The position of woman: actual and ideal / with preface by Sir Oliver Lodge.

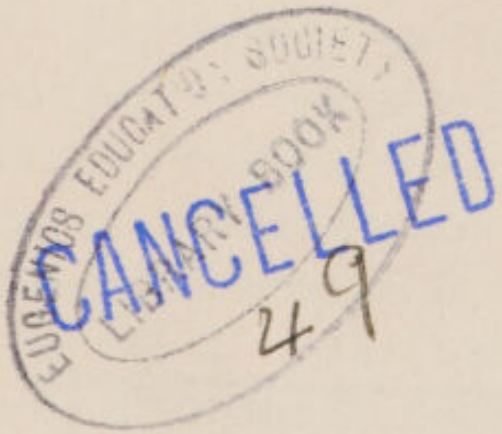
THE POSITION OF WOMAN

ACTUAL AND IDEAL

THE POSITION OF WOMAN: ACTUAL AND IDEAL

THE POSITION OF WOMAN: ACTUAL AND IDEAL

WITH PREFACE BY SIR OLIVER LODGE



LONDON: JAMES NISBET & CO., LTD.
22 BERNERS STREET
MDCCCCXI

PREFACE

An effort towards widening the scope and political and professional importance of women has been a leading feature of the quiet revolution that has been going on for the past half century.

Early memories can recall episodes characteristic of the low estimate of women's intelligence and public spirit formed by average people, and some of us can also recall memories of the resentment felt and expressed by women of ability and latent power at the occurrence of such episodes. Improvement was inevitable; and already a great deal has been accomplished. The tone of the youthful male is no longer so offensive and patronising as it used to be; and the eminence to which women have attained in certain fields of work is recognized by all. The advance is likely to continue, for there is still much room for improvement, though the unwisdom of some of its less eminent but specially energetic supporters seems likely to cause a premature reaction.

Sooner or later, however, a reaction is bound to come, and it behoves all who wish the movement well to pause and consider from time to time what

it is that they really wish achieved, what it is that can be permanently retained in accordance with the fullest appreciation of natural fact, and when and in what direction the movement is becoming lawless and in need of curb. By such consideration it may be possible to diminish the tendency which all enthusiastically supported movements exhibit to run into extravagance in certain directions; whereby a protective swing of equal unwisdom and perhaps greater deleteriousness is liable to occur in the opposite direction; —of greater deleteriousness, in all probability, because like all reactionary movements it is loaded with the inertia of ancestral prejudice. Such dangers can only be avoided by wisdom and knowledge and foresight. To rush blindly on without regard to past history and racial experience, and heedless of dangers ahead, is fanatical rather than heroic; it is to imitate the activity of the runaway horse which brings itself and all connected with it to destruction.

An attempt, therefore, coolly and dispassionately to survey the general position, to discuss the rational claims which can be made, the admitted diversities which must be recognized, and the historical and scientific aspect of the whole question, is called for in the name of common sense, both by those who think the movement

has already gone far enough and by those who wish it to go further.

As one who sympathizes largely with the latter group, but who yet recognizes certain dangers and defects in the system of training at present in vogue, I welcome the effort to which the existence of the present book testifies. Every one must realize that women can perform a service to the State more vital, more arduous, and therefore more honourable, than any other; many believe that their instincts would lead the majority of women to fulfil this duty adequately and responsibly and heartily, if the State were wise enough to free them and educate them for its due accomplishment; and some are impressed with the conviction that a right understanding of the laws of heredity, the management of infancy, and the judicious training of childhood, would have a more direct and beneficent influence on the future of the human race than any other reform that is within reach of accomplishment. But the whole subject is a large and difficult one, and is full of problems which cannot be solved by the intellect alone. To coerce sane people into arrangements made in accordance with statistical and medical advice alone is quite impracticable, and would lead to furious revolt. Besides, even if practicable, the attempt would be unwise; Love

is a spirit which rises superior to human understanding, and in its majesty affords a surer and diviner guide than any law or system.

The spirit can appear in many disguises,—strict justice, public service, organizing energy, social work, among others,—and can assume unexpected shapes; already it achieves more than is generally recognized, it must ultimately dominate all human activity; and when the affairs of the world are really controlled in harmony with that spirit the millennium will have come.

Meanwhile the great essential to all sound development, among creatures endowed with will and purpose and self-control, is freedom—freedom to choose a career, freedom to impose self-restrictions, freedom to plan and to act—such legitimate and balanced freedom, subject to full civic responsibility, as was pleaded for by John Stuart Mill; such removal of external restraints and artificial disabilities from women as is now seriously demanded and cannot long be withheld.

It is in the light of some such hope, which may take different forms, that the writers of the present book have undertaken their task.

OLIVER LODGE.

University of Birmingham.

PREFATORY NOTE

The Meetings at which the following papers were read were organised by a local Committee, composed as follows:

Professor R. Lodge, M.A., LL.D.;
Mrs George Kerr, 6 St Colme Street;
Miss Simson, Masson Hall;
T. S. Clouston, Esq., M.D., LL.D.;
C. H. Tremlett, Esq., B.A., Fettes College;
Miss Frances Melville, M.A., B.D., Queen Margaret College, Glasgow;
Mrs Haig Ferguson, 7 Coates Crescent;
The Rev. Professor W. P. Paterson, D.D.;
Mrs Andrew Murray, Miss Maud Murray } *Hon. Secretaries.*

Although nine meetings were held, only eight papers are included in this volume. The lady who originally undertook to write on the political aspect of the question was prevented by illness from fulfilling her promise; and the substitute, who kindly took her place on rather short notice, was content to deliver an extempore address. This address, through some misunderstanding of the wishes of the Committee, was so different

in character from the papers read by other speakers, that even a full report of it would have been out of place.

The object of the Committee was not to advocate any particular view or to support any movement, but simply to obtain an impartial estimate of the trend and bearing of recent changes in the position of women.

Edinburgh, January, 1911.

CONTENTS

THE POSITION OF WOMAN

THE POSITION OF WOMAN: BIOLOGICALLY CONSIDERED

By Professor J. Arthur Thomson, M.A., *Professor of Natural History in the University of Aberdeen*, and Mrs Thomson

1. The position of woman, or that of man, may be considered from many points of view—politically, economically, ethically, and so on. In this paper it is considered *biologically*; that is to say, man and woman are discussed under the category of "organisms." They are studied as one would study peacock and peahen, ruff and reeve, stag and hind, lion and lioness—as creatures of flesh and blood, with characteristics that can be measured. It need hardly be said that in a short paper, we cannot do more than give a few *illustrations* of the biological mode of inquiry.

The biological point of view is indispensable and fundamental—simply because we are creatures of flesh and blood, but it is as obviously partial, requiring to be supplemented by other considerations which we may almost call supreme, since they have to do with our rational and social life. This admission is continually made by

biological investigators of mankind, and it is therefore neither generous nor useful to taunt them with their "breeders' point of view." Nor is the taunt accurate, since the biological point of view is wider than the breeder's, and considers the whole organism and its whole life. It is even wider than the *medical* point of view, for although medicine is to some extent applied biology, the science has a rather larger scope than the art. It has mostly to do with what is *normal*, and it concerns itself not with individual persons but with averages.

2. In contemplating Man and Woman with their specific resemblances, and with their hundred and one differences, biologists have before them what is familiar in the higher reaches of animal evolution—namely, sex-dimorphism. No one without a microscope can tell a male from a female sea-urchin, and in the lower reaches of the animal kingdom an external uniformity of the two sexes is very common. As we ascend the series, however, dimorphism becomes more and more frequent and conspicuous. The essential functions of males and females become more and more different, their habits of life diverge, and to the primary differences there are added all manner of secondary peculiarities.

Walking warily—since the difficulties and uncertainties are very great—we hold to the view that there is a deep constitutional difference between the male and the female organism—an

initial difference in the balance of chemical changes. The female seems to be relatively more constructive, relatively less disruptive. There is a fundamental difference in physiological gearing. This initial difference leads to the primary functional distinction between male and female. But it also determines, either from the start, or after maleness and femaleness have been established, what particular expression will be given to a whole series of minor characters, both structural and functional—whether a masculine or a feminine expression.

3. We cannot here do more than indicate the nature of the evidence in support of this view—that a deep, initial, constitutional difference expresses itself primarily in what we may call maleness, or femaleness, and is also decisive, late or early, directly or indirectly, in determining whether detailed characters will find a masculine or a feminine expression. One egg becomes a cock, another a hen; but no microscopic differences are detectable; and no influences, as yet discovered, can, in the higher animals at least, give the fully-formed egg a bias towards maleness or femaleness. The divergence is initial, and it soon finds visible expression. The developing creature gets on to definitely male or female lines, and the getting on to male or female lines of development determines, late or early, whether the detailed characters take a masculine or a feminine expression.

In some cases, probably, the initial difference is

itself continued on in the building up of every part, deciding, as it were, at point after point, whether the hereditary characters will express themselves in the masculine or in the feminine mode. In other cases, certainly, it is the saturating influence of the early established maleness or femaleness that determines the development of detailed parts, and of habits as well as structure.

We cannot give more than a glimpse of the kind of evidence that might be adduced in a technical paper, to illustrate the saturating influence of primary maleness or femaleness as the case may be, The sex-dimorphism is pervasive, it goes through and through. As Havelock Ellis says, "A man is a man to his very thumbs, and a woman is a woman down to her little toes." The difference can be read in the blood—so safe and subtle an index to what goes on throughout the body. The difference can be read throughout life—it is seen in the baby boy and baby girl, it is expressed in old age. Of the more technical evidence we give only one illustration. A spade pullet may acquire not only the outward structural features of the opposite sex—cock's comb, wattles, long hackle and tail feathers, rapidly developing spurs, carriage, etc., but the behaviour as well and the pugnacious character.

4. The practical utility of this biological way of looking at things is obvious. It suggests that the characteristic masculine and feminine features

are part and parcel of the normal man and woman, deeply rooted not tacked on, of ancient origin and therefore not likely to change quickly. It suggests that they have a deep naturalness, and that attempts to minimise them are very unlikely to spell progress. It suggests that while the expressions of the deep constitutional distinction are various in value—some trivial and some important—they are correlated, they hang together. To change the metaphor, the detailed rivulets of femininity have the same origin as the stream which bore the developing embryo into femaleness.

5. While there is no finding of the biological court in regard to the essential nature of the constitutional distinction between male and female; some approximation to certainty and unanimity has been reached in studying its detailed expressions. We have said that the fundamental distinction crops out in every corner and penetrates into every recess, and its detailed expressions can be measured. It is here that precise science begins, but it has not more than begun.

We may refer for details to convenient summaries—in *The Evolution of Sex*, Havelock Ellis's *Man and Woman*, and Thomas's *Sex and Society*; we cannot do more than single out some of the representative data, which seem to be instructive.

As every one knows, there is a whole series of anatomical facts which support the generalization

that in certain respects man's body is more specialized, going further away from the youthful and primitive type. This cannot be explained away as wholly due to difference in activities. It is partly connected with the fact that man is longer in reaching maturity.

Ranke notes that the typical female form has a relatively longer trunk, shorter arms, legs, hands and feet; relatively to the short upper arms, still shorter forearms; and relatively to short thighs, still shorter lower legs; and relatively to the whole short upper extremity, a still shorter lower extremity—and so on. In short, the woman is a less muscular, less motor type.

What is suggested anatomically is corroborated physiologically; for tests show that the muscular strength of men is much greater than that of women. Of course, the comparison must be made between those physically trained. Miss Helen B. Thompson's careful experiments led her to agree with the unanimous verdict that women have *much* less muscular force than men.

It is, of course, difficult to make absolutely fair comparisons even in regard to such a simple matter as muscular power. The rapidity with which little Japanese women will coal a vessel is said to be unsurpassable by men. Some of the feats of Newhaven fish-wives in bygone days were extraordinary. To cite the quick collapse of a big strong man, who tries to help his little wife in carrying the sick baby about for a night or two,

is just as useless as to point out that railway porters and engine drivers are never women.

But, on the whole, it seems safe to say that man is the more muscular type, and especially stronger in relation to isolated feats and spasmodic efforts.

Probably correlated and probably in part of similar deep origin is the quality often called "energy,"—the characteristic masculine restlessness. Very hesitatingly we may perhaps go so far as to speak of woman's constitution and temper as more conservative, of man's as more unstable. Man is perhaps more given to experiment both with his body and his mind, and with other people. In this connexion we notice the greater frequency of genius, certain forms of insanity, crime, and many kinds of anomalies. In the same connexion we notice that man uses more oxygen and combustible material, and has more waste in consequence. In the same connexion, too, we notice that man's blood has a higher specific gravity, more red blood corpuscles, more hæmoglobin. In short, man is the relatively more active or katabolic type.

Of some significance, again, is the relatively great tenacity of life in women. They are longer lived. Alike in infancy and in old age they show a greater power of resisting death. Indeed, at every age, except 15 to 20, their tenacity of life is greater than man's. Their constitution has staying qualities, probably wrapped up with femaleness.

6. We have said enough to *illustrate* the detailed

differences between man and woman, but we must briefly allude to three general impressions which we gain from the inquiry. The first is that the differences are correlated; they hang together, they are outcrops of the deep fundamental distinction. We may say that the tenacity of life, the longer life, the characteristic endurance, the greater resistance to disease, the smaller percentage of genius, certain forms of insanity and crime, and so on are all correlated with the distinctively female constitution, which may be theoretically regarded as relatively more constructive in its protoplasmic metabolism.

This correlation of differences includes the mental as well as the bodily, for it is impossible to separate them. We may assert this on general grounds which lead us to recognize the unity of the organism; but it can also be proved, in indirect ways at least. Thus, we may refer to Prof. Karl Pearson's beautiful demonstration that the inheritance of well-defined psychical characters can be formulated like that of physical characters. "We inherit our parents' tempers, our parents' conscientiousness, shyness, and ability, as we inherit their stature, forearm, and span." The psychical characters are inherited in the same way, and at the same rate as the physical.

Thirdly, we would guard against the temptation to sum up the contrast of the sexes in epigrams. We regard the woman as the relatively more anabolic, man as the relatively more kata-

bolic, and whether this biological hypothesis be a good one or not, it certainly does no social harm. But when investigators begin to say that woman is more infantile and man more senile; that woman is "undeveloped man," and man is "evolved woman," we get among generalizations not only unscientific but practically dangerous. Not least dangerous of these generalizations is one of the most familiar, that man is more variable than woman, that the raw materials of evolution make their appearance in greatest abundance in man. There seems to be no secure basis for this generalization; it seems doubtful whether any generalization of the kind is feasible. Prof. Karl Pearson has made 17 groups of measurements of different parts of the body, in 11 groups the female is more variable than the male, and in six the male is more variable than the female. Moreover, the differences of variability are slight, less than those between members of the same race living in different conditions. Furthermore, an elementary remark may be pardoned. Since inheritance is bi-parental, and since variation means some peculiarity in the inheritance, a greater variability in men, if true, would not mean that men as such had any credit for varying. The stimulus to variation may have come from mother as well as from father. If proved, it would only mean that the male constitution gives free play to the expression of variations, which are kept latent in the female constitution. But what

is probably true is, that some variations find expression more readily in man, and others more readily in woman.

7. In regard to the mental differences between men and women we are happy in being able to refer forward to Dr Clouston's paper. From the biological point of view we feel (*a*) the difficulty of making definite statements until more experiments are accumulated, and (*b*) the difficulty of distinguishing between extrinsic acquired differences and intrinsic innate differences.

It has been said that men have greater cerebral variability and more originality, while women have greater stability and more commonsense. It has been said that woman has the greater integrating intelligence, while man is stronger in differentiation. "The feminine passivity is expressed in greater patience, more open-mindedness, greater appreciation of subtle details, and consequently what we call more rapid intuition. The masculine activity tends to a greater power of maximum effort, of scientific insight, or cerebral experiment with impressions, and is associated with an unobservant or impatient disregard of minute details, but with a stronger grasp of generalities."

Now it is "as easy as winking," as Carlyle said, to make statements like that, but their day is over. They are guesses at truth without adequate precision. What we require is a great extension of experiments like those of Miss Helen B. Thompson.

She found that the ability to make very delicate and minutely controlled movements was slightly better in men-students. But may not this be connected with the greater use of knives and other tools? Ability to co-ordinate movements rapidly to unforeseen stimuli is clearly better in women. Women-students showed a greater power of distinguishing the higher and the lower notes of the tuning fork. But may this not be due to more early training in piano playing or the like?

The eye of the man-student was on the whole more sensitive to light. The men perceived weak rays which were not seen by the women. Can this have to do with more open-air life in the case of the men?

The women distinguished colours better. But is this not the result of training?

Women showed on the whole a better memory; they learned by heart more easily and retained as well.

They required rather less time for the association of ideas.

The men showed a decided superiority in quickness of perception as far as comparison could be made.

In general mental content no differences could be established, naturally enough since all the subjects of the experiment had attended co-educational high schools.

No one would wisely build much on these experiments, carefully conducted as they were.

A few experiments are of more value than many platitudes, but the basis is still too narrow for safe generalization.

We may notice in passing that we have deliberately refrained from discussing the tedious question of cranial capacity, because the significance of the comparison is not clear. It is difficult to believe much in the importance of slight quantitative differences in cranial capacity and the like—and, secondly, it seems very difficult to eliminate nurtural influences. Growth of the skull, as of other parts, is inhibited or exaggerated according to the abundance of appropriate stimuli.

8. Thanks to Weismann in particular, biologists have become vividly aware of the importance of distinguishing modifications from variations. Anyone can see that there are *observed differences* between the members of a species; some of these can be shown to be due to peculiarities in the individual's "nurture" (food, atmosphere, surroundings, education, exercise, habits, etc.); which we sum up in the technical words Environment and Function; and it is only when we subtract all these *acquired modifications* from the observed differences that we get at the really most interesting things—the *inborn variations*, the germinal new departures, which are the raw materials of evolution, and the basis of what we call individuality.

Now it must be said firmly, that the great majority of even the current comparisons of man

and woman are vitiated by ignoring this familiar biological distinction. Through ignorance of the subject, or through inability to apprehend a biological point which requires a gleam of clear thinking, many inquirers, who would also be teachers, have given support to anachronisms of opinion, which are nothing less than discreditable.

Woman is set up against man, or man against woman, to the disadvantage of one or the other, without any handicapping committee, without the essential preliminary inquiry whether the opportunities of development, i.e., expression of the inheritance, have been approximately equal.

It is of the very A.B.C. of embryology that inherited characters require a succession of appropriate liberating stimuli if they are to develop. Supply these stimuli to boy and youth; deny them to girl and maiden; and then jeer because women make, for instance, a formal muddle of a business meeting. Even in this trivial matter, we omit to record the number of male meetings with formally lucid minutes, and the blackness of darkness in the actual result.

This question of modifications and variations requires a paper to itself, it is so important and its implications are so numerous and subtle. We must content ourselves with suggesting that those engaged in discussion should ask themselves whether they have tried to understand the central thesis of the greatest living

biologist, and whether they have tried to discriminate, in comparing Man and Woman, between the innate qualities of maleness and femaleness, masculinity and femininity, all requiring appropriate liberating stimuli, and those which are *individually acquired as the direct result of peculiarities of Nurture.* Along with these must be included the defects that are due to disuse, or to the absence of appropriate stimuli.

Take one illustration:

Long ago, Prof. Karl Vogt pointed out that women were awkward manipulators. Thomas answers well: "The awkwardness in manual manipulation shown by these girls was also surely due to lack of practice. The fastest typewriter in the world is to-day a woman; the record for roping steers (a feat depending on manual dexterity rather than physical force) is held by a woman; and anyone who has watched girls making change before the pneumatic tubes in the great department stores about Christmas time will experience the same wonder one feels on first seeing a professional gambler shuffling cards! This consideration is extremely important in relation to mental ability."

The mind is in great part a social product. As Thomas puts it: "The mind and personality are largely built up from the outside, and if the suggestions are limited and particular, so will be the mind" . . . . "At present we seem justified in inferring that the differences in mental

expression between men and women are no greater than they should be in view of the existing differences in opportunity."

9. We have outlined the biological view that there is a deep constitutional or organic distinction between man and woman, and that this finds expression in a large number of detailed differences, which are natural in origin and natural also in having survived ages of elimination. Coming, now, to practical theses, we may notice first of all that some of the educational, occupational, and social differentiations of man and woman in past times have been quite harmonious and consistent with the fundamental divergence. It seems consistent that men should fight, if there is fighting to be done; and that women should nurse, if there is nursing necessary. Man hunted and explored, woman made the home and brought up the children. Man sailed the seas, while woman developed home industries. Woman is *naturally* a teacher of the young, a domesticator, a gardener, and so on. Scores of these harmonious differentiations still exist.

This is an historical commonplace, which need not be elaborated; it suggests, however, several remarks that may be of service. (*a*) When we say that this or that occupational differentiation is natural to woman, we do not simply mean that it has been sanctioned by convention. We mean that it is congruent with femaleness, that it occurs in many races and countries, and

that it has stood for a long time the test of eliminative selection.

(*b*) The harmless historical commonplace has sometimes been used to discourage the education of woman and the widening of her share in the world's work. "Her place is in the home," we are told. To which one might answer much, but, firstly, that much depends on the home. It was a very many-sided home in which woman evolved. And, secondly, that in the present condition of things, in this country for instance, a very large number never have what most men and women mean by a home.

(*c*) And, again, the historical commonplace has sometimes been used by those who are women's best, if not always wisest, friends. Some who have a firm grip of the fact that women are wives and mothers at heart, who are also influenced by the prevalent technical education fallacy of our day, have advocated a more predominantly domestic and maternal education for girls. But there are great dangers in exaggerating what in moderation is sound enough. A broadly educated intellectually alert mother means much for the mental atmosphere of the home, and that means much for the children. And an over-emphasized domestic education is apt to force a premature development of mental and perhaps bodily instincts, which in many cases will find no realization in life.

10. Our second thesis is the converse of the first.

It is that coercive differentiations inconsistent with the natural distinction have often been attempted, with unfortunate results. This mis-differentiation of women demands, like the harmonious differentiation of women, a careful historical survey, but we cannot give more than a few diagrammatic illustrations. Women have been used to draw the plough and to work in the mine; they are still employed as coal-heavers. This is passing, but it is still necessary to say that the use of woman for functions which should be discharged by a beast of burden illustrates mis-differentiation. It is destructive of the individual; it is not less destructive of the vigour of the race if it occur during or before the years of child-bearing and child-rearing.

