibly only political, and in suffrage meetings, God is acknowledged and Christ extolled. The problems of the women of India and China are frequently under discussion, and at home social purity is treated, not from only a moral or economic, but from also a Christian standpoint. One bed at least is already supported in a mission hospital in the name of that saintly suffragist, Josephine Butler, and an ordinary suffrage meeting will welcome as a speaker the feeblest of missionaries solely and only because she is a missionary, and they are glad to have that side of the question emphasized. Well might a well-known Cabinet Minister aver that he did not desire to see women enfranchised: it would mean too religious an atmosphere in the House of Commons! And another critic condemned the suffrage movement because it had become narrowly religious. Therefore, surely one is justified in entreating those whose highest ambition is to see the influence of the religion of Christ paramount abroad and at home, to give without a moment's further delay, their warmest moral support to the advocates of the enfranchisement of women.

[P. T. O.]



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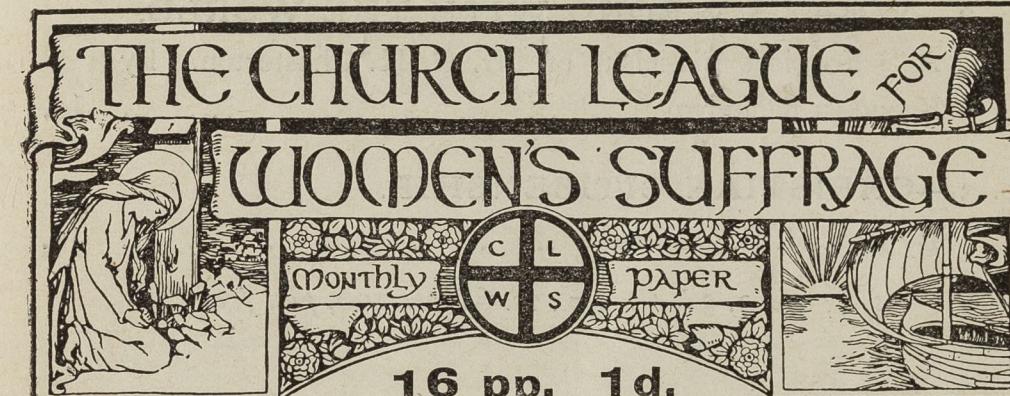
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BY

URSULA ROBERTS.

It is often asserted—and seriously asserted by people whose opinions carry weight—that Women's Suffrage would not help to do away with prostitution. There are many women who regard the Suffrage movement from an academic point of view, seeing that the refusal to extend the franchise is logically indefensible, but not understanding why any one should make a fuss about the matter and drag in the question of morals. It is primarily to such as these that this pamphlet is addressed.

Some people think that prostitution is necessary : that so long as good women remain good and virile men virile, so long must there exist a class of degraded or " fallen " women to safeguard the interests of the former and satisfy the needs of the latter. There is nothing to be done with such arguments save to denounce them as utterly false and pernicious. All the authority of modern medical science goes to controvert the old heresy that chastity is physically harmful to men. From the moral, as distinguished from the scientific, point of view it is surely incredible that the exercise of functions which ensure the physical life of the race should involve the destruction of a great part of its life spiritual. It should be unimaginable that any one believing in a God of love, should speak of prostitution as " a regrettable necessity."

DEMAND AND SUPPLY.

Other people admit that prostitution should be put a stop to, but deny that legislation can help to solve the question. So long as there is the demand, there will be the supply they say, and "you can't make people good by Act of Parliament." Let us consider for a moment the question of demand and supply. Surely it is clear that in this case supply stimulates demand. Not only is there the obvious temptation put in men's way by the solicitation of the streets, but there is the more subtle working of the belief that a fallen woman can't get up again. There must be hundreds

of men who will control themselves when the object of their desire is an unspoilt girl, but will visit a brothel with no sense of responsibility, because they regard a prostitute as sunken too low to be capable of sinking lower. Again consider the effect of the mere knowledge that the trade exists. It must seem to put the whole sex-question on a different footing. Indulgence is given the sanction of public acquiescence: society by providing a field ready ploughed invites the sowing of the traditional wild oats.

The assertion that "you can't make people good by Act of Parliament" is true in a sense. "It's a choice between compulsory religion and no religion at all," said Dr. Christopher Wordsworth once in urging the advisability of enforced attendance at chapel for undergraduates. "The distinction is too subtle for my mental grasp" was Connop Thirlwall's wise and witty answer. But any one who considers may see how misleading the current saying is in connexion with legislation affecting prostitution. It is largely force of circumstances that makes us what we are, and prevents us from being what we might be. If legislation can affect the circumstances of our lives, it can affect us. We must seek to understand how the majority of prostitutes come to carry on their trade.

THE WAGES OF WORKING WOMEN.

There is a wide-spread notion among sheltered women that prostitutes carry on their trade to satisfy their own lust. Let us see what Charles Booth has to say as the result of many years' searching investigation of social conditions in London: "The sole aim of prostitution is the satisfaction of male sexual passion without the responsibilities of marriage or anything that can be called social relationship. The female share in the matter is strictly professional. The woman's passions are hardly involved at all, she is moved neither by excitement nor by pleasure. She merely seeks her living in the easiest way open to her, or is induced to follow this course of life by the desire for fine clothes and luxuries not otherwise attainable."^{*} Prof. Forel, the great Swiss authority on sexual questions, a man to whom sentimentality is obnoxious, states clearly that in his opinion "poverty is one of the most powerful auxiliaries of prostitution.... Poverty compels the proletariat to live in the most disgusting promiscuity.... It urges parents to exploit their children. Among small tradespeople also poverty is an indirect agent of prostitution. In certain occupations which leave the girls free evenings the proprietor only pays his employees an absurdly small salary because they can add to it by prostitution. For this reason many saleswomen, dressmakers, &c., are obliged to content themselves with a minimum wage. When they complain, and specially when they are good looking, they are often given to understand that with their attractive appearance it is very easy for them to increase their income, for many a young man would

* *Life and Labour of the People in London*, Final Volume, p. 122.

be glad to 'befriend' them, to say nothing of other insinuations of the same kind."[†] He also points out that "waitresses are used as baits in certain taverns," and tells us that about 80 per cent of the prostitutes in Paris have some other occupation. He alludes to the low wages given to women as compared with those given to men, and concludes: "Is it to be wondered at that they have recourse to prostitution?"[‡]

The evidence of such diverse men as Charles Booth and Forel quoted receives abundant corroboration from those responsible for rescue-homes and penitentiaries. Almost all are agreed that the lust which creates the trade is the lust exclusively of men. Why then do women become prostitutes if not to satisfy their own lust? The passage quoted from Prof. Forel suggests that the answer to this question must deal in part with economics. Let us quote some statements of facts showing the rate of women's wages, and the condition of their labour in this country. We are only concerned with women workers who are grossly underpaid, and we may divide these into three classes: (a) home-workers, (b) workers in factories and workshops, (c) shop assistants, clerks, waitresses.

(a) Miss Clementina Black in her 'Sweated Industry and the Minimum Wage'[‡] classes the first division as the poorest of all. She tells us that match-box making is one of the poorest trades, 2½d. a gross being the ordinary rate of pay. A typical worker, helped by her four children, earned at this trade from 10d. to a 1s. a day. A young deserted wife is described as trying to support herself and two young children by making shirts at the rate of 1s. 2d. a dozen; she completed the shirts with the exception of sewing on buttons and making button-holes, and succeeded in earning 5s. 8d. a week, finding her own cotton, machine needles, and oil. Another woman was paid 9½d. a dozen.

Paper bags are made at the rate of 3d. to 5d. per thousand. A woman working steadily for eleven or twelve hours a day earns about 5s. a week by covering racket-balls at 2s. per gross. Brush-makers can earn about 6s. by working seventy-two hours a week.

"Ill-health," Miss Black tells us, "is the chronic state of the woman home-worker. If she depends upon her own exertions,

* *The Sexual Question*, English Translation by C. F. Marshall, M.D. F.R.C.S., pp. 309 f. This book is only supplied to members of the medical and legal professions. It should be mentioned that the author advocates certain measures which are quite incompatible with Christian morality; but this fact does not weaken his witness to the importance of the economic aspect of prostitution. His scientific authority is of the highest.

[†] Cf. the case of a tobacconist who, it was recently stated in the Leeds County Court, paid his employee seven shillings a week for ninety-three and a half hours' work, and told the magistrate that he would not regard this as anything remarkable if he knew the ordinary wages in the city. Another tobacconist, when asked if he thought a girl could live on such a wage, answered "Of course not, but look at the chances she gets in our business." (*The Common Cause*, Feb. 2nd, 1911.)

[‡] Duckworth & Co., 1907, 3s. 6d. net.

she will inevitably be ill-fed and ill-clothed.... The half-starved apathetic human creature cannot maintain a high output of work." Thus we see that the more a sweated woman-worker needs good food the less able is she to obtain it.

(b) An analysis of pay-sheets showing the wages received in two consecutive weeks by girls employed in a confectionery factory shows an average of slightly over 7s. 6d. a week. The custom of reducing wages by fines and deductions is a very common one, and must be taken into account in considering the question of wages. In a provincial stay-factory the nominal wages varied from 5s. 3d. to 10s. 2½d., but the actual wages were between 3s. 11d. and 8s. 8½d. These deductions are often outrageously mean. One ingenious employer extracted 30s. a week from his workers for cleaning the work-room, and paying the cleaner only 15s. kept the balance. Factories actually exist in which there is a fine of 6d. for washing the hands! In one factory a foreman frequently deducted 1s. or 2s. from a week's wages merely on the ground that the girl who should have received it was "earning too much."

(c) Deductions also play an important part in the lives of shop-assistants, clerks, and waitresses. The following deductions seem almost incredible, but are quite authentic: £10 from £30, £8 from £28, £23 from £35. Not only must we take into account the actual monetary loss these deductions involve, but also the constant chafing and irritation such persecution must give rise to. Heart-rending as are the lives of sweated home-workers and factory hands, the appalling monotony and narrowness of the daily round of shop-assistants seems almost more pitiful. The home workers or factory hands may have some human links—a half-starved baby or an invalid husband, though they double burdens, may at the same time lighten the woman's load of woe. To the shop-assistant who "lives in" the voice of humanity must seem well-nigh dumb. They are kept, in the words of a provincial draper, "to sell people what they don't want." And what remains apart from this maddening and degrading intercourse with customers? "Standing in groups, gossiping, fine 2d." Miss Robinson may work, eat, sleep beside Miss Brown week in week out with about as much natural human interchange of thought and feeling as exists between the double-yoked oxen in the plough.

The life of waitresses is perhaps less desperately monotonous, but it obviously provides more direct temptation to immorality. As we have seen, Prof. Forel speaks of waitresses being used as baits in certain taverns. The finer senses of barmaids in public-houses and station refreshment-rooms must very soon become blunted by enforced endurance of familiarity and coarseness from customers. The average wages of waitresses are reckoned as from 7s. to 14s. a week, less 8d. or 9d. for washing and 1s. 9d. or 1s. 10d. deductions for breakages.

It is clear from this brief résumé that the average woman-worker

can barely support herself on her wages. We ought deliberately to picture to ourselves what it means to her to clothe, feed, and house her body on 7s. or 8s. a week. Even when she is comparatively well and strong, and has no one dependent or partially dependent upon her, it must mean unceasing self-denial and discomfort—a cup of tea and a bun when others whom she knows are faring sumptuously at restaurants—last summer's faded blouse and shabby skirt when she could have pretty dresses for the asking. And if illness comes or loss of employment, what alternatives are there for the unprotected girl save destitution or prostitution?

"Out of a job," "no hands wanted," no one ready to accept the services she is so willing to exchange for a little food and clothing, a little bit of shelter—"the labour-market is overstocked," they say. But it is always "market-night in the Haymarket"; there are always purchasers for pretty goods in Piccadilly.

A certain proportion, then, of prostitutes are driven to the trade through poverty: some directly, *i.e.* when starvation and prostitution are the only alternatives, more indirectly, *i.e.* when conditions of labour are so bad that the temptation to escape them prevails over the natural shrinking from immorality common to all save a very small proportion of women.

THE FEEBLE-MINDED.

Perhaps next in importance to the question of low wages and bad conditions of labour comes the problem of the feeble-minded. The recent report of the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-minded tells us that the existing machinery for dealing with feeble-minded women and girls is hopelessly inadequate. The guardians have no power of detention. Union Infirmary records show case after case of feeble-minded women coming in to be confined of their fourth, fifth, sixth, or even seventh illegitimate child. The Magdalen and Rescue Homes show an average of feeble-minded girls and women varying between 30 and 50 per cent. Feeble-minded girls are peculiarly liable to be seduced. In some cases there is a positive tendency to immorality, in more it is a negative quality that ruins them—they are too feeble to make any resistance to the demands of unprincipled men. Once they are seduced, the downward path is easy.

DEPRAVED HOMES.

A third source from which prostitutes are drawn is that of the depraved homes, in which little girls are violated by their own fathers, step-fathers, or brothers. Records of prosecutions show that these cases are not rare, and experience goes to prove that offences are very much more frequent than are prosecutions for them. Intimidation is often exercised to prevent the poor children from "letting on," and when discovery is made it is often too late for anything to be done, since recourse to the law must be taken within six months of the offence. Initiated into vice at the age of ten or eleven, or even earlier, it is small wonder that these poor

little girls should go from bad to worse till they reach the streets, and finally the Lock Hospital.*

THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC.

A fourth source is that of the white slave traffic, that is the organized trade in girls who are forced by *entrepreneurs*, or procurers, into entering upon a life of vice under the delusion that they are to be given respectable employment. It is impossible to estimate with any degree of accuracy the extent of this hideous traffic, since it is naturally carried on by methods which, so far as possible, ensure secrecy. The secretary of the National Vigilance Association states that no less than 17,000 cases have been dealt with within seven years at either railway-stations or ports by this society alone. Investigations recently carried on in America by Mr. Edwin W. Sims, District Attorney at Chicago, give reason to believe that about "65,000 American girls and about 15,000 aliens are being entrapped yearly for the trade"†. The procurers get girls into their power by various ingenious tricks. A really attractive girl can be sold for as much as £100, so that it pays to expend time and trouble on her capture. Many apparently innocent advertisements in the daily papers are really white slave traps. Here are two examples chosen at random from among many quoted in the *M.A.P.* publication 'The White Slave Traffic' (price 6d.) :—

"Professor 40 years old, with money, wishes to make the acquaintance of a Christian young lady who may be poor, with a view to marriage."

"Nursery governess required immediately for London for boy of 4 years old. Must be gentlewoman, good needlewoman, musical, not over 25. Salary £30 all found."

Practically all the theatrical advertisements beginning "amateurs wanted" are traps, as are many of those for masseuses.

Another method of capture is to enter into casual conversation with any pretty girl who happens to be alone, and to lead her by apparently innocent stages into a position which makes it impossible for her to resist her captor's final demands. Once dishonoured, she is usually bound to him either by the promise of marriage or by the fear of blackmail. It becomes impossible for her to get away, and she finds herself sent abroad and established in a brothel without a chance of communicating with her friends. Here she is kept deeply in debt to the proprietor and is closely watched, never being allowed out of the house without the "protection" of a man who keeps her within sight to see that she solicits satisfactorily, and does not run away. Since the *entrepreneurs* do not care about any save quite young girls, and since the average working

* For the facts of these assaults cf. *Juvenile Immorality*, a pamphlet to be had from the Church Penitentiary Association, Dean's Yard, Westminster, and Mrs. Bramwell Booth in *The Common Cause*, Jan. 19 1911.

