THE NEW MORALITY.—IV.

If it were our intention merely to provide the logic of a new morality we should, in this issue, be led on to a consideration of anarchy in respect of that morality; but as we are concerned more with the establishment of a new and practical working order, we are diverted towards a consideration of the practical objections to the morality as outlined so far, before going on to a theoretical consideration of results to which the new morality would inevitably lead. The main objection against its practical application is the manner in which such application would react upon the present position of mothers in the life of the modern Western community. In touching upon this subject we touch upon the most sensitive and responsive part of the real beliefs of the majority of men and women. It is not only that motherhood is bound up with sentimentality; it is bound up with the best of our common sentiment. We shall have to touch upon it notwithstanding, unless all our attempts to drain the social morass are to prove abortive. For to the door of the "legitimate mother," and to the "protection" accorded her by popular sentiment, is to be traced the responsibility for most of the social ills from which we suffer. To her exemption from responsibility to earn her own livelihood in solid cash, in addition to her labours in giving birth to children, is to be traced her incapacity to do so; while this potential exemption exerts its influence over all women before they reach marriageable age, inasmuch as it excuses those responsible for them from providing the training necessary for progressive paid labour, and relieves girls themselves from the urgent necessity of making the most of the opportunities of such training when it is provided. It is, therefore, responsible for the inadequate training, inefficient work, and consequent bad pay of women workers, while the ill-paid condition of women workers reacts upon the better-paid one of men, and tends also to drag that down in its train. This, however, is a commonplace, and is recognisable by all. What is not generally recognised, however, is the fact that the overstrain of financial responsibility which is put upon men is largely responsible for the degradation of the commercial world into one of unscrupulous, merciless money-getting—a brutal scramble to acquire money without any considerations of fair dealing, honesty, or of rendering honest value. When a man has, in addition to the task of providing for himself, to provide for an adult woman, a number of children, and servants, and to maintain all in a "style" equal to "his own," it is little wonder that he should lose his mental balance, and along with it all his business scruples. If "kept" mothers, and other women, calculate what proportion of a man's earnings is spent on his own needs, and what proportion is spent on women, it will become quite clear why men have arrived at a conception of "business" which would disgrace any primitive cannibalistic tribe—a conception which allows of one man slowly grinding out the vitals of hundreds of men, women, and children, in order that the one man's "woman," or women, shall be "kept" in a "style" suitable to the one which he conceives to be his own. When women come to regard the "kept" condition of the "mother" and "wife" with as much horror as they regard the other "kept" women, and sometimes children whom they themselves keep religiously outside the pale, or as they would regard a male lover who sold his "love" for board and lodgings, then—and never until—shall we have arrived at the point when feminism will be sure of itself and its future. It will be well here, perhaps, to brush away a few of...
the sentimental cobwebs which men and women have spun to hide the naked baseness of the position of the kept wife and mother from themselves. Motherhood, when legitimate, has had an emphasis laid upon its sanctity which nothing in its commonplace nature in any way justifies. Motherhood requires no qualifications, and, more often than not, secures none. It is as haphazard in its conditionings—more so indeed—than it is among the lower animals. The truth of the matter is that it falls upon the human female to reproduce her kind in exactly the same way as it falls upon the females throughout creation to reproduce theirs. It is an excellent instance of the poverty of the arguments in defence of the kept wife that so much has been made out of the physical difficultness of the actual bearing of children. The pains and dangers of actual motherhood are made to stand for more than is compatible with the naturalness of the function. It is our own opinion that more is suffered in the interest of motherhood by a vast proportion of the women who stand behind counters, keep large classes of children in order, and who stand in the factories during those thirteen weeks in the year when they are inflicted with the burdens of potential motherhood, than is suffered in the comparatively short period of actual mothering, which is, as a rule, borne under far more favourable conditions by the class of people who estimate at the highest its labours and pains. As we are now living in a period which tends by general consent to apotheosise the "mother," it is necessary to say that, while we believe profoundly in the "momentousness" of motherhood, we have no belief in its sacro-sanctity. Many of the conditions under which motherhood is undertaken present the reverse of the guarantees of holiness and sanctity. Entered upon seriously, and under prepared conditions, motherhood for the woman should be a joy and a great adventure. If it is otherwise, a woman has no business to undertake it. It is not a nice thing to bring into the world children who can turn round and reproach one with their timidity and joylessness. Having to our own satisfaction at least disposed of one or two of the sentimental cobwebs, we can pass on to our main contentions, the first of which is that children belong to the mother in a manner and degree which do not obtain in their relation to the father. The mother is the final arbiter as to their existence or non-existence. The "father" in creation is an after-thought. The mother's decree as to their existence should precede the co-operation of the father. Also, children are not necessary to a man's physical maturity in the same way that they are to that of a woman. In the building of women Nature has settled this fact, and if the last male disappeared off the earth, women would doubtless still manage to continue the race without male assistance. Considering, therefore, that children, from both physiological and psychological points of view, belong more to the woman than the man; considering, too, that not only does she need them more, but, as a rule, wants them more than the man, the parental situation begins to present elements of humour when the woman proceeds to fasten upon the man, in return for the children she has borne him, the obligation from that time to the end of her days of full financial responsibility not only for the children's existence, but for her own also!

