

not to be taken away

# The Common Cause

The Organ of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship.

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## Notes and News.

### Representation of Women in the League of Nations.

As we go to press, a very important Conference is taking place at Westminster. Representatives of the principal national organisations of women, including the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, the National Council of Women, the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organisations, the Women's Local Government Society, the Women's Freedom League and the Women's International League will consider the question of the representation of women in the League of Nations. The resolutions before the Conference deal with the representation of women, and with proposed national and international organisation for securing that representation. The N.U.S.E.C. is proposing a resolution stating that "this Conference of representative women's organisations of Great Britain and Ireland welcomes the international recognition of women in the Covenant of the League of Nations, by which 'all positions under or in connection with the League, including the secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women,' and urges the British Government and the League of Nations to make full use of this provision to secure their adequate representation on the Assembly, the International Court of Justice, and other bodies set up in connection with the League."

### The Review of the Foreign Press.

There has been much disappointment among those interested in the movement of events and opinions in Europe at the cessation of the Weekly Review of the Foreign Press which was compiled under the direction of the War Office and was available in part or as a whole to the journalist, the politician, or the general public. The moment when the League of Nations begins its work is not the moment to withdraw any instrument which may help the difficult process of international co-operation. The news that the Review is to be continued as a private enterprise, and apparently with the help of some at least of the very able staff hitherto engaged on it, will be welcomed. The War Office was obviously not an appropriate godmother for this kind of publication in peace time, and, indeed, it is likely to serve

its purpose best if quite removed from Government control. No selection of the kind can be truly impartial, for if it were, the Review must contain the whole matter of the foreign Press without subtraction or condensation. If foreign opinion is to be reflected, the journals quoted should be selected to some extent on account of their wide circulation, but not entirely so. We saw during the war at least three selections from the foreign Press, besides the official one. The Times published "Through German Eyes," the Daily Telegraph "Through German Spectacles," and the Cambridge Magazine a selection made by Mrs. Charles Buxton. In these the acute reader could detect many examples of how this work should not be done. There was the statement or opinion which went broadcast over Germany because it was officially imposed upon newspapers, either with the intent that it should be quoted abroad, or that it should influence opinion at home. Experts would not represent this as vox populi, but neither would they ignore it. There was the unofficial view, the unpopular minority opinion, which spread over half a dozen newspapers, but boasted only a dozen or two adherents. This was generally good journalistic copy, and was elevated much above its intrinsic importance. We even met with reproductions of agony-column advertisements which, experience in our own country has taught us, generally mean anything but what they seem to mean. It takes an expert to select without falling into obvious pitfalls, but to be an expert is to be biased. We must hope, then, that the Review will not be impartial in the sense of being colourless, that it will not leave us without guidance as to the relative weight of the journals quoted, and that it will be published in sections so that members of the general public can see a review of foreign politics without subscribing for masses of trade figures which mean nothing to the lay mind. We expect much from women's participation in international business of all kinds, and their influence in the League of Nations. Englishwomen are, as a rule, better linguists than Englishmen and read more foreign books. history is better taught at girls' schools than at boys'. Women have, therefore, a better equipment for estimating the current opinion of foreign countries than the average man who is not occupied in foreign trade or concerned with Foreign Office business, and it is their duty to inform themselves by any means in their power of that large turbulent world for which our island has assumed such vast responsibilities; it is a duty which must especially commend itself to ex-members of the various women's forces who have served abroad and are now able to command leisure.

### Women and Increased Output.

There has been too general a tendency to suppose that the machinery of the Whitley Councils and other devices for settling industrial questions by bargaining and discussion between employers and Trade Unions adequately safeguard the interests of the community. The result of their compromises may, in the long run, redound to the advantage of the consumer, but if the run is too long, the consumer, who must exist in the meantime, suffers from both the high prices which content the one side and the high wages which reward the other. But that part of the community which consists of employed women is in worse case than the unregarded consumer, because circumstances make them the pawn in the game between the protagonists. These women are excluded from all large unions but those of the textile trades. The unions desire to keep them to "women's processes," lest their numbers should spoil the market for male labour. Employers are tempted to use them to keep down trade union demands, and then to sacrifice them to placate the unions. They seem to have the choice at last only between low wages and higher wages with a terrible amount of

unemployment. Mr. Brownlie's letter addressed to the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress makes no mention of women, but it is all the same a message of hope to them. It emphasises the responsibility of the Unions to heed Mr. Hoover's warning that the nation which sows decreased productivity reaps high prices. Some of the Unions had seemed inclined to think that this did not concern them, except as a reminder to reap their high-price harvest earlier than the workers whose goods they buy. Mr. Brownlie reminds the Unions of their responsibility to the community, and their moral obligation to increase output. Any adequate increase of output implies the industrial employment of large numbers of women, for a world so denuded of commodities cannot afford to maintain half its population in unproductive occupations. A determination on the part of organised labour to increase production would influence women's employment in another way. It is admitted that women do not take kindly to restriction of output in factory work. They are new brooms and are not inured to it. They find it dull, it offends the pride of the best of them, and they are not as easily convinced as men that restriction is to the interests of their class. This has made the men who are bitten by that illusion dislike working with them, and if restriction of output ceases to be an industrial custom here, women will find factories and workshops much more freely open to them. They will welcome any discussion of industrial matters which, like Mr. Brownlie's letter or Mr. Barnes's address to the International Conference on Labour and Religion, tends to subordinate sectional interests to the welfare of the community as a whole.

#### Economy in Government Offices.

Economy is, of course, the need of the moment, but the persons upon whom it is especially urged are generally very helpless to enforce it. Government officials are like the "extravagant housekeeper" of pre-war days, who lived in a large house of her husband's choosing, together with the family bestowed upon her by providence, and must suit the wishes of her husband and children, entertain his friends and relatives, and dress to please him, while she saw money being squandered by subordinates she could not dismiss without his consent, and knew that her commitments made economy impossible, without having the power to reduce them. Any attempt at retrenchment is met with plausible arguments to the contrary: the woodman is invited to spare this particular tree, while sacrificing some other. So Government Departments are implored to dismiss superfluous staff, but *not* old employees, disabled or demobilised men, dependents of those who have fallen in the war, women mainly thrown upon their own resources, persons especially skilled, persons who will have special difficulties in obtaining other employment. The chaos which accompanied demobilisation should have taught us that it is impossible for officials to give due weight to so many considerations, and that the application of one test alone in determining dismissals may seem more arbitrary, but results in less hardship and sense of injustice. The public services should base their engagements and dismissals on efficiency. Until they do so economy is an unattainable goal.

#### Five Corn Harvests.

The Board of Agriculture has published the figures of the five war harvests, from which emerges the rather astonishing fact that not only the total yield, but the yield per acre of 1918 was above the average of the five years for every one of the principal cereal crops. The Report mentions that the supply of fertilisers in 1918 was much smaller than in 1914, and that much inferior land had come under the plough. It should also be remembered that 1918 saw the maximum employment of women on the land, that their care of stock and employment in the lighter tasks alone set men free for tending cereal crops, and that if these crops were not in 1918 choked with weeds it was largely owing to woman's labour. The 1918 harvest was, in fact, more our harvest than any of recent years, and we may take our share of the credit for it.

#### We Must Have Cheap Milk.

Considerable anxiety has been caused to mothers and all who are in any way responsible for young children by the statement that milk is likely to cost at least a shilling a quart next winter. This announcement is not official; it was, however, made by Mr. McCurdy, who is Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Food, and ought to know, and it was addressed to the Consumers' Council, who certainly have a right to be told. Mr.