† *Hygiene and Morality*, Putnam's, 1911, 5s. net, p. 112. This book by the Secretary of the International Council of Nurses shows convincingly the important connexion between Women's Suffrage and the fight against Prostitution.

life of a prostitute is about six years, she probably ends her days in a Lock Hospital before she is thirty, and her place is ready for another victim. A report has recently been published of a Commission on the Social Evil in Chicago, appointed by the Mayor and City Council. A most instructive article dealing with this report appears in the April number (1912) of *The Church Quarterly Review*. The Commission fixes the number of professional prostitutes in Chicago (i.e., women who carry on no trade beside that of prostitution) at approximately 5,000. The profits produced by the business are estimated as amounting to £3,000,000 a year. No commission has been appointed to inquire into the conditions that exist in London, but we have no right on that account to flatter ourselves into supposing that they are necessarily any less appalling.

The horrors are told, and the cry goes up "Something must be done: these shameful deeds must cease." We must now state the case for remedy by legislation and demonstrate that there is a sense in which people can be "made good by Act of Parliament," or at least be prevented from becoming bad. We will consider the proposed legislation under five heads, in relation to prostitutes (a) who have been impelled into the trade by economic stress, (b) who have drifted into it through feeble-mindedness, (c) who have been violated as children and have grown up in vicious surroundings, (d) who have been forced into the trade as white slaves, (e) who have a natural tendency towards vice.

(a) This class is the hardest to deal with briefly, since the question really involves a sweeping criticism of the whole existing social system. So long as there is unemployment there will be prostitution. The suggested remedies for unemployment resolve themselves into two, viz., Socialism, and Tariff Reform. We must not discuss these now, but it is quite clear that neither can come about apart from legislation.

We may also point out that since the male franchise has been extended wages have risen. This is mainly due to the power which labour, forming itself into trades unions, has over capital when labour is backed by the vote. So far women's trades unions have not been able to accomplish much. Experts assure us that this is to a great extent due to women's lack of political power.

(b) This class is best dealt with by reference to the suggestions in the report of the Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-minded (1904-1908), which have been adopted by the subsequent Commission on the Poor Law—both majority and minority reports are agreed on this point. Segregation for life is recommended as the only means of preventing feeble-minded girls from doing great harm to the community. It is obvious that sporadic measures taken by voluntary agencies must be inefficient for dealing with this problem, since compulsory detention in private institutions is out of the question.

(c) Legislation affecting this class is badly needed. Obviously the restriction of prosecution to within six months of the offence

must be abolished. The length of the sentence should not be allowed to depend so much as at present upon the leniency or strictness of individual magistrates or judges. At the last Northampton Assizes in two cases of offences against children, aged 14 and 7 respectively, the sentences were for one month in the former and four months in the latter case. That such cases should be tried by juries exclusively masculine is surely outrageous.

(d) So long as the white slave traffic exists, it is worse than absurd to argue that women have no concern with affairs of imperial or international importance. Since this traffic forms a highly complicated network which extends its meshes all over Europe and America, no number of isolated private efforts will effect a remedy. Any scheme dealing with the question must be drawn up not merely on national, but on international lines. Under existing conditions it has been proved possible for an *entrepreneur*, arrested in Bordeaux and found guilty of having incited minors to debauchery and of falsifying certificates, to be acquitted solely on the ground that his offences were committed not in France but in Switzerland. A woman prosecuted in England for bringing girls from Belgium for immoral purposes was acquitted on the ground that the offence of procuration was not included in the Anglo-Belgian extradition treaty.

It is commonly agreed by disinterested students of the question* that state regulation of vice as practised in certain foreign countries is a direct encouragement to the white slave traffic. If the sporadic efforts of individuals can do little to modify the affairs of their own land, it is obvious that they can do still less to affect conditions in foreign countries. What can be done must be done officially through governments.

The question of repatriation is also one to which this assertion applies. It is believed that if men and women of disreputable life are not allowed to reside in foreign countries, exportation for immoral purposes would become unprofitable. For obvious reasons the victim of a procurer seldom leads so hopelessly servile a life in her own country as in a foreign land, and a very great improvement might come about through international action on this question.

Among the legislative measures which have been taken in other countries and might with advantage be put into force in our own, the following may be mentioned :—

(1) In Italy medical men have been circularized with a view to obtaining their co-operation in the work of stamping out vice.

(2) In Norway the Minister of Religion has issued a circular to the clergy requesting that young girls preparing for their First Communion should be warned of the dangers they run in seeking employment with strangers abroad. The Scandinavian-American line has had placed on its vessels women officials to safeguard the interests of possible victims. It is noticeable that these two

* Prof. Forel is emphatic on this point.

eminently practical steps have been taken by a country in which women are enfranchised.*

(e) This is, I believe, very much the smallest of our five classes. Legislation could probably do little to affect it directly, though it is possible that authority might be given to the Board of Education to arrange for special control of children showing a strongly marked tendency to vice. Such cases are frequently pathological, and action could probably be taken in connexion with the medical inspection of school children. Obviously this would be more effective when the school age is raised. Probably most of these pathological cases are hereditary and a better general standard of morals would affect this class in the next generation. It is a striking fact that the Criminal Law Amendment (White Slave Traffic) Bill has been introduced into the man-elected British House of Commons nineteen times, and has been nineteen times blocked "because there is no pressure in the House for that kind of legislation"; whereas the New Zealand Parliament, elected by the votes of women as well as of men, has succeeded in passing into law an excellent Criminal Amendment Act, ensuring adequate punishment for sexual offences, as well as many other Acts tending indirectly to raise the moral standard of the community. All who doubt the power of the women's vote to work for social purity should study the measures that have been passed since the enfranchisement of women in Australia, Wyoming, Colorado, and Utah, as well as in New Zealand.

REASONS FOR PRESENT APATHY.

We have touched briefly upon certain legislative measures which would affect the circumstances of women's lives. It is, of course, true that none of the proposed measures would materially help the present generation of prostitutes. But the majority of prostitutes working to-day will have died off within half a dozen years. We could and we must prevent another supply from taking their place. Why have not measures been taken long ago? There are many explanations, hardness, apathy, ignorance, prudery among women: selfishness and more or less conscious acquiescence among men: the system of party politics: and the futility of much that has been done in the name of Christianity.

One can hardly trust oneself to speak of the women who are hard—the women who are bitter, and will not let their hearts ache and their tears flow for those who have sought the ever-open market with their wares. It is want of imagination that keeps them hard. Books may help them.† Can a woman read of Rossetti's 'Jenny'

* See *Hygiene and Morality*, Appendix B, for further examples of the kind of legislation women work for where they have the franchise.

† All sheltered women who want to understand and help should read that terrible revelation of sin and suffering, 'Daughters of Ishmael,' by R. W. Kauffman, Stephen Swift & Co. If every woman member of the National League for Opposing Women's Suffrage could be induced to read this work it is difficult to believe that that organisation could drag on its existence for another month.

and afterwards, when she meets her in the street, pass with cold scornful eyes ?

If but a woman's heart might see
Such erring heart unerringly
For once ! But that can never be.

It must be : we must prove Rossetti wrong there : we must " love roses better for her sake." Yes, even though she seem but

A cipher of man's changeless sum
Of lust past, present, and to come.

Can any woman steel her heart against the sob in Francis Adams' 'One Among so Many' ?

O my poor Darling, O my little lost sheep
Of this vast flock that perishes alone
Out in the pitiless desert !

And what is more, can every " virtuous " woman shut her ears to the sting of bitter reproach in the same poet's 'Edgware Road' ?* Prostitution of the body for money or position is no less degrading, but rather more so, when the mockery of the " Church's blessing " professes to hallow it.

It is not only the " Jennies " who needs must quail before

The pale girl's dumb rebuke,
Whose ill-clad grace and toil-worn look
Proclaim the strength that keeps her weak.

It is only those to whom some knowledge of the miracle of love has been revealed that cannot rest until their part is played in the battle against lust. Perhaps one explanation of the apathy of many sheltered women is the lowness of their own ideal of love. " Men can't help being lustful, and unless our own daughters are to be sacrificed there must be a class of low women to satisfy men's lust." Now that the spread of medical knowledge is killing the belief in this old heresy, even the selfish sheltered women must cease to acquiesce in prostitution. It is time that the average woman began to realize such facts as these :—

(1) That numbers of married men each year infect their wives and children with venereal disease;

(2) That no disease has such a murderous influence upon offspring as syphilis. It is said to kill 20,000 children annually in France alone ;

(3) That 80 per cent of infantile blindness is due to venereal disease ;

* See *Songs of the Army of the Night*, by Francis Adams, new edition, A. C. Fifield, 1910, 1s. net.

(4) That 45 per cent of sterile marriages are due to the same cause ; and finally

(5) That the breeding-place of all venereal diseases without exception is the social institution called prostitution.

When the knowledge of these facts has penetrated into our homes, women will surely rebel against the loathsome conditions they have tolerated so long. The women who have winked at the evil while it seemed to their interest to do so will rake the evil out when they recognize in it a source of peril to their children and themselves.

Prudery must be laid aside, if this evil is to be raked out. We must make it impossible for a woman to say in the future " I could not bear my sons to know that I so much as suspect the existence of immorality." We must make it impossible for boys to get into bad habits simply because their mothers are too ignorant or too prudish to help them. Above all, we must make it impossible for children to be brought up in an atmosphere that encourages the double standard of morals for men and women.

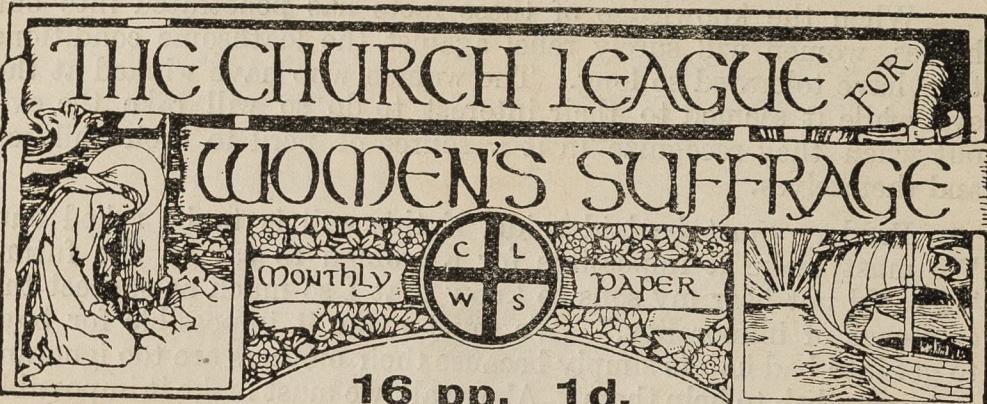
Furthermore, if we believe that man cannot live a natural life without sexual self-indulgence, we cannot believe in the Incarnation, in the Resurrection of the Body : we cannot believe that God became man, and that all Christ's brothers may follow in His steps.

It is impossible to do more here than briefly to allude to the evils of the present Parliamentary methods which are responsible for the deadlock in various branches of social reform. That the grounds for dissatisfaction are not the figments of women's brains is apparent from the admission of so acute an observer as Mr. C. F. G. Masterman, M.P. At a recent Church Congress Mr. Masterman remarked that a measure to which no one in the House could take exception stood very little chance of exciting enough interest to be carried into law. In other words, governments draft bills less in the interest of the people they represent than with a view to the advancement of their own party interest. It is impossible to believe that women, if granted political power, would tolerate such an outrageous system.

" Women will be the last thing civilized by man," says *The Pilgrim's Srip*. Man has been so dilatory over the task that woman must take the matter into her own hands and set to work at the civilization of his sex as well as her own.

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THE CLERGY AND POLITICS

BY

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"THE clergy should not meddle with politics." This is one of the idols of the market-place which must be ruthlessly flung down from its pedestal. Like most idols, it was originally set up in witness to truth imperfectly conceived; and the same partial grasp of truth causes its worship to persist.

If to take an interest in politics means to busy oneself in the often sordid strife of parties; if it means persistently to ignore the eternal principles of righteousness, and worship at the shrine of a supposed expediency; if it means to handle the things that are temporal and visible as though they bore no relation to the things that are unseen and eternal, then assuredly the clergy should not meddle with politics.

If politics mean "the art of governing mankind by deceiving them," to quote a definition disapproved by Disraeli, the clergy cannot give politics too wide a berth.

But if Gouverneur Morris was right when he defined politics as "the sublime science which embraces for its object the happiness of mankind"; if, according to Hume, all activity is essentially political which considers men as united in society and dependent on each other, then the aloofness of the clergy from politics is not so obviously desirable.

RELIGION AND POLITICS.

There is a question which must be answered before any question as to the correct attitude of the clergy towards politics can profitably be discussed. Has religion anything to say to politics? If it has not, then the clergy may well let politics

alone. And there are those who affirm that it has not ; who hold that you may lie without scruple to a community, though you must not lie to an individual ; that the only sin in political intrigue consists in being found out ; that as a private individual you may fight against the world, the flesh, and the devil, whilst as a politician it will often be necessary (!) to side with the world, sanction excesses of the flesh, and recognize the power of the devil as irresistible. Men of religion, it is said, are idealists ; and the politician is a man of affairs, a practical person, a man whose ideals, if he has any, can be deftly laid aside upon occasion. A politician may cultivate religion outside the political sphere ; but the man of religion, the man who cares supremely for religious sanctions and works for religious ends, is out of place in politics.

With such opponents we do not count it worth while to argue ; but we draw attention to their opposition as it lies at the root of a great deal of the current nonsense which is talked about the clergy and politics. We fully admit that clerical "interference" is deprecated by many who would not endorse such godless sentiments—by many of the clergy themselves, by politicians of Christian principles and stainless integrity. But the real opposition comes from those who hate the Christian principles which the clergy are supposed to represent and embody. The man who would have vice regulated for the better protection of his own lustful person, the betting tout, the brothel keeper, the sweater—all who seek their pleasure or find their profit in the sin and misery of their fellow creatures—are loud in their demand that the clergy shall not meddle with politics.

THE MAN AND THE CLERGYMAN.

But, as we have already admitted, we have opponents of a different calibre. It is frequently urged by persons of unimpeachable sincerity and profound religious conviction that whilst the clergy must not be deprived of their rights as citizens, yet *as clergy* they should take no part in political controversy. Let us then consider the position of those who, from a respectable but—as we shall endeavour to show—mistaken standpoint, would exclude the clergy from open participation in political affairs.

First of all, however, we would affirm that the distinction drawn between the clergyman as a clergyman and the clergyman as a man is in this particular case untenable in theory and ineffectual in practice. We say "in this particular case" ; for all would admit that in many cases the distinction is valid. It is altogether as a clergyman and not at all as a man that a priest celebrates the Holy Mysteries. It is altogether as a man and not at all as a clergyman that he eats his dinner. The efficacy of the Blessed Sacrament is not diminished by his human imperfection, nor are his digestive processes affected by his ordination vows. But when he preaches in his pulpit or visits in his parish the distinction

between the man and the clergyman ceases to have any meaning. He preaches, he visits, as a man who is liable to sin, who has experience of sin in his own heart and life, yet who is consecrated and empowered to fight against sin. Deprive his sermon of human sympathy, human experience, human aspiration, and what will it avail ? Deprive it of spiritual illumination granted to him for the office to which he is called—and, again, what will it avail ? He preaches, teaches, discharges almost every ministerial function, as a man who is a clergyman.

So when he engages in politics, when he advocates the passing of a White Slave Traffic Bill, or deprecates (let us suppose) the disestablishment of an historic Church, can he say within himself, I will approach this question simply as a man and a citizen ; I will lay aside whatever spiritual insight I have gained by hours of prayer and consecrated service, and deal with it in the temper and from the standpoint of an everyday man of the world? Is his personality susceptible of such division into compartments ? In this case the distinction between the man and the clergyman is unmeaning.

