

political ideas, for which she has, as a rule, neither the taste nor the equipment. This is the condition which, I believe, is swiftly changing, and which will change more swiftly as the exercise of political power by women and, above all, the opening to women of political careers, develop her outlook. Before she can preach a gospel to her family she must learn it, though ignorance of gospels has not always proved an impediment to preachers. Now political feeling has been growing very fast among women during the last thirty years or so; though women who actively care for politics are still much less numerous than men of similar mind, still we have in England some powerful societies, such as the Women's Liberal Federation, the Primrose League, the National Federation of Women Workers, who among them have many hundreds of thousand of members who are all more or less politically educated. Women have formed also a number of semi-political societies concerned with the status of churches, teachers, nurses, with temperance, purity laws, etc. In England and Canada many women citizen associations [have been formed, whose object is to encourage the study of political, social, and economic questions. They are growing fairly steadily, and doubtless have their counterpart in America. The suffrage societies, which were very strong, are nearly all maintaining their organization; I have no doubt that the National Woman's Party, in America, which has branches in every state, will continue its labors on political lines long after the missing vote is obtained in the Senate, and all women enfranchised under your Federal law. It follows that by degrees the proportion of women with political interests will tend to equal the proportion of men addicted to politics. Notably, when in America, as in England, a woman is standing for the legislature, she will tend to stimulate the interest of her female constituents. For a long time the sex issue must be set; we cannot, for many generations, choose between Mrs. Brown and Mr. Smith in a manner as unsexed as we do between Mr. Brown and Mr. Smith. Women feel this sex difference still more than men; while a man may vote for a woman because he

thinks her a good candidate in spite of being a woman, for a long time many women will tend to vote for another woman as a demonstration of *esprit de corps*. That is unavoidable, because woman is still inferior in the state, and the persecuted must, in the words of Franklin, "hang together, or assuredly they shall hang separately."

I believe that the effects of this growing political consciousness will be considerable. They will not be very great on the men of the family, because most men are beyond argument; the best even a man like Lincoln could hope to do was to pull over to his side the waverers and thus to obtain a majority over the stalwarts who were determined to vote against him, even if he came over to their side; what a man will not take from Abraham Lincoln he will certainly not take from his wife, however often she may say it.

Children, however, are in a different position because they are curious, because they naturally want to know: "What is a Socialist? What do people do in the Senate?" etc. The growingly political woman will tell them; she will explain elementary political ideas, as a result of which the child will develop intellectually a little earlier than it did. I have no illusions as to the quality of these ideas; there is no reason to think that the political women will be less crude, less stupid, less intolerant, and less smug than the political men. They may even be worse, being more passionate; they will fill their children's heads with atrocious political prejudices. But when it comes to heads a prejudice is better than a void, because at least prejudice leads to a political attitude, whereas the void is the natural home of passing error. This forecast is, of course, conditioned by locality as well as period. In countries where women are already politically advanced, such as New Zealand, Norway, Finland, etc., the political influence of women will be more thorough than in countries such as America, where women are less inclined to take a part in politics, in countries such as Spain and Italy, where a woman's interest in politics is looked upon as an evidence of bad manners. And this kind of influence is likely to be slower in

development, less in effect. But all over the world, as the right to vote and the right to sit develops, as it inevitably must, now that the women of England, Russia, and Germany are enfranchised, and that America hesitates on the brink, there is likely to be a shift in the intellectual focus of women.

Up to the last thirty years or so women's interests were hardly ever political. They did not take part in elections; an English duchess, in the eighteenth century, did kiss a butcher to obtain his vote, but this is not exactly what is meant by political power. A sign of this withdrawal from politics is found in the fact that in the middle of the nineteenth century there were hardly any English women Radicals; there were female reactionaries, but they backed their party, not because of its politics, but because their party meant their class, their pleasures, and their income. That was not politics, but self-defense. During the last two generations, however, a change took place. Our grandmothers began, about 1850 by an increasing interest in religious administration and foreign missions; they passed on to an interest in the regulation of morals, which carries us to about 1870; the next step was the development of women's groups interested in prohibition, women's suffrage, local government. Briefly, they entered the political field, and when, in the 'eighties, they began to form political organizations absolutely parallel with those of the men, they had staked their claim.