Hyndman, who is a member of the Consumers' Council, has predicted that the price will be, not a shilling, but a shilling and threepence a quart, and many rumours are flying about. The Ministry of Food has nothing to say. In reply to repeated questions it merely repeats that the price of milk has not yet been fixed, that it will not be fixed till October 1st, and that until it is fixed the Ministry cannot discuss the matter. To the mind of the ordinary woman it seems that the discussion will then be a little late, but the official point of view is obviously different. There are, of course, many things to be considered by those responsible. It is important not to discourage the production of milk, because the supply is already very inadequate and it is plainly no use to have cheap milk, that isn't there! At the same time, we can hardly imagine any other error graver than to allow the price to be so high as to make it practically prohibitive for poor mothers. The mistake would not be corrected by gifts of milk to the poorest, because there are numbers and numbers of families too poor to be able to afford anything like an adequate supply of milk and yet not poor enough in spirit to accept anything which they regard as in the nature of pauperisation. And the children *must* have enough milk. It is, as every woman knows, the staple food of every young child. Looking at the matter coldly, and without sentiment, it seems extraordinary that anybody on earth should think it possible to carry out "reconstruction," and should not, first of all, take care that the babies are provided with the first necessity for healthy life. For what is reconstruction, if it is not the building up of the nation for the future, and where are we going to get any future nation, unless we preserve the children? Is not the calmness with which the rise in the price of milk appears to be contemplated in official quarters, an example of the distorted point of view which has grown up in a community governed for so many generations by only one sex? But Government by one sex is passing away, and there is already a popular agitation on the question of milk.

#### Dr. Maria Montessori.

Madame Montessori's visit to England is a matter of interest to all who care for the freedom of children. Her method is taught in four thousand schools in America, and in about four hundred in England. Its vogue among educationalists has been great,—so great that there seems some slight danger of the cult degenerating into a fashion affected by many who attach more importance to the Montessori apparatus than to the spirit which alone gives any meaning to the apparatus. But the principles of which the apparatus should be the outward and visible sign can never be sufficiently studied; they lie at the root not only of the education of the child, but of all human beings: it is in their application that the perfect service which is perfect freedom is to be found. If Madame Montessori's visit helps her followers to a renewed study of these first principles it will be well worth while.

#### The Caldecott Community.

The principles at the root of Dr. Montessori's system are capable of a thousand applications. One of the most interesting and successful experiments based upon them is that of the Caldecott Community. Our readers will remember how seven years ago this community was founded in St. Pancras by its present directors, Miss P. M. Potter and Miss L. M. Rendel, as a free nursery school for children who had grown beyond the care of a neighbouring day nursery, and how, in 1917, its expansion, both physical and spiritual, resulted in its removal to Charlton Court, East Sutton, near Maidstone. Here in a lovely old house on the Downs, with a farm, the Community works out its salvation,—in microcosm perhaps the salvation of the world. The idea is not only to prepare the children—they are children of working people—to fit into their own niche in the social and industrial system, but in the coming years to play an effective part in developing that system and raising it to a higher level.

#### Why "Community"?

The Caldecott household is called a community rather than a school because its founders hold that an establishment run solely for the training of children for future life produces a fictitious atmosphere, whereas in a community adults and children have their normal place, and the children see and respect work done, not so much as a means to their education as an end in itself, just as they are ends in themselves. In these days of much talk about The Child, it is refreshing to find some who

insist that the child is after all just a human being, one of the mass of human beings of all ages, and that he has rights to claim and duties to perform, and a self to develop just as they have. At Charlton Court the children help on the farm with the animals, in the garden with the vegetables, fruit and flowers; also, we are informed, the "older girls help with the work of the house." As part of the purpose of the Community is to prepare the children to raise the social system to a higher level, not only to accept it with resignation as it is, we would suggest that the boys also are given some insight into just what it means to run a house—a man made house! Be that as it may, the Charlton Court household evidently makes good—there are forty children in residence and a waiting list of a hundred and fifty. Larger buildings are wanted, and scholarships and bursaries; the parents do what they can, but they cannot do all that should be done if this Caldecott Community is to be a model showing the way to something broader and deeper than before in our national education.

#### The Business of Government.

The Ministry of Reconstruction has published some excellent pamphlets and the three last on the *Business of Government* promise to be as good as anything that has gone before. At the moment of writing only the first, on "The Central Machinery," is before us. It is founded almost entirely on the Report of the Machinery of Government Committee (reviewed in our issue of January 17th last), but the information is given in a shorter and more popular form. We are sorry to see that the pamphlet does not stress what was to us the most important recommendation of that Committee, namely, the opening of equal opportunities to women in the Civil Service and in all departments of Government. It does, however, give a very good picture of the existing arrangements, and it is written in a style very unlike an official document, or, remembering some recent blue books, shall we say, very unlike the popular idea of an official document. We quote two of the introductory paragraphs as an example of what we mean, they will, we think, be an encouragement to our readers to buy some of the Ministry of Reconstruction pamphlets, and this we heartily advise them to

#### Lights under Bushels.

It is characteristic of our polity that, while the workings of the legislature and judiciary are always before the public eye, the working of the Executive is almost a sealed book to the average member of the public. The casual witticisms, as well as the more weighty arguments, of ministers and members debating a Bill in Parliament, or of judges and counsel conducting a case in the law courts, are minutely recorded in the public Press daily. But the chronicles of a good Public Department, like those of a virtuous woman in the days of Pericles, are 'written in silence,' only broken by an occasional tribute from a grateful minister, in moments of success, to the assistance he has received from the officials of his permanent staff. The inner workings of a public office are exposed to public view only on isolated occasions, when they have been unfortunate enough to attract public criticism to the point of provoking 'a special enquiry.' The announcement of the award of a knighthood or a C.B. closes without further particulars the public record of many an official life well lived, and of valuable public work unostentatiously performed in the higher walks of the Executive Civil Service. Many such lives, we believe, close without even a knighthood or a C.B. But it is no longer thought that the chronicles of a virtuous woman should necessarily be 'written in silence,' and perhaps the time is coming, when it will be recognised that it is not always in the public interest that the labours and mistakes and achievements of our Civil Servants should be hidden away by official etiquette and their own honourable self-suppression, from a community which wishes more and more to know why and how "things are done."

#### The Civil Service in Literature.

The pamphlet goes on to say that "it is unfortunate that unofficial literature for many years past has produced no books of wide popular appeal or acceptance on the constitutional working of the executive or life within the Civil Service. It is more than fifty years since Walter Bagehot published his well-known essays on the 'English Constitution,' and he has had no successor with a like popular appeal. For a picture of life within the Civil Service through the medium of a popular novel we have to go back to Anthony Trollope's 'Three Clerks.' The changes and developments in these fields of the last half-century have only

reached the public fitfully and incidentally through the medium of occasional Parliamentary speeches, which most people quickly forget, or the voluminous reports of Royal Commissions, which few people ever read. Much of Bagehot's work remains fresh and appropriate for consideration even to-day. His closing words, indeed, go far to point our present argument. 'So well is our real Government concealed, that, if you tell a cabman to drive to Downing Street, he will not know where to take you.' But the influence of Trollope on the public mind has successfully (and in some respects disastrously) survived the facts of a whole generation of Civil Service reform. Quite an appreciable proportion of the public still thinks vaguely of the Civil Service as composed largely of young men with powerful connections, who are 'jobbed into lucrative billets in the Tape and Sealing Wax Department where they have little else to do than read the leading articles in the 'Thunderer,' and 'play like the fountains in Trafalgar Square from ten to four.' This is, we believe, very true, though some new pictures have been suggested to popular imagination by the evening papers in the last few years, some of them so disrespectful in character that we prefer not to particularise. We would only beg such of our readers as are conscious of having conceived lurid pictures of what happens in Government offices to correct them by perusing all the publications of the Ministry of Reconstruction.