Were it not so it would still be practically ineffectual. We mean that the public would never attach the slightest importance to any profession on the part of the clergy that they were engaged as citizens, not as clergymen, in their political activities. We do not shut our eyes to the difficulties which may beset a clergyman in his ministerial work by reason of such political action as he may feel constrained to take ; but he will not obviate them by declaring that it was only as a man that he concerned himself with the affairs of the common life.

WELFARE OF CHURCH AND STATE.

Two grounds are advanced to make good their thesis by those whose attitude we seek to combat. They affirm that when the Church interferes with politics it is bad alike for the Church and for politics ; and they maintain that the clergyman who engages in politics contravenes the example of Christ and His disciples.

With the first of these arguments we must be content to deal summarily. To discuss it adequately would mean to review the whole history of Christendom. We may point out, however, that the whole political, social, and industrial condition of Uganda (a far-fetched, but indisputable example) has been transformed during the past half-century by the activities of the Church of Christ, activities often of a directly political kind, to the great gain of Uganda, and no less to the gain of the Church, which has been enriched by thousands of faithful disciples ; that the abolition of slavery in the West Indies had strong clerical support—it was the fault and loss of the Church, not that support was accorded, but that so much support was withheld ; and that

the recent White Slave Traffic Act was backed by the clergy up and down the country in a manner which has done much to revive the hope and trust of many who had almost lost faith in the clergy as really concerned to wage war against social evil. Let those who are familiar with history review the past, and they will find that where a politically minded church has wrought harm to itself and to the State it was because it sought through politics secular aggrandisement and secular power, never because it sought to shape the institutions and customs of its day in the interests of Christ's spiritual kingdom and for the true welfare of those committed to its care.

THE EXAMPLE OF CHRIST.

The argument that the example of Christ and His disciples should lead the clergy to abstain from political action, if it could be made good, surely proves too much. Are the disciples of Christ to-day to be found only within the ranks of the clergy? Or are all who acknowledge Christ as Master to withdraw from all share in ordering the common life, and hand over politics to the forces which set Him at defiance? Whatever the example of Christ and His disciples proves for the clergyman, it proves also for the layman who accepts that example as his guide in life.

But did Christ hold aloof from politics? We utterly deny the allegation. Politics in Judaea were not confined to the question of national autonomy *versus* national subjection to the yoke of Rome. Even on that interpretation of political life in Palestine in the time of our Lord, "Render unto Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's" would seem to have been political counsel for the hour. But the common life of Palestine was regulated mainly by Jewish law enforced in Jewish courts, and with that law our Lord found Himself in constant conflict. His attitude towards Jewish Sabbath observance will be within the memory of all readers of the Gospel. His cleansing of the Temple was a vehement challenge to the powers that were. It was the politicians who put Him to death at the last on the plea of expediency—so dear to politicians of every age—lest the Romans should take away their place and nation. If Christ had not meddled with politics the politicians would not have meddled with Him.*

THE EARLY CHURCH.

As to the disciples, we rather imagine that the story of the early Church in Jerusalem is regarded in some quarters as

* "He must be ruined, no matter how. Temple revenues, the supremacy of the governing class, constitutional authority, national institutions—these were the interests threatened by the new movement with which Jesus was identified. His execution had become a political necessity. That was the dominant factor in the situation."—*From a Sermon preached at St. Paul's Cathedral by Canon Simpson shortly after this article was first published.*

affording Scriptural warrant for Socialism, and certainly the experiment of having all things common was essentially political in character. But apart from this, and apart from the consideration already adduced—that the example of the first disciples is as relevant to the conduct of the laity as to that of the clergy—it seems obvious to observe that the sphere and character of Christian activity may well be modified by nineteen centuries of Christian teaching. We are not, unless we are called to the mission field, heralds of the truth to a heathen world. It is for the Church to-day, for clergy and laity alike, to seek to make operative in every department of human life those eternal truths which the first messengers of Christ proclaimed, and we discern no valid reason adduced to make good the principle that as the awakened conscience of the State extends the sphere of its interest and concern the sphere of the clergy is to be proportionately restricted.

'POLITICS' IN 1830 AND TO-DAY.

For this is in truth the principle which is maintained by those who would debar the clergy from participation in political life to-day. How very few of us realize the vast change that has come about during the past century in the magnitude of the sphere which politicians claim as their own! In 1830 Macaulay besought the State not to meddle with matters with which it had no concern. Our rulers, he affirmed, would best serve the nation "by strictly confining themselves to their own legitimate duties....by maintaining peace, by defending property, by diminishing the price of law, and by observing strict economy in every department of the State." How quaint his words seem in our ears! Not one of the great social problems of to-day with which the State is dealing, or attempting to deal, or (must we say?) pretending to deal, came within the sphere of politics as Macaulay reckoned politics. Those problems might be dealt with—they existed then as to-day—by those who would. To their honour, be it said, the clergy faced those problems and dealt with them as best they might. And now that the conscience of the State has been aroused, or is being aroused, are the clergy to forswear all further active interest in education, sanitation, social purity, the care of the sick, the succour of the needy, the help of the helpless? but indeed the list of subjects is endless, for to-day politics embrace every requirement and interest of the common life.

THE CLERGY NEEDED.

As we contemplate the revolution thus wrought in the sphere of political activity we ask ourselves: Was there ever a time when it was so necessary that the clergy should meddle with politics? We entertain no illusions respecting the clergy. They are an educated body of men, but doubtless, like other men, they are subject to the defects of their qualities and the limitations

of their calling. There are political questions upon which we do not think they could largely contribute to the sum total of human wisdom. What class in the community is omniscient? There are aspects of almost every question upon which, as a class, they would do well to refrain from expressions of opinion to which no special value can attach, and which may well sound foolish in the ears of wider experience and better-informed judgment. But unless they are charlatans they have, in a measure not vouchsafed to all, experience of the wisdom which is from above, the wisdom which may blunder in details, but discerns principles with unerring certainty, the wisdom which aims at righteousness in public as in private life, which does justly, and loves mercy, and walks humbly with God. If politics in our time were such as Macaulay defined them to be, we do not see that such wisdom would have much scope to operate, save in demanding an enlargement of the political sphere. But when politics are what they have become already to-day, still more in view of what they will assuredly become to-morrow, the withholding of such wisdom from the common store must be an incalculable loss—the impoverishment of the State, the degradation of the Church.

NO PARTY POLITICS.

We do not wish to see the clergy enrolled in the ranks of any political party. Still less do we desire that they should be accounted as the camp-followers of any fighting force in politics, an ignoble position, not without example in recent story. We do desire to see them the champions of justice, of mercy, of purity, of all things that are honest and of good report; insisting that the eternal principles which are inherent in Christ's religion shall be embodied in the legislation of the country; and offering relentless opposition to any and every Government which forsakes those principles, whether in defence of vested interests or in pursuit of party gain.

There are doubtless priests in the Church of God whose best work will always be done in regions of human experience where all else is forgotten save the sinner and the Saviour; men for whom political action of any kind will always be a painful duty, reluctantly embraced at times under stress of strong conviction and feeling, and gladly laid aside. We honour their ministry. There are diversities of gifts. But, thank God, there are others whose eyes are open to the needs of the common life; who see that Christianity is slowly losing its vital power, because it is refusing to recognize and careless to redress the social wrongs by which it is confronted; because it has so long forgotten its duty of seeking to realize under the conditions of earth and time the kingdom of God and of His Christ. Thank God there are those of the clergy—and their number grows day by day—who have responded to the call to meddle with politics.

An Appeal to the Clergy.

THE complaint which is constantly made respecting the attitude of the clergy towards Women's Suffrage is, not that they are hostile, but that they are apathetic. The assertion is obviously too sweeping. Many of those who are rendering most effective help to the cause are, we rejoice to know, to be found in the ranks of the clergy. A surprisingly large proportion of the entire membership of our League (about 1 in 12) is clerical. Indeed, it may be said without possibility of challenge that there is no body of men, comparable in numbers with the clergy, which has yielded so many strenuous and tireless advocates of the Enfranchisement of Women.

But to say that the accusation is intemperate is not to say that it is groundless. It is unfortunately true that there are many of the clergy who are apathetic. They are not opposed to the Enfranchisement of Women. If pressed to express their judgment on the issue, they will say that the reasonable demands of women should be granted. But they take no steps to further what they approve. They are content, so far as they are concerned, that this reform should be indefinitely postponed.

It is this attitude on the part of some—we fear, of many—of the clergy that women are beginning to find intolerable. It is this attitude which we would beg them to abandon.

Let us examine the causes of this apathy:

(1) It is due in some instances to ignorance—an ignorance for which the Press of this country is mainly and gravely responsible. The magnitude of the Movement has been concealed; its efforts to secure publicity, never adequately reported, are too often treated with contemptuous silence. This ignorance has been in some measure dispelled in recent years, but it still persists. We venture to affirm that no priest can have any true idea of how widespread, how earnest, how resolute this agitation is who does not read regularly some Suffrage paper. The daily Press, prostituting its influence to the interests of party, does no justice to the Movement.

(2) But more serious than ignorance as to the widespread nature of the demand is misconception as to its real character. It is a demand for "Votes for Women." From a certain point of view that does not seem a very soul-stirring claim. The privilege of dropping a voting paper in a ballot-box once in five years, considered by itself, does not seem worth all the bother which is made about it. But it must not be so considered if the demand of women is to be understood. The Vote is the symbol of equal citizenship. Its refusal is equivalent to the denial of citizens' rights. From a certain point of view it has been truly said that it is not so much the Vote that matters as the refusal of the Vote. To many of the clergy the possession of the Vote is practically valueless from the standpoint of current politics. They live, suppose, in constituencies which are preponderantly Liberal or Conservative, so that a vote more or less on either side is entirely negligible. But let the clergy consider how they would feel if they were disfranchised on the score of their moral or intellectual incapacity; how such treatment would affect their status in the community. They will then better understand women's passionate demand for Enfranchisement.

Again, women regard the Vote as an instrument for social service—and rightly so. If men, bound to the chariot of party, have failed to use that instrument as effectively as they should have

done, that is no reason why women should disregard it. There are evils in our common life to-day which can only be adequately dealt with by the aid of legislation: sweated industries, drunkenness, the social evil, insanitary housing, and many more. It is the desire to find some remedy for such ills which more than anything else engages women in this conflict. Their hopes may seem extravagant to some; but, can any man—at least, can any priest—remain apathetic in face of a demand which is inspired by such lofty purpose of social service.

(3) The apathy which exists, so far as it exists, may be in part accounted for by absorption in other interests. The clergy, popular misconceptions notwithstanding, are for the most part busy men. Sacred study, preaching, teaching, pastoral visitation, charity organization, guilds, clubs—there is no end to the claims upon their thought and time. "First things first," says the parish priest as he throws an invitation to a Suffrage meeting into his wastepaper basket. Does he realize what he is doing the while? Does he reflect that his indifference to the claims of womanhood is costing him the respect of many of the most enlightened, the most spiritual women in his congregation, and straining to breaking-point their loyalty to the Church of which he is an accredited minister? It would not have been so ten years ago. It is so to-day. Ten years ago women hardly ventured to hope for sympathy or comprehension. To-day they insistently demand them. It is becoming increasingly difficult for women to believe in the spiritual insight, not to say the Christian piety, of a priest who is deaf to the demands of their sex.

This may seem a hard saying. It is, however, a true saying. A lady, till recently a medical missionary in India, expressed in private converse the other day what thousands of women are beginning to feel. Let her words be placed on record as nearly as memory can recall them. "I do not say the time has come, but it is fast coming, when failure to recognize and further the claims of women for freedom from artificial disabilities must be regarded as definitely un-Christian. There was a time when slavery in its grossest form was carried on beneath the British flag with all but universal acquiescence. The pulpits were silent respecting it, or quoted Old Testament Scriptures and Pauline utterances in its defence. But a time came later when every priest who was worthy of respect was to be found in the ranks of its resolute opponents; when it was impossible to believe that any man who upheld slavery was himself in touch with God. The like must happen in relation to women's demand for freedom from sex-domination. One tries to be charitable, to make allowance for ancient prejudices. But if women's emancipation is not a test question in relation to sincere Christianity to-day, it will be so to-morrow."

Those who combine devotion to the Church with devotion to the Cause of Womanhood cannot be silent at such an hour. There is too much at stake. Women, in their struggle for justice and opportunity to serve, have need of the sympathy, the active influence, the unceasing prayer of their clergy. The Church has need, never more than to-day, of the devotion, the service, the gifts of its women members. That the Women's Movement should lose touch of organized Christianity in our land, that the Church should be impoverished by the loss of many of its most devoted members—these are eventualities which we cannot calmly contemplate. This is no time for clerical apathy.

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C.L.W.S. Pamphlets.**ONE PENNY.**

The Place of Women in the Councils of the Church.

BY

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Published by
THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,
SEPTEMBER, 1913.

THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

PRESIDENT:
THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

Offices: 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

OBJECTS, METHODS, AND MEMBERSHIP.

The objects are to band together, on a non-party basis, Suffragists of every shade of opinion who are Churchpeople in order to

1. Secure for women the Parliamentary Vote as it is or may be granted to men.
2. Use the power thus obtained to establish equality of rights and opportunities between the sexes.
3. Promote the moral, social, and industrial well-being of the community.

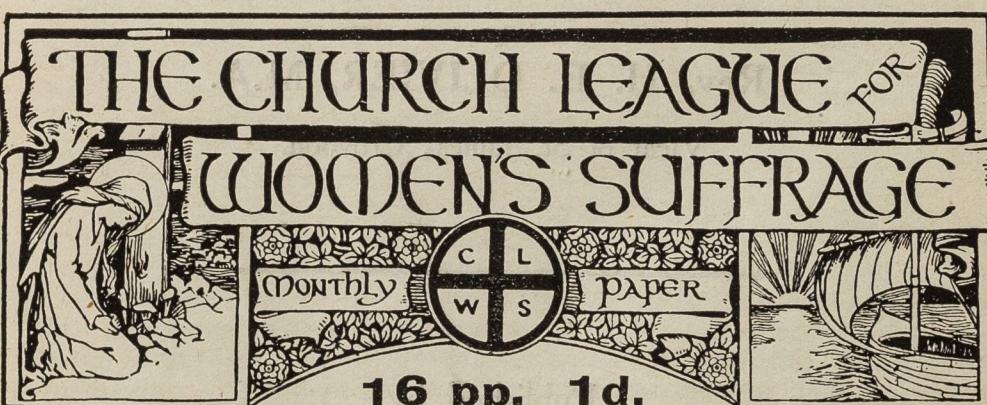
The methods used are

- (a) Corporate Devotions, both public and private.
- (b) Conferences, Meetings, and the distribution of Literature.

Men and women are eligible for membership who,

- (a) are members of the Church of England, or of Churches in full Communion therewith;
- (b) approve of the Rules of the League;
- (c) pay an annual subscription as fixed by the Branch to which the member belongs.

The minimum Annual Subscription to the Central Branch is 1s.



THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN THE COUNCILS OF THE CHURCH.

An Address delivered at the Croydon Ruri-Decanal Conference on June 5th, 1913, by Rev. H. E. OLIVIER, M.A., Vicar of St. James', Croydon.

The Councils of the Church are fourfold: Parochial, Ruri-Decanal, Diocesan, and Provincial; corresponding to the Congregation, the Presbytery, the Provincial Synod, and the General Assembly in the Church of Scotland. I mention that analogy at the outset, because—as we shall see—it has considerable significance in relation to our special subject, 'The Position of Women in the Councils of the Church.' Also it seems to show that our conciliar arrangements, so far as the main lines of the frame-word are concerned, have the sanction of wider experience than that of the Church of England alone, and therefore, whatever other changes may come, are likely to remain permanent as being naturally adapted to the requirements of Church-organization.