My own feeling is that the movement will accentuate itself; that while they will maintain their old and natural interest in questions religious or moral, in matters affecting children, health, housing, they will travel farther into general politics. How far this will go and in what direction it will travel is not clear. Though believing that there are no men and that there are no women, but only majorities, the fact remains that there are majorities, that there are essential differences of mental outlook between men and women; these differences must find expression in coming political ideas. Though it be comparatively easy to forecast the influence of political women on the family, it is not so easy to figure what it will be on national life. There is

very little to go upon. The present condition of Russia and Germany, which will certainly provide important evidence because they are large nations of various composition, prevents us to-day from drawing conclusions. In Finland and Norway the female vote is, on the whole, advanced, but I suspect that this arises from the fact that only very advanced women stand for the legislature and that the majority of Finnish and Norwegian women either abstain or vote for the moderate parties. From America also we can obtain no information until the Federal amendment discloses what women do in a general or Presidential election; so far the American Woman's Party has been so busy extending the franchise that it naturally had no time to take up an attitude on broad political questions. The same applies to Britain, where suffrage is too young; it is also too partial, as no woman under thirty can vote, and it leaves out the great mass of working-girls. Probably, for that reason, it tends to be mainly conservative. Also there has not yet been time to collect British women into strictly female political groups. So far we have only a ridiculous organization called the Women's Party, run by Mrs. and Miss Pankhurst, Miss Annie Kenney, and Mrs. Drummond. This organization has put up a program entirely devoted to the most vulgar forms of jingoism. It aims notably at a revengeful reduction of German mineral resources, and at the maintenance of the present alliances after the war; therefore it opposes the League of Nations; it asks the government to refuse naturalization to Germans, regardless of resultant hatreds; it apparently desires a tariff. Briefly, it is arrayed on the side of the coarsest thinking, and seeks recruits among people of the coarsest passions. It has no conception of an evolving world, no desire for the limitation of aristocratic or capitalist tyrannies, and supports a future of commercial hatred and competitive armament. The fact that out of six printed columns in its program only one and a half deal with purely feminine questions deprives it of the right to call itself a "woman's" party. Our alleged Women's Party is following the road to junkerdom.

The future influence of these coarse thinkers on the masses will be as considerable as the present influence of the coarse men. Both will trade on passion and sensation, and both must be overthrown by love and justice. To a certain extent, love and justice will find recruits among women. Whether they will find as many among women as among men is at present doubtful, because in political matters, where none shall survive who are incapable of moderation and fellow-feeling, if you want real, obstinate stupidity and brute cruelty, you will readily find it in a political woman. As usual, her defects go with her qualities; she is capable of enthusiasm, therefore of great hates as well as of great loves—Rosa Luxemburg was more than Liebknecht, just as Catherine of Russia was more than Potemkin. In England, at least, apart from the old political societies, there is as yet no indication of interest in *general* political questions except among the labor women. The bulk of women politicians in England—and this applies as much to the parliamentary candidates as to the voters—tend to specialize along four main lines—namely, the care of the child and mother, liquor, purity laws, and social reform as represented by matters affecting unemployment and housing. The present trend is, therefore, domestic, and when we consider that in nearly all the American states where women are enfranchised, liquor prohibition was put forward; when we note that the same is valid in New Zealand, where also pensions at a rather earlier age have come in; when we note that in Norway and Finland very liberal divorce laws have been introduced—it is legitimate to expect that the development in England, and the further development in America, will be much on the same lines. That is to say, we may expect that the main influence of woman on national life will be in home affairs. It is true that there is no close correspondence between the vote the elector casts and the act which the parliament eventually passes—from San Francisco to Congress the political tank leaks all the way. Still, it matters a good deal how this political tank was originally filled, because this determines the nature of the residue. I

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suspect that woman's contribution will consist mainly in block votes demanding measures such as mothers' pensions, Puritanic laws, liens on men's incomes, possibly better provision for the illegitimate, extended education, providing it doesn't cost too much. Not a sufficient program, but that is all the program which we can at first expect from a new political class.