#### Workers by Hand and Brain.

One of the best things the Labour Party ever did was so to readjust its party formulas as to give recognition to the fact that brain workers are workers worthy of their hire every bit as much as manual workers. Consistent with this view *The Daily Herald* is giving publicity to some of the facts about the under-payment of teachers. It refers to uncertificated teachers, who are expected to live on 10s. or 15s. a week, and that this is an understatement rather than an over-statement appears to be suggested by a letter in *The New Statesman* of August 30th, which says: "The Dorset County Council pays its supplementary teachers £45 per annum, or 7s. 3<sup>d</sup>. per week, for full-time service," and adds: "These young women must feed, lodge, and clothe themselves on this amount. I have never heard that anyone of them had any sort of private means, nor do they reside with their parents. On the *omne ignotum* principle the managers of the rural schools prefer to select strangers as their teachers." Whether men or women, teachers have as just a claim to fair pay for fair work as any other class. We are glad to notice that *The Daily Herald* speaks plainly on the equal pay question in the following terms: "Unless the Commission [now sitting] carries immediately into effect a generous and statutory scheme, equal as between men and women—one result of the present sex differentiation is that as married men are driven into other professions, the schools tend to be staffed more and more with women, who are still available at even lower salaries, and so education, which of all occupations demands the co-operation of both, suffers—it is clear that the best men and women will cease to be teachers. And we talk of reconstruction!" That a road-mender or a railwayman should have to drudge for long hours at low pay and without facilities for the best sort of recreation is bad for him and bad for the nation, but that a teacher, a public servant dedicated to one of the highest types of social service, should have so to toil is a thousand times worse. If an army fights on its stomach, a nation lives on its brains, and brains, like other vital organisms, become atrophied and die if they are not fed.

#### The Home and the Picture House.

The case reported in the Press this week of over a hundred persons being suddenly threatened with the loss of their homes because the ground on which these stood was required for a cinema house, calls attention to the unsatisfactory state of the law as between landlord and tenant. While, on the one hand, there are many instances of a landlord finding it almost impossible to get rid of a bad tenant, there are others, such as this, when the whole future well-being of a family may be placed in jeopardy by the arbitrary serving of a week's notice. The evidence regarding the condition of the houses in question, how fit they are—or were—for habitation is not very clear, but one thing is clear, that in the present state of congestion in anything to do with housing, it should not be possible for over a hundred people to be evicted in order that another cinema house may be added to those already in existence. That cinema houses offer one of the few means of escape from the squalor of home as it is known in the slums of London, only adds to the urgency of the case for reform in all matters affecting homes.

## ARE WOMEN WANTED?

DOES the Nation want women's work? Eighteen months ago there could be no doubt of the answer to that question. Cabinet Ministers (led by the Premier), distinguished generals and admirals, bishops, men of business, officials of all kinds, and, above all, those great journals which are understood to represent the Power of the Press, assured us that it did. Not only that it needed it, but that it could not possibly exist for an hour without it. We were also told that the Nation (which was almost invariably spoken of as if it consisted entirely of men) was passionately grateful to women for their war-work, and for coming forward to save it, when inclination might have tempted them to stay in their own homes.

It is safe to say that the average woman received all this praise with some perplexity. She did not feel it in the least surprising that she should work for her country; she had not the least inclination to spend the time of danger, in a home saved for her by the peril and sufferings of others. She, like the average man, wanted to take her part in the struggle, to bear her share of any unpleasantness there was going, and to accomplish something for a just cause. It was not her fault that she could not go into the trenches; she did what she could, and she did it naturally and voluntarily; she did not expect gratitude, only a recognition of her comradeship, and the opportunity for further work.

In the last six months a great change has come over the scene, and women workers are confronted by an attitude on the part of men which causes them no less perplexity than the exaggerated eulogy they met with during the war. They find that they are not wanted after all, or, at any rate, that there are a great many people who do not want them. This is proved to them not only by the positive fact that they have been or are being dismissed from their jobs, and cannot get new ones, but by the extraordinary atmosphere of hostility and contumely which among them find closing in round them. According to the *Labour Gazette* over eighty thousand women were in receipt of unemployment donation at the beginning of August, and this of course means that a very much larger number were out of work. It is known that the women's services are to be demobilised; the W.R.E.N.S. have already gone, the W.A.A.C.s must follow shortly, Government offices are answering the cry for economy by economising their women clerks, private employers are doing the same. The decrease in the demand for women's services is accompanied by an inevitable fall in their salaries; employers remember what they could "get women for," before the war, when, it may be remarked incidentally, money was worth at least double what it is worth now; women are again expected to be thankful for any post, and to take it at any wage. Some of this is inevitable, but not all. A good deal of it undoubtedly arises from extraordinary muddling on the part of the authorities, and the whole situation is affected by the assumption which still seems to lurk at the back of most men's minds, that it is not as necessary for women to work as it is for men, and that if they cannot get work, all they have to do is to "go back to their

homes." This assumption finds its expression in a deplorable slackness about the organisation of women's work on the part of men in authority, and by anger and insult on the part of those who are not. Instances are reported on every hand; here is a typical one. About three weeks ago the Women's Legion took on a hundred and eighty girls to train as motor drivers. The need for the services of these girls was widely advertised, everything was done to induce them to train. After about a fortnight's training, however, the girls were given a week's salary and dismissed. Some muddle had been made, they were not wanted after all. This was bad enough, but what some of them minded even more, was that while their training was going on, they were jeered at and abused by men onlookers. Other girls doing out-of-door work have been subjected to the same kind of treatment during these last weeks, and the spirit of hostility is undoubtedly stimulated by a portion of the press. "Limpets," "blood-suckers," "bread-snatchers," are the kind of terms which are now freely applied to women who want to keep their jobs, or who have the temerity to apply for new ones. This is a monstrous injustice. The "pocket-money girl" is almost entirely a thing of the past; she has been ground out of existence by the agonising conditions of these last years. The girls and women who want work now, want it in order to earn bread for themselves and their dependents; they want it in order to keep together those homes to which they are told to return; work is as much a necessity for them as it is for the men.

We urge the public to recognise these facts, and to recognise also the generous spirit in which many thousands of girls have yielded to the first claims of men returned from the war. They have never doubted that it was their duty to do this—surely it is the duty of the male public, and of the press that speaks for it, to show an equally generous spirit.

It is, we believe, quite unnecessary to urge the women workers to keep a good heart and an equal spirit, and not to be driven to injustice by the injustice that is done to them. But we do urge them to remember that nothing is really changed in their value by the sudden change in "fortune and men's eyes." We are in a world which is almost perishing just because of the work that has not been done in the last five years. It stands to reason that in such a world, every trained and willing worker may be of almost infinite value. At present, there is a very bad muddle about work in general, and especially about women's work. We must all set our minds to finding a way out. We firmly believe that it is only the economic muddle and the wrong thinking of the past that is stopping the way of the young women at present, and that if we can get through it they will do far more for their country and the world in the future than they have done in the past. They must organise for equal opportunities, and they must learn all they can with the assurance that everything they learn will add to their usefulness. The present very hard time is a fresh test of citizenship; we believe that the young women workers will emerge from it as triumphantly as they emerged from the test of war.

## Women and the Church. I.

By A. MAUDE ROYDEN.

The Women's Movement has in a couple of generations achieved sweeping successes: it has not yet however spent its force. It will not do so till it has achieved its end, and that end is the recognition of the fundamental equality of the sexes. Nor must this recognition be mere lip-service. It must be practical and effective in every department of life.

Many individuals, and even some great movements, are able to keep their minds in water-tight compartments. Individual women may be "sound" on the political but not on the economic issue; or may delight in the attribution of "queenship" to women, while acquiescing in their effective slavery. And among movements, even Labour is not invariably sound on the economic equality of women, while nobly and self-sacrificingly espousing their political cause. But the Woman's Movement has on the whole been noticeably free from any one-sided or defective conception of what equality really implied. Our pioneers, though they had necessarily to concentrate—as we their followers have to concentrate—on some part or other of the whole field, were women of real intellectual power, as well as courage, statesmanship as well as high ideals, and even the almost narrowly defined issue fought by, for example, Mrs. Josephine Butler, was proclaimed by her who fought it to rest on the most broadly human principles and rights.