Now, of those four Councils of the Church, we in this room are directly associated with three; we are the Ruri-Decanal Council, we are created by Parochial Meetings, and we help to create the Diocesan Conference. We are one stage removed from the base on which the whole fabric rests, or should rest: the Parochial gatherings are intended to be the bed-rock of the whole structure; it is from the several parishes of England that the motive power and the initiative and the inspiring force, on which the Church depends, must be ultimately derived. It is therefore, obviously, of supreme importance that these Parochial assemblies should be so organized that they do really represent the true life of the Church, and not of any one section.

And we find that the regulations defining the qualifications of what is called a "parochial elector" are, up to a certain point, designed to secure this real representation of genuine Church life. For those persons are described as "qualified" who are either actual communicants, or who are by baptism and confirmation admissible to Holy Communion, and who sign a declaration to the effect that they have not joined any religious body which is not in communion with the Church of England. That clearly is a genuinely church franchise; that is, a franchise based on the fact of churchmanship and nothing else. This body of qualified persons, then meets together for the election of members of the Ruri-Decanal Conference, and it suddenly discovers that, for the purpose of this election, quite a new factor is introduced. We are confronted with a regulation which practically neutralizes all that has been laid down in the original definition of a "qualified person." We are directed to admit the votes only of "qualified persons of the male sex," although there had not been a word in the original definition to suggest any such distinctions. But if our astonishment is great at this sudden reversal of what we have been led to expect, it is even greater at what follows; for the sex distinction, which has been unexpectedly introduced, is further complicated by the insertion

of a ratepaying qualification : the franchise is conceded to persons of the female sex, if they are ratepayers. Thus, we start with a definition of a qualified churchman, and we are told, quite rightly, that it is a person of the status of a communicant who has not attached himself to one of the sects. No sex distinctions or rate-paying qualifications are so much as named, for the simple reason that such matters can have nothing to do with the genuineness of a person's churchmanship. We are not asked for the opinions of our people as males or as ratepayers, but as communicants. But when it comes to the election of delegates, we are solemnly asked to forward as the decision of the communicants of our Church a result as to which, everyone knows, three-quarters of the communicants have had no chance of recording their convictions.

It may well be asked, how did this amazing paradox ever come into existence ? And I suppose the answer would be two-fold :—

1. The compilers of the scheme were obsessed by the franchise conditions in the sphere of secular government and administration. The parliamentary vote, as is well-known, was supposed to depend (when parliamentary government first became a reality) on what is called "a stake in the country," or on certain intellectual distinctions ; so you had a high property qualification on the one hand, and the university seats on the other. And until the middle of the nineteenth century, it had always been assumed that women could not hold property, and that their intellectual capacity was not worth considering. Therefore they were eligible for the vote on neither of the grounds on which its possession was justified. As is well known, their exclusion from the franchise on these grounds has been undermined from two directions ; first, there has been legislation making all the difference to women's property-holding capacity, as well as a great advance in women's education ; so that they are no longer disqualified on the two grounds which formerly excluded them. And secondly, those two qualifications for the franchise have themselves ceased to be operative ; the recent extensions of the franchise (not to mention the proposed abolition of the university seats, have made it ridiculous to pretend that either a property qualification or an intellectual qualification are at the present time a condition of the right to vote. So that the analogy which was in the minds of the compilers of this church franchise has, as it were, come to pieces. They have merely imported into the ecclesiastical sphere a set of considerations which most thoughtful people have abandoned in the secular.

And all this, of course, quite apart from the even more obvious reflection that there never was really any analogy between the two cases at all. A person has the vote as a ratepayer or tax-payer, because he ought to have control over the expenditure of his rates and taxes. But no question of controlling the allocation of rates can be considered at a meeting of the communicants of a church. To require a rate-paying qualification in the election of the members of a Church Council is exactly as ridiculous as it would be to say that no man should take part in a parliamentary election who was not a subscriber to the local hospital. In both cases the two things—the qualification and the privilege—are in altogether different spheres, and it is very difficult indeed to discover how they could

have been confused, as they are confused, in the election of the members of this Conference.

2. The other reason for the imposition of this rate-paying qualification upon women was probably this : that the proportion of females to males, among the communicants of almost every church, is about three to one, and, therefore, unless the numbers of women could be artificially reduced, the men would be, in every case, hopelessly out-voted. Ultimately, the decisions of the Church would be the decisions of the female element ; that is, they would be hysterical and sentimental and irrational and impracticable, instead of being sane and robust and business-like and commonsensible. You will find this feeling very strongly embedded in the minds of those who are opposed to all change in this matter. And, of course, in these days it is an entirely untenable position : it is quite inconsistent to claim citizenship in a democracy, and then object to the extension of the franchise because you dislike the things the new voters would probably do. However much this may be secretly felt in the breasts of "stern and unbending Tories," it is a consideration which no politician would now publicly urge. These things are now settled solely on the ground of the justice of a person's claim to the status of a citizen, and not on any view of the use he might make of his privilege. So that this ground for limiting the rights of women in the Councils of the Church is out of court for reasons which are accepted in every other sphere of public life.

But it is not enough to say that a thing is theoretically "out of court" ; that, in itself, is never a very convincing plea to the gainsayers. It is more to the purpose to inquire what are the grounds for supposing that, if the appointment of delegates to the Ruri-decanal Council came to be decided by a body in which the female element was predominant, that appointment would be made on grounds which are sentimental, hysterical, irrational, and the rest of it. The only possible answer to this inquiry must be derived from experience, and what is the witness of experience in this matter ?

I mentioned at the outset that the conciliar arrangements of the Church of Scotland had a significance in relation to the subject of the place of women in the Councils of the Church. That meant this ; the bed-rock of Church organization in Scotland is, as it theoretically is in England, the congregation. And the congregation consists of "all persons, not being under Church discipline, whose names are upon the Communion Roll," as well as those who are "connected with the congregation or are associated with it in its interests and work," provided that "no reason exists for refusing to admit them to the Communion if they should apply." To this body belong all female, as well as male, members of the congregation. And the congregation takes a direct part in all the most important activities of Church life. In the first place it elects and appoints its minister and the elders ; it elects a representative to the Presbytery, corresponding (though it is a bigger thing) to the Ruri-decanal Conference. Thus all members of the Presbytery sit by right of election by the whole body of communicants—male and female alike. And it is by the Presbyteries that the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland is elected. The General Assembly is a more important ecclesiastical

body than any in the Church of England. It would correspond to the united convocations of Canterbury and York, but with far more real powers than convocation possesses. Here you have something quite real, with genuine executive authority, and, as we have seen, the ultimate constituency from which it derives its authority is the mass of communicants—male and female. In view of this discussion, I asked a Presbyterian minister in Croydon, who is a neighbour and friend of mine, if it was ever felt in Scotland that the composition of the various assemblies bore the impress of election by persons of whom the majority were sentimental, hysterical, and unpractical. And he laughed the idea to scorn. So that as soon as you get to experience, all those fears which have led to the unfair treatment of women in the Church of England are simply blown away.

* And consider what a small thing it is that our communicants are empowered to do compared with their brothers and sisters in Scotland. There is no question of their electing the minister, and, until long-delayed reform can be accomplished, there is no question of their electing to convocation. And yet, while women communicants in Scotland are entrusted with such very important responsibilities, women communicants in England are not permitted, as such, to take any part even in the appointment of the (more or less sham bodies which correspond to the Presbytery and the General Assembly in Scotland.

I have dealt at some length with this case of the Presbyterian Church because it is so obviously an analogous case to our own. But if I were asked simply to disprove the assertion that that organisation would be badly administered, of which the preponderating element is likely to be female, I should be disposed simply to point to two such organizations as the G.F.S. or the Primrose League, the management and administration of both of which is mainly in female hands. The extraordinary success and efficiency of both of these organizations ought to be enough to silence any imaginary fears as to what would happen if "the place of women in the Councils of the Church" proved to be numerically larger than men's.

And when one considers what the matters are on which the most important deliberations are held in the Councils of the Church, can it seriously be said that they are matters on which all women communicants should not make their voices heard? The question of divorce; various aspects of what is called the social evil; Poor Law administration; the education of the young; certain sides of the drink question. I feel very strongly that not only is it just and fair that the women's views of these questions should be most gravely considered; but even more—that there is a sense in which it is impossible to discuss them adequately at all without direct inspiration from women. Of some of the evils that have to be dealt with, women are essentially the victims, and the urgency of the problems concerned can never be properly appreciated until the thoughts of the sex which suffers most become articulate. Some of them, notably the matter of the education of the young, have been so very largely bungled because they have been considered without

that intuition into the mind of young children which is the peculiar possession of women rather than men.

But this is not all. It is not only, of course, these social problems which have to be considered by the Councils of the Church. More prominent still are the questions bearing directly on specifically religious topics, on which it is so extremely difficult to obtain the real opinion of the rank and file of Church people. I mean such burning and blazing questions as those with which prayer-book revision is concerned. I do not, of course, mean to say that women, as a sex, are likely to be liturgical experts or that they have the historic sense in any special degree. It is the business of the experts to propose some definite solution of these problems to the mass of the Church members; but the one condition of a sound and reliable "aye" or "no" to the proposals of the experts is that the constituency to which they are submitted should be really in possession of what is called the "religious instinct." And I ask anyone here to say, from his own experience, if the "religious instinct" is not found on the whole more conspicuously in women than in men. And it is for that reason that it is so wrong to arrive at decisions on these grave matters without giving women as such, an unfettered opportunity for letting those religious instincts of theirs become articulate.

After all, the most valid claim to have some control over Church administration is based on two things; first, on your personal knowledge of the practical work of the Church in its thousand parishes, and secondly, on the extent to which you have provided the sinews of war for that work. In other words, on service and sacrifice. Eliminate all that we get in the way of personal service and financial help from women, and there is hardly a parish in England which would not fall to pieces in a month. We accept, in some cases we almost demand, the help of women in every department of our parochial administration; in the working of our many church societies; in the Sunday schools; in the districts; in the business of raising funds. We could not do these things without them. Again, look through the list of subscribers in the financial statement of any parish in the land, and you will generally find that considerably more than half of those subscribers are women. And when they ask for a due share in the selection of those whose opinion will be asked at headquarters as to the management of church work and the control of church finance, they are told that their personal service and their contribution to the funds do not count unless they are ratepayers; unless, that is, they are qualified according to a standard which has no more to do with the life and work of the Church than the Church has to do with the mending of the roads.

We here in this deanery have already given our opinion on the folly and injustice of the present rule. Twice, I believe, this Conference has passed resolutions to the effect that the voting qualifications for women in the election of members of the Conference should be the same as that of men. But we are helpless in the matter until the Diocesan Conference agrees to accept as members from the rural deaneries those whose position is due to election by women as well

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as men, and the Diocesan Conference tells us that it cannot make any alteration until sanction is received from the Provincial House of Laymen, for the House of Laymen only admits from each Diocesan Conference those who are there through the operation of the existing rule. To my mind, the advantage of having a few men from the diocese of Canterbury in the House of Laymen is as nothing compared with the advantage of having the Diocesan Conference really representative of the churchmanship of the diocese; and certainly, if every diocese were to insist on giving women their right place in the Councils of the Church, the House of Laymen would either fall into line or cease to have any members at all.

And it ought not to be difficult for a body of Christian men to put themselves back, in heart and mind, to the first days of their faith, when it was fresh from the Master's hand. "These all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication, with the women and Mary, the Mother of Jesus." It was the first Christian society; women and men on an equal footing; women and men acting together in the greatest election that ever took place—the election of the two, of whom one was to be numbered with the eleven apostles. We are always being told that the church needs constantly to be re-invigorated by renewing its youth, by reversion to type. All that is really wanted for the settlement of our subject of this evening, is a sincere and unreserved recognition of what it means to belong to a society in which there is neither bond nor free, neither male nor female, for all are one in Christ Jesus.

ONE HALF-PENNY.



CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP.

By the Rev. H. E. OLIVIER,

Vicar of the Church of St. James, Croydon.

Text :—“Thou shalt provide out of all the people, able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness; and place such over them.”—Exodus xviii. 21.

Those words were spoken in connexion with one of the earliest proposals, of which there is any historical record, to broaden the basis of government and admit to a share in administration those who had hitherto had no share in it. All down human history this process has been going on. At first, as in the case of which the text speaks, it was little more than a delegation to subordinates of some of the functions of government by an autocratic ruler. And as these officials began, in process of time, to owe their selection to popular consent rather than to the personal choice of the ruler, the people who selected them would necessarily come to possess a greater responsibility for government and administration; it would, practically, be those who sanctioned the appointment of the officers of government who would rule the nation. And the recent progress of democracy has been simply the admission of more and more citizens to this position of responsibility and control. And the movement, which this League represents, exists for the purpose of admitting to this position of responsibility and control that section of the community which has hitherto been excluded on the ground of sex.

Now I don't think it is necessary for me to-day, before this congregation, to give a sort of résumé of the reasons we have for believing that the accident of sex is no ground for excluding half the citizens of a State from any direct share in the government of that State. The fact of your presence here this evening is sufficient proof that you are aware of those reasons, and that you are convinced by them.

QUALIFICATIONS.

What I think is more to the purpose for us to-night is to take note of those qualifications for a share in government which were suggested in those very early days of human history when Moses was advised by Zethro to broaden the basis of his administration and to admit to a share in it those who had hitherto been excluded. I think that when this League meets together in the presence of God, it should rather be with the intention of making ourselves ready and equipped for the exercise of those rights which we claim than of listening to a restatement of the justice of that claim. We have no sort of doubt that the claim is going to be conceded, and conceded within a period which is certainly not so remote as to exclude from the practical exercise of their public rights those who are now listening to me.

So the question is practical and opportune—Are you really ready to do and to be in the body politic all that we have been claiming that women are able to do and to be? Think of that old catalogue of qualifications: “able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness.”

1.—ABILITY.

“Able men.”—On this point, perhaps, it is necessary to say something about our reasons for believing that the accident of sex is no ground for disenfranchisement. I am not thinking of women whose intellectual gifts or whose administrative ability is, so to speak, already before the public and recognized by all: the great women writers or teachers or organizers. It is needless to say how the government of any State would be strengthened by the practical participation of such great minds.

I am speaking to you simply as a parish priest, whose work for twenty years has been in parishes in which the genuine working class element overwhelmingly preponderates. And what grows upon me more and more, in the course of an experience like that, is the conviction that the kind of ability which is wanted for the service of the State is to be found in the wife much more distinctly than in the husband. Of course I am aware that, so far as the present proposals before Parliament go, there is no immediate prospect of these women becoming voters. But they do most certainly display, in their unnoticed sphere of life, the sort of *ability* which justifies the woman’s claim all along the line.

It is the woman who is the true judge of character; it is she, and not the father, who understands the mind and the individuality of her sons and daughters. It is the woman, she and not the man, who has the tact and the shrewdness to deal with individuals in the wisest way. It is the woman, and not the man, who has the unerring instinct to discriminate between the genuine and the spurious—in persons as well as causes. It is the woman, and not the man, who understands the spending power of money, who would give the most useful opinion on a practical fiscal question.

Often I have been amazed at the *ability* of working women in matters of this kind. And we want all that harnessed to the public chariot. We want the State to have the benefit of all this ability. And we do not doubt at all that the bestowal of the franchise on such as these will bring to the service of the State those who are pre-eminently “able.” Only, you have all got to be “able.” The ability I have been speaking of has been wrought out of effort and endurance and patience and experience; sweat of brow and sweat of brain. And no woman can afford to let her life be superficial and easy-going or flippant and pleasure-seeking. That is not the road to any kind of *ability*; and certainly the members of this League must take heed to keep their feet on the hard road of endurance and service if it is to be on the ground of their “ability” that their claim to enfranchisement rests.