I do not suppose that for some time the female vote will concern itself much with general politics. The old organizations do indeed take an interest in imperial affairs; societies such as the Women's Liberal Federation, and the various conservative associations, frequently hold meetings at which the political faith of the group is preached in regard to the affairs of the day, generally by men, sometimes by women, and always to an audience of women. These women are not an independent nucleus; they take their politics as a baby takes its bottles, but still, they do form a nucleus of political interest; as the franchise educates them in selecting their allegiance, and occasionally swerving from it, they are likely to develop a greater keenness for such questions as finance, military, naval, colonial, and foreign affairs. At present they are politically blank; generally in England Conservative women want a big navy, Liberal women a little navy, just as I suspect, once upon a time, Democratic women wanted free silver and Republican women supported the Dingley bill. For to support a cause does not always mean that one believes in it, and may mean that one has not thought about it. Thinking about causes is often fatal to loyalty.

Still, women will have to think about general questions as much as men, which is not a great deal to ask, if a streak of common sense is to run through their views. At present few women are so concerned; here and there we find an expert, like Mrs. Sidney Webb on industrial inspection, like Mrs. Besant on India, like Miss Ida Tarbell; we have anarchist leaders like Emma Goldman, peace propagandists like the late Baroness von Suttner, and Olive Schreiner; now and then a woman breaks into philosophic theory, such as "Vernon Lee," or

into finance, like the late Mrs. Hetty Green. But these are single swallows, and few will deny that when women mix with men their rôle, while general politics are being discussed, is either to agree with a smile of admiration, or to bristle in contradiction unsupported by fact and even by argument. In the main, they do not care, they do not think about these things; so far there was no reason why they should, because for centuries their opinion has not been asked. Being kept out of that world, they have never realized the connection between their home life, their comfort, and, let us say, foreign policy. I do not suppose that the war will have altered this much; woman is so used to calamity that it is quite possible that Belgian women who, for four years, have lived under the thrall of the German kommandantur, will return peacefully to their babies and their stews, considering German rule as one of the evils such as poverty, bereavement, or pestilence, which have always come woman's way and always will. It is easy to overrate the effects of the war—the war has had, and will have, no *direct* effects; it has merely stimulated into advancement or reaction factors which are already at work. War develops; it does not create.

That development will powerfully affect women. Though, for the last four years, most have read only head-lines, some the war news, a very few the only thing that matters—namely, the obscure political news from the little states, and the apparently dull decisions of their own governments as to controls, conscientious objection, restrictions of the liberty of meeting and of the press, etc., all have had to move in this atmosphere, and all have had to take in a little of it. They have not taken in much; they are in the same state of obscurity as their men, who glimpse the world through seven thicknesses of glass darkly. But they do glimpse something. Shades move across their cloudy retina, and the future of the world is all illumination. That is an optimistic way of putting it; it is possible to be optimistic about mankind when we compare the intellectual development of a man of to-day with that of a man of the stone age. After all, another thirty thousand years draws no time from Time.

Development being then assumed, I suspect that it will take place in women, not from any love of knowledge or justice, but through the source which has so long been potent in mankind—hatred. One dislikes being beaten in argument; therefore one works up a case so as to be able to defend one's views, and, still more, to stifle another's views. Most women will have to do this, because at present most women are of the conservative temperament. Now so long as there were no radicals the conservatives of this world lived in political happiness—they were not compelled to think. That has, until lately, been the position of woman, for nobody cared what she thought. So she didn't, and proved a valuable conservative. But during the last forty or fifty years, first in Russia among the nihilists, then in Scandinavia among the moral reformers, a little later in England and America among the women's rights advocates, in Germany among the social democrats, there have arisen women who thought, and nearly all turned to some form of socialism. A great many are eloquent, some are practical, all are intense, pugnacious, and incredibly active. Among us to-day they form committees, issue manifestos, send deputations to Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson, trundle round the country enormous petitions. They are intensely irritating to their conservative sisters, who do wish they'd let the old world alone. But they don't, and they won't. They insist on invading peaceful villas, and, when confronted by ignorant opposition, belch forth such masses of figures about infant mortality and exchequer receipts, so many facts and names and dates, that, enraged by having no similar ammunition with which to reply, the conservative woman is being more and more driven to acquire some. That is good, for the poor thing who goes out to collect political shell with which to pulverize the labor woman, often comes home with a boomerang which, when discharged, flies back, hits her between the eyes, and wafts her into an entirely unexpected political paradise.