To us, therefore, there is something almost comic in the earnest hope of various sections of the community, that our claim for effective equality will not—cannot conceivably be made in their case. How much mirth has in the past been evoked by the suggestion that "ladies" (it is always "ladies" in this connection) might some day ask to be Members of Parliament, Justices of the Peace, Judges, Cabinet Ministers, and so on! That they should be bankers or policewomen, engineers, reporters or motor drivers, has again and again added to the mirth of nations. Yet to anyone who really understands the essential principles of the Woman's Movement, this mirth has seemed as foolish as time has now proved it to be.

But still there are citadels of privilege and prejudice to be assailed. The most ancient is the Church.

Many of those who—they assure us—had the deepest sympathy with our movement in its other aspects, are now dismayed. "It may be illogical," writes one cleric mournfully, "but I never expected this claim would be made!" Illogical truly; for if women claim fundamental equality, it is surely precisely in the Church that their claim will inevitably, whether at first or at last, be made. Fundamental equality may leave a woman on an inferior physical plane; she will not be greatly disturbed if she finds she cannot compete with men in blacksmithing or mining.

## Production and Over-Production.

By B. L. HUTCHINS.

It is even compatible with intellectual inferiority. But if it does not mean spiritual equality, what does it mean? And if spiritual equality be compatible with an attitude of studied insult and permanent subordination, in what sense is it real?

These words will seem much too strong to many. Let me justify them.

Bishop Gore affirms that, while men and women are spiritually equal, yet "Christianity accepts the principle of an essential and permanent headship of man over woman." The Bishop of Winchester urges that in any revision of the marriage service of the Anglican Church, it should be made clear that "the natural leadership of the man in the home" is maintained. Father Pinchard believes that man has "a certain priority." I have myself been confronted by a committee of Anglican clergy who assumed, as an axiom, the "subordination" of women; expressed a most naive astonishment at my refusal to admit their axiom; and urged me to admit that the permanent subordination of one set of the community to another set, with which they were nevertheless "fundamentally equal," was a necessary "principle of order." The Report of the Archbishop's Committee of Research\* observes that "the 'subjection' which the Apostles inculcate is in no way a mark of inferiority in spiritual things it is a differentiation of function."† The Bishop of Oxford also emphasises the point that the subordination of women is "a principle of social organisation"—"a principle of order."

It will not then be denied that representative and influential speakers in the Church of England do insist on the permanent subordination of women. They ask us to believe that a certain set of people must accept permanent subordination to another set, with whom they are fundamentally and essentially equal; and they invite us to do this as a principle of order.

In a little book recently published, I found the following wise sentences:—"By what plans do we propose to build the new world? Obviously, when we speak of the true foundation we mean the one that corresponds with some final reality."‡ The "final reality" in this matter is the essential equality of the sexes: the foundation on which we shall nevertheless hopefully build is the permanent dominance of one and the subordination of the other!

The belief that facts can be altered by passing resolutions, enacting laws, or merely shutting one's eyes to them, is not confined to ecclesiastics, but appears to be peculiarly well-developed among them. Politicians, struggling against the Suffrage tide, did at least affirm that women were either too good or too bad to be men's equals. Will it be believed in future generations that ecclesiastics positively assured us at one and the same moment that we were the equals of men, and by divine ordinance must remain perpetually subordinate to them? Surely no one ever more zealously applied the axe to the branch on which they were sitting than those who argue so. It is not a principle of order that they affirm but of disorder, and to hope to build on a foundation which themselves affirm has no "correspondence with final reality" is madness.

But is it fair to say that this faulty logic has been accompanied by studied insult? It is certainly true of the Church of England, and to some extent of the Roman Catholic Church. No one can attend a service in the churches of these communions without seeing it. Not only are women excluded from the priesthood and from the diaconate as it is exercised by men, but they are shut out from the holier places in church, on the express grounds that they are holier. Women must not approach the altar or enter the sanctuary. Why? Because these are holy places. They must not speak in church at all. Why? Because it is consecrated. However certain we may be that women have a message from God to deliver—however glad the Church may be to make use of their gifts—they must not lift up their voices in a consecrated place. However well they may sing, they must not be seen in choirs. Boys—necessarily almost untrained, since at fourteen or fifteen they cease to sing soprano;—are preferred, I am told, on account of their "pure sexless" voices. It is not claimed that the choirmen are sexless. Is it then our sex only that is unfit for the service of God? Or will anyone contend that a rule which admits to the choir a boy—any boy—of twelve and excludes a Jenny Lind is other than a studied insult to women? On the operatic stage or the concert platform the substitution of boys for women would be regarded as ludicrous; but not in church, because a church is holy.

[I hope to trace the steps by which the Woman's Movement is influencing the Churches next week.]

\* Reviewed on page 250.

† p. 38.

‡ *Christ and the Woman's Movement*, by C. Broughton-Thompson. † Of the Eastern Churches I am not qualified to speak. It is at least much less true of the Protestant Churches in this country.

It is curious how the social problem has shifted within a generation. In the far-off 'nineties, when the London School of Economics was started, and small as it then was, provided a centre where young people already interested could study and discuss problems of poverty and unemployment, the social question appeared to have much more to do with distribution than with production. The machinery of production, it was generally assumed, could do its work; the trouble was that so many people were too poor to buy, and the goods could not find enough purchasers. That, very roughly, is how things appeared to us in those days. Now, after the appalling calamity of a world-war the problem is that everything is scarce and difficult to obtain. It is a problem of supply, and as such concerns women most intimately. Women are typically consumers, by which, let me hasten to explain, I do not intend any delightful jokes like Mr. Punch's, about pretty young wives who take out their brave officer-husbands to buy them hats. The women who can spend most of their time buying pretty and expensive things are not a very large proportion of the whole. The majority of women might be described, I suggest, as vicarious consumers. They buy for other people and have to eke out whatever money wages come in to the family so as to find boots, bread, meat, milk, soap, and all the other items of house-keeping. The money available has to be spread out as carefully as possible so as to cover the most vital needs first, and, if any surplus remain, some pleasant superfluities for relaxation and enjoyment. When prices are as high and commodities as scarce as they have been lately, women have a difficult task to make two ends meet, even with higher wages. The problem of supply becomes pressing. Prophecy is risky, but I venture to think the time is coming when women will have to make some positive contribution towards solving the problem of supply. Hitherto economy, as far as women are concerned, has been supposed to mean domestic economy alone; the earlier stages of production do not concern them. Except for the comparatively few women who are in business for themselves, or who work as independent producers in this country, both of whom we may for present purposes leave out of account, women have no control over the supply of goods at all; what they do is to pay for, carry home, and use them to the best of their ability. But the problem of supply has become so acute (threatening to become even acuter) that it is likely to rouse women to a perception that they are touched very nearly by it, that the children are in danger, that common action of some kind is needed. In past times common action by women has seldom been possible. They were too isolated in the family, too ignorant, too much hampered by difficulties of communication. But those difficulties, that isolation, are no longer so intense, and when once the latent capacity of women to associate, so long pent up and unused, begins to develop and make itself felt, we may expect a fundamental restatement of values. What is the present position? It is, we have seen, a position of shortage, of scarcity. The need is for production, more production, and still more production. The manual workers are lectured on the wickedness of strikes and the necessity to work harder. But it is impossible not to have some doubts of the sincerity of these exhortations. In the Report on Trusts. (Cd. 9236 of 1919) we find information as to the methods adopted by manufacturing firms for "regulating output." Having in view the risk of "over-production," the firms manufacturing any particular article or line of goods will join together and appoint a highly expert secretary or accountant to regulate the aggregate output. This official is entrusted with all the facts and figures which are otherwise treated as confidential. Each member of this combination is privately informed of the percentage of the aggregate output that is considered to be his fair share, and also, after his report has been sent in, of the percentage he has actually made. The interesting point is that if the member exceeds his appointed quota, he has to pay part of his excess into a "pool"; but if he falls below, he draws a certain proportion of his deficiency out. Firms which are making very small profits are allowed to close down, if they like, and draw compensation, the more prosperous firms finding it worth while to pension them off and get the extra trade (pp. 17-18, 39, 25). Production is thus directly penalised and output restrained at its very source by those responsible for the direction of industry.