2.—THE FEAR OF GOD.

And the next qualification is this: “such as fear God.” I have heard it said that there were only about two members of the last House of Commons (and the new House is a curiously unchanged body), only about two members whose opinion on grave moral matters was seriously regarded by the House as the outcome of sincere religious conviction; only about two members on

whose lips any mention about the deep things of God was not felt to be inappropriate. And I am quite certain that the great Council of a Christian State has got off the rails. I am certain that it is not truly representative of national feeling if it does not like to recognize the sanctions and the claims of the Christian faith. And if any grave political philosopher were to take note of this phenomenon and were to realize its consequences, he would say that some element was needed in the electoral body which would leaven the House of Commons with a more articulate witness to Christ. And I think he would not hesitate to add that that element would be provided by the inclusion—in the electoral body—of the women of England.

Once more, I venture to say, that no man can have been a parish priest for twenty years, in parishes of very varying conditions, without being thoroughly aware that the standard of Christian life—what the text calls “the fear of God”—is maintained in social life and in domestic life by the influence and the convictions and the persistent courage of women. If it were not for what women were saying and doing in thousands of English parishes, it is often difficult to see how real Christianity would survive. And if this is true, as you know it is, who can doubt that the leavening of our political life, by the organic association with it of this great religious force, would not restore to the House of Commons a more truly representative character, because it would infuse into its deliberations a deeper fear of God? Only, you see what a great business this makes of your effort to win the vote. It is, in one of its aspects at any rate, an effort to bring back God into our national life. That is why it is so fitting and appropriate that there should be a League like yours; so right that the Church should take her part in the effort that is being made. But it means that you must do your work as part of your conscious service for your Lord. The influence which you will bring into the practical work of politics cannot be anything but the influence of what you—in yourselves—are. And your influence can only be of that transforming character which we look for if you are yourselves transformed. You cannot bring the fear of God into the counsels of the State unless the fear of God is in your own heart. And just because you are working for the suffrage, there is all the heavier responsibility upon you to be living by the power of prayer and sacrament, living the life that is hid with Christ in God.

3.—SCRUPULOUS HONESTY.

And, once more, there is that other qualification: “men of truth, hating covetousness”; or, as the Revised Version translates it, “hating unjust gain.” I put those two things together because they both of them suggest dangers of the very kind that belong to the stage at which our English democracy has arrived.

(a) “Men of truth.” There is enough education in England now to secure that practically everybody who votes can read. So that it is necessary for each party to justify its cause and present its case with every device which the public press can fashion. And every one knows how this leads to quite appalling misrepresentation. The very same facts will be exhibited on the contents bills of two rival newspapers side by side at the same shop door, and a casual passer-by would suppose that one of the two must certainly have been misinformed. Not at all, it is only both misrepresenting. Politicians on both sides will state the facts of any given political situation, not in order to expound the truth, but in such a way—with such omissions or such suggestions—as to confound their adversaries, although they know that the impression left on the audience cannot but be a false impression. Statistics will be unblushingly quoted in the House of Commons, statistics collected in such a manner as simply to secure their unreliability. It is hardly possible to converse with any one on any political topic with which you happen to be familiar without being simply bewildered at the widespread distortion and perversion of truth which has been disseminated. And when a man who really loves the truth comes along and tries to take his place in the world of politics; he soon finds that there is no room for him, and it is not a place for “men of truth.”

(b) And what about—“hating unjust gain”? Not unwarrantably may we in this country pride ourselves on the financial cleanliness of our public men. Whenever there has been a suspicion of men using their political position for private pecuniary advantage, the whole sentiment of the nation is up in arms. And that could by no means be said of the public men in every country. We

have to be quite sure it will always be true in England. We may be coming to a time when it will be necessary to emphasize the necessity of having in our public life only men who "hate unjust gains." For some time past it has by no means been always true in Municipal Government that men do public work from entirely disinterested motives. And it stands to reason that there will be far more obvious possibilities of the same mischief in the House of Commons, when the practice of paying members has created, as it must create, the "professional politician"; the man who *makes his living* by membership in the House of Commons. Of course I am not saying that the reasons for paying members are not both urgent and convincing. But clearly, when it has become a recognized practice, as it is pretty sure to be, it will be necessary to take all the greater heed that the men who represent us in Parliament are men "hating unjust gains."

Here, then, are certainly two very visible and very serious dangers in our public life; what the Bible, in its direct way, calls lying and covetousness. And it is now, at this moment, with those dangers existing or threatening, that *you* are coming in; the women of England are going to take their share in that public life. And you must come in to save the situation. That is your mission.

"Loving truth and hating unjust gains." Some moralists will tell us that, as compared with men, women are not specially truth-lovers; that from the earliest days of human history a sort of guile has been woman's only weapon against the brute force of man, and that something of that lingers still. Our moralist will perhaps also say that women have, on the whole, shown less conscientiousness than men in matters of jobbery; that they cannot be said as a sex to be conspicuously "haters of unjust gain." Whatever else this women's movement, which you represent, may be, certainly it is your opportunity for silencing such allegations as these. Because you are wanted for that. You are wanted to heal these symptoms of disease in the body politic. And as you set your faces towards your goal, they must be set, that all men may know it, against perversion of truth and against grinding private axes. And all men *will* know it, and will feel the effect of it, if you, who are earnest workers in the cause, have always in your hearts—in small matters as well as in great—in your attitude towards fellow-workers in the cause and towards the other suffrage societies, as well as in all your private life and conversation, a charity which rejoiceth in the truth and a charity which seeketh not her own.

DEVOTION AND SERVICE.

Remember, you are taking your place, in this claim you are making, by the side of the greatest of all women, the Lady of the human race. "These all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication, with the women and Mary the Mother of Jesus" (*Acts i. 14*). It was the first Christian Society; women and men on an equal footing; women and men acting together in the greatest election that ever took place; the election of the two, of whom one was to be numbered with the eleven apostles. And you cannot claim to do what that blessed Mother did unless you are trying to be what Mary was; striving to realize in your own lives the highest ideals of womanhood; with your love given utterly to the cause of her adorable Son; with your ears ever open to the whispers of His will; your life united to His life, evermore dwelling in Him and He in you.

Published by
THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Offices:
6, YORK BUILDINGS, ADELPHI, W.C.

Printed by FRANCIS & Co., 13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.

E.L.A.
261.8344 (10)

C.L.W.S. Pamphlets.

No. 6.

ONE PENNY.



THE MORAL ISSUES INVOLVED IN THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT.

BY THE

(D. Maud)

Right Rev. the BISHOP OF KENSINGTON.

Published by
THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE
OCTOBER, 1913.

THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

PRESIDENT:
THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

Offices: 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

OBJECTS, METHODS, AND MEMBERSHIP.

The objects are to band together, on a non-party basis, Suffragists of every shade of opinion who are Churchpeople in order to

1. Secure for women the Parliamentary Vote as it is or may be granted to men.
2. Use the power thus obtained to establish equality of rights and opportunities between the sexes.
3. Promote the moral, social, and industrial well-being of the community.

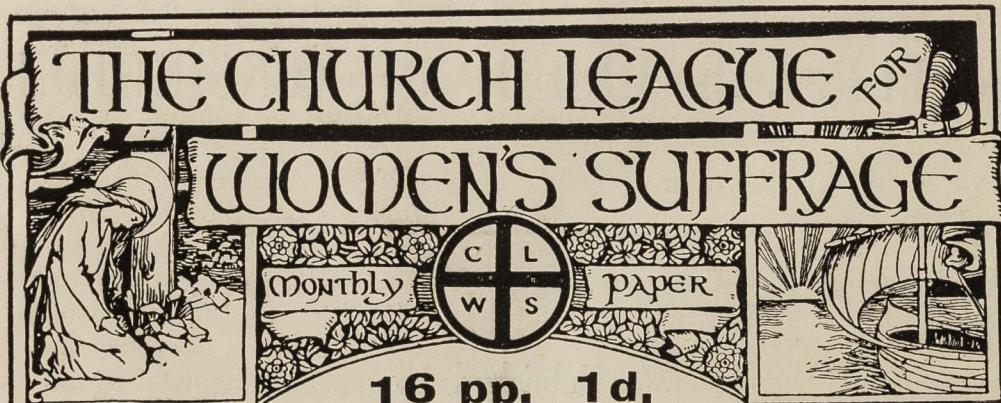
The methods used are

- (a) Corporate Devotions, both public and private.
- (b) Conferences, Meetings, and the distribution of Literature.

Men and women are eligible for membership who,

- (a) are members of the Church of England, or of Churches in full Communion therewith;
- (b) approve of the Rules of the League;
- (c) pay an annual subscription as fixed by the Branch to which the member belongs.

The minimum Annual Subscription to the Central Branch is 1s.



The Moral Issues Involved in the Women's Movement.

By the Right Rev. the BISHOP OF KENSINGTON.

A FRESH opportunity will be given at the Church Congress to consider the claims which the Women's Movement makes upon the body of Church people. As one who has gradually become convinced that this movement has been inspired by a vision of those moral and spiritual ideals for which the Church has stood in all ages, and is constantly sustained by a passionate enthusiasm for righteousness, I venture to address those who have been unable to see anything in the demand for the vote deeper than a foolish ambition on the part of some women to enter the arena of politics. I am convinced that the great mass of Church folk dismiss the matter as a purely political question which has no concern for the Church. "The less we have to do with politicians the better," they say; "an arena where the dust is so vitiating and the atmosphere so demoralizing is one from which we can expect no benefit to woman. Let her keep out of it at all hazards."

It is never easy to discern the great issues involved in a new movement. It has been particularly hard in this case. The agitation which for years proceeded on strictly constitutional lines failed to secure attention. When, to the regret of the vast majority of its supporters, it entered upon the phase of militancy, it aroused the immediate antipathy of those for whom any cause is without further question condemned which resorts to methods of violence. At the present time the movement is boycotted by the Press. Under the heading of the Suffrage Movement nothing appears save accounts of outrages perpetrated by militants, and the conclusion intended to be drawn is that its force is spent and the issues raised by it may be ignored. With wearisome iteration Suffragists have asserted that the vote is mainly a symbol, and they have disavowed any support of violent or unconstitutional methods. To no purpose. They cannot secure a hearing. Of the great consuming passion for righteousness, which is the motive of all their enthusiasm, and which nothing can quench, those remain apparently ignorant who should be the first to extend their sympathy. To those of us who have come to know

the motives which inspire their leaders, and the force of conviction which animates them, it is terrible to contemplate the possibility of the Church remaining coldly apathetic, and content to follow along the line of the world's judgment. It seems to us nothing less than a tragedy that so splendid a force with which to combat evil in its most strongly entrenched position should be lost. It will not be lost if it be once realized that there is inherent in this movement a moral and spiritual force which is growing in volume and intensity daily, a movement by which woman is seeking to possess herself of the means to exert a potent influence in life, and to have a voice in effecting changes in social conditions essential to purer and healthier living.

The truth is that with the education of women there has come inevitably a knowledge of the facts of life and an insight into their causes, which has been simply overwhelming. It is absolutely true to assert that the girl of to-day knows the facts of life and the conditions which prevail for multitudes of her sex, of which her mother was almost entirely ignorant. For example, it need not be supposed that the state of the London streets is very different to what it was a generation ago. Whether it is better or worse it is not easy for any one to say. But whereas a generation ago it was generally regarded as of inevitable necessity, it is being looked at to-day by eyes that burn with indignation and horror, and with a longing to exchange a state of impotence for one of power to deal with it.

Beyond the facts which meet the eye there is now a vision of the cause for their continued existence—viz., the prevalence of a moral standard which Society has complacently acquiesced in being fixed for man on a plane far below that demanded for woman. The day is not so far removed when the unfortunate of the streets was unquestionably condemned as one who by reason of her wickedness entrapped men to their destruction. For her there could be no pity. She had fallen by her own fault, and no punishment was great enough for her to bear at the hands of Society. To-day it has dawned on woman's consciousness that this unfortunate is there, not wholly by reason of her own wickedness, but because men in large numbers demand victims for their lust; that while men have expected that their wives, sisters, and daughters should be pure, they have another standard for men, which recognizes the need for the existence of a "fallen" class of women. Behind that fact women have discerned another: namely, the conditions under which thousands of girls and women are expected to live and work for sweated wages, so that a life of honourable toil is, indeed, for multitudes but a grinding slavery. When relief from its sordid and insupportable dullness can be so easily purchased by the rewards of shame and dishonour, it is not easy to condemn the victims so much as the community which tolerates such conditions for its helpless ones. The traffic which involves thousands

upon thousands of girls in a life of shame is merely the working of that law which seeks the supply of those who will gratify the demands of man's passions and lust.

The Church and other religious bodies have for many years engaged in the work of stirring the conscience of the community in this matter. We have engaged in rescue and preventive work. In London we claim to have established a network of shelters, refuges, and homes so that the Church can hold out a helping hand to the tempted and fallen in every part of the diocese. But those who have been foremost in this work have always realized that the main obstacle in their way has been the apathy of the great body of even professing Christian people. We have realized that with all our agencies we only touch but a fragment of the mass of evil. No cause has made its appeal with so little measure of success in securing financial support. Our appeal always seemed to fall upon deaf or unheeding ears, both among men and women. We were always up against a dead wall of apathy, prejudice, and indifference. The dead weight of a moral sense which strangely acquiesced in the inevitability of this social evil has ever been our deadliest foe. For years efforts to amend the criminal law, backed by archbishops, bishops, and prominent laymen were unavailing. And then for some inexplicable reason there came a change. Last year public opinion became vigorous and overwhelming in the endeavour to grapple with the White Slave Traffic. Society seemed all at once to awake to the fact of its existence. It was shocked and horrified to find that the evil was of gigantic proportions, that the Traffic was a huge systematized business, organized and controlled by the forces of cunning, cruelty, and wealth. Victims were being swept into the horrible net from every class and condition. *They were being procured for men.* It was not that there was anything new in the facts. To what was this stirring of the national conscience due? I do not hesitate to assert that it was due to the Woman's Movement. Not only had the noble-hearted women who were its leaders fearlessly presented the facts. There had come through many avenues a knowledge to women of the standards of sex morality accepted by those who made the laws, of the treatment of their sisters which such standards of morality involved, of the state of the law which made easy the ruthless path of the procurer and procuress. Of that knowledge expression was found in that movement which impels women to step boldly into the arena, with a determination to lift womanhood out of the depths to which so many have sunk, and to secure such conditions of life and a standard of wages as will make the path of shame no longer an all but inevitable means of livelihood for so many of their sisters.

With this knowledge has come a burning desire to attack the evil at its source rather than to spend our strength in miti-

gating some of its most pitiful effects ; to prevent catastrophes by removing the cause of disaster. Women have come to realize that too long they have consented to acquiesce in the continued existence of evils which press with such pitiless cruelty upon their sex ; and with unerring instinct they have seized upon the vital point.

While we social reformers and rescue workers have been content to make heroic efforts to rescue out of the turbid flood of evil such portions of the human wreckage which come within our reach from the shore, we seem to have had no eyes for those cruel rocks higher up the river on which the frail barks were foundering. It is to that critical spot to which the women of to-day are pointing. Why not blow up that rock, they say, no matter what the risk may be through the explosion to the nerves of those who securely live on either bank ? That rock may be rooted in antiquity, it may have come to be regarded as a part of the fixed order of things, but it is removable ; let us have a hand in helping to remove it. We know the truth of the appeal. That rock stands for conventional public opinion. It has its fixed status in the legislation which has expressed the standard of morality accepted by those who, through the possession of the vote, alone voice the will of the community. It stands for that view of womanhood which is as dishonouring to man as it is unjust to woman.