Nothing but a man's pride of possession has kept up this farce for so long. It has pleased a man to have a troupe of females financially dependent upon him, and therefore subject to him. Two series of developments have now, however, made its further continuance impossible. For one thing, if a man is to be honest to his neighbour, and is to allow his neighbour to live as well as himself, modern conditions will not supply the necessary funds. Also, as the troupe of females refuse any further to flatter the man's pride by continued subjection, the man gets nothing for his pains. Therefore, if the kept wives do not in the future offer to deal with their own situation in their own way, it seems certain that men will be compelled by economic forces stronger than their traditional sense of superior protectiveness, to make the situation clear to the women. It is, or ought to be, a matter of pride in the decent quality of human nature itself that the initial strivings in such a vast readjustment should have come from women themselves. It is also the only certain omen that women will prove equal to the working out of their own salvation. How the process of salvation will work itself out is already fairly clear. Most of the existent kept wives will remain as they are, traditional social conditions being too strong for them. They are, too, bound up in domestic duties which they have held too long to abandon, even did there exist a market waiting for their labour. Also, the material arrangements as at present exist have been framed upon the assumption that there would be a wife at home to carry them through, and immediately to remove the wife would end in domestic chaos. Therefore, those of the present generation, save for the born pioneers or for those whom particular circumstances favour, will be compelled to see the old order through. They will, moreover, contribute a full quota to the new order in bringing up their daughters in a knowledge of conditions as they are and as they might be, and by endeavouring to supply them with as complete and as responsible a training as that which they would provide for their boys. All women will be taught that throughout their lives they will normally be regarded as responsible for their own upkeep, and will take precautions accordingly. For any children of whose bringing into the world they assume the responsibility, they will regard themselves as being finally financially responsible. Nature has chosen out women for the heavier burden, and no arguing with the situation will alter that fact. Women will have to rise to their responsibilities, and not endeavour to slip them by a device which robs them of the liberty which is the chiefest dignity of the human being. It is only special financial recognition which they can expect on account of any disabilities which are theirs through the mothering of the race would be that of a State insurance which would reimburse wages lost during the time when actual child-bearing prevented the exchanging of services in the professional and commercial world for monetary return. The subject concerning the upkeep of the dwelling necessary for the rearing of children we reserve for a further article, as we do also that concerning the position of many hard-worked, unpaid home-keeping wives and mothers, which has become little more than that of domestic drudgery.

(To be continued.)

Note.—Next week, special article on Divorce, by Upton Sinclair.
NOTES OF THE WEEK.

During the week, Lord Rosebery, in a speech made in Edinburgh at the Annual Congress of the Educational Institute of Scotland, has reminded us that we are now turning into the last decade of half a century of Compulsory Education, and he asked—modestly refraining from supplying an answer—whether in increased variety and virility of character we have come to show in comparison with that which obtained before the new compulsory régime was instituted. It is a pertinent question to ask, and it behoves us of the people to be prepared with a reply. On the far side of the Border the comparison is one between present-day results and the results under the régime of the threadded, meagrely-recompensed Dominie. This side the Border it is a comparison of present-day Council School products and the products of the Granny School, the Church Schools, and the Mechanics’ Institutes. We believe a better result was obtained from the earlier system. We distrust the results of the present. And we hasten to say that the compulsory régime of the latter system has nothing to do with its inadequacies. The educational system should be compulsory, but just because it is compulsory, those who compel it are morally under obligation to make that education as good as may be; at least not harmful, as it is in the main, at present. The outcome of the earlier system was increased individuality. The outcome of the present is a crushing-out of increased individuality. The former, with all its inadequacies, its limitations, was educational, in that it brought out a discipline, and sixty and sixties more together, and disciplines all to the stock pattern. It is a barricade. Every enormous block of brick and stone which represents a “school” represents the outer side of a system which is day by day destroying so much variety of life. It is here where we come up against the compulsory character of present-day education. If that education is not going to provide for the parents, with all its inadequacies, its limitations, was educational, in that it brought out a stronger individualized conception of the Ego. It was a school. The present is in the main, at present. The outcome of the earlier system was increased individuality. The outcome of the present is a crushing-out of increased individuality. The former, with all its inadequacies, its limitations, was educational, in that it brought out a stronger individualized conception of the Ego. It was a school. The present is in the main, at present. The outcome of the earlier system was increased individuality. The outcome of the present is a crushing-out of increased individuality. The former, with all its inadequacies, its limitations, was educational, in that it brought out a stronger individualized conception of the Ego. It was a school. The present is in the main, at present. The outcome of the earlier system was increased individuality. The outcome of the present is a crushing-out of increased individuality. The former, with all its inadequacies, its limitations, was educational, in that it brought out a stronger individualized conception of the Ego. It was a school. The present is in the main, at present.
Biscuits!