It would appear that although the needs of the population have never yet been fully supplied, yet the constant dread that haunts the manufacturer is the fear of producing "too much."

Which, being interpreted, as Mr. Hilton points out in the report already quoted, means supplying more than the market will take at the price (page 25). We can find the same spirit back in the 'nineties, even in so fine a man as the late Professor Smart. His book, "Studies in Economics," is interesting reading to those who care to reconstruct the ideas of 1895, especially through the strong humanity of the writer and his realisation of the hardships and injustices of the manual worker's lot. His main pre-occupation in that book, however, was the contemporary movement of prices, which contrasts so curiously with our own urgent problem. Professor Smart was not only an economist, he was also a manufacturer of sewing cotton, and he wrote almost despairingly of the "perpetual discouragement of falling prices" (p. 212). "With this discouragement grows the temptation to combine and keep up prices artificially, or, failing this, to contract production in order to prevent increase of supply still further depressing price" (p. 213). Obligations of wages and other outgoings have to be met, and "no calculation whatever will enable the manufacturer, *qua* manufacturer, to anticipate and provide for a steadily falling market." "There is too much possibility of producing . . . the moment that a profit emerges everyone rushes to snatch it, and it disappears in a wave of over-supply. From the manufacturer's point of view, the most providential thing would be—as is often said—a few good fires!!!!"

The emerging fact is that the problem of supply has not hitherto been treated as a problem of supply. It is, to the men chiefly concerned in the control of industry, a matter of trade, of business. They may be intent on money, or on the power that money brings, they may take pride and pleasure in their business, and in seeing it grow under their hands; they may even regard it as a game and put their conscience into "playing the game." But if we could get inside their minds, we should probably see that they very seldom regard it from the supplier's point of view. Even Professor Smart, though a good man and a wise economist, could not quite rise to that. The positive contribution to economics that may, and I hope will, be made by women (not rejecting the help of men when they can get it) is to put consumption in its place as the central fact, the object of production. As we have seen in war-time, the supply of fundamental needs, such as coals, milk, bread, is too serious a matter to be settled by considerations of profit alone. More and more, I fancy, as women, especially the younger women, come to think out these matters for themselves, they will begin to question the validity of a system which leaves the supply of vital needs at the mercy of a free fight between producers competing for custom, or to the mercy of the same producers when combined to raise prices to the public. Women, it seems to me, as they get to know more about the machinery of production and the channels of distribution, as they gradually see the truth about things that have been veiled from them by enforced ignorance, are likely to ask very seriously whether the methods now in vogue are good enough. It is notorious that in the first year of war, even the huge profits made by the armament firms did not ensure a sufficient supply of ammunition for the army, and the Government was forced to manufacture for itself. It is equally notorious that at any given time there is not enough milk to go round among the children of the poor, even if their mothers could afford to pay the price. The same may be said about all sorts of common needs; there is perhaps, almost enough bread in this country, but there is not enough fruit, not enough fats, not enough of the more varied kinds of simple foods that promote health. Some new method, some new initiative is needed. I fancy, before long, women will form some kind of protective organisation of consumers, which might bring pressure on the big producing firms, or possibly achieve joint organisation somewhat on Whitley Council lines. Experiments in State control will be useful, for though State control in war-time has been bureaucratic and objectionable in many ways, it has, undoubtedly, saved us from worse evils that would have occurred without it. Experiments in all kinds of voluntary co-operation have already been made and often with great success. They need extending. We want experiments in kitchens, restaurants, and domestic help run on co-operative lines; experiments in municipal undertakings, and in joint efforts by voluntary bodies and municipalities.

After all, who is the consumer? Not, as some seem to suppose, a greedy, selfish person who is the antithesis of the producer. The consumer is all of us, but, more especially the children—the England of twenty and thirty years hence.

### What Dutch Suffragists are Doing.

In the first place we are rejoicing over the victory of our common cause by the adoption of Womanhood Suffrage along with Manhood Suffrage by the Second Chamber on May 9th, and by the First Chamber on July 10th, soon to be ratified by the Queen's signature, and probably to be incorporated in the Constitution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands at its next revision in 1922. We know in how great a measure we are indebted for this success to our sisters in other lands where the suffrage strife has been waged more hotly than here, and we shall never forget our pledge to remain internationally organised until every civilised nation will have enfranchised its women. We also feel our great obligation to the two political parties, Social Democrats and Radicals, who promoted our cause by popular petitions and by defending it in Parliament; and we see that the time has now come for the women to play their own part in politics.

Fortunately, there are only very few women who believe in inaugurating a new and more humane era by founding a new political group of their own, a Feminist Party. Most of us are content to replace the androcentric world of the past by a new régime founded on equality and democracy. This we shall best do by entering the existing parties. There are, indeed, political organisations enough in our country among which women can make their choice; the elections of 1918 with the new system of proportional representation, have more than doubled the number of these organisations and they have shown themselves quite prepared to put women on their lists of candidates. The elections of 1919, for the Provincial States and Municipalities, have brought many women into the governing bodies, so it appears that the parties are glad enough to enlist the women.

However, the women have still good reasons to remain standing together, and supporting their common claims, more to educate public opinion from the feminist point of view than to influence legislation directly. Therefore, we resolved on June 15th, in the General Meeting of the National Woman Suffrage Association, not to disband, but form a League of Women Citizens, and we hope to keep our members, and keep our organ, notwithstanding the higher contribution now needed for printing costs.

We were sorry to miss our President, Dr. Jacobs, on the day of the passing of our enfranchisement bill by the Second Chamber on account of her work for the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She will be with us next month for the celebration of our enfranchisement, which has now been fixed for the 27th. Certainly the hearts of our sisters all over the world will be with us on that day. The celebration is to be in Amsterdam, at our Headquarters, 627, Heeren-gracht.

MARTINA G. KRAMERS.

### "The Perfect Propagandist."

*The Perfect Propagandist, or The P.P.*, as it is familiarly called by those of the family, so to speak, is the organ of the Guild for Good Government. Some people think it ought to be called "The Good Government Gazette," for they argue that if people knew that the object of the journal is to get good government, those who want it (*i.e.*, G.G.) will buy it (*i.e.*, "The G.G.G.," if that were its name). But others argue that there are far more people who don't know what they want than there are who do, and that, therefore, if you want a big circulation it would be the greatest possible mistake to let them guess before they bought it that it was "out" for good government. Indeed, in that case, some would at once decide not to buy it, because they thought all government was a mistake, and that if only people were left perfectly free they would behave as such (*i.e.*, as perfectly as perfectly free people do), and others would say, "We have already got a perfect Prime Minister, and the only chance of good government is to leave him and his government alone, and any change would be a change for the worse." Others, again, would say, "There is no such thing as goodness or badness, only social and anti-social" (not *ism*, that is quite another thing). But really there is no end to what people will say about governments, and no newspaper proprietor wants other people to say anything, but only to buy the paper and see what it says. On the other hand, everybody thinks he is perfect, or as perfect as may be, and likes to read about himself (or herself) in print, and everybody would be certain to buy a paper for perfect people. This last thought was the thought in the minds of the promoters of *The Perfect Propagandist* when it was first started. But somehow everybody did not buy the paper. Of course, most