Let us pass to a very different instance—that perversion of social sentiment which led to taking the veil being regarded as the highest devotion of a woman's life. Every one recognises the beautiful significance of the step in particular cases and the social utility of those who age after age have been truly the sisters of mercy, but this does not lessen the disadvantageous influence of an ideal that renounced most of the natural activities of woman and involved an indubitably great loss to the quality of the race by a segregation of many of its finest types.

But we do not require to go beyond the present for illustrations. Economic conditions are compelling women, in competition with men, into

occupations and situations which are too hard for them, where the strain is too great, especially in adolescence, and where regularity of attendance is so stringently enforced that health suffers. Where sex is ignored and where no allowance is made for maternity, there is bound to be misdifferentiation. Where mothers are concerned it is certain that the wear and tear, the strain and continuity of the modern competitive system, whether in professional life or among handworkers, must be prejudicial. As Karl Pearson says, "The race must degenerate if greater and greater stress be brought to force woman during years of child-bearing into active and unlimited competition with man. Either a direct premium is placed upon childlessness, upon a crushing out of the maternal instincts on which the stability of society essentially depends, or woman has a double work to do in the world, and she can only do it at the cost of the future generation."

What to do is another matter, but we are mainly concerned just now in trying to see facts clearly from a particular point of view—to wit, biological. Much will depend on the growing organization of woman-workers, much will depend on the developing social sentiment and the legislation to which that leads. In medieval days a woman with child had certain privileges of game and fish from the lord's preserves, of gathering unhindered from field and orchard. This expressed a rough and

ready social sentiment. Is it too much to hope that we may regain it and pass beyond it? For instance, is it too much to hope that an Education Department should welcome married women and mothers in the ranks of school-teachers, increasing the staff throughout so that the necessary rests and long holidays should be granted when required, without stint or grudging? And, again, just as there are (in Germany at least) societies for insuring women against a possible spinster-poverty, so there is beginning to arise a national insurance to assist motherhood. "The provision of such insurance," Prof. Pearson says, "will for the first time allow of efficient regulation of the labour of married women during the child-bearing years—a regulation which will come none too soon to stop the degeneration of physique which is going on in certain classes of the labouring population." And, as there is social sentiment that gratefully rewards the victims of war with glory is it too much to hope for a progressive social sentiment which will equally reward the victims of Maternity? We thought of war in this connexion because one of the quaint arguments used in defence of unequal political treatment of men and women is that men in the long run may be called upon to do what women can't be expected to do—namely Fight. But we have to set against this, that men are not expected to bear children.

It may be said, however, that this incongruent differentiation that we have been speaking about

is of less importance, seeing that most of the women-workers are unmarried. Of *less* importance, doubtless, but of great importance still, not only in affecting the national expense of caring for invalids, but also in prejudicially affecting the prevalent feminine type—the significance of which may be realized without going deeply into social psychology. It must be remembered that although many of these girl-workers and women-workers remain unmarried, it is from among their ranks that many wives and mothers come.

But, it may be said, are you ignorant enough to suppose that girls and women strain themselves *because they like it?* What they do is an economic necessity. This is sadly true, but it is the biologist's business to consider things biologically, not economically. Besides, every one knows that the conditions of work are modifiable, and that they have in many cases greatly improved. Moreover, biological inefficiency is terribly expensive, and itself a cause as well as an effect of social strain. Biological efficiency is the silver at least of our national wealth.

This seems the most effective place for a reference to the admirable thrust that one of the most obvious mis-differentiations of woman is that seen in the absurd attempts to over-educate her. Now this is much more than a jibe. It must be admitted, for instance, that one of the serious difficulties that confronts us is the alleged relatively great infertility of types and stocks

of high intellectual and social efficiency—for it is urged that the infertility is the nemesis of higher education and of individuation generally. Herbert Spencer argued that reproductivity decreases as individuation increases, and there is a considerable body of biological evidence in support of this generalization. It must be observed, however, that we have no proof that high individuation *directly* lessens fertility. What the evidence from the animal kingdom shows is this, that when birds, for instance, were evolved with big brains and strong parental care, it was possible to survive with very much smaller families. Those types that varied towards better brains and more parental care on the one hand, and towards economized reproductivity on the other, were naturally the survivors. But it was not the heightened individuation that directly lowered the rate of multiplication. It must be observed also, that part of the reduced fertility may be due to hyper-nutrition and the like, to the frequent absence of love-marriages, to selfish celibacy and selfish non-maternity. The highly individuated high castes of Brahmins and Rajputs show none of the usual dwindling tendency.

It is conceivable that the endeavour of self-realization at a high level of culture may be so strenuous that it induces conditions tending against the making of good wives and mothers, but it can hardly be maintained that the deplored results are inevitable or intrinsically connected

with the education. They are partly due to fictitious obstacles thrown in the way of women's education. But to admit that artificial and readily alterable conditions may tell against what the Germans call "full motherhood" and strong children, is a very different matter from admitting that higher education is, biologically considered, bad for the race.

It is rather interesting to point out in passing that 25 years ago when the pressure of population was much spoken of, the advice of the wise was, Individuate, for thus reproductivity is lessened, while to-day with a falling birth rate, the advice is, Don't individuate, for thus reproductivity will be lessened too far. In the first case the advice was right, in the second case wrong; in both cases the reason annexed was fallacious.

While it is needful to keep on inquiring into a *possible* direct physiological connexion between high individuation and low fertility, it is unnecessary to make a bogey of what has not been proved.

Besides, we cannot but suspect that what is really wrong when individuation seems to be operating disadvantageously from the racial point of view, is that the individuation is not all-round enough. One is apt sometimes to forget the splendid old grandmothers who were as able and intellectual and as highly individuated as any one of their grand-daughters, and what a lot of children, thank Heaven, many of them had!

This may be a fitting place for a reference to the interesting suggestion that the intellectuals among women should keep themselves free for work in the world which needs them so badly, and should leave it to their more placid, less ambitious, less intellectual sisters to be the wives and mothers. Those who admire the bee-hive will even point to it in support of their thesis, for the queen-mother's brain certainly does not develop so well as that of the workers.

But the biological objection is just the same as against nunneries. We cannot countenance a theory which deliberately leaves maternity to the less intellectual. And, besides the clever mother's contribution to the organic inheritance of the child, there is the hardly less important nurtural influence in the home. The idea of leaving maternity to a docile and domesticated type of cow-like placidity, while the intellectuals run the world, is curiously non-biological.

11. We come, in conclusion, to the third side of our thesis—that the lines of evolution to be followed are those which seem likely to make the most of the deeply-rooted organic distinction between male and female, and to make the most of those masculine and feminine characteristics that have for ages proved themselves of vital value.

Taking a simple illustration first, we submit that Man—both male and female—is a very

slowly varying organism, though he hides his persistence of type under ever-changing garments of acquirement and convention. In spite of affectation and pose there is still a wholesome abundance of that mutual attractiveness of complementaries which has given a spice to life from the beginning, and is of enormous biological importance. We venture to say that attempts to lessen the old-fashioned natural differences are to be regarded with extreme suspicion. There is a wholesome instinctive prejudice against the masculine woman and the feminine man. What an engine of progress there is in sexual selection. How the wheels will buzz when economic (or perhaps biological?) conditions make more discriminate preferential mating on the woman's part possible!

And if it be important, as we have just hinted, that the culture of the body should be congruent with the fundamental distinction between male and female, and should make the most of the normal masculine and feminine attractions, the same is true in regard to the contrasted intellectual qualities, say, of mental experiment on the one hand and rapid intuitive insight on the other hand, or the contrasted moral qualities of, say, courage and affection. We have, perhaps, got away from the stupid survival of discussing the superiority of one sex or the other; but we have not sufficiently freed ourselves from obscurantism,

since we are so slow to act constructively, in education for instance, in the way of making the most of the complementary differences.

Thus, in the prolonged discussion over the pros and cons of co-education, how rarely has it been pointed out that neither method is ideal, for it is quite plain that boys and girls, men and women, should be taught together for certain reasons, and taught separately for certain other reasons. There are different studies, and different modes of presentation for the two sexes, if we are to make the most of their respective excellences. Of course, one may ridicule this position by asking for the masculine and feminine First Book of Euclid, and so on, though even here it is likely that Mrs Boole's mathematical lessons were very different from her husband's and just as good. Our point, however, is simply that if it were not for the expense we should have the sexes taught together *and* taught separately, taught by men *and* by women.

A professor of physiology in one of the largest American Universities explained to us that they were giving up mixed classes, and that he was heartily glad. On being asked for his reason he said that the women-students gradually lowered the standard of class work, both of learning and teaching, and that it was in the interests of his men that he was stopping mixed classes. Such evidence is often used as an argument against the

higher education of women. It strikes us, however, that there is a danger of taking too simple a view of these phenomena. The Professor was giving a course of study specialized for the masculine intelligence; he was inhibited a little by the feminine element; there was no specialization for the feminine intelligence; the women were inhibited by this. In all probability he never got anything like the best out of them, and it is the same all round. It is bad for the men—the precious men, he said; but that it was probably bad for the women was not mentioned. We must not go further into this discussion. Our general point, however, is that well expressed by a recent writer—Alsberg—" The real task of the feminist is to devise an education for girls so that they shall be capable of earning their living and sharing in the world's work, and yet remain fit for future wifehood and motherhood."

Another step leads us to the technical education for the professions, and here the biological counsel must be the same—that we should seek to make the most of the complementary qualities. One of the keenest of intellectual combatants has said that, apart from maternity, the woman of strong physique or strong intellect may excel in any pursuit whatever her average male compeer. With this we entirely agree, but we submit that it profits national efficiency more when gifted women do what no man could do so well, or when

men and women work together as naturally as they once played together. Perhaps, indeed, as has been said in this connexion by the authors of the *Evolution of Sex*, "the fullest ideal of the woman-worker is she who works not merely or mainly for men as the help and instrument of their purpose, but who works with men as the instrument yet material of her purpose."

Let us state one concrete case, for one clear illustration is as good as ten. It is well that Medical Schools and Medical Posts should be open to women of special aptitude. There must be free experiment if social efficiency is to be attained. But, from our general biological point of view, we are led to the conviction that a more promising line of experiment would be that of providing specialized education for medical women — not "easier" or "lower," or any nonsense of that sort, but *different*—so that there might arise not duplication of one type of medical servant in the State, but two distinct types of medical servant. It is obvious, for instance, that in the new system of dealing with the poor there will be demand for women-workers of a type which is not at present in supply.

12. It is an ordinary rule of all our lives that we try to find out the kind of work which is natural to us, which we can do most effectively, or, as we are sometimes tempted to say, least ineffectively. We know that it is foolish waste

to be always trying to do something which other people can do much better. We seek to make the most of our particular machinery, keeping economy of energy as well as efficiency in view. And our main thesis is just this same simple one applied to Man and Woman, that the most hopeful line of evolutionary experiment is that which seeks to make the most of the deep organic differences which were rooted long ago in the lowest parts of the earth.

THE POSITION OF WOMAN IN HISTORY

By Miss Louisa Innes Lumsden

1. The matriarchal age.
2. Woman in the ancient world—Egypt, India. Woman among the Hebrews, Greeks, Romans.
3. Woman in Europe in the Middle Ages.
4. Woman—how affected by the Renaissance of Learning.
5. Woman—how affected by the Protestant Reformation.
6. Period of lowest ideals—say from 1650 to 1850.
7. The Victorian Age.

THE apparently ambitious attempt, dictated by the plan of these lectures, to deal with so large a subject as the historical aspect of the position of woman in little more than an hour, would seem to demand for its adequate realization a wide and deep knowledge of history. Let me hasten to confess that I pretend to no such qualification. The point at which I aim is simply this—to inquire how far our popular theories about women square with facts, with what women have actually been and with the work which they have actually done in the world. Theories abound as to what women are and are not; what they can and cannot do; what they should or should not be

allowed to be and do, and it seems not inappropriate to recall a few apparently forgotten facts as to what they actually were and did in the past. There exist, biologists assure us, certain deep and fundamental distinctions between male and female. But biology deals with material facts, history with spiritual forces. If the functional differences which divide men and women in the material sphere, also exist and divide them in the mental and spiritual, then such differences ought undoubtedly to manifest themselves in action. Yet it seems certain that nothing can be predicated about the actions of man or woman save that the individual may and does override and set at naught all theories and generalizations.

When we consider past history we are compelled to admit that women have never yet had a fair chance. The first effort of primitive society was to establish some sort of order, and it would seem that in this order Woman was the more stable and predominant factor. But men gradually sought to establish an order more entirely favourable to their own interests, and being the stronger, set limits to the formerly free activities of women. Caste in India made and even now makes the same attempt to restrict men to certain hereditary activities, and even in the West the *carrière ouverte aux talents* is comparatively a modern discovery. Coercion, then, has hitherto limited the field in which woman has been free to

act, and repression has produced a superficial appearance of order. It has done its best, more in the East and less in the West, to eliminate her as a troublesome factor out of many departments of life. "Woman," says Professor Thomas in *Sex and Society*, "was first a beast of burden, then a domestic animal, then a slave, then a servant, and last of all, a minor." But woman is, after all, a human being, and what I would try to do, however inadequately—is to test her position by its approximation to a human standard of excellence. This standard is given by the claims of the ideal human being, which include first, full self-realization, and second, since man is a social or political animal, the consecration of individual powers to the service of society, or of the State.

We take first the Matriarchal or Mother-Age, that early time of which no written record remains, though numerous traces of it are found even in the world of our own day.

In that "dim backward and abysm of time," woman, impelled by circumstances to a more settled life than mán, was the first agriculturist, weaver, potter, domesticator of animals—in a word, the inventor of the peaceful arts of life. Moral ideas—at least as we understand morality—hardly existed; kinship was recognized through the Mother alone, and the continuity of the family thus depending solely upon the women, it followed that they were naturally the property-

holders, heads of households, and tribal chiefs. McLennan* and other writers have shown how, chiefly through the fighting propensities of men, women lost this headship, ceased to be property-holders, and in fact, became themselves property, sinking to the status of slaves. It may be that progress, social and political, could not have been achieved otherwise than at the cost of the enslavement of half the race. Still, it is well at least to realize what that cost was. Morality, doubtless, was long ago on the side of the supremacy of man. But " the whirligig of Time brings its revenges," and in our day many thinkers and reformers claim that the moral progress of humanity is bound up with the restoration of Woman to a position of freedom and human equality. The Mother-Age then, passed away, and the Patriarchal Age, which still endures, succeeded. Women became slaves, who of old had been dominant, but spiritual forces, slowly unfolding, have uplifted and are still uplifting them—and the end is not yet.

In the Ancient World I might only have noticed three peoples—those which have most deeply influenced our own civilization—the Hebrews, Greeks and Romans, but Egypt and India present features so interesting as to merit a few words.

In Ancient Egypt the matriarchal system was in historic times still very much alive. Goddesses

* *Studies in Ancient History.* " Primitive Marriage."

had undergone the first step in degradation from ancient supremacy—they were married to Gods. Maternal descent was the only one openly acknowledged, and though a man might have several wives, those who were of his own rank were absolutely upon an equality with him, each residing in her own house, and receiving her husband as a guest on equal terms. So marked, says Maspero*, was this appearance of superiority, that the Greeks believed the woman to be supreme in Egypt, and that the husband promised obedience to the wife. Typical of the Egyptian lady of rank is the magnificent statue of the Princess Nofrit, one of the finest examples of Egyptian art. It belongs to the time of the Fourth Dynasty, some 4000 B.C. and represents a woman of imposing stature, who, seated in Egyptian fashion, fronts the spectator with what the same author well calls " an indescribable air of resolution and command." One of the greatest monarchs of Egypt was Hatschepsut, 1550 B.C. Queen in her own right by the will of her father Thothmes I. She reigned for many peaceful and prosperous years with unquestioned authority, though, oddly enough, it would seem that in order to conciliate public opinion she had to assume male dress.

Glancing for a moment at Ancient India we find in "The Mahabharata," the oldest epic poem of the fair-skinned Aryan conquerors of Hindustan,proof that though polygamy was practised—at

* *Dawn of Civilization.*

least in royal houses—yet Indian women occupied a position not only dignified but also tolerably free—dignity and power the Hindu mother still wonderfully preserves, secluded as she is within the zenana. The great ladies of the Court are present at the tournament with which the poem opens, and matriarchal reverence for the mother, with unquestioning obedience to her will, is wrought into the most ancient strands of the story. In the later epic of India, "The Story of Rama," dating from about the tenth or twelfth centuries B.C. a change has passed over the status of the wife, and in the words spoken by the bride's father on her marriage:*

> "As the shadow to the substance, to her Lord is faithful wife,
> And my Sita, best of women, follows thee in death and life,"

we surely hear the first priestly mutterings of the doom of Suttee. An older story, on the other hand, that of Savitri, inserted in the epic, shows us the Indian princess in earlier days travelling, royally escorted, throughout India to choose a husband, and her choice accepted and ratified by her parents. The gradual subjection of Indian women, says Sir Richard Temple, enfeebled Indian society. Such subjection both in East and West has generally arisen through the same

* *The Rama-Yana in English Verse by Romesh Dutt.* "The Bridal of Sita."

causes, in this we may say, spite of Rudyard Kipling, the twain have met, that the men of the powerful classes everywhere are wont to gratify the vanity of wealth and their own jealous sense of proprietorship over the women of their own families by withdrawing them from common, wholesome, human activities. Europe never travelled so far on this disastrous path as Asia, yet we are familiar in our own country even now with this tendency, slowly dying out at last through economic stress and the growing independence of women of all ranks.

Among the Semitic races the Hebrews only are of importance to us. Far back in their traditional story the figure of a great woman emerges, Miriam, second only in importance to the greater of her two brothers. Some six centuries later, the Prophet Micah declared that " Jehovah brought His people out of the land of Egypt, and sent before them Moses, Aaron and Miriam." Later still, the importance of Miriam seems to have been slurred over. Again, about 1200 B.C., Deborah, the judge or ruler of her people, arose, as she herself says in her Song of Victory, " a Mother in Israel," famous for ever among the national heroes. Equal honour to father and mother is enforced by Israel's earliest law, but as the people settled down in the conquered land and custom wove its bonds around them, women, as was natural where polygamy was the rule, fell entirely into the background, and the only

function and glory accorded to them was to be—in Chinese phrase, "the mother of sons." We know how this Oriental view of women long after deeply influenced European thought and custom.

Passing over the women of Homer, who are represented as holding a position entirely dependent, indeed, but yet to a certain extent free and dignified, we take the position of women in historic Greece, and here we find the women of Æolian and Dorian race carrying on the Homeric tradition, and Athenian women on the contrary condemned to an almost Oriental seclusion. Sappho, placed by Professor Jebb for her "lofty and subtle genius" at the head of Lesbian* poets, and the fragments of whose lyrics are, as he says, unique in melody and passion, and in feeling for the beauty of nature, was of Æolian race. The Spartan lady, huntress and athlete, for her physical training was as much the care of the State as that of her brothers, represents the Dorian ideal of vigorous health in the mothers of the race. The Athenian ideal is in sharp contrast. Secluded from active life, from intellectual culture, even from the light of the sun, the wife of the Athenian citizen existed only to manage the house and carry on the family. That it had once been far otherwise with Athenian women both ancient myth and the reverence paid to the eponymous divinity of the city prove. High on the Acropolis, looking away to Salamis and the

* *Growth and Influence of Classical Greek Poetry*, p. 127.

blue waters of the Saronic Gulf, still, as we all know, the ruined temple of the Goddess stands, a relic of matriarchal worship, but her colossal statue is gone—the flash of whose armour could be seen far out at sea—Athene Promachos, the fighter in the front of battle, whom centuries later Alaric in his dream beheld going round about the walls of Athens. For this warlike and terrible Goddess the secluded women of her city wove a robe year by year, but so complete had become their exclusion from the life of the men that when, in the Theatre of Dionysus, men actors personated the great traditional women of the Greek Heroic Age no woman was permitted to be present. That the women of Athens resented their treatment may be gathered, not only from Aristophanes, but even more from the poignant pathos of the words put here and there into the mouths of women by the tragic dramatists. And when Plato said that women had the same gifts as men, and should "share with men in everything on a footing of equality," he surely had in his mind some living woman, perhaps, as has been suggested, Aspasia, to whose high character modern criticism has done full justice. Plato did not hold that the best women were equally gifted with the best men, only that all their powers were in their nature the same, and demanded a similar expression. Perhaps, had the political power of Athens been based broad upon a sounder, healthier social life, it might not have toppled down so swiftly into ruin.

With the position of women at Rome this hasty survey of the ancient world must end. That Northern blood—call it Celtic or German as scholars may decide—formed a large element in that mingling of tribes whence sprang the Roman race is a theory, I cannot but think, borne out by the position practically held by Roman women. In pre-historic times their activities were probably unfettered, for Virgil is no doubt near to reality in his picture of Camilla fighting and dying on the battlefield. Last summer, in the ancient necropolis of Belmonte, dating from the iron age, Professor d'Allosso discovered two very rich tombs of women warriors, with war chariots over the remains. "The importance of this discovery," says Reuter, "is exceptional, as it shows that the existence of the Amazon heroines, leaders of armies, sung of by the ancient poets, is not a poetic invention but a historic reality. Professor d'Allosso remarks that several details of Virgil's coincide with the details of the two tombs."

But in historical times the legal position of Roman women was thoroughly bad. Wandering tribes, settling in the midst of hostile neighbours, were almost compelled to sacrifice the freedom of the individual to the safety of the new-born City,

> "So vast the labour to create
> The fabric of the Roman State,"*

and in the Roman family, an *imperium in imperio*,

* Tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem.

neither wife nor child had any rights as against the *Paterfamilias*, the unit recognized by the State. He wielded over both absolute power of life and death; it depended upon his will alone whether a girl baby were reared or cast out to die —and the latter alternative was no doubt often chosen. If in matriarchal days woman might have said with Louis XIV, *L'État c'est moi*, the tables were turned upon her in Rome, for there, as Mommsen says, "Slaves and women were not reckoned as being properly members of the community," and to such an extent did the family supersede the State in the life of women that if a woman was accused of crime she was judged and punished privately by her own men relations.* Sons, on becoming heads of households in their turn, obtained the full status of citizens, but women were, at least in theory, life-long slaves. Even their property was administered by father or husband or other male guardian. And yet, in spite of this truly appalling legal position, the Roman matron occupied a place practically honourable, analogous with that of the wife among ourselves. Touching and beautiful instances of wedded love and wifely devotion occur in Roman story, but with their legal position Roman women were often bitterly dissatisfied. If the accusations of their resort to poison† are true, their wrongs must

* Mommsen, *History of Rome*, Book I, Chapters V and XI.