II.

If conditions such as prevail at Reading are tolerated, any talk about the economic independence of women must be regarded as so much wind. Boring as the subject of poverty undoubtedly is, all fresh revelations of the depth of economic subjection to which women have sunk must go to prove that it is a far cry yet to the time when such subjects can be relegated to their proper quarter and banned as indecent and superfluous. It is because the development of Freewomen gives us such hope that we are making appeals to them “to proceed at once to set things right.” One is often tempted to set down particular things as the first to be done; but so great is their number that at last one comes to regard this sorry state of things, which we call civilisation, as being quite impossible of regeneration until we “shatter it to bits and then rework it over to the heart’s desire.”

When, after the manner of those inhabitants of Walt Whitman’s “great city,” populations can be relied upon to pour forth in spontaneous rebellion against the never-ending audacity of elected persons, then surely the time of the Charlatan and the Parasite Philanthropist will have come; but until then it is painful work to continue probing and irritating the apathetic social conscience of the British public. I have recently had experience of the feelings of three sections of the citizens of Reading, whose independent testimony carries perhaps greater weight, with most people, than the complaints of half-fed factory girls. Firstly, then, the clergy are well aware that the economic subjection of the women is responsible for many of the great evils they try to combat.

They tell us that the social work of girls’ clubs is rendered futile from the fact that over-worked and underfed girls have no taste, after the monotony of their day’s work, for anything but the gaudiest and most stimulating entertainments. So bound and tied are they to their life-work of feeding other people, that no hope exists of creating a demand in them for culture and refinement. That’s what the clergy say—privately.

A head mistress of a large school in Reading told me that school feeding was a farce, the real need being for higher wages. The figures dealing with school feeding are available, and show that when trade is good and full time is worked there is less feeding in the schools. During a particularly bad year a short while ago, when “short time” was frequent, the number of children fed by the schools was enormous.

The connection, of course, is very obvious; but few people consider it when they read in the Press of the extravagant demands of the workers for a rise in wages. A word here as to the significance of “short time.” A man’s wage in Reading may be, nominally, 10s. a week; in years such as 1911, when a much greater amount of overtime has been worked, owing to the extraordinary occurrence of the Coronation, Delhi Durbar, and Christmas trade all in one year, a slightly higher figure than 10s. may be the average throughout the year. When, however, 10s. is recognised as inadequate, it can easily be seen that, when overtime is worked, superfluity is not the result, but only a nearer approach to the satisfaction of absolute necessities. When “short time” is being worked, and perhaps 3s. 3d. less than the usual wage is taken home, after 4s. 6d. of 5s. is knocked off for rent, what sort of an income does the worker receive? After club money is paid, about 10s. a week. So that “short time” means starvation—unless the ratepayers step in, making up the deficiency, to some extent, by school feeding.

The wages we have been considering, however, are those of men; the wages of girls vary from 8s. to a maximum of 13s. per week, and these also are subject to “short time.” Is it any wonder that the biscuit workers of Reading should have begun to form themselves into trade unions, and, in the opinion of the ratepayers, to allow them to be victimised for doing so? A relieving officer was present lately at a meeting called to discuss the proposals of the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission, and he gave it as his opinion that proposals to establish school clinics and all the other palliatives of the scheme seemed to him, with his knowledge of poverty in the district, as merely touching the surface of the matter. The need for all such organised charity was due to the criminally low wages paid in the factories, and, in his opinion, should be demanded from the employers, instead of allowing them to throw their responsibilities upon the ratepayers.

The oppression of women is a particularly accursed form of tyranny, for it reaches far beyond the individual in its effects. It cannot be imagined that men and women find it difficult to scrape together enough to start a home of their own under the conditions mentioned above. Married women are not allowed to work in the factories of Reading. If they were, they would have a chance, in the early days, to build up some sort of a home with the joint earnings of man and wife. Even in such a godless hole as a biscuit factory, men and women will learn to love, and when human nature can no longer stand the suspense and delay of marriage, it happens that women come to work with child, and get sacked as soon as their condition is discovered. Without suggesting that pregnant women should work in factories, one may at least protest against punishing them with destitution, the streets, and the workhouse.