people bought it (at least, so the advertisement manager said, and he ought to know), but not everybody. Now, everybody buys *John Bull*, so why not *The P.P.*? Of course, it is a great help to *John Bull* that you can always be sure that if it (anything) is in *John Bull* it is so. But still, so it is in *The P.P.*, for a more voracious paper has never been printed—it positively oozes truth at every pore, so everybody ought to buy it, just as they buy *John Bull*. But the real reason why lots and lots of people don't buy it is because they erroneously think they are perfect and it isn't. Why, for example, is it not much more like *John Bull*, or *The Spectator*, or *Home Chat*, or *The Life of Faith*, or *John o' London*, or *Blighty*, or *The Occasional Paper of the Women's Universal Union*, or *The Goat*, or *The Proceedings of the Psychological Research Society*? They do not of course, those who argue thus, want it to be exactly like any of these or it would be it, and then they might as well buy the other (is this quite clear?); but why cannot it incorporate all their good points and leave out the bad; then, obviously, the thing is done, the circulation assured. For example, it could be made up something in this way:—Three pages of absolutely exclusive and up-to-date (and by up-to-date they mean really up-to-date—if the paper comes out on Friday carry the news right up to midnight on Thursday) news; then a few paragraphs about Fingoland and how the disorderliness of its Republic sends up the price of ribbon in Brixton; then a double-page, large print, "Why did the Mayor of Woburn Sands not wear his chain of office when he went to the station to meet the Moderator of the Church of Scotland?" This would do for the twenty-foot posters in North London. Then a column or two of correspondence, "Does a cat take longer steps than a dog, and does it get there (*i.e.*, to its London home back from the seaside where the family went and forgot it) sooner than a dog?" (You see, every house has a cat, and a great many a dog, and measuring footsteps would become the rage.) Or "Do spotted damask table-cloths wash better than sprigged?" Then there should be a soupçon of fashion, the "On Dit" column, only "on dit" is rather pre-war, so call it "What the Censor Knows"—the idea cleverly hinted at being that the snippets come out of letters lying in the censor's office. They would have to be of a kind to interest propagandists, but worked up a bit to sound vivacious:— "Is the L.U.B. going to lose its indefatigable secretary? A little bird says she has become an ardent believer in the A.W.L.'s and is to be their next President."

"Miss M. of the Executive Committee of the M.L.B.s is engaged to be married to Lieut. B., one of its most generous subscribers."

"A wicked little sprite tells us that the corresponding clerk of the U.P.s has a slight coolness with the filing ditto of this admirably organised Association, and won't even pass her in the passage."

Perhaps this sounds dull, but it isn't—it screams, it scintillates, it bristles to those in the know, and everyone likes to be thought in the know, so no one will dare to say it sounds dull.

But *The Goat* has the really great feature—it is called "Goats I have kept," and it has been running now for nearly six years, and with all the correspondence it brings in—about whether a goat could actually do the things each owner says his goat has done—it simply keeps the paper going, and all the best goat keepers say that it knocks *Beards and Horns*, the rival goat paper, into fits. Why not a series called "Props (short for propagandists) I have met," illustrated (the goat series was not illustrated because goats are rather alike). Every week there would be a portrait of a Prop., and at Christmas a big prize competition about "The Most Persuasive Prop.," each coupon to entitle to one vote. You see, the people keen about any particular Prop. would persuade all their friends to get *The P.P.* for the sake of the coupon. Then there should be a good serial, something about a person who professed to be very patriotic, and always doing patriotic propaganda, and how she dressed in paper for patriotic reasons, or pretended that was why, and how the paper turned out to be thousands of thousands of pounds worth of Prossland paper money—because secretly she was a spy propagandising Prossism.

Then, on the Friday before the fifth Saturday in every other month—*i.e.*, every other month that had a fifth Saturday—there could be a propaganda par., something dealing with the purpose for which *The P.P.* exists. The paragraph should be short and pithy, because, you see, people are bored by propaganda, and the great failing of the paper at present is that it actually puts in pages and pages of propaganda. Of course, if you want to convert people this is a great mistake, because it is much better to amuse them, and give them what they want and what they are accustomed to in other papers and something that helps

them to make more profit, and in such a way that it isn't very noticeable—or give taste teas.

But quite a lot of people don't think it really matters what is in the paper; the whole thing is its name, and *P.P.*, or even *G.G.G.*, as a name frightens people—it simply isn't done to have such names. Now, it is fairly well known that the whole idea of the *G.G.G.* is about women, that to have good government there must be women, so, as *The P.P.* is about women, why not give it a woman's name?—not, of course, Julia, or Ann, or Alethea, but something like "Womanly Wiles," or "Musings of a Matron," or "The Helpmeet's Message." This last would tell immensely, because nearly every house that has a cat has a helpmeet as well, and the meet (or should it be man?) she helps like the name it makes her seem a sort of adjunct.

But not even a name can save *The P.P.* if it is going to push any particular party, or opinions or principles. It must always be impartial, and never talk about anything till the time is ripe, till, in fact, it is falling off the tree and everybody else is talking about it, and saying how they had always believed in it (the thing, not the time). But it should be very parliamentary—parliamentariness gives an impression of omniscience quite unequalled.

But no name, no snappy snips, no goats, no cats, no nothing avails ought unless the thing is advertised. Look at Pelman. He is just a man, nothing more. But he advertises. You look, and you can't take your eyes off him. Even a person with a bad memory can't forget him. People must get to feel like that about *P.P.*

Something in this style on Nelson's Column, and an electric ladder to show the circulation going up. "Began as a high School-mistress. Rose to be head of the W.U.F.F.S. Why? Because I taught my pupil out of *P.P.*," or "How a Dairymaid became a Dame. I was just a pre-war dairymaid in the Express Dairy. Not even a land army, &c. One day I noticed the letter P.—it seemed homey, for I'm Patty. I had a quarter of a pint of milk as a sort of perquisite, so I sold it and bought *P.P.*," &c., &c., &c.

But you can't expect people to pay for a propaganda paper, at least not a penny, still less twopenny—throw it in with something, say, the sixpenny subscription to the *G.G.G.*, then people feel they have got something. . . .

The telephone bell rang, and rang, and the editor woke up and exclaimed, "Thank Heaven, it was only a nightmare, after all. I always find press day a bit worrying, and I must have dozed off. I see it's nearly ten o'clock. Oh, that telephone; I suppose it's someone with an idea. Yes. Are you there? A voice unknown, but dulcet, like an angel's harp: I've got an idea. Editor: I'm afraid I can't alter anything now as the paper's gone to press. Dulcet Unknown: Oh, it's my idea, and I'm going to do it. I'm going to get everybody who takes in *P.P.* to send a postcard saying what they've liked best in it in the past year. Then I shall print the best six points on a subscription form, and every reader will be asked to get six new readers, to undertake to sell it six times a month outside meetings. It's such a plucky little paper, and full of good stuff; it only wants knowing, and if we really are in earnest about our propaganda we must push it all we know. What?—Are you there? Editor: Rather.

And she went up to bed and fell into a dreamless sleep. But she means to ask a psycho-analyst what the nightmare meant. Was it a nightmare, or had she fallen into a trance in which had been revealed to her what no mortal eye has ever seen, the PATTERN OF A PERFECT PAPER.

### The Appeal to Tradition.

**The Ministry of Women.** A Report by a Committee appointed by His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. (Published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Price 12s. 6d.)

