

Parliament, but if he had been an engineer or other workman, once out of a job now, the chances were, he would find the greatest difficulty in getting back again. Under those circumstances he would be swept the same as any other man toward industrial shipwreck. The great problem that Parliament had to face with regard to these industrial wrecks was the problem of floating them afresh. How were they going to do it?

Then there was the question of personal failure. It was necessary to admit that the personal flaw of the individual contributed substantially to present-day poverty. If there were no personal flaw you would still have all the social reasons for poverty, but these reasons were augmented by personal flaws.

He wanted them also to bear in mind that when they were treating with the victim of poverty they must not go upon the assumption that they ought to punish him, or that they were to handle him in such a way as to deter him from being a victim later on, whether his poverty arose from personal or social reasons. The punishing and deterring view of Poor Law administration was fundamentally and radically bad. They knew from the experience of members of Boards of Guardians that a very appreciable percentage of the men and women who appeared before Boards of Guardians mostly alternated between the prison and the workhouse. The degrading machinery of Poor Law administration was worked with the idea of keeping people away as long as possible, and the result was that the very machinery that was created on the assumption that degradation keeps people away actually does degrade them when they can keep away no longer. There must be social protection, of course, but the old form of social protection was very irrational and exceedingly immoral.

WOMEN AND MOTHERHOOD.

Take the special case of women. Woman was the great problem of society. The Socialist movement and the Labour movement had to make quite clear to its own mind that the social unit that had got to be protected was not the individual but the family. The family must be the social unit, and the economics of the family should be made the basis of economic reconstruction. The State should protect the child if necessary, the State should punish the parent if necessary, the State should vindicate the right of the parent to a sufficient wage and to sufficiently good housing conditions; but when the State had done its duty to the parent, or while it was doing its duty to the parent, it should see that the parent paid it back in the coin of responsibility. He was not in favour of what was quite erroneously called "the endowment of motherhood."