It is not an ideal way of acquiring education. Still, the goose who takes in her food through a machine that forces

it down her neck, somehow or other gets fed. I suppose it is better that one should come to knowledge, intending to use it against instead of for mankind, than not come to knowledge at all. All this, I believe, will have its good effects, particularly in England and America, where, much more than on the Continent, men tend to take an interest in home affairs to the exclusion of foreign affairs. Because England is an island, because America is a distant continent, their male inhabitants have never felt the foreigner so actual as did the Frenchman, the German, or the Serb, who are conscious of him all the time behind a thin frontier of bayonets. The war has made general politics more actual in England and in America; we have had to concern ourselves with Vlachs, Czechs, and Bosniacs, with socialism and Bolsheviks, with foreign exchange and shipping capacity. None of that will die; it will merely go to sleep, and in its sleep, toss. It will help a great deal if the general politics of the future toss in their sleep, rather than lie in a stupor, to start up now and then in cold-sweated nightmare. Woman will have her part in this drama because she is newer to the game. Woman in mankind is rather in the same position as the United States among nations. Both are Benjamins. Just as the United States, by rising as a political form only a century and a half ago, by becoming fathers of the French Revolution, and of all revolutions right down to the Bolshevik, just by having made an imaginative leap, created a modern civilization with a new theory of government, a new political morality, and a new humanity, so will woman benefit. The United States started on their career unhampered by monarchs, titles, class traditions, and yet they inherited the culture of the world. They could take what they wanted from the legacy, and leave the rest. This they did, sometimes wisely, and thus they have become the most hopeful political force in the world, the rallying-point of internationalism, and perhaps the center of political harmony and peace toward which the troublous little atoms we call the European states will gravitate as into a political Nirvana. The political woman of the future has opportunities of

that kind. She is not hampered by the old political allegiances. Such political knowledge as we possess lies before her; she is going to learn less from experience, that dull old fool with the solemn face and the slovenly rule of thumb, than from bright young knowledge, pitiless chronicler of fact, and cold deducer of absolute conclusion. She may learn her lesson badly, but it will not quite be the master's fault.

What effect the entry of the political woman will have upon the legislatures themselves is not easy to say, because what we know of the female temperament does not necessarily apply to the political woman. The comic papers in England like to make jokes about female Members of Parliament, to print cartoons where they are shown doing fancy-work or powdering their noses during the debates. I do not think that the women legislators will be as representative as all that, and I chronicle with regret the view that they will seldom powder their noses. No, the woman legislator will not become a legislator unless she has some virile quality. She will approximate to man, but I think her influence in Congress will be rather different; she will probably import, as did Miss Rankin, a certain emotional atmosphere, which I for one think valuable in assemblies always a little inhuman. As regards the question that interests the public more—namely, her influence on the moral tone of politics, this will depend upon the politics she finds herself in. Thus, in France, she will find herself in a parliament inclined to financial corruption; in countries such as Spain and Portugal, in a mechanical system of alternative rule by sham conservatives and sham radicals; in America, in an assembly where financial interests juggle with the law and continually conflict with the representatives of popular morality and justice; in England, in a Parliament where financial corruption is very slight, but where faiths can be seduced by a post of power or a lunch with a duke. The woman legislator will be influenced by the nature of her temptation, and I think she will best resist the temptation of money. The type of woman who is interested in politics does not, as a rule, care for money,

either because she belongs to the laboring class and has few desires, or because she belongs to the rich class. In England we don't bribe people; we make them rich first, and, as Anatole France says, the rich exhibit over the poor this moral superiority, that they neither beg in the street nor steal bread.

But where her weakness may lie is probably in the direction of honors and of power. For thousands of years we have so much encouraged woman's vanity that self-exaltation has in many become a habit; I am credibly told that a large proportion of the titles which have showered from the Lloyd-George government as water from a leaky bath, have been accepted by men because their wives wanted to be Lady X. And, whereas it is becoming an act of good form to refuse the Order of the British Empire, I hear of no woman who has declined to be made a Dame. As to power, I have, during this war, seen women in minor positions controlling nurses, directing wages, even running filing-rooms, and always filled with a bitter, earnest delight in controlling other women. From that point of view the woman legislator will be corruptible; she will expose you if you offer her a hundred thousand dollars, but if you offer her a sub-deputy-assistant-directorship, she may very well vote for you. That is if you make no bargain, for the art of corruption consists in not seeming to corrupt; the born corrupter prefers to inoculate with the microbes of gratitude and loyalty.