When the State issues the official reports of Committees they appear in blue paper covers or in none, and are so unwieldy in shape and size that, whatever their contents, one is tempted to class them at first sight among Charles Lamb's "books that are no books." The Church has done better than this; the report of the Archbishop's Committee on the ministry of women comes to us from the S.P.C.K. in an attractive volume, with sea-green cloth covers, thick paper, and excellent illustrations. Nor is its appearance deceptive. When we open it we find that it is full of scholarship and of agreeable reading. It must be confessed, however, that it has the drawbacks of these qualities, and that it is easier to beguile an hour with its fascinating details about deaconesses and abbesses than to form any definite conclusion as to its bearing on modern life. This is not the fault of the compilers, as they were requested by the Archbishop

to make purely historical investigations. In the Report itself (which takes up only thirty pages, as against nearly three hundred of appendices) they say:—

"We have not dealt with questions bearing upon sex in comparative or speculative theology, nor with the reasons why women have never been ordained to the priesthood. The application of the results of our researches to modern problems has not been before us."

The results of their researches are summed up in an impartial statement of the evidence on both sides, though perhaps the very word "sides" does wrong to their historical spirit. Dealing with the Gospel narrative, they say:—

"In the first century of the Christian era the position of women, both in Judea and in the Roman Empire generally, was one of inferiority, as compared with that of men, in respect of social status, education, and influence. The very frequent and prominent mention of women in the Gospel narratives is therefore all the more noteworthy. The passage in which we are told that the disciples marvelled because Jesus was speaking with a woman stands by itself. Our Lord's teaching gives no support to the prevalent Jewish opinion upon the lower status of women. He addresses Himself to both sexes without distinction. His message is given as much to the women as to the men. Devoted women followed in His company, and ministered to His wants. At the last, when the disciples had fled, women stood by Him at the cross. After the resurrection women were the first to receive the manifestations of the Risen Lord. And it may safely be assumed that they were present in the Upper Chamber when 'the lot fell upon Matthias.'"

"On the other hand, the Twelve Apostles were men; and the Seventy who were sent forth to preach the Kingdom were men. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was instituted in the presence of the Apostles only. The Apostolic commission recorded in John xx, 19-23, was delivered to men. The Evangelistic Charge narrated in Matt. xxviii, 16-20, would appear to have been delivered to the 'eleven disciples.' These facts, taken together, are proof that there were functions and responsibilities which, at the first, our Lord assigned to men and did not assign to women. As regards spiritual privilege, there was entire equality between the sexes. As regards religious vocation and public duties, there was no such identity. All branches of the Church have hitherto interpreted this testimony of the Gospels to mean that the government of the Church and the responsibility for the Ministry of the Word and the Sacraments were entrusted to men."

The remaining books of the New Testament are treated in the same spirit in the first part of the Report. It takes up only a little over three pages. Part II., dealing with "The Ministrations of Women in the Church from the New Testament to Modern Times" is much longer and more elaborate, and it is to it that most of the appendices belong. They are mostly about deaconesses, and show much learning; the only criticism we can make on them is that it seems rather a vain effort to discover what were the exact functions of obscure widows in Asia Minor in the fourth century, when it has proved hopeless to find out what are the functions of deaconesses at the present time. However, those who give weight to tradition would hold that if we knew what deaconesses did in the fourth century we should be a little nearer knowing, not what they do, but what they ought to do now.

The third part of the Report deals with Modern Developments, and says:—

"In the Church of England it would not be too much to say that the immense expansion of activity and of efficiency in ministering to the religious needs of the people has been due, if primarily to a quickened consciousness of their calling among the clergy, yet scarcely less to the wonderful work accomplished by the mainly voluntary efforts of women. In a very large proportion of the parishes of England and Wales during the last seventy years, under the different heads of district visiting, Sunday-school teaching, Church music, parochial clubs, missionary societies, study circles, rescue and preventive agencies, besides the larger organisations represented by the Sisterhoods and the Deaconess Institutions, by the Girls' Friendly Society, and the Mothers' Union, an extraordinary amount of good work has been quietly and unostentatiously, voluntarily and gratuitously, achieved by women. Among the unrecorded Saints of the Church of Christ there are hundreds of names of wives, widows, and daughters of clergymen, and of single women who, in obscurity, have dedicated their lives and their substance to the promotion of the Kingdom of God in our own country and in heathen lands."

The Report states that though the Church has "gratefully acknowledged" the services of its women workers, it has never given them official recognition, and goes on to allude to the "unrest among women, caused mainly by the neglect of the Church to provide for the employment of trained and educated women with a living wage, and by her refusal to give responsibility or status to women, or to give any definite recognition of women's capacity for the ministerial office." As against these complaints it sets the facts that at the present time it is competent for a woman to hold the position of churchwarden, and that the Representative Church Council has agreed that the franchise for election to the parochial councils should include "women baptised and confirmed and not being members of other religious denominations."

The appendices are signed by their authors, and not only deal with different historical periods but express different points of view. The most interesting is, perhaps, that written by Mr. Francis Eeles (who acted as Honorary Secretary to the Committee) on "Ministries of Women in and since the Middle Ages." In it we learn how the Abbesses of Huelgas issued

faculties to hear confessions, to say Mass, and to preach; nominated parish priests, appointed chaplains, granted letters dismissory, took cognizance of first instances in all causes, ecclesiastical, criminal, and relating to benefices imposed censures through their ecclesiastical judges, confirmed the abbesses of their subject houses, drew up constitutions, visited monasteries, and in a word, possessed a full ecclesiastical jurisdiction. We also find in it an account of another Cistercian Abbess at Conversano who, because of her great powers, was known in her day as the *Monstrum Apuliae*. "One thing," we are told, "her clergy especially resented. When a new abess received their homage, she sat on a faldstool at the outer gate of the abbey, wearing her mitre and holding her crozier; each of the clergy knelt before her and kissed her hand. In the eighteenth century the matter was taken to Rome; the result was that a decree was issued ordering for the future that her mitre and staff should be placed on the table by her side; that her hand should be covered with a glove or cloth; and that her subject clerics should not kneel to her as they would to the Blessed Sacrament, but bow as they would to a reliquary."

Later, in the same section, we are reminded that in England, from Saxon times down to the reign of William and Mary, the Archbishop prayed that the sovereign (whether the Crown was held by a woman or a man) might nourish, teach, defend, and instruct the Church as well as the people.

On the whole, mediæval tradition seems to be in favour of granting considerable ecclesiastical powers to women, provided they are of high enough birth. Even those who do not hold that any modern problem can be decided by an appeal to this tradition, or by anything but the word and spirit of Christ, may find considerable interest in studying the historical evidence presented in this book, and will be grateful for the scholarly care that has gone to producing it.

### Hygiene and Morals.

**Prophylaxis Against Venereal Disease:** Note by the Chairman of the Inter-departmental Committee on Infectious Diseases in Connection with Demobilisation (The Hon. Waldorf Astor, M.P.) to the Minister of Health. (Published by His Majesty's Stationery Office [Cmd. 322]. Price 3d.)

We alluded in our notes last week to this important White Paper, which should be in the hands of all who are interested in the study of morals and hygiene, and their relation to each other. The Committee was appointed last January, and began work with a consideration of malaria, tuberculosis, and venereal disease. In view of the public interest in the question of venereal disease, it was considered advisable to present a note on this subject as soon as possible. Three questions were therefore dealt with immediately: (a) The general value of the various drugs and medical or mechanical means which have been adopted for the prevention of venereal disease, and which have been made available before exposure to infection; (b) The extent to which this issue of drugs has proved effective in diminishing these diseases in the Forces, in which they were used; (c) Whether any of these methods, and if so, which, are applicable to the civil population?