† *The Position of Woman in Ancient Greece and Rome.* Sir James Donaldson. Book II, Chapter 2.

indeed have been deep to drive them to so terrible a revenge. But gradually the force of custom, then, as now, better than the law, the fact that there was no priestly caste at Rome, the functions of priests being performed by ordinary lay men and women, above all, the resolute character of Roman women themselves, fit help-meets for the conquerors and law-givers of the world, prevailed so far as to alter their legal status. Their disabilities were felt to be unreasonable, and in the codes of law, drawn up by Roman lawyers under the Emperor Justinian in the sixth century A.D., they were placed almost upon a legal equality with men. But even before their emancipation from archaic bondage they had gained a position of practical independence. They managed their own property. They were allowed to plead for themselves in courts of law. On one occasion the ladies of Rome, protesting against unfair taxation, found a successful leader in Hortensia, the daughter of the famous orator Hortensius, who argued their case before the Triumvirs with all her father's eloquence.* Moreover, in public affairs Roman ladies sometimes attained to positions far higher than our modern customs would allow. Under the Empire "they displayed," says Sir James Donaldson, "in Asia Minor especially, great public activity. They received the most

* *Position of Woman in Early Greece and Rome*, pp. 104-5 and 125. Also *Contemporary Review for May*, 1910. *The Roman Lady*.—Mrs G. H. Putnam.

marked distinctions and were elected to the highest magistracies. Several obtained the highest Priesthood of Asia, perhaps the greatest honour that could be paid to anyone." * For one fact must be remembered, that in the ancient world woman held a high position in religious service—even in Athens this was the case—and this position she lost when the old creeds of Paganism gave place to Christianity.

Thus in our third period, that of the Middle Ages, under which for our purpose we include early Christian times, an important factor affecting the position of women is the relation in which they stood to the Church. Many influences were at work here. On the side of women was the old, ineradicable belief of the human heart that woman stands very near to the Divine. The Mother-Goddess, supreme, mysterious power, manifested, as Miss Harrison has shown, in two Persons, Maid and Mother,† "belongs," says Dr Allan Menzies, "to the early world in which motherhood was synonymous with rule, and is not to be confounded with the licentious goddesses of later times." However this may be, the worship of motherhood, if degraded, could yet be purified. It persisted down to Christian times, and its undying spirit was, like other elements of far less value in Paganism, recognized and tran-

* *Position of Woman in Early Greece and Rome*, p. 124.

† *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 263-276. J. E. Harrison.

scended by the Church—a fact which was naturally most helpful to women in every department of life. Above all, the true inner spirit of Christianity accorded dignity to women, vouching for the truth that both men and women are primarily spiritual beings, and that sex relations are secondary and evanescent. For what other meaning can lie in the words of St Paul, " in Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female," or in the words of a greater than Paul who declared that hereafter men and women shall be " as the Angels of God in Heaven " ?

On the other side was the weight of custom in the patriarchal world, causing practical difficulties of all sorts, for how were national customs to be suddenly set aside—the veil, as a needful distinction worn by all women of good repute, the strict seclusion to which they were accustomed—such difficulties in fact as are discussed by St Paul in his First Letter to the Church at Corinth? Moreover, the Jewish elements in Christian tradition regarded women as inferior beings, and, lastly, the asceticism of the age, which despised marriage, and, in defiance of common sense, laid to the score of woman alone all the degradation and vice of Pagan society, branded her, in Tertullian's shameful words, as the " Devil's gateway." The insults hurled at women by ecclesiastics of the early Church sound strange indeed in the mouths of men who held the same faith with Blandina and Perpetua, and many another

woman enrolled in the "noble Army of Martyrs." And it is noteworthy that wherever non-sacerdotal but deeply spiritual influences have been at work in the Church—as among Mystics of all ages—there no distinction has been made between men and women in its services.

The practical result, which slowly evolved out of all these contending influences, was a wise compromise, by which the Church, while excluding women from priestly or pastoral office, gave them, short of this, "a greater career than any other ever thrown open to women in the course of modern European history."* The convent from about the seventh to the fourteenth century was not what it later became, purely a place of devotion and seclusion; on the contrary, in it the woman of spirit and capacity might find a high and satisfying career, while the ordinary woman found assurance from want and safety from violence. True, the price paid was the renunciation of family ties, but in return the religious house provided congenial companionship and outlets in abundance for individual taste and energy. Nuns wrote books, like the *Garden of Delights* of the Abbess Herrad, or the Latin Comedies of the nun Hrostvith; wonderful tapestries, fine embroideries, exquisitely illuminated MSS bore witness to their artistic skill; the education of the gently-born girls of the time was carried on in convents; and, besides, the woman of practical ability would

* *Woman under Monasticism*, p. 478. Lina Eckenstein.

have the housekeeping of the great establishment to superintend, its often large estates to manage. Nor was even sport denied—the recognized medieval authority on hawking was a nun—Dame Juliana Berners. And over the whole community the Abbess ruled—a lady frequently of royal birth, who ranked with princes and nobles. Even mixed religious houses were ruled by Abbesses. Such were Whitby in Yorkshire, where in Saxon times under St Hilda several bishops were trained, Fontevrault in France, the chosen burial place of Norman kings, and Wadstena in Sweden. The medieval convent was, in fact, a blend of three things—a feudal castle, a college, and an industrial establishment—and its head might be a powerful noble in close touch with the politics and national business of her time. Thus in England Abbesses who held the convent lands of the king, might be summoned, in common with Peeresses in their own right,* to attend Parliament, but were allowed, what was then esteemed a privilege, to send proxies in their stead. In Spain the Abbess of Las Huelgas ruled both in secular and ecclesiastical affairs over sixty towns and villages, the military force which she could bring into the field was second only to that of the King, and when she travelled "her journey was little less than a royal progress."† In Germany two

* *British Freewomen*, ch. iv. C. C. Stopes.

† *Santa Teresa—Her Life and Times.* G. Cunninghame Graham.

Abbesses at least, those of Quedlinburg and Gandersheim, were sovereign Princes of the Holy Roman Empire, minted their own coinage* and were represented on the Imperial Diet. Twice during the reign of the Emperor Otto III, once in his minority and again during his long absence in Italy, his aunt, Matilda, Abbess of Quedlinburg, governed the empire, once at least, in 999, convening the Diet.† However true it may be that about the fourteenth century convents ceased to be in line with the advanced thought of the time, their intellectual standard wofully declined, moral laxity crept in, and they often became mere convenient places for disposing of superfluous women; still, it must be admitted that with their abolition in Protestant countries all the benefits they had conferred upon unmarried women and widows, and all the opportunities they had afforded of a dignified and useful life, disappeared also, and, to quote Miss Eckenstein once more, "women lost the last chance that remained to them of an activity outside the home circle." Their "subjection to a round of domestic duties" became complete,‡ "and marriage for generations afterwards was women's only recognized vocation."

On the secular side of life in the Middle Ages we find that the woman of high birth—privileged in every age—had almost unlimited opportunities.

* *Woman under Monasticism*, p. 153.
† *Woman under Monasticism*, p. 153.
‡ *Woman under Monasticism*, p. viii.

Thus, in the fifth century two great Empresses ruled the civilized world. Pulcheria, the daughter of the Emperor Theodosius, from her sixteenth year governed in fact, though not in name, the Eastern Empire, and even Gibbon has nothing but praise for the success of her rule of nearly forty years, for her " maturely weighed deliberations " and her " prompt and decisive actions."* Of the second, Galla Placidia, who ruled the Western Empire for twenty-five years, Hodgkin† writes, " She was the man of her family, she had the energy and the wisdom of her father " (Valentinian I); and again, " I look upon her as the one sweetest and purest figure of that dreary time."

But not only women of noble birth, women generally in the Middle Ages enjoyed more equality of opportunity with men than they have ever done since. The ideals of life were shared by men and women, not sharply sundered.‡ Thus in our own island women could be burgesses of towns, trading freely and fulfilling all the duties and enjoying the privileges, so valuable in those days, of that position. They could be members of those trading and semi-religious Guilds and Companies which played so important a part in the social and commercial life of the times, wearing the livery, taking apprentices, and sitting at the

* *Student's Gibbon*, p. 244.

† *Italy and her Invaders.*

‡ *A Short History of Social Life in England*, p. 131. M. B. Synge, F.R. Hist. S.

election feasts. Thus the great Companies of the Drapers, Clothworkers, Brewers, Grocers, Armourers, Barber-Surgeons and others counted their Sisters as in all respects equal to their Brothers.* On the whole, the women were better educated than the men, except churchmen. In our fine old Scottish ballad, "Fause Foodrage," the boy, the gay gosshawk, is to be taught "Richt weel to back a steed," the girl, the turtle doo, "as weel to write and read." The medieval ideal for a woman was to be a *handy* person—she must be able to ride and fly a hawk, weave, spin, embroider, read and write, and perhaps play and sing—and over and above all this, she must be able to nurse a sick or wounded man. Much of the leechcraft of the times was in her hands. A fine, broad, sensible training, one must admit, for practical life. In England, in Saxon times, rough as society was, and though it was held to be a salutary discipline to administer three blows with a broomstick to wives† (this discipline would go a considerable way, surely, to account for the attraction of convent life), yet these very wives shared in public affairs with more freedom than women do now, or did until very lately. Public matters were not, as later, accounted exclusively men's business. Women could inherit and possess property freely, and could be present at the local Moot or meeting of wise men, and even at the

* For full details see *British Freewomen*.

† *Social Life in England*, p. 39.

national Witenagemot.* With Norman rule the rights of women in England were gradually curtailed, but even the Feudal System, hard as it was in some respects on women, especially on heiresses, yet conferred upon them the compensating advantage of fully recognizing their right to hold property, and even to fill high office in the State, when such office fell to them in default of male heirs. That husbands and sons might fill such offices by proxy for wives and mothers no doubt generally reduced the latter to the position of mere transmitters of honour, but in some cases the offices were filled by the heiresses themselves. Thus, to select a few instances among the many enumerated by Mrs Stopes, "Alicia de Bygood, Comitissa Mareschall," was permitted to send a proxy to the Council of 35 Edward I, held at Carlisle†; Margaret, daughter of Thomas, Marshal and Earl of Norfolk, inherited the office "in tail general" with the title and arms, and appears as "Countess Marshal" in the Parliament Roll of 1 Richard II‡; Margaret, Countess of Richmond, was made a Justice of the Peace in the reign of Henry VII§; and Anne, Countess of Pembroke, Dorset and Montgomery, was High Sheriff of Westmorland in the seventeenth century.‖

* *Social Life in England*, p. 40.
† *British Freewomen*, pp. 55 and 69.
‡ *British Freewomen*, p. 56.
§ *British Freewomen*, p. 63.
‖ *British Freewomen*, p. 140.

The service of women in the military field was rendered, as was generally that of churchmen, by proxy. But sometimes to some women in every age, the soldier's career, its

"One crowded hour of glorious life,"

has appealed, just as it does to men. Among the Norsemen the fabled Brynhild of the Volsungs' Saga, fairest and wisest of women, skilled in women's work and handicraft, but also "a shield may, who wore helm on head and helped the kings of war," was no imaginary figure. A few years ago in Sweden the grave of a woman viking was found, the skeleton laid in barbaric state upon the deck of her ship. The wife of Robert Guiscard, the Norman leader, fought by his side in battle.* The portrait of the lady-knight of crusading times is painted by Scott in his *Count Robert of Paris*, and such women were no doubt the historic originals of the Clorinda of Tasso and the Britomart of Spenser. Women were often Governors of royal castles, or held besieged fortresses in the absence of their husbands; thus, Black Agnes, in our Scottish story, held her husband's Castle of Dunbar for five months against the English—"a born leader of men" a modern writer terms her.† The mission of Joan of Arc was not simply to fight—that would have been

* Gibbon *Decline and Fall*, p. 56.
† *A Group of Scottish Women*. Harry Graham.

easy—but to lead the armies of France, and no wonder that so astounding a demand met with an unwilling assent. The career of Joan of Arc has been called "the most marvellous episode in French history and in all histories,"* and in truth it seems nothing less than the stepping forth of spiritual powers from behind the veil. The more that attempts are made to explain it the more it transcends explanation. But when her mission was accomplished, France saved, and the course of European history changed, it was her womanhood that was found unpardonable by her foes, that had to be expiated by the long martyrdom of prison and the death of fire.

Joan of Arc belongs to the fifteenth century, the end of the Middle Ages, Catherine of Siena, saint, philanthropist, preacher, politician, to the fourteenth. She is best remembered as the ambassador from the City of Florence to the Pope at Avignon. What republic in our own day would despatch a woman on an important embassy? An American writer speaks of the "statesmanlike grasp" of Catherine, and of her "penetrating insight into public affairs."† A true daughter of her age, she was the servant of the sick and poor, the helper of the fallen. For a veritable passion of pity in those times led men and women of all ranks to choose lives of poverty and self-devotion, even

* Quoted by Mr. Andrew Lang. *The Maid of France*—Introduction.

† *Studies in Mystical Religion.* Rufus Jones.

in the midst of outward splendour. We may smile at some of their methods, but their spirit can never be transcended. It is not pleasant, for instance, to think of the wife of Henry I of England, the daughter of Malcolm and Margaret of Scotland, kissing the feet of lepers, but she also founded the Hospital of St Giles in Aldgate, and to her subjects, who loved her, she was the " Good Queen Maud." In her learning, as in her charities, she is one of the typical women of her time. Brought up in the Convent of Romsey, under her aunt, the Abbess Christina, she was familiar with Latin authors and wrote Latin with facility. Such were many of the women of the Middle Ages—learned, good and wise.

The Middle Ages have already detained us too long, but one other point cannot be passed over—the rise of Chivalry about the eleventh century, in the comparatively peaceful and wealthy regions of Southern France, for the change wrought by Chivalry in manners and social relations was far reaching and partly, though not entirely, beneficial. Chivalry is still a word to conjure with, and the pure chivalrous ideal is indeed one of the most beautiful ever imagined by man. Joan of Arc, says Mr Andrew Lang, " was the Flower of Chivalry, brave, gentle, merciful, courteous, loyal." No ideal could be finer, but, while fully admitting its excellence, we cannot but ask what Chivalry practically did for women? It ignored the peasant, and it failed to deliver the rich woman from the

tyranny of the feudal system, which identified her with her property. The reverent service of his lady—dictated to the knight by Chivalry, was, no doubt, of infinite value for the refining and softening of manners. But the show of virtue was hollow. In the Provençal Courts of Love, presided over by the fine ladies of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it was decided that love between husband and wife was impossible, and yet love was declared to be the inspiring source of every worthy action. The whole scheme of society was artificial and absurd, and the false morality which naturally followed, and which pervades medieval romances (we probably know it from Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*), poisoned social life.

Our fourth period must have brief treatment —it is, indeed, so rich in matter as to be unmanageable. The Renaissance, that wonderful movement, intellectual and social, of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, laid a strong hold upon women, especially in Italy and France. It was an age of abounding vitality, and of a new and wonderful joy in living, every means of gratification, intellectual and æsthetic, was eagerly embraced, wealth and luxury and artistic refinement led to licence and lax morals, and yet the best women of this period will bear comparison with those of any age. The sixteenth century was indeed an age of great women. It is needless to go through a catalogue of successful Queens. Such women appear everywhere, even in the East, and in all

ages. It has never been denied that reigning or regent Queens have governed well. But in the sixteenth century ladies who were not ruling sovereigns played leading parts, such as are in our own day strictly reserved for men. Thus Margaret, Duchess of Savoy, was Governor of the Netherlands, under her nephew, Charles V, and it was between her and Louisa, mother of Francis I, that the Peace of Cambrai was concluded, called for that reason the *Paix des Dames*; while other women, like those of the House of Este in Italy, and Margaret, titular Queen of Navarre, in France, fully shared in all the diplomatic business of their day. And what was true in the region of politics held good equally in that of the intellect. The ideal of the time was to be poet or scholar or artist, or all three combined, and the new enthusiasm for learning possessed women as well as men. The disastrous idea that their education should be entirely different—which resulted in women's getting no education at all—had not yet been dreamed of. Some became professors in Italian and Spanish Universities. Two Italian ladies, Vittoria Colonna and Olympia Morata, poets and scholars both, and equally admirable in domestic life, are typical women of the Renaissance.

To this fair dawn our fifth period brings overclouding. Hitherto with more and more success women have vindicated for themselves great freedom of action, and have used power for the good of society. But now an ebb sets in, the flowing

tide is checked. How came this about? Strange that the answer must be, through the influence of the Protestant Reformation. Yet it cannot be denied that the Reformation, claiming though it did freedom for the individual in the most essential sphere, personal religion, dealt a blow through purely accidental causes at the ideal position of women. For it was, as Professor Jebb says, "a movement in the direction of Hebraism," just as the Renaissance had been a "movement away from Medieval Catholicism in the direction of Hellenism."* If it is true of the English that "they entered the prison of Puritanism and had the key turned upon their spirit there for two hundred years," it is a thousand times more sadly true of women. It was, no doubt, natural, in an age when historical criticism was almost undreamed of, that undue value should have been set upon temporary or Oriental elements in both Old and New Testaments—but it was not the less regrettable. Next, both in Germany and England, and Germany led the van and set the tone in the great uprising against the ancient Church, the character of the leaders had much to do with lowering the status of women. Luther was a genuine German of his day, and Henry VIII was, as Bishop Stubbs says,† "a thing to shudder at." Nor did Knox in Scotland use his vast influence in favour of women—in his

* *Growth and Influence of Classical Greek Poetry*, p. 272.
† *Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History.*

eyes the rule even of Queens was a " monstrous " thing. Lastly, systematic education, which women had obtained only in convents, and which had gradually deteriorated more and more, now perished altogether with the suppression of the religious houses. Even Fuller, in his Church History,* regretted the " good she-schools," as he called them, of the convents. For no other girls' schools existed, and the Universities took no note whatever of women. It never occurred to a single human being in those days, as it undoubtedly would in a similar case in our own, that the confiscated property of the religious houses belonged to women and should have been devoted to their interests. For a considerable time, it is true, intellectual traditions lived on. Lady Jane Grey, as we all know, loved her Plato, and in the seventeenth century many ladies had a good solid education; in fact, the education of children, boys and girls both, was often overdone; Mrs Hutchinson had, we are told, no less than eight tutors when she was seven years old! But every noble ideal for women—already wounded to death—perished utterly in the evil times that followed. The decadence was gradual. English women of the day, whether Puritan or Cavalier, were by no means willing to sink, as their descendants sank, into sheer domestic seclusion and political non-existence. Wherever some great national crisis has stirred the heart of a

* Quoted in *Woman under Monasticism*, p. 457.

people, there women have felt the throes to the full as deeply as men, and have not shrunk from service. Military exploits, such, among others, as the Countess of Derby's defence of Latham House, Lady Arundel's of Wardour Castle, and Lady Harley's, who died at her post after a six weeks' siege of Brampton Castle, stand to the credit of women in the records of the Civil War. Excellent, too, was their work in caring for the wounded,* and of the willing help they rendered in other ways Butler, in his *Hudibras* writes how they

> " From ladies down to oyster wenches
> Laboured like pioneers in trenches."

Women insisted also on their right to petition Parliament on all sorts of matters in which they claimed—and surely most reasonably—to be interested, such as peace or war, religion, trade, laws concerning bankruptcy and insolvency, and so on. The story of these endeavours on the part of women to gain a hearing is told by Miss E. McArthur in a pamphlet entitled *Women Petitioners and the Long Parliament.* On the first occasion, in 1642, on which they presented a petition, they were received with courtesy, but afterwards, when dissensions between parties, tumults on one side and severe repression on the other, had inflamed public feeling, the women on one occasion threatened " to take the round heades of the

* *A Short History of Social Life in England*, pp. 213, 214.

Parliament . . . and caste into the Thames," and were treated in consequence with extreme brutality. Once, during the Lilburne riots, when told it was strange that women should petition, a gentlewoman retorted, "Sir, that which is strange is not therefore unlawful—it was strange that you cut off the king's head, and yet I suppose you will justify it." And as Cromwell came out, this brave woman, whose name has not been re-recorded, took hold of his cloak and insisted that the women's petition should be heard. Nor was that petition unworthy of a hearing, for it protested, on behalf of the rights and liberties of the people, against government by military force.

Our sixth period finds the position of women at its lowest ebb, and the resulting stagnation lasts until the beginning of the reign of Queen Victoria, or even later. This period is so long and so crowded with events of enormous and lasting importance to Europe, that it would seem absurd to deal with it as a whole, except for the one fact that the position of women remained much the same throughout its course. I cannot attempt to discuss the manifold causes to which this may be attributed. "The degradation of women in England," writes Mark Pattison,* "does not date from the Restoration. It was complete before the Commonwealth. . . . But the combination of the forms of chivalrous devotion with the reality of cynical contempt was the peculiar tone of manners which

* "Essay on Pope" in *Ward's English Poets.*

came in with the Court of Charles II, and gradually spread downward through the lower social strata." Here we have that sort of pseudo-chivalry which is still too familiar to us. Professor Thomas bluntly tells us that "chivalry and chaperonage . . . are the persistence of the old race habit of contempt for women."* And the prevalence of this false chivalry, deference veiling contempt, was, it is worth while to notice, contemporaneous with the lowest degradation of our country. While Charles pocketed the pay of Louis XIV, and dragged his own honour and that of womanhood in the mire, the great Dutchman, de Ruyter, entered the mouth of the Thames, bombarded Chatham, destroyed or captured sixteen ships, and inspired a panic in the English Capital. Frivolity and artificiality were the leading notes of the age. In the Courts of France and England, steeped as they were in vice and depravity, no place was left for honourable women. Anne, Countess of Pembroke, Dorset and Montgomery, already mentioned, when invited to the Court of Charles II, declined, "I could not go," said she, "unless I were to wear blinkers like my horses."† Good women were eliminated, and in their stead vicious or merely frivolous women exercised influence, or those who, like Madame de Pompadour, craved power, and were willing to pay any price for it. For it is natural to desire power, and if power is not to be had by

* *Sex and Society.* † *British Freewomen*, p. 147.

legitimate means, there are women, as well as men, who will stick at nothing, but will at any cost try at least to pull the strings to make their puppets dance. The craving may not be admirable, to the best women it seems contemptible, but it has its fascination for some minds, and to women sometimes, in the absence of direct power, it may even take the form of duty.