Loyalty will certainly be a feature of the woman legislator. Causes may be lost, but seldom lose their women. The result of that, in legislatures where women are at all numerous, will be the consolidation of the parties. Woman is a born party hack; the leader she has adopted she continues to support beyond the point of confidence, because where confidence fails loyalty steps in. If she feels that soon she may see her leader too clearly, she imitates Nelson, puts up the telescope to her blind eye. If she did not do that in other relations divorces might be more numerous.

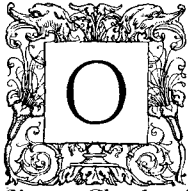
But, whereas every cloud has its silver lining, every silver lining has its cloud, and I am convinced that the very ex-

tremism of woman will militate against this loyalty. Women do not readily compromise; what they think and what they want, they think and want with crystalline sharpness. In the home they seem to compromise, but that is not so; they give in. And when they have given in they return to the charge, give in again if they must, and try again, and eventually get what they want from a man who has grown sick of the subject. I think, in the legislatures, they will treat the president rather like a husband, say, "Yes, dear," out loud, and, "Sha'n't," *sotto voce*. I think this an excellent thing, because none but a liar can entirely agree with a political party, but if women independents become numerous in the legislatures, it is likely that loyalty on the one side, and particularism on the other, would import a certain restlessness into the political atmosphere. The parties that have women supporters can rely on them as solid and impervious to the arguments of the other side; but, on the other hand, they will never know when an apparently minor question may cause the women to form a block and to separate from the party. This is my own experience on committees, and it is borne out by the observation of bitter departmental feuds in the British civil service. The women were often irreconcilable. Brick walls and schisms are likely to be strengthened by the woman legislator.

This does not mean that she will not be able. Indeed, I believe that the average woman legislator will be far superior intellectually to the average male legislator, because, while women vote readily for men, men do not readily vote for women. The women who overcome male prejudice must therefore be women of unusual attainments, and so their presence in the legislatures is bound to raise the intellectual level. In general, the expansion of political interests among women is bound to profit the states where it takes place; it will reduce the sluggishness of mind which bars progress because it is progress; by realizing her rights in human affairs woman will be brought closer to her responsibilities. That, I think, is ideal politics—to learn your debt to humanity, and the best way of paying it.

The Industrial Effort of France During the War

BY HERBERT ADAMS GIBBONS



ON the last day of August, 1914, the superintendent of a steel-plant said to me: "You have heard that the government is preparing to go to Bordeaux. Since Charleroi, it is not surprising news."

"Yes," I answered, "the panic seems to be on. But you have confidence, have you not, that you can hold your people?"

"Oh, the Parisian working-man does not think of flight. He has nowhere to go, and no money to go with. Anyway he has much more *sang froid* than the bourgeois."

Three weeks later, while we were still rejoicing over the battle of the Marne, I met the steel manufacturer in a restaurant, eating sauerkraut and sausage. Beside his plate stood a big mug of beer. It was just as if there were no German invasion.

"Back from Bordeaux?" I asked, jokingly, for that was the teasing question of the moment. To my astonishment, he answered affirmatively.

"I must explain," he added, "though you know I am not the *froussard* type. But the explanation is confidential. You must say nothing about it until after the war. I was summoned to Bordeaux by the government with other metallurgists and members of the Comité des Forges. What we were told down there in Bordeaux would have been a real tragedy if we had taken it as a tragedy. Thank God, there wasn't a man of us who lost his nerve. We French are a happy-go-lucky people, perhaps, but we do know how to rise to emergencies."

When the waiter had taken the order, the steel man told me about the munitions situation in France. The war is over. Now—for the glory of French in-

dustry—I can write about what I learned that night, and what I have heard and seen since.