A number of military and medical witnesses were examined, and tables are published showing the incidence of venereal disease among Canadian, Australian, British, and American troops, and also in the British Navy. These figures are interesting, though they would be more interesting if there were more of them. As it is, comparison is not possible; the Canadian and Australian figures deal only with the years of war, while the figures for the British Army are all for the years before the war. It is stated on page 7 that the incidence of venereal disease among British troops in the United Kingdom was much lower than the incidence among Canadians and Australians. Figures are given for the American Army from 1873 to 1917, and for the British Army from 1870 to 1913; so that for the years 1873 to 1913 the incidence per thousand can be compared. It was much lighter in America up till 1898 (the year when the Spanish-American War began), but after that it became heavier. After 1903, the rate per thousand in the troops in the United Kingdom fell rapidly, till in 1913 it was only 50.9 per thousand, whereas in the American Army it was 85.83 per thousand. It seems likely that if later British figures had been published they would compare not unfavourably with the American.

The conclusions that Major Waldorf Astor, speaking for the Committee, draws from the figures are as follows:

"First, that there was an almost continuous fall in the venereal rate in the British Army and Navy during a long period before the war; throughout that period there was no organised system of any form of prophylaxis, but continuous improvement

was taking place in social and other conditions affecting the incidence of these diseases; and

"Secondly, that amongst those forces which during the war employed the prophylactic packet system most energetically, no proportionate reduction was brought about in the infection rate."

"In examining these figures," writes Major Astor, "it must also be borne in mind that certain conditions of war, such as absence from home, boredom, and loneliness, irresponsibility, unnatural surroundings, and unsuitable companionship, exert an effect on human desire and action which tends to create an artificially high rate of exposure to risk of venereal disease in the Services during the war."

"Under any mechanical system which does not afford absolute protection, the venereal incidence must be proportionate to the risks taken, and it must be borne in mind that the introduction of such a mechanical system may easily, by its promise of protection, lead to an increase in the number of exposures."

"The Committee desire me to point out that in their view, many of those who wish the Government to utilise in peace time, for the civil population, methods which have been tried among the Forces in war, have not sufficiently appreciated the fundamental differences between the two groups, or between the conditions of war and peace; nor have they been aware of the comparative failure of packets even in a disciplined force. The civil authorities cannot command or control the general population (men and women) as officers can properly and legitimately control enlisted men. In dealing with the latter, officers in different forces have had power—(1) To make medical examinations at regular intervals; (2) To provide facilities for continuous and direct propaganda; (3) To punish disobedience of official advice, concealment of disease, or disregard of treatment; (4) To exclude certain persons from camps, &c.; (5) To put certain places out of bounds; (6) To organise recreation, &c.; (7) To enforce other service regulations."

"It is also the direct interest of the officers in charge of men to keep the venereal rate amongst them as low as possible. There can be nothing in the civil population analogous to this pressure of responsibility and discipline. Unfortunately, no civil peace figures are obtainable, but the military and naval pre-war figures are significant as showing a decline in the venereal rate following upon improvement in general conditions and surroundings and the development of recreation and social amusements."

"Finally, it is the Committee's view that the assumption that the present incidence of venereal disease in the Army is greater than that among a similar number of men in civilian life is not established."

The general conclusion of the note is that "the Committee has not had sufficient evidence put before them of the beneficial results gained by the distribution of prophylactic packets in various Forces to prove the value of the system or to justify them in recommending its official encouragement among the civil population. Unquestionably there have been many individual cases which appear to afford positive evidence in favour of a system of distribution of such prophylactics before exposure to infection; but the volume of such evidence is too small and too exceptional, and the instances of its failure, even under favourable circumstances, are too numerous to allow of any other conclusion than that, in view of the considerations mentioned above, and of the administrative and social difficulties involved, the official application of a packet system to the civil community is neither desirable nor practicable."

### The Englishwoman.

September, 1919.

Lena Ashwell is a name to conjure with, and in the September number of *The Englishwoman* there is a long article by her called "Soldiers and the Drama," telling the wonderful story of the mission of her "Concert Parties" to the soldiers, every word of which is alive with her passionate belief in what the drama should, and could bear to distracted humanity, whether in khaki or civvies, if only the real thing, not a meretricious substitute, could be made to reach the people who are yearning for it, consciously or unconsciously—the common people. This article alone is worth a good deal more than a shilling, but the number is full of good things. The author of "The Future of the V.A.D.," for example, evidently knows her subject, and her almost too modest claims for V.A.D.s to be given continued opportunities for honourable service deserve attention. "Witchcraft is Fallen" is delightful, too, and, as usual, the reviews of books, English and foreign, show a fine appreciation of literary quality.

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## AFTER THE BLOCKADE.

The partial raising of the Blockade has not solved the **Starvation Problem** in Central Europe.

Very scanty food supplies reach Germany, because her credit is exhausted, and she cannot pay for them either in cash or goods. The majority of people live in a state of semi-starvation. Tens of thousands of children will be **crippled for life**. **Tuberculosis** is spreading to an alarming extent, and is incurable under present conditions.

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Correspondence.

(Letters intended for publication should reach the Editor by first post on Monday.)

THE MARRIAGE PROMISES.

MADAM.—It is good to hear that a Jewish bride is not asked to promise to "obey" her husband. May I suggest that English Gentiles, in using the Anglican Service, probably mean just as much, or as little, by saying "obey," if they are women, as they mean by saying "with all my worldly goods I thee endow," if they are men? A SCOTCHWOMAN.

Reports, Notices, etc.

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Headquarters Notes.

50,000 Shilling Fund.

Affiliated Associations of the Union are respectfully reminded of the existence of the Fifty Thousand Shilling Fund. Any member of the Union who believes that she has twenty friends each of whom will give her a shilling for the cause of equality, should write at once to this headquarters for a collecting card.

A VISIT TO THE NEWMARKET ARMY SCHOOL BY MEMBERS OF THE N.U.S.E.C.

In the course of the N.U.S.E.C. Summer School at Cambridge some members had the opportunity of paying a visit to the Newmarket Army School, where they were most kindly entertained by Colonel Egerton and his staff.

"Although the National Union for Equal Citizenship as a whole may be said to have sporting instincts, or at least usually gives a sporting chance to all, in its demands for equal citizenship, yet it was not in the jockey, but rather the judicial spirit, that some of the members went to Newmarket. They wanted to judge of the educational value of what has been called the Army School, but saw what might well be said to be a living picture of equal opportunity for all.

"Here, in a beautiful breezy, productive acreage, are to be found the simple elements which view life from its useful and beautiful sides, and evolves from them how best to live. Groups of men, chiefly officers and N.C.O.'s, are sent here haphazard to spend six weeks in being imbued with the spirit of lending out the best in their nature, by their own thinking and acting, and setting it in the path which will best help humanity.

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"The Army School is under the enthusiastic, energetic, and entirely admirable management of a committee of eight, some members of which are Col. Egerton, Capt. Shaley, Capt. Salt, Capt. Newey, and Capt. Harvey Williams. The six weeks are filled up with the study from foundation of education, as it is life and as it is the psychology of the mind, the wants of life, as seen by intuition and imagination; locating the place of science by trying to understand life; the need for method and organisation; the value of science in commerce, and learning how to give instruction to others, so that they will usefully benefit from it. These and other lines of study are evolved by the personal expression of the men themselves,

in English literature, say, and short stories. The last they usually make out from some newspaper incident which they read at the time.

STUDY OF FOOD VALUES.

"The higher reaches of painting, sculpture, and architecture, which they are not likely to use in immediate service, are left as expressions of life, more thought and time being given to the development of society on the best lines, or civics and eugenics, the knowledge of foods, both as to best production and combination for nourishment, and this side can especially emphasise the whole intent of the teaching, which is growth. The needs of life show the part of science in education, and the mechanical sciences are studied from the elementary problem of life.

"The handy-man group enjoys itself over such works as photography, printing, magic lanterns, and electric motors for cinemas, &c., a form of service which brightens the life for all in a community, but does not despise such practical work as hair-cutting and mending motor-bikes. Attention is paid also to singing, an art which attained to great perfection in England in the time of Elizabeth, and which has great possibilities for brightening life and establishing esprit de corps in communities.

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