The coincidence of the passing of the Criminal Law Amendment Act with the agitation for Women's Suffrage is one which cannot be explained away. We have no wish to belittle the efforts made by any who contributed to the result. But justice compels us to recognize that our failure in past years was due to the absence of that moral sense in the community, due to the ignorance of the real facts of life, in which women for generations had been held. But now with the inrush of knowledge, made powerful by the Women's Movement, the conscience of the community was stirred to energetic action. The acknowledgement of this constraining influence was seen in the eagerness with which both political parties passed the Bill. The rapid change of front then shown by our legislators may indeed have been due to a desire to demonstrate what men could do for women when they tried. All honour to them that they made even a tardy effort !

It was one thing to pass the Bill. We all confidently hoped that with this quickening of the national conscience great good would result. Enough has happened during the short interval in which the Criminal Law Amendment Act has been in operation to realize the truth of the contention of the leaders of the Women's Movement, that acts of the legislature can only be effectively carried out when they are administered by those who are sincerely determined to use the powers which such acts create. We have

lately seen in the conduct of the Piccadilly Flat Case enough to deepen our fears that the Act passed a year ago may prove a dead letter.

It was the first instance of a woman being charged under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. The Home Secretary stated in the House of Commons that "the case was opened and pressed as a bad one" ; that "the indictment included three counts under section 7 (4) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1912, for exercising control for the purpose of gain over the movements of three prostitutes, and three counts under section 1 of the Vagrancy Act, 1898, and section 7 (4) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1912, for living in part on the immoral earnings of the same three prostitutes. The maximum penalty for each of these offences is two years' imprisonment. The Crown proceeded with all the charges, none were withdrawn, and the prisoner pleaded guilty to all counts of the indictment." The prisoner, "Queenie Gerald," was sentenced to three months in the second division. The ages of the girls under her control were 17, 17, and 18. From letters found in the woman's possession it was plain that her wealthy male clients were dealing with her as a procurer, *i.e.*, as a person who would procure girls who were not prostitutes. "There was abundant evidence," Mr. McKenna stated, "to show that she defrauded her clients, but no evidence to show that she was guilty of procuration." She kept within the letter of the law. As her male clients did not betray their identity by any signature or addresses to their letters there was no evidence against them. But they were guilty of attempting to procure ; they were, in fact, the very people against whom the Act was framed to proceed, but apparently there was no attempt to secure their presence in the dock beside the accused woman. A number of names were found in the diary and ledger kept by the woman, but, the Home Secretary explained, "the names were not in the handwriting of the persons supposed to be referred to," and so "these names were not relevant to the case." That the first test case involving a woman under the Act, "pressed as a bad one," should have met with this fate must be regarded as indeed a disaster.

When one recalls the zeal displayed in the raid made by the police upon the offices of the Women's Social and Political Union, the pertinacity with which every supposed clue was followed up, and the sentences imposed upon those who were under any circumstances and from any point of view acting from political motives ; when one realizes how the mass of citizens have endorsed the action of the Government in treating these women as criminals of the most dangerous type, one is moved, indeed, to marvel. This is the way the strong arm of the law can work its will against those women who were mainly instrumental in rousing indignation against the horrors of the White Slave Traffic. Thus the righteous wrath of the nation

can find its vent in the punishment of political offenders, condemned to long periods of imprisonment in the third division, while women of the "Queenie Gerald" type are put in prison for three months in the second division, and the charge against her male clients, which would inevitably have involved disclosure of their names, is never preferred!

This latest example of the administration of the law in the cases of men whom, as stated in the House of Commons, "the law, as it at present stands, cannot touch," is one from which only the cynical will derive any satisfaction. We are indeed come to a strange pass when the moral sense of the community can so signally fail to discriminate between the offences of women engaged in a campaign to secure the franchise, and of those who engage in the noisome White Slave Traffic. Some of those who rejoiced at the passing of the Criminal Law Amendment Act a year ago might even find it possible to understand that it is this outraged sense of injustice which has led some women to resort to methods, which, however indefensible they may appear, at least are designed to make the people hear.

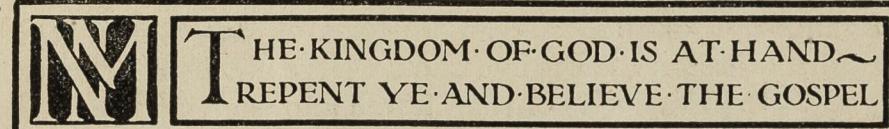
In the great mass of the ardent supporters of the Women's Movement there is a deeply seated longing to go to the root of this social evil, with which for many reasons both men and women are loth to come to grips. They have been driven to the conclusion that the only effectual means by which any member of the community can contribute to the solution of its problems is by the vote. They know that in a democratic state the will of the community to create or to remove the conditions under which its life shall be lived finds its expression by its enfranchized citizens. In them, at least, we have those who are eager to serve where service is most needed, zealous to play their part in making life richer and fuller and more worth living for the whole body. In a great campaign for righteousness, purity, and truth, we require all the forces of which the body is possessed; we require means by which those forces may be *applied* and their weight brought to bear upon the actual conditions of life. So long as the aspirations of women to be such a force are held in check, and freedom to express themselves be denied, we are but missing the most hopeful and fruitful of all influences in national life which the goodness of God has given to mankind.

Will there not be found sufficient zeal for righteousness in the Church to-day to cause us to intervene and prevent a loss so grievous?

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NATIONAL MISSION PAPER No. 11



Women and the National Mission

THE National Mission is a call to the whole Church to repentance and hope, to the laity as well as to the clergy. From the first, the Archbishops recognised the position of women in the Church by placing lay women as well as lay men on the Council and Committees of the National Mission. The women shared with the other members of Council in the Retreat by which the Council tried to prepare itself for its responsible work.

This recognition of the place of women in the work of the Church is of far reaching importance both as regards the working and the whole meaning of the mission. It is not different sections of the Church that are to set themselves in isolation to find out their shortcomings. We are in search of a fuller fellowship within the Church. We wish to realise our corporate unity and our corporate responsibility, to look upon the work of the Church as a whole, and to look upon it, clergy and laity, men and women together. Then we shall all be able to learn from one another, to see how one part of the work of the Church affects another. If they serve on the Councils and Committees women will be able to bring before the clergy the needs of women and children, of their sons and their daughters, of their households, of the whole family life. The women who are giving their lives to the work of the Church will bring their experience, their knowledge of the suffering and the outcast to help in the consideration of the great problems that lie before us. The clergy and laity will have an opportunity of knowing

more about the work that the women are doing, of considering with them their contribution to the work of the Church and how it can be improved and increased.

Again, the women, since they form in most cases the majority of the congregation, should have much to say with regard to the ministries of the Church and the way in which they meet, or fail to meet, the needs of modern life. They will be able to tell why many of those near to them, husbands, brothers, sons, find no satisfaction in the services of the Church.

In the life of the nation, women are at present, owing to the urgent needs of the day, taking the place of men in many departments of work. In the National Mission also they must inevitably help in many new ways on account of the absence of the younger laity and of very many of the clergy on war service. How and where they can best help will most easily be discovered in common conference.

At this time also women must in large measure speak for the laity. The absence of the younger men, the pressure of public work upon the older men, makes it impossible for most of them to serve on the Council and Committees of the National Mission, or if they serve to attend regularly. Women will to a large extent constitute the only lay element able to be present. They should feel called upon to speak not only for themselves as women, but as representing the laity. They have many opportunities for collecting lay opinion, both at all times in their home life and now through correspondence with men at the front. They can tell not only what women need and where women fail, but they can tell much of the needs and failings of men.

With regard to what is specially considered to be women's work, rescue work, the work of our great Church Societies, the Mothers' Union, the G.F.S., etc., it will be well for women to have an opportunity for discussing with men the relation of such special work to the general work of the Church, as well as of hearing from men criticisms as to the methods and results of their work. They will also be able to call attention to ways in which men may help in work amongst women.

With regard to many of our social problems, women through the special activities they have been able to exercise

have had more experience than the majority of men. This experience should be available for all who are preparing for the National Mission.

For these and many other reasons, it is much to be desired that the example of the central Council and its Committees should be followed throughout the dioceses. As the work of preparation proceeds, it will frequently prove necessary to form special committees for special pieces of work. It may sometimes be desirable to have a sub-committee of men only or of women only, but as a rule it will be well on all such sub-committees to have both men and women. For instance, in arranging special meetings for men, it would be well to know the subjects which experienced women think should be brought before men, and also to consider whether on some subjects such as purity, family life, etc., it would not be well to arrange for women to speak to men. Similarly there are subjects in which men speakers at women's meetings will be desirable. Men and women also should consider together when it is better to have mixed services and meetings for men and women and when it will be more suitable to hold separate meetings and services. As a rule therefore it is desirable that on special committees appointed for special subjects men and women should also work together.

Through the Mission we hope to gain a new sense of fellowship, of a fellowship which will know neither class nor sex, but which will seek out of the co-operation of all to realise a new life, a life richer than any part of the whole could work out for itself in isolation.

It is with a feeling that more is involved in this matter than a mere question of expediency that the Committee for the Preparation of the Church have passed the following resolutions and wish to bring them before the dioceses.

That this Committee recommends that in the whole work of the National Mission, laymen and women be associated with the clergy; and that in some cases Retreats and Quiet Days be arranged for men and women together. The committee recognises that there may be special pieces of work which should be committed to sub-committees appointed *ad hoc*, and further recommend that, where such sub-committees be ap-

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The Woman's Movement.

[Statement adopted and Resolutions passed by the Central Committee of the National Mission of Repentance and Hope, July, 1916.]

RELATIONS WITH THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT.

That whereas, before the War, the "Woman's Movement" was not only agitating this country, but also was manifest in many other parts of the world, this Council, having given serious consideration to the subject, desires to submit to the Church the following statement of the principles and aims of the movement, as it understands them :—

- i. That underlying this movement there are moral and spiritual elements which demand the frank recognition and close sympathy of the Church, viz.: the motions of a new moral consciousness concerning the personal and social status and conditions of women's life ;
- ii. That the substance of this new moral consciousness may be defined as the spiritual awakening of both women and men to women's need of greater freedom and opportunity—
 - (a) for self-realisation and self-development ; and
 - (b) for extended labour and service in the community, i.e., in both Church and State ;
- iii. That this awakening necessarily involves conflict with such laws and customs, habits and traditions, in the social régime inherited from the past, as now prevent large numbers of women from realising freely their personal and social possibilities ;
- iv. And that thence (from the clash between the new moral consciousness and the external arrangements of Society) there has resulted—
 - (a) A revolt against the current dual standard of sex morality, which unjustly differentiates between men and women to the great hurt of both, and
 - (b) A demand for the upholding of a true and equal standard of sex and other morality for men and women alike ; and
 - (c) A protest against the economic servitude and dependence of women as indicated by the common and systematic sweating and underpayment of women's labour, together with a demand that "capacity not sex" shall be the criterion of both the nature and the reward of women's service.
 - (d) A claim for the civic recognition of women by the State as enfranchised citizens, and the removal of legal disabilities in many spheres, including the legal subordination of one sex to the other—a claim supported by the large service rendered by women to the nation as mothers, school-councillors, and teachers, Poor Law Guardians, hospital governors, and nurses, and in many other civic spheres ; by the growing entry of the State into the affairs of women in domestic and industrial life ; and by the census disclosures of the fact that nearly six millions of women and girls are engaged in wage-earning occupations, a number greatly increased during the war.



PUBLISHED FOR THE NATIONAL MISSION
BY THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
LONDON: NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE, W.C.

1916

And this Council, recognising that these spiritual aims and ideals of the Woman's Movement, apart from the question of its particular political and other claims, are in harmony with the teaching of Christ and His Church as to the equality of men and women in the sight of God—equality in privilege, equality in calling, equality in opportunity of service ; and in anticipation of the momentous problems in relation to this Movement which will confront both Church and Nation after the War, urges upon the Church, as part of its work in connection with the National Mission, the necessity of giving grave consideration to the spirit and aims of the Woman's Movement, as described in the above statement, in the light of the principles of Christianity ; and, further, this Council urges upon the Church the importance of securing adequate representation of women upon its conferences, councils, and assemblies, in relation both to the National Mission and also to the permanent work and mission of the Church.

The following Resolution was also passed :—

To urge upon the Bishops the importance of giving definite directions as to the best ways of using the services and receiving the message of women speakers, whether in church or elsewhere.

HYMN.

God is working His purpose out as year succeeds to year,
God is working His purpose out, and the time is drawing near ;
Nearer and nearer draws the time, the time that shall surely be,
When the earth shall be filled with the glory of God as the waters
cover the sea.

From utmost east to utmost west where'er man's foot hath trod,
By the mouth of many messengers goes forth the voice of God,
" Give ear to Me, ye continents, ye isles, give ear to Me,
That the earth may be filled with the glory of God as the waters
cover the sea."

What can we do to work God's work, to prosper and increase
The brotherhood of all mankind, the reign of the Prince of Peace ?
What can we do to hasten the time, the time that shall surely be,
When the earth shall be filled with the glory of God as the waters
cover the sea ?

March we forth in the strength of God with the banner of Christ
unfurled,
That the light of the glorious Gospel of truth may shine throughout
the world ;
Fight we the fight with sorrow and sin, to set their captives free,
That the earth may be filled with the glory of God as the waters
cover the sea.

All we can do is nothing worth unless God blesses the deed ;
Vainly we hope for the harvest-tide till God gives life to the seed ;
Yet nearer and nearer draws the time, the time that shall surely be,
When the earth shall be filled with the glory of God as the waters
cover the sea.

AMEN.

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MINISTRATIONS OF WOMEN IN CHURCH

SIR,—The article by Dr. Dearmer in your number for July 20th, entitled "Did St. Paul Forbid Women to Minister in Church ?" calls for some comment and protest. Dr. Dearmer discusses three passages in the Epistles of St. Paul, "Let the women keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak ; but let them be in subjection, as also saith the law. And, if they would learn anything, let them ask their own husbands at home, for it is shameful for a woman to speak in the church" (1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35) ; "Every woman praying or prophesying with her head unveiled dishonoureth her head" (1 Cor. xi. 5) ; "Let a woman learn in quietness with all subjection ; but I permit not a woman to teach, nor to have dominion over a man, but to be in quietness" (1 Tim. ii. 11, 12). He explains the first as simply a prohibition of women chattering with one another while men are speaking with tongues, and the second as allowing women publicly to pray and preach in church. On the third, after saying that he himself thinks it "superstitious to let our services be governed by St. Paul's advice to his converts," he bases a *reductio ad absurdum* addressed to those who appeal to the authority of St. Paul in such matters—namely, that, if they cite St. Paul against the public preaching of women, they

must sweep away all our girls' schools and denounce the memory of such teachers as St. Hilda and St. Teresa.