When the frivolous women of the eighteenth century in France found themselves on a sudden, at the Revolution, face to face with the grimmest realities, we know with what undaunted courage they met prison and death. "Since when have women taken an interest in politics?" asked Napoleon mockingly of Madame de Stael. "Since they guillotined them, Sire," was the quiet reply. So completely did Napoleon ignore French history when it pleased him so to do.

In England the foppery of society was unrelieved. Pope writes of women with the bitterest sarcasm:

"With varying vanities, from every part,
They shift the moving toyshop of their heart."

Indeed, if we wish to gauge the depth of the fall in the English estimate of woman since the "spacious days of great Elizabeth," we have but to compare Shakespeare's Silvia,

"Holy, fair, and wise is she,
The Heavens such grace did lend her,"

with Pope's Belinda, surrounded by

"Puffs, powders, patches, bibles, billets-doux."

If great ladies, at any rate, were allowed any ambition besides that of winning high stakes at the gambling table, or setting the world of society on fire, like Prior's Lady Kitty Hyde, it was, hidden behind the scenes, to pull the wires in political intrigue. But they might no more be ambassadors, like Catherine of Siena or Beatrice d'Este,* nor govern countries and conclude treaties like Margaret of Austria. Good and wise women —many of them—lived, of course, in this long period—Elizabeth Fry, for one—but all they were and all they did may be said to have been in spite of the prevalent ideas of their time. The education of women, at its best, aimed at making them good housewives — and housekeeping then, though no longer such a tremendous business as in the Middle Ages, when the housewife had to superintend work on the land as well as in the household, was still a really big affair, not the shrunken sort of thing it has perforce become in our days of Universal Providers. At its worst, education meant nothing better than what Charles Lamb called "the female garniture which passeth by the name of accomplishments." And so well was the lesson learned by women that neither

* *Beatrice d'Este, Duchess of Milan.* Julia Cartwright (Mrs Henry Ady), chapters XVI, XVII.

knowledge, nor the avowal of an interest in politics befitted what Mr Collins or Mrs Malaprop would have termed an "elegant female," that it was hardly unlearned half a century ago. For a woman to write a book or even a poem meant almost the loss of character, Miss Burney had to smuggle *Evelina* to the publisher, and Miss Austen and Jane Elliot could hardly be brought to acknowledge *Pride and Prejudice* and the *Flowers of the Forest.* Learning in a woman was only tolerable when—as Horace Walpole said "the petticoat hid the stocking."

We have reached our last period. It is needless to go into detail; we have lived and are living in it. The pendulum has begun to swing to the other side. We shall only notice three points. First, although Democracy has hitherto been chary of granting opportunity to women, because established custom is against them, and accidental, adventitious aids such as rank, have little weight in a democratic society, still, the "dim inarticulate millions" of women, as Carlyle might have said, are now coming into view. For women of all ranks and in almost all countries are beginning to be conscious of solidarity. And, whatever other influences are or have been at work, to bring about that great awakening to individual development and public responsibility which marks our age, it is the half-conscious driving power of the masses which is behind, and forces on reform, political and social. Industrial changes have brought independence to

women, have thrust it upon them, indeed, making occupation within the home, the universal rule in earlier times, impossible now. And surely, in the long run, when industrial conditions shall have recovered the balance temporarily lost at present, the results of the new independence of women will be good both for Home and State. For demoralization always begins by contracting the outlook, and concentrating the powers of service upon self, or at best on the family circle—a limitation which must result, not in the growth of public spirit and service, but in a doubled or tripled selfishness, and such an atmosphere of mere self interest is no place for the upbringing of good citizens. Thus, Martin Hume, speaking of Spain in the seventeenth century, says that the Oriental seclusion and ignorance of Spanish women was at the bottom of the decadence of the nation.*

Secondly. Education, denied to women for almost two centuries, is now theirs—if they will—and in this we have another driving force of incalculable magnitude. Lastly, women are taking a larger share in national business than—as a class—they have ever done in the past, and it is foretold on all sides, whether opinion be favourable to the granting of full citizenship to them or not, that at least their work in the State is bound to increase.

Secondary causes which have brought about this enormous revolution—for it is nothing less—can-

* *The Court of Philip IV. Spain in Decadence.*

not be enumerated, nor the long list of individuals who, from Mary Wollstonecraft in 1792 to Florence Nightingale half a century ago, protested in word or deed against the eclipse which had descended upon women. But there is one individual whose contribution cannot be passed over, Queen Victoria. She had what is denied to most women—opportunity, and not her intellectual equipment, which was ordinary, but her innate sincerity of character, her human sympathy, her devotion to duty, and her statesmanlike wisdom and foresight—ever developing with her enormous experience of affairs—enabled her to use opportunity to the best effect, and the life and work of such a woman, so set " in that fierce light which beats upon a throne," casts over all her sisters the reflected glory of high achievement.

Let me conclude by a brief summary of the chief points in this hurried review. Woman, as a human being, has surely the right, and right implies duty, ro realize what is best in herself, and to devote the powers so developed to the service of Society—but in no historical period has this claim been fully admitted. So far as women have been allowed to work towards this ideal, I think it may be claimed that they have done good service. It is not their fault that much of their social work has been of the nature of tinkering. And it is only fair to remember that lack of education has long been an almost insurmountable

obstacle in their path, and that therefore the service of many a woman, rarely gifted by Nature, has been, in Portia's words, but that of "an unlesson'd girl, unschool'd, unpractis'd." Up to the sixteenth century, when reaction set in, some women at any rate, specially dowered either by Nature or circumstance, did undoubtedly realize this human ideal with more or less of brilliant success, and we may, if we choose, test our own pet theories of what women can and cannot be and do by what such women were and did. If it be objected that these were exceptional women, I reply that history takes no note of the commonplace, domestic woman, however admirable she may be. Only individuals conspicuous through ability, character, or opportunity, could have broken through the limits imposed upon women, or, let me dare to say, could have won from often unfairly biassed and prejudiced historians the scant notice they have received. And the number of such so-called exceptional women has, after all, been enormous, nor can we possibly judge how far any one of them was really exceptional except in opportunity. So all but universal, in fact, given even small opportunity, has been the success of women in great affairs, that, unless we grant capacity to be natural, we must conclude that opportunity not only develops but actually creates capacity, which is absurd. That in some respects the modern world offers smaller opportunities to women than were theirs of old, is, I think, writ

large in history. This tendency—the natural growth of an artificial civilization—is only now beginning to receive a check. Perhaps the most inexplicable mystery in the world of material nature is its lavish waste. But why should man, free in the spiritual world, deliberately stifle by conventional and artificial restrictions the priceless power of individual energy in any human being? Might not Society have reached a riper development, human nature a fairer stature, if women, half the race, had not been persistently coerced and repressed? This, at any rate, history surely proves, that there is certain loss and possible danger in repression, and, further, that the common human qualities in the character or personality of woman—which are independent of the sex functions that differentiate her from man—naturally claim expression; and lastly, that the more frankly Nature has been trusted, and free play given to the individual,the happier and better have been the results both for women themselves and for Society, and ultimately, therefore, for the State, thus enriched by the service contributed by women to the common weal. Through the fullest self-development in each of its members the State attains its highest embodiment. The realization of this great ideal lies yet in the far future. But mysterious forces—distinct from those secondary causes upon which I have touched, and chiefly spiritual in their nature—seem now to be arousing women over the whole world to realize

that they, as well as men, have a share in this great work. Even in the East—the hitherto unchanging East—a breath of new life and thought is stirring the close atmosphere, and the conventions and restrictions of centuries are slowly passing away. It has even been suggested by a Russian writer that the pendulum is swinging back to the point of the ancient domination of women. But this is to let oneself be carried away by metaphor. It is not the swing of a pendulum that we are watching—it seems rather the slow unrolling of a great cycle of spiritual evolution. Doubts and perplexities may assail us, but surely history, if we will learn her lesson, bids us

"See all, trust God, nor be afraid."

THE PLACE OF WOMAN IN THE FAMILY

By Mrs Lendrum, Glasgow

LONG ago the Duke of Albany said that Britain's strength lay neither in her navies nor her armies, but in the purity and stability of her homes. Thinkers tell us that to-day we find two great forces at work, the reactionary force of self-interested individualism, and the revolutionary force of scientific socialism; and where these two forces meet, stands the institution of the *Family*. It will make for clearness if we consider the position of woman in the family first as *Daughter*, then as *Wife*, and last as *Mother*.

A. *The Daughter in the Family.—Training for work.*—The first question that meets us, is whether or not a girl should have a definite training for a career. In the working class this problem does not exist; each girl must find her life-work and do it. The same holds good of what is called the lower middle class, to whom fortunately many occupations are open. But when one comes to what are sometimes called the "leisured classes," one finds numbers of girls condemned by convention to fill up their days with petty gaieties and mild philanthropies, which pall in a few years, unless, perchance, some man delivers them! Many a girl marries because she feels she is of no special use to anyone, and longs for a sphere and activities

of her own. It is, of course, very undesirable that a moneyed girl should take the bread from a girl who is wholly dependent on her employment, but there are countless posts waiting for honorary *trained* workers; the lack of such workers is deplored in the reports of nearly every philanthropic society in the land. If marriage comes to such a girl, she will make a better wife, and not a worse one, because she has specially trained faculties and abilities; and if it does not, she has a life to live, full of interest to herself and of usefulness to others. We must also remember that riches are proverbially winged, and the annals of such societies as the "Indigent Gentlewomen's Aid Society," furnish painful evidence of the need for all women to be able to support themselves. Ideally, doubtless, the place of a daughter is in the home; but there are not enough homes to go round. Economic circumstances have forced our daughters into the world; we must see that they are fitted to take their places there. Some time ago the professional or business woman was looked on with suspicion; now there is, perhaps, a tendency to despise the woman who sees it to be her duty to remain in the home. "But the maintenance of a home which is inspired by purest ideals may easily be the very highest form of social service."

B. Training for marriage and motherhood.—In former days a girl who learnt Latin instead of bead-work, and philosophy or anatomy instead of

modelling wax flowers, was looked on as an indelicate, almost improper person. Now, perhaps, the pendulum has swung too far, and we are in danger of educating our girls exactly like our boys, and forgetting that woman is not undeveloped man, but diverse. In many cases we find, that although a girl is educated in ordinary learning, she is often absolutely ignorant of the physical facts of her being, or of what marriage really means; she knows nothing of the management or spending power of money, or of the practical working of a house. She has little or no practical knowledge of food values, or of cooking, or of sick nursing; and she, of course, knows nothing of infant-bearing, child-rearing, and the education of the young. Such a girl becomes engaged, and in the few crowded months that elapse before marriage, she makes a futile effort to fill in the hiatus in her education, and half-prepared at best, makes the plunge into her new life. A girl is expected, after a ceaseless whirl of social engagements, to "settle down," and by some miracle to evolve instantly into a wife, a housekeeper, and a possible mother. What wonder there are tragic failures, wretched compromises, nerve-shattering efforts at accomplishing unknown and impossible duties! How are we to alter this state of matters? Miss Frances Melville, Queen Margaret's College, Glasgow, longs to see the day when a definite study of home economics will form part of the University curriculum for

women; what she looks on as a far ideal, is in America already an accomplished fact.

In 1890, Chicago University opened its class rooms to women for the teaching of home economics, and distinctly stated that in that centre of learning the economic and sanitary aspects of housing, as well as the food problem, would receive due consideration. The Universities of Illinois, Missouri, Wisconsin, and Cornell have all established departments of home economics. Since 1902 the United States Department of Agriculture has made many grants in aid of the teaching of home economics. Can we doubt that such academic recognition must greatly help in giving to home economics, in the minds of girls, a dignity and importance which can never be attained, while they see parents and teachers placing more importance on every other subject?

But we do not need to stand idly by, till Britain gets in step with America. Much may be done in the home itself. In ordinary households, it is simple enough to make the home a practical training school for our daughters; even in more elaborate homes, this may be done. For example, instead of the baby being only the plaything of the other children, might we not teach the older girls to bath, dress, and feed the baby? Every home gives a chance to treat minor ailments, and render "first aid." We might teach a girl to share all kinds of house-

work, so that she may, in her own bones and muscles, *feel* the physical effort needed, and apprehend the actual time consumed, in the housework which she may some day demand from other girls who may be in her service. In regard to explicit training for possible marriage and motherhood, a German friend said to me the other day, "You mothers in Britain seem to think that a girl never thinks of love, or marriage, or motherhood; and you talk of everything to her but of these all-important subjects. Doubtless you call this *modesty*, I am afraid we consider it *prudery*." This may be a strong indictment, but it has much justification.

All the teaching the ordinary girl receives on these subjects is from novels; and though much of that is good, surely the teaching of her own mother would be better. A girl brought up in a home where the wedded love of her parents has deepened and strengthened with the years, has instinctively a high ideal of marriage; still there is a place for definite teaching on the subject. We warn our children to shun an infected atmosphere; we do not allow them to touch food or fruit that is tainted; and yet we often refrain from warning them of the Nemesis which will surely follow, if they ally their own lives to lives which are blighted by hereditary disease, or even tainted by a life of sin.

Let us seek to hold before our daughters a high ideal of marriage in contrast to that commercial

spirit which estimates life in terms of money, and expects blessings which money cannot buy.

THE WIFE

A. As Companion.—I asked a married friend of mine what she would advise me to say on this point. "*Of course*, say, she mustn't give in too much"! There spoke the modern woman, who by way of revenge for the crushed individuality of her grandmother is tempted, perhaps, to sound her own note too loud. A perfect chord has no dominant note; each is the complement of the other. The conception of marriage from this point of view has greatly changed of late. No wife is expected now, as she once was, to be but the mild and pleasing echo of her lord and master. This change may make the marriage relation more difficult, but it makes it vastly more interesting, both to husband and wife. In this connexion may I quote an address before marriage, to which twenty years ago I listened with personal interest? "The husband must not crush his wife's individuality; he must share with her his highest intellectual and spiritual interests, and the best thoughts and aspirations God gives him; but all this, without striving to force her character into the mould of his. On the other hand, the wife must remember what she owes to her husband. She must not disregard his will, or lightly treat his thoughts and desires. She must take care that her attitude towards him be not that of presumption

or dictation; she must pray that her presence may be to him inspiration and strength, that her counsel may bring him light, that her love may fill him with gladness." Of course a relationship like this can only be attained by definite striving, but let us not be pessimistic; there *are* countless such glad marriages. Even although in America 60 out of every 1,000 marriages end in divorce, we must remember that 940 couples hold together in some considerable measure of amity! Divorces, like "nerves," are largely a disease of the leisured classes; as Chesterton says, "an omnibus driver has hardly time to love his own wife, let alone anyone else's." A day's hard work would solve many a domestic difference.

B. As Housekeeper.—Modern psychology has taught us how soul and body, spirit and matter, are inextricably bound together, so that we have scientific ground for believing that great issues may hang on a careless curry, or a doleful dumpling! "Food is cheap," says Mrs Humphry Ward, "if you know where to get it; it is the *mind* to cook it with, that is dear and scarce."

We all agree that the first duty of a wife, as housekeeper, is to be capable; but the second duty is that she *be not cumbered with much serving.* People sigh about life being "so complex," and mourn that they have so little time. Well, they have all the time there is; and if they simplified their lives, they would find the day long enough for its task. For example, why should the woman

who can only afford to keep one servant, have a drawing room furnished with the plethora of silver and ornaments which may be permissible for the woman who has several maids at her command? I know a couple who, finding that a change in their circumstances brought them many new duties, resolved to simplify their method of life. They took a flat to economize labour, and reduced the number of living rooms to the minimum consistent with health and comfort. The mistress of the home disposed of all surplus furniture and ornaments, and stowed away all silver, copper and brass, except such as was necessary for use or beauty. She now finds that she has hours at her command which were formerly spent in polishing floors or rubbing up silver.

What is called "the domestic problem" must be merely touched on here, though we could all talk for hours on that vexed question! To begin with, I do not for one moment believe that the "good old servant" has ceased to exist—all power to her elbow! Much of the present difficulty results from the fact, that many mistresses find it hard to adjust their ways and demands to a new condition of things. To-day "servants claim the economic and moral freedom which accompanies other employments, and so we have at present the conflict between modern tendencies and the older feudal ideal." Mistresses also often forget the comfort and refinement of the better class worker's home, and expect their maids to live happily, and receive

their friends, in a dismal kitchen, or a dull area room, dignified by the name of "The Servants' Hall."

C. As Citizen.—Now that so many women are demanding the parliamentary vote, it is the more incumbent on those of them who already possess municipal and other votes, to use the powers they possess. By the Local Government Act of 1894, a woman was declared not to be disqualified by marriage from being on any local government register of electors, or from being elected by any local authority affected by the Act, provided that husband and wife do not qualify by the same property. Therefore, a married woman of property has a direct responsibility and opportunity of exercising her powers as a citizen; and in these days, when so much is being done by Citizens' Unions and the like, to purify and raise the status of our public bodies, it behoves every qualified woman to do her duty. Most of us do not possess these votes, but we possess very great influence over those who do! We should, therefore, inform our minds about all legislation which concerns such matters as sweated industries, vigilance work, child labour, education, the care of the poor, the old and the feeble-minded, and especially legislation which aims at lessening the giant evils of impurity and drunkenness.

There are forms of social service which can only be fittingly performed by married women. Much of this work centres round our churches and other

philanthropic societies, and will readily occur to every one. Unfortunately many married women whose circumstances enable them to employ skilled help in their homes, seem to think that marriage means what Mazzini calls "the egoism of two." They fail to realize that the doors of the home should ever open outward, so that the light of love may shine forth into the murky ways without.

THE MOTHER

A. Duty of Motherhood.—This very title would have seemed extraordinary to the woman of yesterday. To-day, alas! we understand only too well what it means. The widespread refusal of maternity in the upper and middle classes can no longer be ignored. Of course, much might be said as to the wisdom of limiting the family, although that side of the question does not so immediately concern us. We take for granted that limitation of the family is not only wise but absolutely necessary in certain circumstances,—for example, where disease has manifested itself in either parent. But the decreasing birth rate in the upper classes is fast becoming a national problem. As every one knows, the duty of motherhood is ignored by a rapidly increasing number of women. The menacing fact is, that if the present state of matters continues, it only needs a little arithmetic to prove that our country will be peopled by the unfit. Let me quote some of the recent statistics for Glasgow, with which I am most conversant.

In Cowcaddens, in 1909, the birth rate per million inhabitants was 30,612, in Springburn 39,097; while in the west end district of Kelvinside the rate was only 11,043, and in residential Pollokshields it fell as low as 8,351. I have no doubt Edinburgh could produce equally startling statistics. One does not for a moment deprecate the increase in the working classes; but one can only deplore the small increase in the class which is presumably best able to rear citizens who shall possess the *mens sana in corpore sano*. We have nothing but reprobation for the woman,—for the parents, who deliberately limit their families in order that they may live more ostentatious or luxurious lives. Still severer are our thoughts of the woman who refuses the crown of motherhood, in order that she may indulge her taste for sport, or be free to live a life of gaiety. But there are some who have nobler grounds than these for their actions, and to them we appeal. They think that by limiting their families they leave themselves more free to develop their minds, or it may be to devote themselves to social service. We would ask such if they would not be doing a higher service to their country and their God, if they brought into the world those who would carry forward the standard of Truth and Righteousness when they themselves have dropped in the ranks? Others act in this way in order that they may give greater advantages to fewer children. One has great sympathy with this attitude,

but, having regard to what history has to tell us of members of large families, one is inclined to a different view. The older children who have to make sacrifices for the younger, gain more in character than they lose in other ways. We are to-day in danger of unduly raising the standard of living, and of regarding as necessities for our children, what used to be, and perhaps still ought to be, looked upon as luxuries.

B. The Opportunity of the Mother.—An old Jewish proverb says: "God could not be everywhere, so He made mothers." Lew Wallace says, "They to whom a child comes asking 'Who am I?' and 'What am I?' have need of much care. Each word in answer may prove to the after life what each finger touch of the artist is to the clay he is modelling." No one will dispute that the supreme influence of the mother over the growing child is one which will tell for time and eternity; and yet how many mothers exercise it in the most heedless and inconsequent fashion! We are told that there is a relaxation of the parental rule. This is probably but the swing of the pendulum from the relationship of other days, when children viewed their parents from a distance, and curtsied on entering the presence of those whom they addressed as "Sir," and "Madam." So far as the present condition of things points to a more intimate family life, and a truer identity of interests, it is good. We must, however, take care not to lose the virtues of obedience and reverence.

In the working classes, where wage-earning begins at an early age, it is difficult to preserve the right relation of parent and child, unless the habit of obedience to rightful authority has been learnt in the plastic years of infancy. Among the richer classes, many a mother has thoughtlessly or wilfully abrogated her position and handed over her authority to her nurse. Many parents and children are comparatively unacquainted, because they only meet at stated times. Small wonder that when the nursery stage is past, a gulf is fixed between the child's inmost soul and the mother. In homes full of work, and of social activities, some limitation of intercourse may be necessary; but to secure as much as possible is surely worth very careful and definite endeavour. In later years it has increasingly become the custom to send children to boarding schools at a very early age. Peabody, who writes so ably on social questions, very strongly condemns this custom, and in trenchant words speaks of the "boarding out system, which used to be reserved for the homeless poor, but is now the accepted refuge of the homeless rich." People say, "What else can we do? We cannot take our children to the North to shoot, to London for the season, and to Homburg for our 'cure.'" Peabody would have them alter their own way of living, and while their children are young, inhabit for longer periods those west end terraces, which for so many months in the year are veritable streets of tombs. A woman who lives

apart from her children, can never hope to influence them supremely; very different must have been the mother of the old Wesleyan, who was asked in the quaint phraseology of the day, "Under whose preaching were you converted?" and replied "Under no one's preaching, but under my mother's living."

In this connexion may I again allude to what has been spoken of under the training of the daughter for marriage? The mother has here a great opportunity, by frank and reverent talk about the inner sanctuary of life, to safeguard her girls and her boys against many of the moral risks of life. No prudish shrinking should deter a mother from this task, on the right performance of which may hang infinite issues. We cannot exalt too much the opportunity of the mother. "How can it be a large career," asks Mr Chesterton, "to tell other people's children about the Rule of Three, and a small career to tell one's own children about the Universe? No, a woman's function is laborious because it is gigantic, not because it is minute. I will pity Mrs Jones for the hugeness of her task, I will never pity her for its smallness." It was said of the happy Kingsley home at Eversley, "Justice and mercy reigned, a strict self-control, a Divine tenderness, and perfect love cast out fear." A high ideal! Yes, but, "A man's reach should exceed his grasp, or, what's a heaven for?"