A few weeks of fighting had upset the theories and calculations of strategists, publicists, economists, military critics, and statesmen. It had been an axiom that the next European war would be very short. The decisive battles would take place within the month after war was declared, and the decisive factors would be speed of mobilization and ability to use to the greatest effect the means of destruction amassed beforehand. Consequently, military authorities had concentrated their attention upon mobilization and transportation. France and Germany had both worked out their plans for "the next war" with the idea of giving quickly the decisive blow or stopping once for all the enemy's offensive. Germany's preparations were more thorough than those of France, and on a larger scale. But no more than the French did the Germans conceive the possibility of continuous fighting, with artillery preparation and support, extending over hundreds of kilometers and lasting through weeks. The war had not been on a month before it was realized—on both sides, luckily!—that the amount of artillery and the supply of ammunition were woefully inadequate to the new necessities of offensive and defensive fighting. Ammunition was being used ten times as fast as was anticipated.

When M. Millerand, the Minister of War, summoned to Bordeaux the leading steel and iron men of France, it was to tell them that the fate of the country was in their hands. The 75-cm. field-artillery cannon was proving itself, as had been foreseen by the Balkan wars, the weapon *par excellence* of armies in the field. But the consumption of shells was far beyond what had been provided for. If France was going to make full use of this

one source of superiority over the Germans, a supply of shells would have to be furnished without delay a thousand per cent. in excess of the capacity of the state arsenals. Unless private firms could produce these shells the cause of France was hopeless.

The estimates given by M. Millerand to the steel men staggered them. State arsenals were producing twelve thousand shells a day. Before the Germans resumed their offensive, the armies must have at least one hundred thousand 75-cm. shells a day. And along with this mammoth increase in shell production, the War Department would look to French factories for cannon, auto-trucks, shells of larger caliber, explosives on a scale never dreamed of, and a bewildering amount and variety of railway material. Steps were being taken, of course, to import, especially from the United States. But in the final analysis France would have to rely upon her own industrial resources.

The little group to whom M. Millerand outlined his demand could have given many reasons to prove the impossibility of executing it. General Joffre's forced retreat abandoned to the enemy the industrial regions of the north and east, which contained the greater part of France's plants for the production of steel, and most of her iron and coal. In the invaded regions were 70 per cent. of France's coal and 80 per cent. of her iron ore. The north and east had contributed four-fifths of France's coke and four-fifths of her cast iron and steel. Not only had these resources been lost to France. They had been added to the enemy's producing capacity. Before the war, France imported annually twenty million tons of coal and three million tons of coke. Most of the coke came from Germany, and was destined to the steel-plants of central France and Normandy! Even could foreign supplies of coal and iron be drawn upon, transportation was lacking.

The problem of labor was not less formidable than that of raw materials. Since the possibility of a long war had not entered into France's calculations, the mobilization of industry was not foreseen. The military arsenals were called upon to send an important part

of their personnel to the front. Exemption was not granted to superintendents, engineers, and working-men of private establishments. Every plant represented at the Bordeaux conference was crippled by the mobilization of its staff and hands, as well as paralyzed by the commandeering of transportation facilities for military purposes. To call back at that critical moment the men who had gone to the front was a delicate matter. National sentiment was against it, and could not be enlightened as to the necessity of such a measure without revealing France's weakness to the enemy. It was the nation's instinct that the armies were all too small to stem the German onslaught. Feeling was bitter against *embusqués*.

There were also technical difficulties. Before the war, the French government manufactured its artillery and shells. Private industry was called upon only for raw materials. Steel was delivered in raw state according to serial specifications, and had to pass the most rigid inspection. The government made cannon at Bourges and Puteaux; munitions at Lyons, Tarbes, and Rheims; rifles at St.-Etienne, Châtellerault, and Tulle. For accessories, each *corps d'armée* had its arsenal. The specifications for the 75-cm. shell demanded manufacture by hydraulic presses. As the shell was a bottle with thin sides, the steel had to be highly tempered. Then there were the copper cases, and the fuses, with seventeen parts to think about. The manufacturers at Bordeaux knew they could not improvise hydraulic machines and produce an unlimited quantity of high-tension steel.

Doctor Schroeder assured the German Ironmasters' Association on January 31, 1915, that the French metallurgical industry was paralyzed by the invasion of the northern and eastern industrial regions to the point of hopelessly compromising the national defense. But the *Herr Doktor* knew nothing of the Bordeaux meeting, and of how M. Millerand's appeal was being answered at the very moment he announced complacently the ruin of French competitors. One of the most damning indictments of contemporary Germany is to be found in just such speeches as this, which re-