Dr. Dearmer's interpretation of St. Paul is as perverse as his article is clever. As to 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35, the frequent use of "speak" throughout the chapter to denote public utterance, the relation of the particular verses to the general context, which is concerned with public utterance, the addition in verse 35 of the further point implying that women are not even to ask a question publicly at the time in church combine to show that the words in verse 34 "it is not permitted unto them to speak" prohibit women from teaching or preaching to the congregation in church. In 1 Cor. xi. 5 St. Paul may allude to a practice of women "prophesying" in church at Corinth, and for the moment condemn only the abuse which concerns his present argument in such "prophesying" being by one "unveiled," but, if so, that he does not deal with two points at once does not show that he approved of that on which he does not comment, and he is already moving towards the general prohibition of women speaking in church in the light of which the earlier passage must be read. And in 1 Tim. ii. 12 the natural meaning suggested both by the context, which has to do chiefly with public worship, and by the use of the word "teach" in the two other places in the Epistle in which it is used (iv. 11, vi. 2) is that what it forbids to women is public teaching in church. St. Paul is consistent throughout. He prohibits the public ministrations of women in church. He none the less refers to and approves of many kinds of private teaching by them. He is entirely consistent when in 1 Tim. ii. 12 he forbids women publicly to teach in church, and in Titus ii. 3-5 declares that aged women are to be "teachers of that which is good," to "train the young women" in the duties of their station. And this consistent attitude was based on principles of permanent

value, whatever might be required in some particular detail affected by considerations of time and place. As thus based on permanent principles St. Paul's teaching became a foundation for the general method of the Church. When the Gallican Canons, which are known by the name of the "Fourth Council of Carthage," decreed that a woman was not to teach in the general congregation, however learned and pious she might be, and also that the widows and consecrated virgins were to teach ignorant women catechumens the Baptismal Responses and how to live after Baptism (12,99), and when in a very different locality the *Apostolic Constitutions*, while allowing some ministrations of women, forbade them to teach in public worship (III., 6), such instances are alike significant of the mind of the Church and an echo of the teaching of St. Paul.

Dr. Dearmer's perversity in interpretation affects his whole article. In attempting to discredit "the prejudice against women taking services" by describing it as "an Anglican peculiarity" he refers to the saying of Litanies or the Rosary by women abroad. It is well known that when this is done the woman acts as a member of the congregation and not as a minister. One who joined (to mention two instances frequent abroad) in prayer begun by a little girl in a multitude of school children or a hymn started by a woman might well go out of church at once if a woman stood up to preach in the pulpit or on the sanctuary step or in some other ministerial way. Dr. Dearmer refers also to a private chapel "where the lady of the house regularly serves at Mass," and to religious Houses where "nuns officiate at the Altar as deaconesses." He must know that any priest celebrating under such conditions is liable to severe censure. In the Church of Rome, if there cannot be a male server, a woman is allowed to "make the responses" on behalf of the congregation. But in accordance with the Canon Law she is forbidden to be near the Altar for this purpose or

to assist the priest by handing the Elements to him (*Decret.*, I., xxiii., 25; *Decretal. Greg.*, III., ii., 1; cf.—e.g., Lehmkuhl, *Theol. Mor.*, ii., 244).

I write as one who has much sympathy with many features in what is known as the "Women's Movement." For years I have done what I could in what seemed rightly my sphere to promote the increase of women's influence in political affairs and in many Church matters. But the claims suggested by Dr. Dearmer's article run counter to the general mind of the Church as well as to the teaching of St. Paul. And what a tragedy it is that, when we should all be united for the work of the National Mission, there is a project for promoting such ministrations of women as would make it necessary for those women and men who pay regard to Holy Scripture and the tradition of the Church to stay away from and discountenance the services in which these take place!

DARWELL STONE.

PUSEY HOUSE, OXFORD.

(Reprinted by permission from *The Guardian*, July 27, 1916.)

THE ENGLISH CHURCH UNION, 31, RUSSELL SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.

Church Printing Co., Burleigh St., Strand, W.C.

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St. Paul and the Woman Movement.

By the Rev. A. E. N. SIMMS,

M.A., B.D., Vicar of Grayshott, Haslemere.

WHEN Shakespeare said that "the devil can quote Scripture for his purpose" he touched upon a principle of far wider application than that to which we are generally disposed to restrict it. For the devil must be allowed to stand not merely for what is not good, but for what is not true. This devilish—or, if we prefer it—unfair use of Scripture is made when it is quoted to uphold what on other grounds we should consider untrue or unjust. In this way it was sought to overthrow by quotations those who first upheld the Copernican system. By similar means it was sought to defend slavery and compulsory religious conversion. But there is no lesson which Scripture teaches with such insistence as that of the necessity for an honest and good heart—the soil from which alone can be produced the proper harvest of our study. We must always be ready to examine the prepossessions with which we hear or apply what in itself is true. God is Truth. It is only the pure in heart who will see God.

It is necessary to insist on this because an appeal has been made by the opponents of Woman Suffrage to the New Testament. Those who on other grounds are convinced that the movement is a wrong movement, who come to St. Paul in the last instance and not in the first, whose aim is to stop rather than to understand the controversy will no doubt get from the Apostle what they want. The real grounds upon which they base their opposition are dealt with elsewhere and it is only the real grounds for an opinion that there is need to examine. Here it is sufficient to say that the real objection to any proposal often lies in our own temperament. Although there should be free play in the community for every temperament not diseased, nevertheless our particular temperament

will be found an unsafe basis of support when we propose to impose a general restriction. Freedom has always been found to be such a compelling argument that the burden of proof must be placed on those who attempt to restrict it.

But there are those who, while on the other grounds they are convinced that the relations between the sexes in the body politic should be settled by nature and not defined by law, are puzzled by the apparent attitude of hostility taken by the Book to which they have been taught to look for guidance in all the conduct of their life. The New Testament, especially St. Paul, seems to be against them. They are confronted with such texts as "the head of the woman is the man"; from which it may be inferred that the way to political independence is barred. In the marriage service when the woman has been "given" or passed on from a state of tutelage, to a new state in which she swears obedience, the normal attitude of woman to man is represented by Sara's obedience to Abraham whom she calls "lord." This is reinforced by other Scriptural allusions, especially to the patriarchal age. Accordingly when women ask for what seems to be their natural share in a political system, seriously claiming to be a representative system, they are offered their choice between hostility to the Bible and a silent, perhaps sullen, acquiescence. They have therefore asked if there is no escape from this dilemma. They will remember that similar apparent discrepancies between the Bible and conscience have marked the course of human progress and that they have disappeared without impairing the authority of either.

The centre of resistance is generally found in the epistles of St. Paul. Now there is one supremely satisfactory feature in dealing with St. Paul. He is always ready to discuss every point freely. He does not close the controversy with the voice of authority. However much at times we may be impatient of his reasoning and see in it the results of his having "sat at the feet of Gamaliel," nevertheless he does reason. He is always anxious that those to whom he speaks should be convinced and not merely silenced. "I speak unto wise men, judge ye what I say." Also he would agree that it was only so far as he had the "mind of Christ" that he expected assent. As he said himself, it was not into Paul but into

Christ that we were baptized. Therefore as Christians we are free to criticize the apostle. Jesus is Lord. It is the Spirit of Christ that must be our guide as we assent to or differ from any one other than Him whom we call Lord. It will be necessary therefore to examine the direct statements of Christ Himself. We shall accordingly turn to the Gospels.

We do not find in the Gospels any of those assertions of female subjection upon which, in some Epistles, so much stress has been laid. It is not very likely that the question involved in the modern movement was directly raised. Had it been raised it would in all probability have been dealt with in a manner similar to the question about dividing the inheritance. But there was one question put to our Lord which did involve the relations between man and woman. This was the question of divorce. In the Gospel according to St. Mark, to which critics assign the highest degree of authority, there is enjoined an absolute degree of equality. Whatever may be said on the matter of divorce, and this is not the place to discuss that matter, the question is dealt with on the principle of absolute equality of rights and duties (St. Mark, x. 11, 12). And not only is this the case, but that decision was given in the teeth of the Deuteronomic code which represented the practice of the Jewish people. For this right of the husband to put away his wife the highest and most sacred legislative authority known to the Jew was claimed. Moses was the ultimate court of appeal. Nevertheless the Lord declared that this Mosaic tradition represented "hardness of heart." We shall see later, when we deal with the case of St. Paul, what were the real principles which governed the treatment of women under the system comprehensively and conveniently called Mosaic. It is enough here to say that Christ assigns the treatment to "hardness of heart." He declares that it is not fundamental. He goes behind Moses and says that it was not so "from the beginning." The legislation by man in his own favour and to the prejudice of woman, so far as it was touched upon at all, has assigned for its cause "hardness of heart." The most sacred sanction of time and custom with Moses for its origin is not sufficient to protect what the Lord calls "hardness of heart." And there is always this blunted sensitiveness, this want of insight, when any class, in their dealings with members of another class, form a law or maintain a custom in their

own favour. But the prejudice does not get exposed or receive its proper name until a representative arises for those against whom the law or custom militates and who can express *their* view. Refuge is then taken behind Moses or the sacred Constitution. But it is "hardness of heart."

But there is something more to be learnt from Christ in the Gospels. It is a commonplace of Christian teaching that Christ replaced a code of law by a free Spirit. In future all codes of law could claim no permanency except in so far as they ensured the application of this one Spirit to the changing details of life. By custom the nature and form of intercourse between man and woman were fixed because the respective natures of man and woman seemed fixed. We can best learn this spirit from his actions. When Jesus conversed with the woman of Samaria upon the deepest concerns of life in a manner which shows superiority indeed, but the superiority of insight not the superiority of sex, he came into collision with the spirit of the oriental represented by the disciples when they "marvelled that He spake with a woman." The woman who poured the ointment on the Lord's feet is not the only woman who is commemorated wherever the Gospel is preached. The woman of Samaria is the instrument by which some of the most profound teaching has been given to the world. Such a conversation is a revolution. In a record which reveals so much male obtuseness there is nothing more wonderful than the story of the woman who was treated on a natural and not conventional level.

One more incident we may notice. There is a French epitaph the significance of which is easily appreciated. *Il est né homme, il est mort épicier.* Housekeeping has always fallen and will no doubt continue to fall to the lot of women in the distribution of such duties. But is she fit for nothing else and must she necessarily do nothing else? When Christ commends the reflective Mary in preference to the bustling housewife, He challenged not indeed the necessity, but the ultimately supreme necessity, of what men allude to as the "woman's sphere."

Let us now return to St. Paul. The apostle's title to greatness does not rest on his having solved every question that may arise but on his having solved in the spirit of the Master the one question

which actually did arise. Human progress has been achieved by solving each question as it has become urgent. A question is urgent when advance is blocked and can only proceed by that question being answered. The question which it has fallen upon us to solve was not urgent in St. Paul's time, but we shall understand his attitude best when we have considered him in connexion with some questions which pressed as hard in his day, about which as keen a struggle was fought, and which have now been settled. Of these one was largely settled by St. Paul himself, and it will assist us if we consider the circumstances under which he did so. That question was the admission of the Gentiles to the Church.

It was the weakness of all philosophic teaching, except that of the Stoics, to emphasize and enhance the differences between various sections of humanity. Greeks and barbarians, bond and free, male and female, presented unalterable differences. The same differences were recognized and stereotyped by Jewish legislation except that for Greek and Barbarian, terms expressing a difference of culture, there was substituted Jew and Gentile, terms expressing a difference of religious capacity. With this conception taken from the surface of life and sanctified by shallower religious precepts, the doctrine of Christ was certain to come into collision. "God so loved the world" was, and is, a challenge to all systems of life based on difference. And St. Paul so eminently filled with the spirit of that Gospel delivered the challenge. When once he had definitely abandoned the conviction—the racial conviction—that the ground of the religious life, or the life in conscious union with God, lay in a particular Jewish qualification which he usually denotes by the terms "law" or "circumcision," and had embraced a new conviction—a personal conviction—that this ground lay in a capacity of the human Spirit for divine intercourse, which he calls "faith," he set himself to give practical effect to this altered view. It is always difficult to revive past controversies. But as we read the Epistle to the Galatians we can imagine the heat which this struggle engendered. The Acts, 2 Corinthians (chapters iv. and vi.) will show us the intense personal strain and suffering which it caused the Apostle as he was hounded from place to place. He tells us in the third chapter of Philippians the social cost of this deep wrench. In Romans we hear the

reiterated debate carried on through years, and we see the tension, spiritual and intellectual, of him whose life was a "dying daily."

We remark in the first place that for such a man there could have been no place for any other first class question than the one which thus absorbed his life. Everything else was simply incidental. All other matters which might have become, and in some cases did become, subjects of great struggles were only treated as interruptions in the race to that goal which he never allowed to pass from his sight. Also this contest was urgent because until it was settled the Church could not advance at all, in fact, it could not be formed. And in view of the imminent "appearing" of Christ the racial question could not be postponed. All other questions could be postponed. But it was in *this* struggle that he suffered. It was here that he broke with his race; more than that, he broke with antiquity, with the strongest convictions of the age. In opposition to the whole momentum of Israelitish history, to the clearest and most uniform testimony of the Holy Scriptures, to God Himself, as his opponents could not unreasonably assert, about what no good Jew seemed able to entertain the smallest doubt St. Paul maintained his doctrine of "no difference." It was here that the intelligent, the spiritual, the persistent, sufferer, had insight. His conviction is wrung from him, and it is his eternal contribution to the Church. In Christ Jesus there is neither Jew nor Gentile, Greek nor barbarian, bond nor free, male nor female.

In all subsequent questions it is to this Paul that we shall come for judgment rather than to the Paul who, in his incidental decisions reproduces—necessarily, the conventional standards of his age and race. There is another question which we have settled apart from his guidance, although not apart from the guidance of the Spirit which led him to the vision of Catholic as distinct from Jewish Christianity. I mean the question of slavery. Indeed, in his inspired moment the Apostle saw a condition in which there was neither bond nor free. But it lay outside of what we may call his *practical* vision. So he did nothing to realize it. On the contrary when Onesimus ran away from his master the Apostle did not commend him for this assertion of the Rights of Man. He did not burst forth into indignant denunciation of a system which the best Christian conscience has since condemned. He simply sent the

slave back to his master and asked the master as a personal favour to take the slave back to his service. He always directs slaves to obey their masters even "with fear and trembling." Whatever be the true interpretation of 1 Cor. vii. 21 it cannot be said that St. Paul was enthusiastic about a slave becoming a freeman even when he had the legal opportunity. Those keen, and as no doubt many of their opponents may have considered, intemperate advocates of the abolition of slavery could not have relied on the support of St. Paul. On the contrary, his support could quite reasonably have been claimed by those interested in the maintenance of the system since no claim was made for the right to treat the slave with harshness. That St. Paul in fact was not denounced by abolitionists as an enemy was due to the conscious spiritual obligation under which in other matters they were placed by him as well as because they knew that their case had never been put to him for an impartial judgment. In this matter he "had no commandment of the Lord."

When we turn to the question of the rights and position of women we must feel that much that has been said of St. Paul in connexion with those earlier problems may, *mutatis mutandis*, be applied to this question of our own day. It is only necessary to remember the inner conflict followed by the outer conflict in order to understand why he had an inspired message on the matter of Gentile equality with the Jew and none on slavery, none on the rights of women in the twentieth century. He has no message at all. He speaks in both cases as a man of his own day and generation. It will be therefore necessary to remember what that meant.

St. Paul was : Hebrew of the Hebrews. Law, history, convention, the Scriptures had taught him the inferiority of the woman. Where polygamy had been lawful woman must have appeared to be the possession of the husband. The man might divorce the woman, but the woman could not divorce her owner. In the tenth commandment she appears as the second of a man's possessions which his fellow men must keep their hands off. There is no husband in this list. The seventh commandment was directed against the violation and consequent depreciation in value of the husband's property. We have but to study the legislation of the Old Testament to see that the fact that a woman was a possession formed the foundation of

her position. This was the background of St. Paul's life and education as a Hebrew so far as this question is concerned. Under the influence of the Spirit its effects were enormously modified as was also his view of the treatment of slaves. But under such circumstances no impartial view of woman was possible unless an occasion arose for directly challenging the traditional theory. We know too much of St. Paul to doubt his second conversion even had he kicked against the pricks. But that occasion did not arise.

The Greek had no quarrel with the Jew on this score. According to his own best ethical teachers the woman had no independent position. If she sought to establish such a position it was only through wanton defiance of the rules of a well-regulated community, and in the interests of low morals. The Greek lady was always a first-class misdemeanant. The toiling woman was a slave.