C. The Claim of Home and the Claim of Society.

—Here we use the word *Society* to mean all life outside of the home. Every mother has to adjust these conflicting claims for herself, but some simply succumb to the rule of King Baby, and never make any attempt at adjustment. I know one woman who has one child, and three maids, and who makes that one child an excuse for resigning all social and philanthropic work. Surely there is a lack of balance here. As the children grow in years, and their lives widen in interest, their attachment to their home and their affection for their mother will only be increased, if the mother's mind and character have been broadened by sharing in numerous interests and activities outside the radius of the domestic circle. No doubt a family is a very absorbing thing, and it is the mother's primary care. But if a mother is wise, she will not wholly sink her individuality even in her children. If she continues and develops her interest in politics, literature, art or music, she will be a saner and better balanced woman, and a better mother, than if she never lifted her eyes from the holes in her children's socks. Nor can any woman be a true mother to her own children, unless her mother heart shelters many a lonely soul beyond the walls of her home. "If we succeed in making a suitable adjustment between the claim of our family and the claim of society, neither will lose, and both will be ennobled."

But, above all, motherhood must be reinstated

among the ideals of our social life. Let us not shrink from the pains and penalties of maternity, but rather rejoice in them as a great opportunity to serve our country and our God, and let us endeavour to create a wholesome tone of feeling on so great a subject; for, as a New Zealand poet has recently put it:

"Peril is here! is here! Here in the Childless Land
Life sits high in the Chair of Fools, twisting her ropes of sand.
Here the lisping of babies, and cooing of mothers cease,
Here the Man and the Woman fail, and only the flocks increase.
Axes may bite in the forest, science harness the streams,
Railway and dock be builded, all in a Land of Dreams;
Sunk in spiritual torpor, ye flout these words of the wise,
Only to music of children's songs, shall the walls of a Nation rise."

ANNA LENDRUM.

PROFESSIONAL WOMEN

By Miss Phoebe Sheavyn, D.Litt.,
Warden of Ashburne Hall, Manchester University

THE writer of this paper is conscious of temerity in attempting to deal, however partially, with the great social question which we are met to discuss. Impartiality and clearsightedness are essential, and they are very difficult to attain.

Moreover, the subject-matter of this paper confronts one with great difficulties. The life of the professional woman is so much more complex than that of the average professional man; it is difficult to plan out, and presents practical problems which seem almost insoluble. They seem insoluble at present, but probably this is partly due to the complete absence of data. We have made a beginning in the collection of data as to the life of the woman factory worker ; we have still to inaugurate the scientific study of the conditions of life for the professional woman, the effect of her occupation upon her womanhood, and the way in which, if at all, her sex affects her work. It is patent that the most distinctive and important function of woman as such is her capacity for maternity; yet we are in complete ignorance as to the relation between professional life and possible or actual maternity. Vague notions there

are, it is true; and this paper can be little more than an attempt to set down a few of these, in the hope that some competent investigator may be found to test them. But the facts to be ascertained are of such a nature as to be most difficult to detect and most apt to be misread. Only the strictest impartiality and most scientific methods could hope to attain any information of value; and these characteristics have hitherto seldom marked the discussion of the " woman question."

In the absence of data which may some day, it is hoped, be forthcoming, as to professional women who are also mothers, I feel it wiser to confine my remarks to those who form what we will call the " disengaged " class, including in this women who have no children, or whose children no longer need maternal care. Not that we have more scientific information about these, but they form the great majority of professional women;* and in their case, the question of motherhood is much less closely involved—though, in speaking of women, we can never ignore it. In fact, it forms the basis of the earlier part of this discussion, which is an attempt to consider the general bearing of the maternal function of women upon their choice of a profession, and upon the part played by them within its ranks.

To begin with, I am compelled, since this is not a paper upon feminine psychology, to assume

* A few years ago the married woman teachers numbered only 11 per cent. of those in the profession.

the existence in the average woman of certain special aptitudes. I mean aptitudes not superficial and due merely to incomplete education and the pressure of social ideals, but such as may be supposed to lie deep in her nature, being based on the essential fact of her womanhood, her capacity for maternity. These aptitudes I should describe as:

Skill in caring for the helpless.

Skill in contrivance, in the adjustment of means to ends.

Skill in pleasing.

Interest in the individual and personal.

Docility and receptivity, the qualities which make for conservation and nourishing, as contrasted with creative activity.

To those who deny the existence of these or any special feminine aptitudes, this paper naturally will fail to appeal.

Assuming, however, that the average woman possesses, in a degree greater than the average man, these special characteristics, what is at present our attitude as regards this fact? Do we, in our education and social customs and ideals, take it into account, or do we ignore it?

Upon the whole, at present, the education of young girls tends to be sexless. This can be seen in the fact that the subjects and methods of study, and the examinations for girls and boys are the same, and that girls are encouraged—so far as Nature herself does not enter a protest too strong

to be disregarded—to play the same games under the same conditions. Such differentiation as has taken place—such as the omission of football, the comparative neglect of cricket, the preference given to modern languages and literature as compared with, say, mathematics—seems to have been partly instinctive, partly the effect of incapacity on the part either of the teacher or taught, or both. There is, on the whole, very little evidence of any deliberate endeavour to bring the education of girls into any deep-seated relation with their own special nature. Concessions have, it is true, been made to physical and mental weakness—but concessions are a very different thing from a thought-out scheme. Concessions have also been made, in the form of classes in cookery and domestic subjects, to a practical public demand—but these are at best attempts at technical training; they are not part of a system of education based upon a study of the fundamental elements of feminine nature.

It may, perhaps, be argued that it is too early in childhood to take into account sex differences.* But in later education the absence of any attempt to give to women that kind of knowledge and training which shall best develop and utilize their special capacities is far more marked. Even in colleges created specially for women the

* In my own personal opinion, no period is too early in which it can be shown that special aptitudes exist, and can be utilized or modified.

chief idea at present obtaining is that of proving woman's ability to do the same thing as a man in the same way.*

On the other hand, apart from the educationalists, men and women in general are very conscious of a difference in aptitudes and functions between girls and boys, and the indirect pressure of social sanctions has had great influence in modifying the education offered to girls. Unfortunately, this influence has been exerted almost entirely in the direction of repression. The average man or woman is far more conscious of the limitations imposed by sex upon women, than of the special power which it also brings. They believe not in the capacities but in the incapacities of women. Hence, the stress laid upon sex results chiefly in the imposition of disabilities in addition to those entailed by nature, and in the encouragement of physical delicacy. The modern school has at least defended the young girl against a social ideal which tended to foster physical weakness, to impose a depressing and enervating monotony and self-restraint, and to insist upon defenceless ignorance.

Society must cease to hold this purely negative conception of womanliness. We must lay stress upon woman's positive capacities, not upon her limitations; we must recognize that woman's sphere extends into all parts of human life in which certain feminine qualties are required.

* I shall have occasion later on to attempt some explanation of this feature in higher education.

It is the character of her work that wants emphasizing—not the exact limits within which it is to be confined.

But, it will be asked, how does this relate to the question of the professional woman? The same absence of aim which vitiates our conception of school and college education characterizes also our attitude towards the practice of professions by women.

I leave out of consideration the unworthy view that certain professions should be a close preserve for men, or that women should be excluded from the training for them because their inclusion causes certain difficulties. Regarding the matter from a larger social outlook, we have to ask whether Society has attained any clear conception of the attitude most wisely to be maintained towards the woman who chooses to follow a professional career.

Are grown women best regarded simply as human beings, each one free, without any guidance from social opinion, to follow out the career she prefers, in the manner she prefers? Many hold this view. Others, going further, hold that women should be encouraged to vindicate the powers of their sex, and enlarge their opportunities by taking up pursuits hitherto closed to them. Some, again, hold that women, while left free, should be encouraged to prefer such occupations as tend most to utilize their special aptitudes. Such occupations might in time, it is

thought, be practically abandoned to them by men, as being better done by women—not as being poorly paid or inferior. Many, however, who take this view hold a very narrow conception of what they call "woman's sphere"; ignoring the fact that the woman's special characteristics are needed in many occupations outside the boundaries of the family, the schoolroom, and the sick room.

I confess that this last view, broadly, not narrowly interpreted, is the solution of the problem which is most to my mind. I would leave women free; I do not believe that the coercion of a negative ideal can ever achieve any good. And I should like to substitute encouragement for repression. I should like to see Society passing from inhibition, restraint and scepticism to a whole hearted belief in womanly capacities and their value in social life, and to a consequent encouragement to women to seek occupation along the lines of their strongest aptitudes. I wish Society to realize that there is "woman's work,"—work calling for the mother, the contriver, the lover of the individual, —in almost every walk of life.

It would probably then be recognized that many of the professions call most definitely for workers possessing the characteristics noted as especially "feminine." Teaching and nursing have long been shown to be woman's work; medicine and surgery for women and children, College lectureships and professorships in certain subjects and

taught in a certain spirit, work on public bodies, the Church, architecture, dentistry, school and factory inspection, business administration of all kinds—all these call for work of a kind which not only may be done by women, but would be better done by them. In all, the care of the helpless or unfortunate; the interests of women, young girls, and children; the wise, careful administering of resources; the fostering of small beginnings; the need for painstaking attention to the individual—these cry aloud for the woman's special skill.

To many of them women have been admitted; but usually as a concession rather to the demand of the women than to the needs of the work itself. I claim a fuller recognition of the fact that women can do certain things better than men, and that Society should recognize this and urge women to take them up. At present, it is at best in the fields of unpaid work that such encouragement is forthcoming.

Now, it is clear that if women, with the encouragement of Society, are to follow the guidance of their own most deeply-rooted preferences into these wider spheres of public and professional life, this entails the existence of a comparatively large disengaged* class—by which I mean simply a class free for one reason or another from the

* I have preferred this term to the one which first suggested itself—" celibate," as precious from associations which it is not desired to impart into the discussion.

absorbing duties of maternity. Such a class exists at present, nor is this a new thing. In the Middle Ages there were large classes of life-long celibates, both men and women; and they formed a valuable part of the social organism. The disengaged women at any rate are more needed now than then. Many causes, such as the decay of village life, and consequent weakening of the tie between proprietor and peasant, and the massing of destitution and disease and child life in sordid centres of population, where for the most part only women with no children of their own can possibly deal with them—these and other causes have vastly increased the need for woman's help outside her home. Add to this the growing importance attached to the education of young children, girls, and young women; and the need for a disengaged class can hardly be over-rated.

Granted, then, the existence of such a class of women; granted the national need of them; it is surely clear that the greatest gain to the community and the greatest happiness to themselves would result from their being encouraged to employ their energies upon any and every kind of work along the lines of their special capacity as women.

But here we find ourselves face to face with a difficult and complicated question.

I have spoken of this class of "disengaged" women as if it were fixed and known; whereas it is perpetually fluctuating. Individual women are

constantly leaving its ranks for marriage and motherhood; mothers whose children no longer need their care frequently return to carry on its work. We need not greatly concern ourselves with the latter; their private maternal work has been done; they simply throw their capacities once more into the common stock. But those who are to become wives and mothers, concerning them we must ask, what is to be the effect upon their private maternal function of their previous pursuit of a professional career? It is here that we need the information which only a prolonged scientific investigation can procure. But certain considerations, not dependent upon statistics, may perhaps be mentioned.

As regards the training of young women, it may as well be confessed at once that we cannot train simply for the home and motherhood.* To do so is to ignore the fact that many English women must perforce remain single, and that it is not even wholly a loss to the nation that they should do so. Under these circumstances such a training would be a more cruel wrong than even the lack of training from which at present so many grown women suffer.

Nor, again, ought we to prepare young women only for a profession or occupation, ignoring altogether the likelihood of their becoming

*I was about to say "can no longer train," but I reflected that we have not for some considerable period, if ever, trained for maternity at all.

mothers. It is true that at present we do little or nothing to prepare them for motherhood; but no one would maintain that this neglect is right. Yet, to prepare every woman for a paid occupation and for motherhood would be a matter too costly for most parents, so long as both trainings must be provided by private exertion.

I look forward to a time when the community will recognize that it is more vital than anything else that its mothers shall understand fully their important duties, and shall make provision whereby they shall be instructed. But until that day something may be done towards minimizing the difficulty of the two-fold training by lending encouragement to the choice of an occupation, and to the choice of work within that occupation, which shall be most likely to conduce towards fitness for motherhood,—or at any rate, least likely to impair it. We must remember that motherhood calls for high moral and mental characteristics, not less than for physical fitness, and we have seen that very many professions also require the exercise of the very qualities which are closely connected with the maternal function. Women should be encouraged to take a pride in bringing their maternal faculties into play, in carving out for themselves spheres within which such qualities will have special value. There are many such waiting to be developed by them. The difficulty is that at present, except in teaching and nursing, men occupy practically the whole field, and

that women have been too fully engaged in simply effecting an entrance, to have been able to give much thought to carving out special spheres or proving special powers. Moreover—and this is for the present one of the most serious considerations—women can at this time enter the professions only by going through precisely the same preparation and tests as men, and are thereby not only subjected to courses of preparation often thoroughly unsuited for them, but also are necessarily fitted to carry on afterwards precisely the same kind of work as men in the same way as man. All this was, and probably for a time will still be inevitable. But I look forward to a time when this preliminary struggle to gain a footing within the professions may be over, and when women will be able to reckon upon a genuine appreciation of their special feminine gifts. When once it is recognized that their qualities are needed, they may be able to secure modifications in the methods of preparation such as shall emphasize, not their competition with men, but the fact of their special fitness for certain fields of work. And they may then, if they so desire, receive a special and fit preparation. Until then, we may still have reason to deplore the unsuitability for women of the conditions of preparation for professions which are themselves perfectly suitable. To put it briefly: let us cease to talk of woman's sphere, and begin to talk of her capacities—her sphere is any occupation which

can employ her capacities—let us recognize the importance and value of her gifts (which now habitually, except in the home, receive only lip-service); and then the woman's instinct may be trusted to follow, upon the whole, the lines of natural occupation. It is worthy of note that the professions into which they have already entered most largely—teaching and nursing—are precisely those where the mothering faculties are most obviously called for. Note also that in medicine, and again in work upon municipal councils, they have already entered upon the path of taking as their own particular fields of work for which they are specially fitted.

A more ungrudging recognition of the value of the specially feminine qualities would do much to diminish the feeling of competition which undoubtedly prevails at present, and which is largely due to an implicit denial of the value of any save masculine characteristics in public and professional life.

II.

I pass now to a rapid survey of certain practical aspects of the life of professional women at present.

1. The number of professions within which women have gained a secure position is still very small. I will briefly suggest certain reasons for this.

Capital, or financial aid for the first few years, is needed in nearly all professions, and is rarely forthcoming for young women. Fathers prefer

to leave their daughters bequests rather than to provide them with capital. It is easier; the provision of capital is not yet recognised as a necessity, as in the case of sons; and, in England, women's business ability is not understood or believed in.* There is felt also to be a certain economic waste involved in providing capital for a woman who may in a few years give up her work for marriage. But a woman of ability will have something to show as the result of her years of professional work, and this would make for her a marriage portion. Moreover, if the training and practice of her profession could be felt to be in some degree, even morally and mentally, identical with that needed for the new career of motherhood, there would be less consciousness of economic waste.

Again, the necessary practical training for a profession is hard to procure for a woman. They are seldom permitted the chance of posts as house physicians and surgeons; they find it difficult to get experience under a practical dentist, or in an architect's office; and yet this practical experience in a comparatively subordinate position is essential for the training of the successful professional. Perhaps, it will be less difficult to obtain when most professional men find that they need it for their own daughters.

2. As to the position occupied by women within the professions they have entered, there is, of course, some diversity. Two professions, nursing,

* They understand this better in France.

and school-teaching of girls and infants, they have practically created. Both are marked by considerable expert skill; in both much has been achieved with very small means. The phenomenal success of such special schools as the North London Collegiate School and the Cheltenham Ladies' College, and the rapid rise of the women's colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, in spite of their comparative lack of endowment, bear striking witness to the organizing and administrative ability of women.

In the other professions, however, no such marked success is to be recorded. Here women have been competing with men on ground already occupied, and have perforce adopted their methods and aims. In medicine, though many women have reached most creditable rank, and some have become very successful private practitioners, few can be said to have attained real eminence. In the Universities their position is less satisfactory. While many women hold brilliant degrees, and have gained high distinctions, in the matter of appointments they still rank low. It is practically unknown for a woman to hold a professorship.* As architects, women have as yet made no name; they are known in the law only as clerks. In professional associations which admit women, it is comparatively rare for them to hold positions of importance.

* Two women, in the United Kingdom, enjoy the rank of Professor.

What are the causes of this mediocrity? I should place first the difference in numbers. In nearly every profession, the women are in a quite inconsiderable minority; a fact which makes it less surprising that few persons of prominence should as yet have arisen amongst them. They suffer further from artificial disabilities—the refusal of recognition, paucity of opportunities, fewness of endowments.* Still more do they suffer from unconscious prejudice, which exacts from a woman a decidedly higher standard than from a man before she can obtain a similar position. This is inevitable at present; since the departure signalized in most cases by the appointment of a woman has to be justified by special reasons; and hitherto no "special reasons" have been recognized except pre-eminence in the same qualities as the man.

But a more serious cause of mediocrity than these (which can and probably will be removed), is one concerning which no such prediction can with confidence be made. At present a woman has inevitably a narrower range of experience than a man. It may and does include certain valuable experience which is lacking to men; but it is narrower. As Society is at present constituted women cannot mix with perfect freedom in a society of men; and since the professions consist very largely of men, much of the experience gained

* Out of 7 or 8 societies of Chartered Accountants only one admits women. They are absolutely debarred from the practice of Law. They are shut out of many hospitals.

by men from informal conversation in professional clubs, in smoking-rooms, in dining-rooms, and at informal meetings is practically barred to them. In the present state of Society this seems unavoidable. A mixed society entails the risk of dangers and inconveniences, which it is easier to evade by exclusion. Whether the common sense of Society will ever agree that these risks and inconveniences are worth facing, probably depends on the extent to which women can make their own experience and knowledge valued.

In certain professions one of the most valuable of feminine qualities militates at present against her attainment of distinction. Woman's ineradicable belief in the importance of the individual human being, and, along with this, her conviction of the value of human character as distinct from knowledge and attainments—these stand in the way of her advancement. As lecturer, she tends to place the individual interests of her students above the advancement of knowledge by one more bit of research. Hence, she often fails to gain distinction as a scholar, although before undertaking the duties of the profession, she may have displayed ample scholarly skill. But the quality she thus displays is as valuable as the other; both are needed in a great educational institution. Both should receive recognition. It is the same with the medical woman; she often gives time and thought to the individual to an extent which impairs her own chances of a successful career.

3. I hardly feel competent to discuss the effect of professional life upon the character of women; and I pass over this topic with one remark only. It is true, I think, that it tends to diminish or repress their emotional life; bringing about a subordination of feeling to thinking and doing. This is especially the case when, as most frequently happens, the woman has to live alone, or with merely chance companionship. Here the professional man has the advantage. He nearly always marries, and in the relation of husband and father finds nourishment for his affections. The professional woman is rarely married; she does not often earn enough to enable her to provide companionship for herself. In any case no other ties can have the permanence and reality of those which bind a woman to husband and child. Sometimes the claims of the home she has left are sufficiently real to keep alive her emotional nature; more frequently it is starved—to assert itself occasionally in extravagant form. There is much to be said for the establishment of Halls and residential chambers, where women can live in independence, yet with easy opportunities of companionship. Unfortunately the smallness of the earnings of the average professional woman necessitates the management of such communities upon lines too economical to permit of the necessary service and privacy.

4. Finally, as to the effect upon "home life" of the adoption of professional careers by women. It is often said that this is destroying home life,

but those who repeat the cry cannot have reflected upon the meaning of the word "home." The normal "home" consists of father, mother, and young children, or boys and girls. The natural thing is for the children, as they grow up, to leave the fireside for homes of their own. In the early nineteenth century a woman of twenty-three still unmarried was an anomaly. The last half-century changed all this. The marrying age was postponed, and marriage itself grew more infrequent. Still, parents were slow to recognize the change, and kept their girls at home waiting for a husband, proud only that they could afford to keep them. Now, however, the reality of the change is forcing itself upon all, especially in the middle classes. Women frequently do not marry before twenty-five, often not before thirty-five. They must occupy themselves during those adult years, and may need an occupation for their whole lives. The advocate of the "home" life for unmarried adult women must recognize that they are not, any more than grown sons, necessary there. Adult daughters should be free to leave the home for the work of the world, just as they are free to leave it for the work of a home of their own. The true home does not consist of active middle-aged parents and mature but irresponsible daughters; it consists of parents and children. I need not say that I am assuming no special need, such as sickness or infirmity, on the part of the parents.

To sum up these brief disjointed remarks. There are undoubtedly certain disadvantages in a professional career for a woman; there are also a number of disabilities which make her career more difficult for her than for a man. Some of these are artificial, and will be removed as the sense of justice towards women grows more keen; some are the result of unconscious prejudice, and will slowly disappear as social ideals change. Others are rooted more deeply in the constitution of Society, the conditions of human life, and the nature of women; and only the future can reveal how far these are capable of modification, or whether they will in the end prevail. Meanwhile it seems clear that the part of wisdom is to utilize as far as possible and as widely as possible the feminine capacities which are at present neglected and undervalued; and thus minimize to some extent the disadvantages of professional life. To have faced these disadvantages fairly will at any rate be a gain; and it is worth realizing that no profession is so sterilizing to the emotions and mental powers of the grown woman as lack of occupation.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL DANGERS TO WOMEN IN MODERN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS

By T. S. Clouston, M.B., LL.D.

LOOKING to the social history of mankind, its movements can scarcely be said to have followed the evolutional lines of biology in living things or even the biological evolution of the individual man. In the past, great societies, advanced in civilization, politics and the arts, have grown up, advanced, retrograded and disappeared. We know that in some of them profound changes in social customs, in moral sense and ethical practice, and in modes of government took place during their history, many of which seemed to have led to dangers and even to their final decay. Social developments and decadences usually have an ethical as well as a political and psychological basis. They constantly, too, have a relation to religion. Taking Egypt, for example, much as our recent knowledge of it has been added to of recent years, yet our picture of Egyptian social life needs much filling in, but we do know that its social conditions changed from that of a simple family life with the women and children round the head of the house, all equally helping in domestic and other occupations—I have myself seen pictures of such a state of matters in

the time of an early dynasty in a newly-opened tomb—to a far more artificial social state, where the women appeared to be in a condition of subjection like slaves. Those changes took place over and over again in the history of Egypt, marking successive periods of prosperity and of retrocession. When Queen Hatasu reigned over the land she is represented as wearing men's clothes; she initiated many movements; she ruled the land vigorously, and the country was powerful, prosperous and advancing. Her ideals were clearly masculine. When Queen Cleopatra ruled, she was feminine in the worst sense, and the country was on the point of disappearing as an independent State—partly through her qualities and conduct. Those social and political changes may have been results not causes, however. We have not the means of interpreting their full significance. The history of some of the more recent States, let us say France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were accompanied by many dangers to woman in their social changes and readjustments.