With a mind thus coloured the Apostle dealt with a practical difficulty in the Church of Corinth. The women, or some of them, had violated the canons of sober conduct required by conventional Greek decorum by appearing in public uncovered and apparently by public speaking in the Christian assembly. Now St. Paul was a statesman. He was determined that no unnecessary hostility should be incurred by his church through the breach of any of the customs which regulated social intercourse. Nothing short of the violation of a brother's conscience was to allow the Christian to hurt his fellow townsman's feelings. Thus he could maintain the temper in which he might win his neighbour. He was to be all things to all men that he might save some. In pursuance of this policy he must have condemned what could only be interpreted as immodest. He could not be too punctilious.

But there was a still more serious reason why he should be careful. If it was necessary to be tactful in his dealings with the outside world, it was still more necessary to maintain the moral purity of the Church. Corinth was a most dissolute city. If it is our religion that determines our outlook on life, then the religion of Corinth made free social intercourse between the sexes impossible. Upon the Acrocorinthus, in full public view, there rose the temple in honour of Aphrodite. In Aphrodite was expressed the demoralizing influence of Oriental nature worship. The reproductive

power of nature was an object of worship. It engrossed the attention and interests of the devotees. A thousand women were set apart for the practice of immorality at the shrine of the goddess. The most powerful influences from the heaven of the Greek world were enlisted in the service of purely sex functions. The converts themselves, drawn from slaves and those most susceptible to this polluting atmosphere were spiritually undeveloped. They were, as the Apostle reminds them, carnal. The first duty of the Church was to develop, by personal intercourse with the Christ, by faith, as St. Paul would have called it, such an enlargement of their spiritual nature as would dwarf and reduce to their proper proportions the working of their purely physical organisms. They had to be beaten black and blue as the expressive figure of the Apostle puts it. The plain truth of the Corinthian situation is that no freedom was possible because it could only take the form of licence. They were carnal. One day they would become spiritual and "where the Spirit of the Lord is there is liberty."

It is natural that the Apostle should appeal to every authority and press every argument which in such a serious situation would have weight with his hearers. He appeals to the story of Adam and Eve, to certain ideas about angels and frankly to custom. "Judge in yourselves, is it comely? doth not nature itself teach you? We have no such custom." For the immediate purpose this was no doubt satisfactory. But let any one frankly say how it affects him. It is open to any woman to dispute the position that the woman is the glory of the man while the man is the image and glory of God. The argumentation of verses 3-16 in 1 Cor. xi. is not of a nature that could be used in modern times. So far as it is an appeal to fashion it is an appeal to what has vanished. So far as it is to the story of Eden it is to a story which rather reflects the general idea of men about women than is in any sense the cause of that idea. For us Christians no appeal to the Old Testament can be final. Christ is our Master. He repealed the Deuteronomic code in the matter of divorce. If He referred to Adam and Eve for a principle more fundamental than that of Moses it was in the interest of equality. We are not bound by a reference to the same story in the interest of inequality.

It is curious that the very oldest piece of literature incorporated in the Old Testament is the song of Deborah. Here in the most

authentic description of early Israelitish life, so different in many ways from that presented by the later "idealized" view of the national history, it is a woman who is at the head of the tribes and who is contributing so much more than any man to procure national unity. The honours were not with Barak, but with Deborah. Again in Acts we find, besides the prophetesses, the daughters of Philip, Priscilla, the wife of Aquila, who is not only generally mentioned first, but who took part in the instruction of the learned Apollos. The authorship of Hebrews has even been claimed for her by no less an authority than Harnack. Passing by the great Abesses who ruled so many men in mediæval times, past Catherine of Siena and Joan of Arc, who played such decisive parts in history, we come to the time of the revived influence of St. Paul. A few logical men like Knox objected to the rule of women but his blast *The Monstrous Regiment of Women*, died away when the woman was Elizabeth and not Mary. Elizabeth was not a constitutional queen. She was the government. With a well-known group of queens and governesses she was a direct proof that on the position of women St. Paul's authority was only used when on other grounds the woman was unacceptable.

But, indeed, it is too late now to appeal to St. Paul against the granting of the franchise to women. The women of to-day have passed far from the stage in which we find them in ancient Corinth. No one surely will say that the leaders in this movement are to be classed with those whom St. Paul rebuked or that their request for representation has anything in common with the mere self-assertion of undisciplined women animated by no public purpose. Women have the municipal franchise, they sit on public councils, and take part in public administration. All this was inconceivable in ancient Greek city life. It is impossible under the restrictions imposed by St. Paul. There is no doubt that a woman who had to "ask her husband at home" was not intended to sit on Royal Commissions or educate the public on administrative questions from the platform. The most ardent anti-suffragist has left the apostolic standpoint so far behind that she can scarcely hope for much assistance in the saving of a poor remainder of female reticence. And now that she has deserted another apostle in the matter of "gold and silver and the putting on of apparel" or "the braiding of

hair" she may have little fear of giving offence by contributing to the efforts which women are making to redress wrongs. The wrongs which they themselves feel they would redress in the same civic manner that men redressed the wrongs which *they* felt.

We must learn, as the French say, to distinguish. The sphere of government has changed since St. Paul's day as the form has changed. Despotism, even benevolent despotism, has given place to representative institutions. Representative institutions have placed among the concerns of government the needs of those who put their representatives in power. Parliamentary government devotes but a small portion of its time to what at an earlier period, when so many of our theories took shape, formed almost the chief concern of government. War is no longer its normal occupation. Social and domestic affairs are becoming more and more the questions upon which our representatives are called to devote their energies. If that is so, then it must logically follow, and the logic has already been to a great extent acknowledged, that the qualification for electors must consist in the possession of those interests which Parliament undertakes to regulate. The logic is surely irresistible. Whatever may be the natural and normal occupation and interests of women, women have qualified for representation by virtue of those very occupations, since Parliament has undertaken to legislate for such. The truth is that the application of a great principle is attacked too late, when the principle itself has already been admitted. The principle of full representative government was admitted as far back as the reign of Edward I. under the formula of "what concerns all must be agreed by all." To be sure, the un-discriminating spectator does not discern the modern spirit in those far away days any more than he discovers in St. Paul the claim of the modern woman. But they are both there all the same. The modern spirit of the apostle is not in his directions to the women at Corinth, but in his dream of "no difference."

It is only necessary to state all this to perceive how far we have moved from the actual circumstances which called forth the Apostle's directions at Corinth and how far we have moved towards such a condition of life as will make his gospel of "no difference" seem less unreal. In proportion as we move away from physical force

as the basis of government men will appear less brutal and women less weak. And the State *has* moved. It is no longer the State with its iron hand on subject peoples, its bread and circus for demoralised and ignorant masses—masses to be kept quiet at all cost. And if it has moved from the facts of the Apostle's age, it has moved towards the dream of the Apostle's prophecy. The demand for power is seldom made, says the late S. R. Gardiner, except to apply it to some particular end. The defiled and ruined childhood of our towns, the waste of womanhood through economic injustices, which expose them to the worst dangers are ends which would justify the claim in the court of any Apostle. The sensitiveness of the woman's honour, the indignation of the mother must be among the forces of which the pressure is directly felt in the legislature and administration of the land. There are questions, about which the conscience of men is not sufficiently tender to let them feel their importance, and which must await the advent of women to whom they are of the most pressing urgency. Is not this to move in the spirit of Him who "went about doing good?" If it is, then we are at last where there is neither male nor female. Sex vanishes not as a natural, but as a political necessity.

I commend to you another saying of St. Paul. It is : *I count not myself to have apprehended.* In a moving world this is the safest attitude. But, like the Apostle, we *press forward.*

<sup>371.5.263
262.14342 (15)
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1919] The Ministry of Women. [No. 524]

CONVOCATION OF CANTERBURY.

REPORT OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE* ON THE MINISTRY OF WOMEN.

*Bishop of Ely (<i>Dr. Chase</i>). " Oxford (<i>Dr. Gore</i>). " Peterborough (<i>Dr. Woods</i> , Chairman). Dean of Rochester (<i>Dr. Storrs</i>). Archdeacon of Gloucester (<i>Dr. Hobhouse</i>).	Archdeacon of Middlesex (<i>Mr. H. E. J. Bevan</i>). Dr. Sparrow-Simpson. Canon Temple. Canon Woolley.
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The Archdeacon of Gloucester and Canon Woolley were unable to attend the meetings of the Committee.

[This Report must be taken as having the authority only of the Committee by which it was prepared.]

The Joint Committee submit the following Report to the two Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury.

The original motion on this subject was brought before the Upper House by the Bishop of Ely on February 12, 1919 :—

"In order that fuller use may be made in the Church's service of the gifts and experience of women, this House makes the following recommendation: That under conditions laid down by the Bishop of the diocese it should be permissible for women duly qualified and approved by him to speak and pray in consecrated buildings at services or meetings for prayer or instruction other than the regular and appointed services of the Church."

To this the Bishop of Oxford moved an amendment, stating a basis of principle and indicating limitations as follows, after the words "gifts and experience of women" :—

"this House believing that apart from the service of Holy Communion there is no objection in principle to the admission of women to any of the functions to which laymen are admitted"

After considerable discussion the motion and the amendment were withdrawn, and the following motion was put and carried *nemine contradicente* :—

"That with a view to a further and reasonable measure of uniformity of episcopal action on the subject, it is desirable that a Joint Committee of the two Houses of Convocation should consider and report on the principles which in the opinion of such a Committee should underlie the exercise of the Bishop's discretion in the sanction he should give to the ministration and work of women in the life of the Church."

This last motion therefore constitutes our terms of reference, and in conformity therewith we have based our Report on the broad principles which must govern episcopal action in the whole matter of the development of women's work in the Church, and have not confined it entirely to a discussion of the advisability of one particular line of action.

It is to be observed that our consideration has been in the main limited to the question of the service of women in a lay capacity.

But we desire to make two preliminary statements, (i.) as regards the priesthood of women as suggested in some quarters, and (ii.) as regards the diaconate of women.

(i.) We repudiate the idea of women being ordained to the priesthood as wholly contrary to the immemorial and consistent custom of the Catholic Church. We would call attention to the fact that the formulated doctrine of the later Western Church affirms that the ordination of women to the priesthood would be not merely reprehensible, but absolutely null and void; and we would state our conviction that this doctrine does no more than declare in a formal shape the emphatic repudiation expressed in the early Church of the institution in some heretical sects of a female priesthood. We think that the rejection of such an idea may be said to be universal, as nearly as possible "*semper, ubique et ab omnibus*," in the Catholic Church.

(ii.) But as regards a female diaconate the evidence forces us to recognise its existence in the apostolic and early periods of the Church's history, side by side with the male diaconate, though without identity of function. With a view to its practical re-establishment in our Communion, we should desire to see the Church of England proceed without delay to the formal regularisation of an Order of Deaconesses, with sufficient definition of its functions and duties and a proper rite of ordination valid throughout our Church.

In considering the proposed development in the lay service of women, we have not been unmindful of St. Paul's reiterated

prohibition of women speaking in the public assembly of the Christians or acting as public teachers in the Church. We do not think, however, that in our proposals we are departing from the spirit of St. Paul's teaching about women taken as a whole, and we desire to call attention to what we think the Church is bound to recognise, namely, that the particular disciplinary injunctions even of an apostle are given in view of temporary conditions and are not necessarily permanent. We would refer in particular, as illustrating this, to his requirement that women should be veiled in the assembly (a requirement which is obviously *not* complied with by the use of the kind of headdress worn in modern times) and that persons twice married should not be admitted to the presbyterate or the diaconate or to the roll of widows. It is worthy of notice that the Apostle's injunctions in regard to women speaking or teaching in the assembly were addressed to Corinth and Ephesus, where the public ministry of women in contemporary pagan worship was notorious and attended with lamentable associations.

We believe that St. Paul's attitude in this and other social questions is necessarily bound up with the entire tradition and outlook of his own day, and cannot therefore be regarded as applicable to circumstances and developments which he could not possibly have foreseen. It is true that as time went on the ministrations of women practically ceased, except in religious houses, where in some cases they were allowed a remarkable freedom. When the position of women in Europe in the Dark Ages is taken into consideration, this withdrawal of women's ministrations is not altogether surprising, the state of society inevitably affecting the position of women in the Church. But to the extraordinary change that has come over the position of women even within the last generation, it is equally inevitable that the Church should not be blind. The foundation of monastic orders, in which a special form of women's ministrations came to be developed and practised, was in itself the outcome of the moral and social conditions of the time. The Committee feel that the present ministry of women must similarly be the result of the new demands and possibilities which are characteristic of the age in which we live.

Your Committee, therefore, are in agreement with the proposal made in the original resolution, namely, that it should be allowable for women to speak and pray in consecrated buildings, under regulations and conditions laid down by the Bishop, at services or meetings other than the liturgical services of the Church, *i.e.*, the Order of Holy Communion and Morning and Evening Prayer, together with the occasional offices.

The Committee base this opinion on the following principles: They point first to the teaching of Holy Scripture. This teaching

is summed up, we believe, in the words of St. Paul : "There can be no male and female, for ye all are one man in Christ Jesus." Our Lord Himself, though He selected no woman among the Twelve or among the Seventy, did undoubtedly make a new departure in His full recognition of the spiritual equality of men and women. All, whether men or women, are equally members of the one Body of Christ. It is true that this equality of membership does not involve identity of function. The law of the body is diversity of function but equality of membership, and this equality, as it seems to us, must involve a reasonable opportunity for the exercise of those spiritual gifts with which each member has been endued.

In the second place, they point to the great development during recent years of women's activities in the service of the community. During the war especially, women have shown in an unprecedented degree a desire and an ability to serve their generation, thereby attaining their present position in the civil and political world. Moreover—and this is the most important matter of all—in such work as that of the Pilgrims of Prayer and of Diocesan Messengers women have exhibited a remarkable power of spiritual influence and a rare gift as evangelists and teachers. They also take a prominent part in organising spiritual work of many kinds. We believe that this great extension of the scope of women's activities alike in secular and religious matters is itself, fundamentally, the product of the teaching of Christ and His Church, and is due to the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

To look to the past alone for guidance, and tenaciously to cling to mere precedent, is incompatible with belief in the present guidance of the Spirit of God. Being assured that neither the fundamental teaching nor the order of the Catholic Church would be in anywise imperilled if women were allowed fuller scope for the exercise of their spiritual gifts, the Committee recommend that duly approved and commissioned women should be permitted to speak and to pray in consecrated buildings subject to the limitations and conditions laid down in the Resolutions following.

THEODORE PETRIBURG :
Chairman.

July, 1919.

RESOLUTIONS TO BE MOVED WHEN THIS REPORT
COMES ON FOR DISCUSSION.

- (a.) That in view of the Apostolic teaching that women equally with men are members of the one Body of Christ and partakers of the Holy Spirit, and in order that fuller use may be made in the Church's service of the gifts and experience of women, this House makes the following recommendation :—
That under conditions laid down by the Bishop of the diocese it should be permissible for women duly qualified and approved by him to speak and pray in consecrated buildings at services or meetings for prayer or instruction other than the regular and appointed services of the Church.
- (b.) As to the exercise of the Bishop's discretion, the Committee further recommend :—
 - (i.) That no woman should be permitted to speak or pray publicly in a consecrated building until she has produced evidence of having been baptized and confirmed, and of being a communicant.
 - (ii.) That no woman under the age of thirty should be permitted to address a mixed assembly in a consecrated building.
 - (iii.) That the Bishop should require written evidence of unblemished character from three competent persons, one of whom must be in Holy Orders.
 - (iv.) That the Bishop should require proof of adequate knowledge and ability.
 - (v.) That the Bishop should require a declaration of assent to the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds and to the teaching of the Book of Common Prayer.
 - (vi.) That some simple form of distinctive dress should be worn by women speaking or praying in a consecrated building.