When social changes affect the primary qualities and functions of mankind or even their secondary qualities and functions, such as sexual relations, marriage, the birth and care of children, the legal status of woman, the means of livelihood, the manners of the community and the modes of regarding each other by men and women, then it is clear that along with bettered and happier con-

ditions there may also arise serious dangers. Rome is usually thought to have paid a high price for her literature and art, her riches and power, her business and world-wide commerce, through the greater separation of classes, the greater use of slave labour, the greater dependence of the common people on the emperor, through the relaxation of the marriage laws and in the prevalence of what we would now call sexual offences in both sexes. The ordinary Roman citizen suffered severely in the later empire, but the women seem to have had a worse time than the men. We do not hear of any deeds like that of Lucretia in the later times of Rome. The social feelings and changes that came about seem, in fact, to have affected the women of the family more markedly than the men.

The preliminary questions that must be referred to in treating a subject such as mine tonight are three: Is there any definite psychology of sex? And, if so, are the differences primary and fundamental and therefore unalterable? Or are they secondary and therefore more easily affected by changes in the environment? I think it will be easy to show there are such differences of the sexes in the affective, intellectual, inhibitory, moral and volitional faculties, and also in the instincts and the appetites, most of them primary.

I would direct attention first to the affective faculties in my contrast and analysis, and would conjoin with those all the instincts that relate to

offspring, because those are essentially emotional and affect family life, which is among the most important and practical of the relationships of the emotions. There are no definite means of testing the intensity of the emotions. As to bodily sensation the tests by the aesthesiometer seem to show that it is somewhat less in woman than man. If the intensity of the emotions is tried by its expression in poetry, which is the literature of feeling, man has given proof of a higher depth of feeling than woman, but this may be partly because his power of literary expression has been more developed. It may be taken as fairly proved that man has more power of controlling the outward expression of emotion than woman. This, if a fact, has many social aspects. Woman, however, educated according to modern standards, is gradually acquiring more power of controlling her emotions, up to a certain point at least. This acquisition of control over the emotions and their expression is one of the psychological results that, in my judgement at least, will be a counteractive to some of the social dangers to which I shall afterwards refer. It will affect conduct, for it will give time for some consideration and thought before certain emotions are acted on. It cannot fail to have a steadying influence on woman. It will diminish unreasoning and impulsive action in the case of many women, and so give time for the *cui bono?* to come in. The emotions of anger and jealousy and even those of satisfaction and

love will be none the worse of a slower reaction than is the case in many women.

It is when we come to the emotions and actions connected with the maternal instinct in women that we reach the real crux as to the effects of modern social developments on the sex. Psychologically, physiologically and racially this is the most unique, the most wonderful, and the most important thing for mankind in the world. The continuance of life hangs on it. On it the family and home are based. From it the intensest pleasures flow. On it altruism, self-denial, self-sacrifice and most of the unifying virtues rest. It is capable of idealizing and glorifying the most common and unclean things. It can make duty a pleasure and pain a satisfaction. It can make life worth living amid poverty, disease and even vice. In its essential essence it belongs to woman alone. Man possesses its faint analogy only. Under its imperative compulsion woman will break all the Commandments in the Decalogue and suffer little remorse for having done so. It is capable of being transformed into many other human qualities and into incredible exertion. It can make the weak strong and can stay fatigue. It can attach to itself and incorporate religious and ethical sanctions. Its power of idealization is unlimited.

Tracing the maternal instinct up through life from its lower to its higher forms, it begins very low down indeed. Insects show it with amazing

persistence, ingenuity and what one can find no other name for than foresight. Where it strengthens or abates during, and in the intervals between, the birth and care of young, it changes the whole characters of birds and animals. The timid become bold, the stupid become cunning, the silent become noisy, the night-feeder becomes a day-feeder. It is at the root of all the poetry of bird and wild animal life. Colour and song are its accompaniments. The male is infected with the reproductive enthusiasm, sharing the work and contributing the music. It is without a doubt the period of the highest physiological and psychological exaltation. Courage, pride, display, pugnacity, skill, all join the protective and providing instincts to make it a carnival of joy. There is almost nothing it cannot do. An instinct that is so marked out by Nature must be of the very highest importance biologically and socially. We cannot afford to neglect these facts about it. It is the most primary of all woman's qualities.

The question that above all others we have to devote our attention to to-day is, whether there is anything in our modern social developments that does or will be likely to change, lessen or destroy the maternal instinct. Ominous ideas are abroad on the subject. Sir James Crichton Browne the other day boldly stated that "professional women," i.e., those who had devoted themselves during their adolescence to hard study, and had attained the highest culture that modern education could

give them, were having few children and did not want to have many. Statistics seem to bear this out, both in America and in this country. If this is true, there is something radically wrong with our culture or with the mode of acquiring it by our young women. Far better even have "health and ignorance" for them than this, if there is to be no choice between the two. Thirty years ago I told my audience at the Philosophical Institution that "there is no time nor place of repentance provided by Nature for some of the sins of the schoolmaster," and I asked the question: "Why should we spoil a good mother by making an ordinary grammarian?" We have greatly improved in our modes of female education since then, but have we yet arrived at the point at which the highest culture of which the woman is capable is fully consistent with the instinctive and passionate desire to have, to nurse and to care for children, which is undoubtedly Nature's ideal of this part of woman's emotional nature, and means the continuance and salvation of a good race? Even the slightest diminution of this instinct is dangerous. Men are equally interested with women in this matter, for it is a racial one. Woman cannot fulfil her destiny if her maternal instincts are impaired. The ideals which would exalt culture above motherhood are suicidal and should be abandoned. It will not do to say that woman should have a choice either to take up culture and intellectual work, whether it has a lessened capacity for mother-

hood or not, or to select domestic life. Mothers of high brain power are as much needed for an advancing race as fathers—rather more so in fact. Many people believe that the Church did harm to the race by encouraging the most sensitive and religious-minded women to shut themselves up in nunneries. The race should always be more carefully considered than the individual in any scientifically ordered community. The new science of Eugenics rests on that proposition. Nature is usually bounteous in what she provides, and we dare not needlessly throw away her gifts. We may make choice, but it must be on the lines of evolution. The fit must be selected. The unfit may be allowed to lapse into non-existence. Why should study, culture, more initiative or more personal independence dull a woman's maternal instinct or blunt her emotional nature? I cannot see why they should necessarily do so if they are carried out on right lines, and their effects carefully watched on individuals. I have often been much struck with the combined intellectual, administrative and domestic capacity that generally prevail in the women of the Society of Friends. Perhaps they were the result of a careful selection at first. I cannot pretend, however, to distinguish between the influences of a limitation of the circle of persons who by mutual consent and a certain affinity of religious instinct separated themselves to a large extent from the general community in social intercourse and marriage. The rules under which

they lived seem to have made too severe a selection in mating, for in many of the Quaker families there are now signs of degeneration.

It is quite certain that there are many individual instances of women who had studied very hard during adolescence, acquired learning and culture, and yet were the best of mothers of large healthy families. It seems to me that it is a question of the study of the individual girl's constitution by competent observers, founding their conclusions on scientific lines which psychology, medicine and eugenics will be able by-and-by to lay down for our guidance. Much more knowledge than we at present possess must be brought to bear on this question before we can lay down such rules as we can depend on. The problem is an extraordinarily difficult one. I think we now know enough to show that to subject 100 girls of more than average ability to the stress of modern study and competitive examinations, is attended with the risks of atrophied maternal instincts, loss of femininity and a lessened development of "woman's ways" in a considerable number of them, who might, but for the conditions under which they passed their adolescence, have possessed these gifts. It should not be forgotten that it is during adolescence that woman first develops her greatest and most characteristic feminine as well as her moral qualities. It is according to physiological fact and law that during the development of any living organism one quality or faculty may

by undue pressure and stimulation consume the other brain energies, which are thereby robbed of their normal power of growth. One faculty or power is fed at the expense of the others. The whole body—growth, the muscles, the general nutrition, the digestive functions and the nerves may thus be injured by excessive study, long hours of work and too short sleep. The delicate graces and the subtle femininities that attract the other sex are sometimes not conserved or stimulated in the strenuous life of the student. They are in fact frequently neglected and even held as despicable and unworthy. The most important of all Nature's organic cravings are thus switched off to make room for the purely mental workings of the higher brain cells. Other ideals are substituted for the " hero " that girlhood craves for and the baby that the woman idolizes. The maternal instinct and the emotions subtilely but indissolubly connected with it are thus cramped and atrophied.

The work and the position allocated to each sex have been the result of a slow evolution as Society itself has become evolved. There is always a strong presumption that there must have been good reasons at some time for everything that exists, but it does not follow that changes should not be made, or even tried experimentally. The great facts of former evolutions in living beings have not come about as the result of man's reason or planning. But the more recent evolutionary changes in society and in ideas seem,many of them,

to be contrary to the lines of Nature's evolutionary processes. The weak are not allowed to die, the unfit—at the present time it is believed—may become the fit through right environment. Gentleness, sympathy, help to the helpless, condemnation of neglect and cruelty, the removal of ignorance and its results, severe limitations of power, the responsibility of every man and woman for the condition of their fellows, theories of the political and social equality of all men and women and of the innate equality of the sexes are now regarded as strictly evolutionary. A new human evolution has in fact arisen on a humanitarian, ethical and religious basis. Are the various movements whose aim is now to alter the social, economic and legal positions hitherto held by women on the lines of this new evolution? Are there any risks in this to woman's innate nature, and, if so, what are they? Further, can the gains be obtained without losses? Above all, can the risks be obviated by any modification of the present movements founding our conclusions on the results of the experiments that have been made up to this time? I firmly believe the most serious risks can be avoided by candidly admitting the evil results that have already showed themselves, and by studying woman's essential attributes so that the new evolution may be run on safe lines. It is primarily a scientific question and must be solved by the methods of modern science. I need hardly say I do not restrict "science" to mere "natural

phenomena," but include in it sociology, psychology, and ethics. I would like to include under science politics and religion, but the time for that has not yet come.

The inhibitory faculty in woman is weaker than in man, but it may be gradually increased by the right kind of education and experience. It will take many generations to do so however. Being the highest of the mental powers, and the one on which the moral sense depends in its effects on conduct, it will be slow and gradual in its gains. Self-control is the last result of evolution, the last to come to perfection in the adolescent, the last and best result of civilization. It is also the first to go in the dissolution of mind in old age and in mental disease and in societies that are on the down grade. A certain lack of it is, I fear, almost expected in woman, and the highest degrees of it are not commonly expected in her. Where those are met with we instinctively call a woman "masculine," as in the few who are not prone to yield in conduct to emotion, instinct and impulse.

In sympathy, in fancy, in the more delicate phase of the moral sense, in imitation, in the practi-economics of the household, and in the dramatic art, woman clearly exceeds man and needs no cautions as to the possible effects of modern social developments. It is man who needs more evolution in those qualities.

When we compare the judging and the reasoning faculty in man and woman, we are met with the

usual and to a considerable extent true and general belief that man comes to his conclusions by searching for and observing facts, woman to a large extent by "instinct." Bacon, the great originator of the scientific method of reasoning by induction, was the furthest from the feminine type of any man of his time. No woman has ever fully attained that type of mind, but Bacon's mother is described as a woman of power, with strong religious feelings. When woman by education and evolution has been able to learn and to practise the Baconian method of reasoning—if that is possible—will she lose her present faculty of coming to conclusions by instinct? I believe she will do so to a large extent. I am not at all sure that the gain would quite fully make up for the loss. Looking at human conduct, it is regulated quite as much by instinct as by reason. Mistakes are made by both processes, but not much more frequently by one than the other.

The social instincts are sharper in woman than man. There are no records of women hermits and misers. I think the higher education tends in some women to lessen the craving and necessity for social intercourse. Books, reflection, and congenial work with them take the place of the society of their fellow creatures. They become somewhat intolerant of fools and bores with their "aimless chatter"—a doubtful gain in ordinary life as we find it. Women of education should try and conserve to some extent this faculty of being able to

chat about nothing in particular and to enjoy it, if their own happiness and that of others is to be considered. Otherwise they will not be good with children or enjoy their society.

There are two things that have played a great part in the evolution of civilization: chivalry in the man and modesty in the woman. Chivalry is a secondary quality. Modesty is a primary quality of great psychological, ethical and evolutional interest. The experience of most people who have mingled in modern society is, I believe, that now woman is frequently not talked of and often not treated by men with that form of practical idealism which is the basis of chivalry, and that some matters are now openly discussed by women in much-read books and in personal intercourse which would have shocked modest women fifty years ago. Both tendencies are absolutely evil, I most strongly believe. They are in the direction of reversion, not of evolution sociologically and morally. They should be strenuously combated and avoided by all who desire the upward movement of both sexes.

Women have hitherto been far stronger in the great and educative faculty of imitation than the other sex. It is one of their strongest points psychologically. Many of the professional and highly-educated women that I have met, talk of it somewhat scornfully as a lower mental characteristic that should be repressed. The chief imitativeness that I think needs guarding against

by woman is that of the student trying to walk, dress, speak and smoke like a young man.

The most important general conclusions for discussion I would put down in regard to this question are the following:

1. The special qualities of man and woman are complementary, both being needed for the evolution of the ideal society of the future.
2. Changes should be gone about in a scientific spirit, experimentally, guardedly and taking into account the primary characteristics of woman as distinguished from her secondary qualities.
3. Equality of the sexes should be limited to opportunity, legal status and social position, and should not be attempted as to certain faculties and instincts.
4. The lines on which civilized woman has evolved in the past should be carefully taken into account in any new schemes of the future.
5. No general schemes or systems can be universally applied with safety in regard to woman's education—a special study of each individual, and of the effects of every system or change of system on the individual woman by competent observers is needed if the best results are to be secured.

THE EDUCATION OF WOMAN

By Miss Frances Melville, M.A., B.D.,
Queen Margaret College, Glasgow

THE title of my paper, as set down in the syllabus—"The Education of Woman"—is the widest possible. To deal with it in any comprehensive fashion in its historical, ethical, social, and intellectual aspects would keep the speaker talking for a year, and all of us discussing for a century.

I intend rather to go straight to what I consider is the heart of the difficulty of this complex problem as it actually exists, and having got there, perhaps some light may be thrown on the ideal education of woman. I hardly think it necessary to apologise to a Scottish audience for going in this way to "principles."

What is it that prevents the present education of woman from being the ideal education? We are proud and justly proud of the wonderful general advance in woman's education since the sixties. There may be some present to-day who remember that time of illumination for women, and can testify that the light has been growing ever since Miss Emily Davies had an inquiry into girls' schools brought within the scope of a Royal Commission, followed by the rise of the higher education of women, the founding of the

women's colleges, and the opening of the Universities to women.

No one will, perhaps, be found to deny the general advance, yet there is no doubt that the present education of woman contains within itself certain sharp contradictions not at present overcome in a higher unity. But I must at once explain what I mean. The most general principle underlying the education of woman is the preparation of the complete woman for life. But then the difficulties begin. What is this life of a woman for which she is to be prepared—and what is a complete woman? With regard to the first question we are at once in the midst of conflicting ideas, and, with regard to the second, the answer is that we do not yet know. We cannot, of course, accept prejudices, however deeply rooted, for answer to the question what is the life of woman? We have to look fair and square at facts, not at theories which we think ought to be facts. The question is not so easy as it seems. No doubt each age in the world's history has answered it, but how different are the answers even at one and the same moment within the same country, the same civilization. And to-day the same conflict of ideas persists.

One answers—the natural life for a woman is the domestic life, therefore the education of woman must be directed to her preparation for the domestic life. That may be the natural life, and it is at any one moment the life of rather

more than half the women in our country over twenty years of age. But what is the life of the other half? Mainly the life of the worker, either as spinster or widow. Out of six million spinsters or widows over four million are workers, i.e., wage-earners, at any one moment. And so another would-be educationist says that in our artificial conditions, and considering the economic position of woman, these must be educated with a view to doing something for self support, just as men are educated to do something. This may be called the "professional" as opposed to the "domestic" ideal. In their best expression these two ideals do not disparage one another, they simply conflict; in their worst they not only conflict, but are anathema to one another.

Others try compromise. They agree with the reading of woman's life as primarily domestic in intention, while they deplore the equally undoubted necessity for recognizing the professional ideal. Or they lean to the professional ideal as best suited to the times, but having regard to the domestic life as the commonest occupation for a woman at some stage of her life, they would give domesticity a place in her education.

But it is extremely important to note that all these compromises end in laying on a woman's shoulders the burden of a double education, such as is not laid on the shoulders of a man. And also there is the complication that one ideal continually alternates with the other, leading to great con-

fusion and no singleness of purpose. The result must be to neutralize both as effective ideals, or to sacrifice one to the other. We may have to accept this double faced system as the best compromise until we see our way more clearly, but it cannot be considered satisfactory as a final solution.

Let us see how the domestic ideal is working itself out. The following is an indication. Not long ago a resolution was put to a large body of women to petition certain education authorities to recognize, in the case of girls, an examination in Applied Chemistry (i.e., Chemistry applied to food) as equivalent to the corresponding examination in Pure Chemistry. That is to say there is a tendency to think that in the case of girls, Chemistry, studied with an eye to cooking, etc., is equal to the study, at the same school age, of Pure Chemistry. This is surely a tendency to be deprecated, for it hems in a girl from far too early an age to a limited future, and the effect of this early specialism must defeat the ends of the best upholders of the domestic ideal in the education of girls. For it immediately reveals an ideal which is *not* that a woman shall be a comrade with a reason trained and educated to understand the causes of things and adapt itself with quick grasp of principles under widely divergent appearances, and be consequently an ideal person to undertake the lofty responsibilities of homemaking—but that a girl, by the time she reaches womanhood, shall be a good cook, able to provide meals and keep the baby clean. It sounds

highly advanced to talk of girls studying on a scheme that is scientifically adapted to make them good housekeepers, but one cannot help feeling that in such education given to girls of school age there is a return—on a higher level perhaps but still a return—of the old idea that knowledge for its own sake is a prerogative with which women have little or nothing to do. And by way of incidental criticism, why is a scheme of education for girls on a domestic basis so meagre in conception? If a girl is to find her work in the keeping of a house —(which is, of course, not the same by a long way as the making of a home)—why are such gaps left in her preparation even for that? Why, e.g., is she taught sewing only, and not how to use a hammer and a few tools? One almost ceases to smile when the old chestnut comes up that no women can drive a nail in straight. And if it falls to the lot of one generation of women after another to wrinkle its brows over the household accounts, and be a little flurried over cheques, why are bookkeeping and simple banking not necessary parts of domestic education? Boys when quite young are carefully initiated by older men into business ways, but their sisters, if they are to fulfil the domestic ideal, really need the training just as much. But convention reigns here—and a girl may neither use a screw driver, nor understand anything about business, any more than a boy may sew, or wear button-boots. It is rather odd that when a boy sews a kettleholder an

apology is always made that he did it when he was ill—to keep him quiet. And if an extraordinary specimen of girlhood tries a little joiner-work, which she picks up for herself, a parent, perhaps admiring, says—"Jane, you should have been a boy!"

But apart from the fact that the domestic ideal applied too exclusively in the education of girls defeats the purpose of its best advocates, viz., that of turning out truly domestic women in the highest sense, and, at a much lower level, is not even thoroughgoing enough, it shows itself inappreciative of presentday conditions. For the days have passed away when it was understood that all the women of a family lived at home under the protection of its patriarchal head. Few men aspire to be patriarchal in this sense now. They would think it distinctly odd, and not a little unfair, if all their feminine kin looked to them for support and maintenance, and, in fact, it is doubtful if they could afford it. The present state of things has come about partly from the tendency of heads of families to limit their support of feminine relatives to wives and daughters, and perhaps sisters, partly from a movement on the side of women themselves against helpless dependence, partly from the numerical preponderance of women in certain classes and partly from the removal of women's work from within the house to the outside world. These are a few, but only a few, of the causes which in our country

have brought women into professional life. We see their influence on the education of women, in the appearance of what may be called the professional ideal, which aims at preparing girls for an independent economic position, keeping before their eyes the idea of choosing a vocation as boys do. For this there is much to be said. We are now in the midst of highly artificial conditions, and cannot return to a " natural " state of things, if we wished it, and there is no manner of benefit to be gained by sighing for it. So, to insist on the domestic ideal as the one end of life worthy of a woman, and hold it before girls from their early days, knowing well that the lot of a large proportion must be " undomestic," either for part or the whole of their lives, is again to betray meagreness of comprehension, and a failure to deal with circumstances. This can also be reinforced by the consideration that if women are to gain their soul's salvation they must learn to be individuals once in their lives, not constantly seeking for a prop on their weakest side, and one of the greatest aids to this desirable development of character is independent economic standing. This means that the domestic ideal is not far-reaching enough, whether one laments that it cannot be so, or whether, for the sake of complete womanhood, one may not entirely regret it. In face of circumstances a girl is not fitted for life whose education is given to her with such a bias that she is handi-

capped to a great extent if she has to veer round on another tack and take up a professional life.

But neither is one certain that the conflicting professional ideal is at all satisfactory. It is neither so limited, nor so conservative in the face of changed conditions, as the domestic ideal. No one dreams, for example, of beginning at school the moulding of the future lawyer, shall we say, by teaching him Latin in its application to Roman Law, and taking up such applied Latin as equal educationally to Latin pure and simple, or Geometry applied to Joiner-work as equal to Geometry. But the professional ideal has its dangers and defects. Real scholarly study is apt to be spoiled or missed altogether, owing to the immense number of examinations that open the doors of future careers to candidates. In the face of enormous competition it is certainly hard not to join in the running; for the sake of professional after-careers it is even necessary. One defect is simply substituted for another. Instead of too early specialism in domesticity, we find a restless striving after knowledge, or rather information, for immediate utilitarian ends. This cannot be considered education in the best sense. And there is another danger in the professional ideal—domesticity may come to be despised. Now though one may object to over-early application of knowledge to the domestic interest—on the ground that it either reveals a material con-

ception of woman's life as made up of "Küche" and "Kinder," or on the ground that it defeats its own object, namely, to fit a woman to take on herself certain high responsibilities for which she cannot be too highly educated on every side—one does not necessarily belittle the great sphere for woman's genius—the domestic. Such belittlement is more the indirect effect than the intention of education according to the professional ideal. With the proclamation that independent economic standing for women is desirable there comes to be associated a certain revulsion of feeling against life at home. One must be "out in the world," it is said, to prove one's independence. The stay-at-homes come in for a certain share of contempt. Now there is only one stay-at-home who deserves this—the parasite woman, the "mollusc." It is certainly no sign of real independence or individuality, no sign of having seen anything but one side of things, to leave duties that offer themselves as a perfectly sufficient lifework, and seek others, because the one set of duties is at home and the others out in the world! It may be the case that the economic independence of women will only be won by the struggles of a great number of women wage-earners in the open world. It may be that such a struggle need not be deplored, as it leads most quickly of all disciplines to the making of certain virtues, but the voluntary and intelligent devotion of women to the claims of home is just as educative in its

way, and productive of other virtues. What is wrong with domesticity is not domesticity itself, but a narrow view of it. The idea of depreciating domestic life is without doubt fostered by the relatively inferior value set on work in the home. The same voice that says "woman's sphere is the home, and she should stay in it," is also heard to say "merely domestic matters." There is some hypocrisy about this which women are quick to see. One thing needed is, in the phrase of the revivalists, "a change of heart" all round—a different perspective and more self respect. A woman, because she is a rational human being, must manage to get a whole life out of her life. If a whole life is possible in the domestic life with a clear motive calling into play the best capacities of a woman then the domestic life is not one whit behind the professional life. But it is one danger of the professional ideal to make its followers imagine that a whole life is only to be found outside in the world. If this be admitted to be a danger, it must also be admitted that the strength of the professional ideal is its quick appeal to women to be themselves. This latter idea worked into the education of women cannot be wrong, but the former, that there is some virtue in being *outside* rather than *inside* the home, is as limited a comprehension of the problem as the "kitchen and children" idea.

With regard to the education of women of the industrial classes, it is not proposed to say much

here. It is argued that practically all these women marry, and practically all these women are at some time wage earners. The idea at present is to give them the three "R's " as a basis, and a great deal of domestic education, such as cooking, sewing, and the care of infants. Latterly, it has been seen that a " professional " education must also be added——hence the institution of trade schools and classes. If the " professional " education is omitted, then the number of unskilled women workers is simply increased, and the women's work kept at a very low level. That is to say, women of the industrial or working classes have also their additional burden —domestic education, and " professional " education, as against a boy's " professional " education.

When we glance for a moment at the school education of girls of the middle classes,we are met with the same clash of interests—the domestic and the professional, and here it is very serious to make domesticity the only end and aim of woman's education. For it is exactly in the middle classes that domesticity is not at all certain to be the destiny of women. It is here that the disproportion of men and women is the greatest. There are some few schools which profess the domestic ideal, because their pupils, as the phrase goes, " do not need to do anything," and accordingly are not prepared for examinations, or for the Universities. The intelligent middle class is fast leaving these schools —for the bright middle-class girl who wishes to complete her education at the University, and pro-

bably enter a profession, is chafed to find herself handicapped by warped school training, and the intelligent parent is quick to see that his daughter is not fitted thereby for the battle of life, which she as often as not is destined to enter. Hence the many large and progressive girls' schools or mixed schools, which may be called professional in aim. They are, in many cases, wonderfully organized machines. Their object is to send their best pupils to the Universities, as the door through which to reach many professions. These schools do not entirely neglect domesticity, for it is also one of the professions. A bow is accordingly made to cooking, as good practical training. And if one is to judge by results, the puddings turned out by girls educated in the highly organized professional schools are quite as good as those prepared by the pupils who have had what is called a good "old sound domestic education." This is probably true, because strong intellectual effort makes the mind more active in all directions, domestic or otherwise. By strong intellectual effort is meant neither overwork nor overstrain, but something more than the babyish intellectual tasks that certain scaremongers on the physical side would allot to girls because of danger to health. It seems more probable that there cannot be true health of body unless the mind is putting out its powers to a considerable and varied extent in good hard, and often abstract, thinking, and in applying reason to practice. And in so far as the school with profes-

sional ideals stimulates the minds of pupils in more ways than the school with a domestic aim only, it is a better education. What one often cannot admire in the professional schools is their frequent substitution of masses of information for teaching to think, the overstrain in working for examinations, and the un-ideal wresting of the opportunities of education to utilitarian ends.

And yet it is in some of the schools for girls of the middle and upper classes that more ideal conceptions of women's education are preserved. One says "preserved," for they have kept alive what was given them by the generation of women which itself received enlightenment in the movement of the sixties and seventies for the higher education of women. They saw, as all ideal educationists do see from time to time, that the end of education is to fit a complete human being for life, and they accordingly endeavour to train the human being to think and reason in order that such thought and reason may be capable of application unhampered by prejudice in any direction. Such education refuses to twist general education to the particular uses of a professional or a domestic ideal during school age, as to do this results in unequal development. It tries to train both mind and body for the sake of the completeness and balance of the whole, not for a secondary reason. It is both theoretical and practical. One is glad to think that there is a body of opinion in girls' education standing fast to this ideal.

One would think that in the Universities, which are in idea a protest against utilitarian education, the clash of the warring domestic and professional ideals would be lost. But even there it is not altogether peace. At the present moment we do not hear much about the domestic aspect of women's education at the Universities, but on the other hand, the Universities are being largely used by women in the service of the professional ideal, a degree or its equivalent being regarded as a good investment and a marketable commodity. There is, however, a movement afoot to bring Domestic Science into the range of University education. There are certain possible reasons for approving of its introduction—one, not a very elevated reason, being that since there are professional faculties in Universities, such as Engineering, Medicine, Commerce, there may very pertinently be a faculty of Domestic Science as well, since domesticity offers a profession to women in numbers greater than all the engineers, doctors, and teachers taken together. The better reason is that the subjects of Domestic Science are important in the range of human knowledge, and capable of study, experiment, and research, and as such are worthy of a place in University education. In this sense no department of study in a University—even Medicine—is necessarily "professional."

But looking back over the way we have come, neither the making of women's education

domestic in aim, nor the making of it professional solves the difficulty of the ideal education proper to women. Making it both domestic and professional at once, or rather constantly alternating between these two ideals, is, of course, a way of arranging that "heads I win, tails you lose." But it involves a double-faced ideal and makes a double demand on a woman.

One wonders if the lack of agreement arises from an imperfect understanding of the "complete" woman. We hear much in educational talk of the great organic differences between the sexes determining the education of each, but so far many of the difficulties in education have been artificially imposed because of supposed comprehension of the influence and range of organic differences. What woman *cannot* or *ought* not to do in life, and, therefore, what it is useless to include as subject of her education, is not yet known, and cannot be known, until she has had entirely free play, and opportunity to find herself. Then the organic differences will tell—nature will speak out, and one would welcome a clearing up of the confusion we all feel between accidental and essential difference. So often what is supposed to be fundamental is the result of education, tradition, custom, and we all know how easily a custom of forty years' standing is held to be a law of nature. How are we to obtain this free play in education? Perhaps by avoiding during school age the making of bias in the

direction of any particular life, by trying rather to make reason active, to cultivate its application to practice, to stimulate the imagination, to give the seeing eye and the trained muscle. It will probably be said that if a girl's education is not of a peculiarly feminine character, then it is an education approximating to men's education, and what has been said or implied in this paper may be regarded as a plea for an approximation of women's education to that of men. That is not so, for no mere imitation of men's education is intended—there is much to criticize in men's education as such. But in as far as men's education has been modelled and developed with a clearer perception of the fact that a man is first and foremost a reasoning human being, and that the end of education is to teach a human being to exercise his reason in any circumstances, leaving him a free choice of interests to which he shall devote himself according to the promptings of specifically masculine characteristics—so far is men's education a better education than most women's education. Women's education is usually designed according to preconceived notions of women's powers, and the limitation of women's interests in life. These are changing and broadening from day to day. If an education be granted to women as well as men, which is designed to make human beings reason, plus free play for the application of reason, we might have some hope of estimating the effect of

organic differences on education. Meanwhile opinion runs, untested, to extremes. One might imagine from common assumptions that organic differences made the very nature of reason and ratiocination different in men and women.

We might then ask, how far, in the first place, do organic differences serve to make some interests specifically feminine, how far, in the second place, to give a feminine side to some interests which have also a masculine side, and how far, in the third place, are there human interests in which sex plays no part at all?

The answers to these questions, given under the conditions of no bias and perfect free play, would probably do more to determine the ideal education of woman than the calculation of material probabilities in her life, or our immediate acquiescence in a double burden of education for women, and a double-faced ideal.

SPIRITUAL MOTHERHOOD AND PHILANTHROPIC SERVICE

By Miss Edith Pearson,

Lady Margaret Hall Settlement, Lambeth

THE duties, activities and powers of women have been under discussion, at these Meetings, from many points of view. Women have been considered in various capacities and positions in life, public and domestic. These conferences, we hope, will result in a clearer view of women's vocations and abilities, which will help towards the solution of some of the most pressing questions of the day. We want now to attempt in some measure to gather up some of the truths that have been brought out, in a study, though I fear a sadly inadequate study, of the woman herself. It is only possible to do this from one point of view in the short time at our disposal, and so I propose to take as the keynote of our discussion the thought which gives its title to this paper, that of spiritual motherhood.

It is, perhaps, well to make the preliminary observations that what we are studying is human nature, and as there are not two human species, one male and one female, so there are no distinctively feminine qualities which are not shared by men, or manly characteristics not to be found in women.

This is a truism, but in view of some of the statements frequently made, it seems advisable to mention it; still the fact is plain that each sex has its special functions, which necessitate and imply the activity of the whole person, which call for the exercise of the spiritual as truly as of the physical faculties. As it is impossible to treat of body or mind as apart from one another, and not as each being a part of a whole human person, so it is not possible to consider one sort of mental qualities as peculiar either to men or to women; all are characteristics of human beings.

It is a familiar thought in the world of Nature that the meaning and nature of an organic species is only completely realizable in the future. This is true in the highest degree of the human race. Each generation exists and hands on the truth of life to its successor, which is either more nearly perfect, or tending to degeneracy according as the existing members of the race have fulfilled or have failed in their allotted vocation. We may then regard the relation at any given moment of the living generation to the whole human species from the point of view of parenthood. Each generation, that is, each member of a generation, has the serious responsibility of securing that those who shall come after shall be better physically, morally and spiritually than their predecessors. The next generation are our children; what kind of heritage shall we leave to them? The thoughts, the actions, the aims of each must

be directed not solely or even mainly to improving the present, but principally to perfecting as far as may be the future. We are bound to be always hasting and pressing forward to the Golden Age, which we now know lies, not as in the fables of the poets, behind us, but before us.

Every worthy parent realizes this truth in the case of the individual family, and tries to carry it out in a way more or less enlightened in proportion as it is better or worse understood. The same holds good, though in a less obvious way, with regard to what may be called "spiritual parenthood." Each man or woman is in a real sense father or mother of the whole future race. It is, therefore, worth while to attempt a necessarily imperfect examination of some of the characteristics implied in motherhood, as a clue to the essential qualities and opportunities of women.

It would be interesting and not without usefulness if we could contrast the features of motherhood, regarded in this broad way, with those of fatherhood, similarly treated. But this would be too vast a subject to be attempted in a short space of time. Besides, there is much truth in the contention of Henry Drummond that the course of evolution up to the present time may be looked upon as the evolution of a mother, while the development of a father is, perhaps, only to be awaited in the future.

We propose, therefore, to consider some of the functions and duties of a mother. These differ

from time to time in detail, but must always remain essentially the same, and we shall endeavour to examine them mainly in their spiritual aspect, as indicating and determining the nature of women.

The first, and in many ways the supreme, feature of motherhood is that the mother gives herself for and to her offspring. This involves foresight and forethought, self culture, self development, much patience and care, and all for the sake of others and in faith, even when no immediate result or benefit is evident on the part of those for whom this care is undertaken. It means an almost higher kind of devotion to persevere in personal care and development, so that others, for whom we are responsible may benefit by our perfection, than to make a momentary sacrifice—even of health or life. Every form of self surrender is noble, and demands our honour, but the former to which women are pre-eminently called, perhaps, largely gives the character to the position and functions they fill in the world. Is not this element of motherhood exemplified, for instance, in every trained nurse? And may it not partly explain why women are more ready than men to comply with the growing demand that social workers shall be definitely trained for their work?

Again, a mother though, perhaps, rather less under modern conditions than formerly, has the best opportunity for knowing her children, and

observing the earliest beginnings of intelligence, and the first indications of character in the infant mind. If she will, she may be the first and profoundest student of the child mind, the most enlightened and scientific psychologist. This is specially true, because she will bring to the study an ideal, which in a spiritual, a normative science takes the place of the hypotheses which are necessary for the investigation of physical science.

This may be called fanciful, but I believe the objection would be superficial. In all our work, educational, philanthropic or political, a knowledge of human nature is essential, and can only be acquired by a combination of careful observation with the insight due to love. Of course, I do not mean that every mother is an accomplished psychologist, but the qualifications necessary for and called out by the care of infants are exactly those required for the study of human nature.

Again, besides the influence that the baby has over the mind of the mother,we must recognize the ineradicable effect that she has upon the mind and character of the infant. She will thus, perhaps unconsciously, observe the effect of her actions and endeavours in forming the mind and character of another, and so will learn how to lead men. It is not given to every woman to be a mother, but it is not easy to estimate the degree to which the world is enriched by all women, who by their sympathetic learning of the truth as seen by a child are able to teach all men

how they can advance in truth in so far as it can be said that " a little child shall lead them."

A mother thus gains her knowledge of and insight into truth largely through her loving and intimate contact with one growing, opening mind. She tends to see all things as they present themselves to that human soul. This attitude of mind forms one of the strongest characteristics and also one of the chief dangers of women in public life of all sorts. We are frequently told that women regard things too much from a personal point of view. It is said that they are apt to give undue importance to the feelings and the character of the individuals with whom they are immediately concerned, instead of attending solely to the general outlook. It is contended that this renders women unfit for public life. May it not be maintained on the other hand, that it is of great importance that this habit of mind should be found among our public bodies, and in our national affairs? All bodies of people in whose interest public business is conducted are composed of individuals. The thoughts and feelings of those individuals are what inspire and bring about all action, whether public or private. In the last resort, therefore, to understand any general movement depends on the power of entering into the feelings of individuals, which is only possible by means of sympathy and that intimate knowledge of individual minds for which women, as we have seen, are specially qualified.

There seems, in fact, to be danger at present of a lessening regard for individuals tending to dull our respect for personal responsibility. Surely this is one among many ways in which there is urgent need that the " mothers in Israel " should come forward and not hesitate to lead their spiritual children and show that personal influence and individual thought need not be used selfishly, or to promote selfishness, but in the highest sense reasonably and for the common good. It would be well if every woman would regard herself, from this point of view, as in a motherly relation to all with whom she is connected and would give the care and thought for their highest good that a mother should give to her children.

To pass to another of the great questions that arise out of our subject, it is one of the most difficult problems of modern life to decide how far economic causes are influential in forming the mind and character. It seems to be granted more and more that economic and moral questions are very closely connected, and possibly to a great extent are mutually determining. There is an increasing consensus of opinion that economics and ethics have their root and find their true field in the relations of family life. Economic problems require for their solution, on the one hand, the investigation of the material conditions regulating the supply of the requisites for the physical well-being of the community; and, on the other hand, the understanding of the desires and impulses

which move men to labour and plan for the attainment of that wealth.

It is impossible to ignore either the material or the spiritual side of these questions, and the vast range of subjects covered by them requires some central point from which our mental view can survey them.

It is surely an example of the insight of genius that the title of "the law of the house" should be given to the science that studies the industrial and commercial aspects of life.

There can hardly be a better introduction to the complicated group of subjects included in the title of Social Economics than the practical treatment of many of them on a small scale in the management of a house. I do not intend to say that ordering mutton or oranges for the table will impart a knowledge of agricultural conditions or of the laws of international trade, or that the provision of drapery or crockery for the house will bring a complete understanding of manufactures and commerce. But it is undeniable that the daily thoughtful dealing with every-day things for the supply of the common needs of ordinary life does open a door to the discerning, loving mind through which may be gained a knowledge of the complex social conditions of social life that is unattainable to purely theoretical study, however diligently carried on. This is one of the ways in which we are justified in expecting women to realize, more completely than most men, the inter-

penetration of the spiritual and the material aspects of the world in which we dwell.

But little has been said as yet about the duty that lies on all mothers of education. There is no need to dwell upon the importance in education of the earliest years of life. We find this recognized even in the unchanging East. The movement for female education among Mohammedans, Hindoos and other Oriental nations is mainly due to the fact they see that the men cannot be truly educated unless those among whom their first years are spent are so.

We in the West have known this for long, and yet there seems to be danger of its being lost sight of, and our best women leaving the direct training of their children to others, while they are attending to what seems to be more public duty.

I wish now, however, to touch on the more indirect influence of women in educating, not only their own children, but Society in general. It is said, with much truth, that the men are what the women expect them to be. Undoubtedly the tone of public and social life is set by the women, and if all women would regard the world as their family and require that all the men and women around them should be as they would wish their sons and daughters to be, we should have a very much better and nobler state of Society than we find at present.

We may now try and gather up the somewhat

disconnected thoughts we have had before us and look at them from a practical point of view.

It is increasingly urged upon us that life is intelligible as we learn to look forwards, not backwards or round upon the present. But it is true of the eye of the mind as of the bodily eye that it can see that, and only that, for which it is prepared. So our vision is conditioned by our point of view, and hardly shall we find a more worthy standpoint from which to regard the future of our race than that of motherhood. Every mother worthy of the name takes as her aim the highest good of her children, and considers it her duty to promote their perfect development in every way possible. She cares not only that they should be happy and strong, but still more that they should be good and useful men and women, fit to carry on further the service of mankind and to promote the real welfare of the world.

Similarly, philanthropic work should aim at being not "grandmotherly," that is indulgent and weakening to moral fibre, but motherly in the highest sense, as it endeavours to raise a generation of self-reliant, self-sacrificing citizens, who care to leave the world better than they find it and look for their self-realization in the approach of humanity towards the highest to which it can attain.

The thing I wish to emphasize is that the evolution of woman (if the phrase may be allowed), as well physical as political and moral, is just

part of a great spiritual development that is being carried on in the world all around us. It is true that sometimes economic or political movements seem to be the effects of causes beyond the power of human control. But they are movements of intelligent, self-determining men and women, whose actions are brought about partly by their own nature and environment and partly by their voluntary response to the truth physical and spiritual, which they can recognize in the universe in which they live. The progress of the human race is, notwithstanding many blunders from men's dullness and perversity, on the whole overruled and directed towards " the one far-off divine event " for which we are looking, and each of us can in some degree hasten its coming.

We are at present concerned with the part that women can play in promoting this, and have found that women's physical nature and gifts, their economic and social position at various stages of civilization, their political and philanthropic activities, their moral and religious sensibilities, are, or may be, all tending to a higher and more perfect type of womanhood than the world has yet seen.

It is important to bear in mind that life grows more conscious and purposeful as the reasoning and spiritual faculties become predominant among human qualities. This implies that it is increasingly needful that every one should realize and think

out the goal to which he presses. In every case there is bound to be some ideal before the mind, which grows more and more the dominant feature in the life of each of us, even if it is but dimly recognized. Upon the nature of that ideal does it depend whether life will grow nobler and better, or will deteriorate and become meaner and less worthy. Our nature is moulded by and becomes like that which we desire supremely.

If women, in undertaking a greater share of public life, in demanding more extended spheres of activity and responsibility, are actuated by selfishness in any form, by love of power, or by vanity and love of display, then they are degrading, not only themselves, but the whole human race.

If, on the other hand, they are acting as true mothers, desiring only to spend and be spent for the good of the community and of those whose lives they can influence, there is no danger of their stepping beyond their "sphere," because a woman's sphere, like that of a man, is just that spot where some service is needed that she, and perhaps she alone, can render. In this way we may look forward hopefully to the perfected co-operation of the two sexes in bringing into the life of the nation and of the race the best features and amenities of a happy home. Here the more sensitive feeling of responsibility, the wider and greater sympathy, the readier insight, and the

perhaps higher moral standard of the woman will be not subordinate to, but in co-operation with, the broader outlook and more sustained thought, the more unflinching resolution and greater steadiness of purpose of the man; and all will be dedicated to promote the growth and furtherance of the reign of righteousness and love on the earth.

CLOSING ADDRESS

By Richard Lodge, M.A., LL.D.
Professor of History in the University of Edinburgh

IF I had been told some years ago that I should take part in organizing a series of conferences on the "Position of Woman," that I should be a regular attendant at eight meetings, and that I should undertake to address a ninth meeting on the subject, I should probably have shrugged my shoulders and have dismissed the prophesy as chimerical. And when the programme of the conferences was issued, there were plenty of scoffers, both male and female, who ridiculed the scheme as absurd and preposterous. Yet the merit of many of the papers, the numerous and interested audiences which have listened to them, and the keenness with which the various topics have been discussed, have convinced me, and might have convinced the scoffers if they had not resolutely stayed away, that it was well worth while to attempt the serious consideration of a very grave and pressing problem. For within the last half century there has taken place a profound and far-reaching revolution in the position of women. Its causes may be open to dispute; but the results are unquestionable. Domestic duties have ceased to absorb the whole time and attention of many of those women to whom they still remain the pri-

mary occupation. And many other women have found it impossible to find a normal domestic career, and have been forced in increasing numbers to seek for economic independence. Both these influences, the desire to find adequate employment for leisure and the need of separate maintenance, have led women to demand wider openings for their activities than were deemed necessary when the purely domestic ideal dominated the existence of the great majority of women. In enforcing this demand they found themselves confronted by restrictions—some legal, more based upon convention or sentiment—and these restrictions they set themselves to remove. The struggle for increased freedom began with the demand for improved education, it has extended to a demand for admission, on equal or approximately equal terms with men, to industrial, to professional, and ultimately to political, life.

Whatever we may think of this struggle, and of the extravagances which have from time to time discredited it—as they have discredited most onward movements—there can be no doubt that it has been carried on with great ability, that it has already achieved a considerable measure of success, and that it has enlisted the sympathy and efficient aid, especially on the educational side, of a large number of men. But it is high time that we should take stock of what has been achieved, that we should try to estimate its true value, and

that we should anxiously inquire whether we have travelled altogether on the right track, and how far we are to proceed in the same direction.

Before touching on these burning topics, it is necessary to clear away certain ambiguities which tend to obscure our vision. So far as the problem deals with qualifications or disqualifications based upon sex, it concerns all women. But so far as the problem is raised in special connexion with recent social and economic changes, it touches certain classes more closely and directly than it does other classes. I have placed among the disturbing factors increased leisure from household responsibilities and increased need of economic independence. These do not sensibly affect the women of the wealthier classes. Their pecuniary position is assured, and they have always, at any rate since the seventeenth century, had a considerable amount of leisure. This leisure has probably been increased by the extended division of labour and by improved methods of distribution, and it has possibly been enlarged by a growing distaste for what is termed drudgery. But the change is only one of degree, and it leaves so much more time to be devoted either to strenuous dissipation or to nobler and more disinterested objects. Nor do these considerations touch the women of the labouring class. Their domestic duties remain as arduous, or almost as arduous, as ever; they have never enjoyed the assurance of economic independence; they have always been

actual or potential wage-earners. If their position in this respect has altered at all, it has been in the direction of increased dependence upon their own earnings. All the manifold causes which have contributed to swell the numbers of the male unemployed have left more and more households to be kept together, if they can be kept together at all, by means of female labour.

The class that is most directly affected by recent change of conditions is that amorphous and composite body which, for want of a better term, we call the middle class. It is from the families of this class that the daughters, finding a dearth of husbands, or in some cases from preference, flock to the Universities, to the professions, especially to the teaching profession, and to such other occupations as are open to them. The women's problem, so far as it is a new one, and so far as it is concerned with education and employment, is in the main a problem of the middle classes.

There is no blinking the fact that the struggle waged by middle-class women for the last forty years has been largely a struggle for equality with men, for admission to men's classes, to men's endowments, to men's offices, and to occupations which were once exclusively filled by men. The successes of women in direct competition with men have been eagerly and loudly trumpeted. This woman was a Senior Wrangler, that woman was a Senior Classic, and so on. Even in the game of golf this strange spirit of competition has

entered, and for a few weeks of last year the papers devoted much of their space, and smoking-rooms much of their conversation, to the question whether an ex-champion could give half a stroke to a young woman golfer of exceptional skill and physique. The victory of the young woman was hailed as an epoch-making event. This may seem a ludicrous illustration; but the spirit which is at the bottom of it is by no means ludicrous. The imitative faculty in woman is extremely strong, and if this competitive passion is thoroughly aroused it is difficult to know where it is to end. The aim, more or less conscious, seems to be not merely equality of opportunity but identity of occupations, so far as is physically possible, between man and woman. And the pursuit and achievement of that aim seem to open a vista of endless rivalry, on the one hand to retain superiority (such as it is), and on the other hand to wrest it away. Is this to be the ultimate goal of the women's movement? And will it be for the highest good, either of women or of the community? If it will not, how is it to be checked? No doubt, if you could put the matter to the test of the referendum, the great majority of men, and probably of women too, would vote against such a solution of the problem. But the referendum is not yet an adopted constitutional expedient, and such a decision would at once be attributed to selfishness on the one side and to cowardly subjection to conventionality on the other. The keen, eager, and

aggressive women would continue to agitate; they would gain the acquiescence of those molluscous men who would give their purse to any fairly obstinate highwayman; and revolutions, we are told, are always made by resolute minorities.

I confess that I shudder at the results of such a revolution. I shudder still more at the idea of the struggle which must precede it. The conception of a war of sexes is, I think, abhorrent to every right-thinking man and woman. The general trend of previous papers and discussions has deepened and strengthened my conviction that man and woman are complementary and not rival organisms. Their co-operation is necessary for the continuance of the race, but it is equally necessary for the elevation of the race and for the improvement of its social conditions. Thus baldly stated, the principle may seem to be a truism, but, like many other truisms, it is so obvious as to be easily overlooked and forgotten. The bone of contention is not whether there should be co-operation or not, but the terms upon which such co-operation should be based. It is desirable that the terms should involve no humiliation for either sex. The object of this series of conferences has been, I take it, not to define these terms—the time is hardly ripe for such definition—but to form some conception as to the lines on which they should be drawn up, and at the same time to utter a warning note against a supposed antagonism of interests which, if heedlessly or intentionally

exaggerated, may have disastrous results, not only to women, but to the organization of human society in which women are so important a component part.

The keynote of the problem was struck in the opening paper by Professor and Mrs Arthur Thomson. In this paper it was laid down, on the authority of trained biologists, that there are certain fundamental constitutional differences, other than physical differences but related to them, between the two sexes. This is also the underlying assumption in Miss Sheavyn's interesting paper on women in professional life. In addition to these innate differences, there are other differences, based upon distinction of training, environment, etc., which may be termed evolutionary differences. These statements do not carry us very far. On the contrary, they land us in the face of two very difficult questions. It is obviously not easy, even for the trained biologist, to draw an undisputed line of demarcation between the two kinds of differences. And, even if it were drawn, the conclusion would not be obvious. In the discussion which followed the reading of the first paper there was an obvious inclination on the part of some speakers to treat all differences which could not be classified as original and innate, as if they could be safely modified or even disregarded. As an historian, I rather shrink from this conclusion, and I gladly welcomed the warning note uttered by Dr Clouston, speaking

with more authority than I can claim, when he pointed out that customs and arrangements evolved in the progress of Society, and almost universal, must have some solid foundation in human experience and could not lightly be dismissed as artificial. And Professor and Mrs Thomson were careful to distinguish between those acquired differences which fitted in with fundamental distinctions, and those which were contrary to those distinctions and could be regarded as mis-differentiations. This seems to me far safer ground to go upon than to get rid of historical arguments by the cheap and easy assertion that they are based upon the selfish legislation of man. And I am bound in fairness to add that men are not such fools as to have deliberately constructed a social system upon a purely self-regarding basis. As Professor Paterson pointed out in the discussion on the second paper, the institution of monogamy and the sanctions attached to it in European society were not due solely to masculine selfishness.

If we start from the assumption that there are certain indelible constitutional differences based upon sex, and that there are evolutionary differences which should not be disregarded unless they can be proved to be harmful and unjust, what conclusions may be drawn as to the education and the subsequent occupations of women? The first conclusion, and it is one which covers a vast amount of ground, is that the primary concern of

woman is the home. Nature and convention have combined to make the woman, whether as mother, as daughter, as sister, or, it may be, as aunt, the corner-stone on which rests the human family, the one substantial, wholesome, and essential foundation of Society. I do not hesitate to say that anything which weakens the devotion of woman to this supreme task, the maintenance and cohesion of the family, is a change which threatens grave social danger. I know quite well that there is, even among those who do not deny this principle, a spirit of revolt against some of the practical conclusions which it is held to involve. It is said to be a cramping, narrowing principle; that it demands an almost impossible sacrifice of self; above all, that it demands a sacrifice from girls and women that is not demanded from boys and men. A regular attendance at these meetings has familiarized me with the obvious cleavage in the audience between those who applaud any reference to the domestic ideal, and those who welcome any appeal to what they consider the higher calls of feminine independence and self-realization. I do not wonder at this cleavage; it is a sign of the prevalent unrest; there would be no women's problem without it. But I do not believe that the gulf is so profound as it appears to be on the surface, and I certainly do not think that it cannot be bridged.

Life is largely based upon self-sacrifice, and self-sacrifice is not confined to one sex. It is, no doubt, saddening to see a woman embarked upon

a promising career, perhaps as a teacher or administrator, and suddenly compelled to abandon it in order to look after an aged father or mother, or to care for the orphaned children of a brother or sister. But, as Dr Clouston has pointed out, the interests of the race are higher and more imperative than the interests of individuals, and these acts of self-sacrifice are among the martyrdoms upon which Society is built. It will be an evil day for the community when the State has to undertake duties which women have repudiated. Men have recognized this burdensome obligation upon women by cheerfully undertaking the correlative duty of making special provision for the female members of the family. They make sacrifices to fit their sons for the world; they make sacrifices that their daughters shall not be left unprovided for if they have to fulfil duties to the family which only they can perform. Miss Sheavyn made a tentative suggestion that these arrangements might be modified in the direction of doing more to start daughters in the world, which would involve in most cases a smaller ultimate provision for them. I am inclined to think that such a change would be a dangerous one, and that the existing custom rests upon the wholesome principle that the woman has special duties to the family and that she ought to be endowed for the discharge of those duties.

But the duty of the woman to the family is not her sole duty, nor is it by any means an exclusive

duty. She has duties to Society, and she has duties to herself. It is the commonest, but the most baseless, assumption that a woman who is a good housewife is a mere servile drudge. On the contrary, there are innumerable instances to show that the woman who is best educated, who has developed her intellectual capacity, who is an attractive and intelligent member of society, who finds time for study, for philanthropy, and for other work, is also the best manager of her household. While much self-sacrifice, and cheerful self-sacrifice, is demanded in family life, it does not, or it should not, involve the suppression of a woman's individuality.

Although it has led me to neglect strict chronological sequence, I must here finish what I have to say about family life. The subject may be followed in detail in Mrs Lendrum's racy and attractive paper. It was pointed out at the time that maternity is not the lot of every woman, and that, therefore, a normal family life cannot be regarded as an assured future. To this the obvious answer has already been supplied, that family obligations rest upon daughterhood and sisterhood as well as upon maternity, and that these obligations, though less imperative, are none the less real and binding. And there are comparatively few women who cannot, even when compelled to earn their own living, sweeten and enlarge their lives by maintaining and cherishing family ties.

The question of the education of women and

of their subsequent occupations, where such occupation is necessary, is admittedly complicated by the disturbing influence of domestic obligations. Miss Melville has pointed out that girls are handicapped as compared with boys by a double burden. They require that training of the faculties which, as was rightly pointed out, is more important than the mere acquisition of information, in which girls are apt to excel. They cannot safely be left without some training for professional life, not only because such a life may be necessary for them in the future, but also because a definite occupation is the best safeguard against the enervating effect of purposeless indolence. At the same time they must be prepared for possible maternity, and for the domestic cares which almost inevitably await them in one capacity or another. And Miss Sheavyn has made it clear that women in industrial or professional life are constantly handicapped by the insecurity of their devotion to the career which they have begun. They may be called away by matrimony, or by the urgent claims of some member of their family. Finally, women have to contend with some physical difficulties from which men are exempt. These considerations are so many arguments against leaving education and employment to be dominated by unrestricted competition between men and women.

It is in the education of women that the greatest advance has been made within the last

generation. Want of time compels me to treat this subject very generally and superficially. The educational advance has admittedly and almost inevitably taken place upon lines which were dictated, not by considerations of inherent fitness, but by practical possibilities. There was an irresistible temptation to take male education as a model, and to utilize as far as possible its machinery. Hence the struggle—successful in the main as regards Scotland and Ireland, and partially successful in England—to obtain the admission of women to University classes and to University degrees. In our continuation classes for those who have been through the primary schools we have the same co-education of the sexes. No one can deny that on the whole women have profited immensely by this advance, and that women's education can never be reduced to the conventional trammels of the early Victorian period. But the gain has not been achieved without serious risks, and possibly without some counterbalancing loss. It is, I think, quite possible to contend that an education designed for men is not ideally suited for women. And it is still easier to assert that co-education, with its competitive examinations, has imposed a serious and often a harmful strain upon women. While I would not wish to close the doors which have been opened, I confess that I should like to see the experiment of a great Women's University, staffed, if you like, from both sexes, but free to

devise a curriculum in the interests of women alone.

The question has been raised in more than one of the previous papers as to whether the higher education has led women to prefer a celibate life, to look down on domesticity, and to dread maternity. Nothing, I agree, could be more deplorable than the restriction of motherhood to the less intellectually developed, "to a docile and domesticated type of cow-like placidity." For such a result the social services of the brigade of disengaged women, which Miss Sheavyn described, would be a very inadequate compensation. On this topic I can only repeat what I said in the discussion on Dr Clouston's address, that I believe this danger to be grossly exaggerated, that the evidence upon which the assertion is based is wholly inadequate, and that so far as it is true, it is the result not of education, but rather of one-sided and imperfect education, and also it is the product of a transitional period, when the instinct of rebellion and discontent is preternaturally strong.

I have one last point to make. Nobody, I think, has contended that domestic economy should not be a prominent subject in the education of women of all classes. Miss Melville not only admitted this subject to the school curriculum, but also demanded its recognition among University studies. In this matter, as in others, I believe that Universities, and even schools, may attempt to do too much. Some modern Universities seem to

go too far in trying to bring all parts of a subject under their direct supervision and control. The business of a University is to teach the principles of science, not to go too far into its applications. In medicine, for instance, the University properly teaches subjects like anatomy and physiology; the clinical work belongs to the hospital, and it is comparatively immaterial whether the clinical teacher has an academic status or not. In engineering the best teaching is supplied by the co-operation of the University with the actual workshop. The University makes a mistake when it tries to make an academic workshop of its own. So I believe that the best training in domestic economy will be obtained, not solely in the institution, whether a school or University, which should deal with principles rather than practice; but, as Mrs Lendrum suggests, in the wise distribution of the practical activities of the home. In this way something may be done to bridge the excessive gulf which too often exists in modern Society between home-life and the educational business conducted outside the home.

With regard to women's occupations, I am in such substantial agreement with Miss Sheavyn that I need not speak at any length, and may restrict my comments to some scattered *obiter dicta*. This is a question for women of the working, as well as of the middle, classes, and it is with regard to the former that some of the most difficult questions, especially their relations with the

men's trades unions, are likely to arise in the future. We have have had a recent illustration of this in connexion with the Edinburgh printing trade. As regards middle-class women, I have pointed out that many of them are at any rate partially endowed by parental allowances or bequests. It is of great importance that these endowments should not be allowed, by protected competition, to lower the remuneration, either of women who have not the same supplementary resources, or of men who have to support a family as well as to maintain themselves. Women should, as far as possible, be encouraged to devote themselves to those occupations in which their special qualities will give them a virtual monopoly of employment. They should be discouraged from occupations in which they have to carry on a harassing and unequal competition with men.

But the supreme interests of the community lie in precautions that women shall not be tempted or coerced into occupations which may hinder or unfit them for the proper discharge of their maternal functions. A good deal has been done in this direction by the Factory Acts, but more remains to be accomplished. There is the evil of sweating still to be grappled with. No doubt it is not confined to women's industries, but it is most prejudicial to women, and they are less able to protect themselves. And women should be spared from exhausting labour during child-bearing, and they should be free to devote them-

selves to the care of their families. This may be partially secured by a system of insurance. The Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission would effect it, in extreme cases, by direct subsidies. I cannot here do more than point to the grave importance of the question.

I can only briefly allude to one occupation for women with regard to which no controversy can arise. That is the philanthropic work on which Miss Pearson spoke, and for which there is such a great and increasing demand. This work may be undertaken, either as a substantial and paid occupation, or it may be an additional and gratuitous occupation for leisure time. Whatever scheme of Poor Law reform be adopted, there is certain to be a large opening for the professional and for the voluntary services of women. This may serve to some extent to relieve the threatened congestion in the teaching profession. In this connexion I should like to support Miss Pearson's plea for more deliberate and systematic training for social service. We do not trust our spiritual diseases or our bodily diseases to amateurs, and it is quite as preposterous to expect amateur effort to cure our social diseases. If there is to be any practical outcome of these conferences, I should like it to take the form of an effort to organize in Edinburgh some machinery for the education in social economics of both men and women who are willing to give time and energy to the service of the community.

I have left myself only the thorny question of the political position of women. It is a matter for regret that, owing to circumstances to which I need not allude, we have had no thorough and dispassionate survey of this question. And I have neither the time, nor the inclination, nor the capacity, to go over the whole field of argument. But I should like to make two initial points. One is that the political question as regards women is not exclusively bound up with, still less is it identical with, the question of the franchise. And, secondly, the question of the franchise is too often discussed as if it depended upon the political capacity of women. A good deal of what seems to me wasted research and ingenuity has been expended in collecting isolated instances in history of social or political equality between the sexes. It would be more to the point if it could be demonstrated that the legal or the social position of women was in any degree bettered by the alleged exercise of admittedly exceptional functions. But the broad fact remains that, without the franchise or with an infinitesimal share in it, women have in the past exercised great political influence. Miss Lumsden points with absolute justification to the eminent politicial qualities displayed by female rulers such as Catherine II of Russia and our own Queens, Elizabeth and Victoria. The reign of Anne, one of the most ordinary of women, was more distinguished than that of the majority of kings, and the reign of William III

was more successful and popular while his wife was joint sovereign than it was after her death. And in a country like France, where a so-called Salic law forbade female succession to the throne, women have exercised even greater political influence—not always to the benefit of the country—than they have in England or Scotland where no such exclusion was recognized. Nor is this prominence confined to the past. At the present day, taking politics in its wide sense, a woman like Mrs Sidney Webb, though without a vote, is a more prominent and influential personage than ninety-nine per cent. of the male electorate. And this prominence of women is likely to increase with the wider openings now given to them on royal commissions, in local administration, and in other spheres of practical activity. If, therefore, the question turned solely upon the political capacity of a number of select women, the argument would carry one far beyond the franchise, it would open the doors of Parliament and of the Cabinet.

There are two arguments in frequent use which merit at least cursory mention. The time-honoured contention of "no taxation without representation" is not in my mind of decisive value. The doctrine of natural rights has always been rather a will-o'-the-wisp in practical politics. If it is illogical to exclude taxpayers on the ground of sex, it is equally illogical to adopt for women the qualifications which have been drawn up for men,

but which seem to me quite inapplicable to the other sex. A far stronger argument is that women require the vote in order to ensure legislation to redress social evils from which women are the chief sufferers. If I thought that the granting of the franchise to women was the only, or the best, means of obtaining such legislation, I should be inclined to say that a strong case had been made out for the concession. But I am not without hopes that the desired end may be attained without the necessary employment of this particular means.

The essential question is not whether the franchise is necessary to enable women to exert political influence. It is whether it is desirable in the interests of the community to break the long tradition which has associated ultimate political responsibility, as it has associated the duty of national defence, with the male sex. I am inclined to think that the demand for the vote is part of that revolt against what is deemed to be masculine domination, which may be carried to dangerous extremes, and that the concession of the demand would be a gigantic stride towards that identity of occupations which seems to be inconsistent with the assumption of deep-seated differences between the two sexes.

Woman has plenty of burdens. She has the care of the family, she has often the obligation of self-maintenance, she has the ever-widening field of philanthropy and of local administration. I question whether she should be encouraged to plunge

further than she has already done into the turbid and muddy waters of party politics. And even if she cheerfully added this to her other burdens, I do not believe that it is desirable for the State. As I grow older, I become more and more conscious that the primary need of the State is stability; not stagnation, that is ruinous, but stability through change. At the present moment the stability of the State is in serious danger. The party system, which has worked with some practical success for two hundred years, seems to be on the verge of breaking down, and the British Constitution, whose main features have endured for five centuries, is in the melting-pot. I should be reluctant to add to existing dangers such a leap in the dark as would be involved in the addition to the register of a mass of untried voters. If the vote should be given on ordinary party lines, it would be comparatively inefficacious. If, as is possible, it resulted in the formation of a new Parliamentary group, it would add to those political complications which are already puzzling enough. I am fully aware that I shall be denounced as prejudiced and old-fashioned, and that I shall be assured that any possible dangers arise from the artificial characteristics imposed upon women by unjust restrictions, and that these dangers will disappear with the advance of political training and experience. I would merely urge, in reply, that almost any line drawn between male and female activity will fail to satisfy everybody, and

that the drawing of this line to the exclusion of women from active political life is in accordance with principles which have been adopted in practically every highly developed community. *Securus judicat orbis terrarum.*

I should like to close upon a less controversial and discordant note. Whatever may be the ultimate decision of the franchise question—and I have as little claim to forecast as to influence the future—there can be no doubt that we may count upon a more active co-operation between women and men in the task of administration, which is infinitely more important in the long run than legislation. From this co-operation it may be confidently anticipated that nothing but good will result. But the highest good will hardly be attained unless woman retains those qualities which have always been associated with the supreme ideal of womanhood, and unless she resolutely refuses to become an inferior, or even a superior, copy of man. In the words of Tennyson,

> " The woman's cause is man's; they rise or sink
> Together, dwarf'd or god-like, bond or free;
> . . . . . .
> For woman is not undevelopt man
> But diverse: could we make her as the man,
> Sweet Love were slain; his nearest bond is this,
> Not like to like, but like in difference.
> Yet in the long years liker must they grow;
> The man be more of woman, she of man;

He gain in sweetness and in moral height,
Nor lose the wrestling thews that throw the world;
She mental breadth, nor fail in childward care,
Nor lose the childlike in the larger mind;
Till at the last she set herself to man,
Like perfect music unto noble words."

Large Crown 8vo, 6s. net. *Sixth Impression.*

MY LIFE AMONG THE BLUE-JACKETS

By Agnes Weston

With Photogravure Portrait and other Illustrations.

The Westminster Gazette says: "It is a record of such a happy life, and there is an atmosphere of such mingled sunlight and breeziness about it, that it is bound to become a standard work in every home and institution where eager hearts and willing hands delight in doing good works and in hearing of the good work done by others."

The Daily Mail says: "From the story of her 'Life among the Blue-jackets' we receive the impression that Miss Weston is one of the happiest women in the world, and we close the book with a half-sigh of envy, as well as admiration, for the simple, unselfish, yet heroic nature which has made its influence felt to the four corners of the world and its owner's name a household word in this country."

The Athenæum says: "We hope that this book may be widely read for the brave, stirring spirit of practical Christianity which animates it, and the example that it offers to an age more distinguished for advertisement than good and continuous work."

LONDON
JAMES NISBET & CO., LIMITED
22 BERNERS STREET, W.

THOUGHTS ON PARADOX

By the Author of
"STORIES OF THE ENGLISH."

THIS book is concerned, to a large extent, with the life of the Nation, the life of Church, People, and Empire, and is mainly addressed to those who are perplexed or saddened by the violent clashing of opposite opinions on all political, social and religious questions.

The writer in this book tries to show that all this striving to apparently opposite goals is caused by the constitution of the human mind itself, which works by paradox just as all organic life works by polarity, and that therefore we have good grounds for the hope that all honest human effort results in real progress.

LONDON
JAMES NISBET & CO., LIMITED
22 BERNERS STREET, W.

The St Catherine Press, Letchworth.