It is abominable that such economic conditions should prevail, in any part of society, as to make marriage an impossibility when it has become a necessity.

Reading will soon be famous for its university as well as its factory, but, from the point of view of economic justice, the origin and maintenance of the university will not bear examination, and in the light of what follows must really be regarded as equal to bush-money.

It is believed by factory workers that every man and woman in the place have earned their wages by eleven o’clock in the morning! It is impossible to say, exactly, what the amount of profit actually is, as the company is a private one and files no balance sheets. It is currently reported at Reading that the factory is to be over a million per annum divided between nine or ten proprietors. Cut down this local estimate by half, if you will, the result still exceeds the amount received by all the seven thousand workers. Sufficient has been said of the riches of this great wealth. Let us examine briefly its distribution.

Mrs. Annie Besant stated at the Queen’s Hall during last summer that the gift of two hundred thousand pounds, from four individuals, to found a university in Reading, was the beginning of true self-sacrifice, which, if it spread, would save England from revolution. Three of these four charitable people were Palmers, and the family have given upwards of £150,000 recently to Reading College, besides the site of the buildings and a hostel where budding Freewomen may lodge.
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Natural, the professors of Political Economy at the College are not going to teach the students the object-lesson they have at hand. The "boodle" would become insecure! What hope is there for Truth in education when the presiding deities are, in all cases, the holders of the purse-strings and the exploiters of their kind? K. D. SCOTT.

An American Critic of Social Values.

A VERY skilled botanist knows the value of the bitter herb; every wise physician recognises the occasional usefulness of the blister. So, too, every reformer acknowledges the power of the satirist, of one who will have no truck with the false idealism which represents dreams as though they were facts. It is on this principle that Feminists should not neglect the novels of the late David Graham Phillips, the young American, whose motto was, "All who live by tradition, live among graves." For it is a great mistake to refuse to study works of social criticism because they relate to conditions of life in another country than our own, since from differences of custom we may learn some valuable lessons. Mr. Galsworthy or Mr. Wells may have more news for England than for America, but America may pick up a few crumbs, all the same, from "The Man of Property," or "The New Utopia."

No observer of life could take up a more definite point of view towards it than did Mr. Phillips; he traces almost all the evils he finds in it to one thing, the position of women. True, he scarcely mentions the struggle for the vote, he has nothing to say about sweated labour, or any of the hundred platform subjects of Feminism. But that is only because he has gone back to the fundamental cause of all these matters—the relationship between man and woman.

Nothing is more remarkable in the woman's movement, or more significant of its truly vital nature, than the fact that, as the stream of it broadens, stretching from class to class and from land to land, so, too, it deepens, till what was originally a demand for a better education, or for a share in political responsibility for women, has become a criticism of the very principles on which society is based. Feminists have turned now from woman's position to the human position; from woman alone to man and woman, with the corollary, child. Were it not so, indeed, the movement would be, what its enemies have so often called it, a new fashion, a folly born of idleness and vanity. Instead, it is, as both friends and enemies are beginning to recognise, a process leading to a step in evolution. As the eighteenth-century criticism of life led to the constructive work of the nineteenth, so the questions asked by Feminists are going to find answer in the framing of new social values. Destructive thought is followed by constructive action, out-breathing by in-breathing, systole by diastole. Such is the law.

No more savage attack has ever been made on woman than was made by the author of "The Husband's Story"; so savage, indeed, was it that it led to his murder. But it is everywhere evident in his novels that it is not woman in herself he is criticising, not woman as Nature made her, but woman as Society has deformed her. To Mr. Phillips the one thing that settles a creature's position in the scale of life is the way in which it gets its living. The simple sheep would not be nearly so simple if the boons of juicy herbage and pleasant shade were not so carefully provided by farmers anxious for its flesh. Nor would the jungle tiger have a heart so rude were he only provided with regular and abundant meals. Now, in the economy of human life, it is the man who sharpens his wits to gain a living in the rough-and-tumble conflict of the world; it is woman who lures from him, usually by a brief period of feverish activity, a share of what he has gained. To him, then, the training of brain, courage, initiative, resourcefulness; to her the training in finesse, in all that goes under the name of sex magnetism. Let her succeed in wheeling a maintenance out of a man, and she may stagnate for forty years. This is, according to Mr. Phillips, woman's present relation to man in the well-to-do classes: the way in which, in their joint inheritance of life, they have arranged to share the spoils thereof. From this dependent position, actual in many cases, suppositional in all, springs woman's position of tutelage and irresponsibility, her frivolity and mental sloth.

Says Godfrey Loring in "The Husband's Story," "Our whole society is built on the theory that woman is the dependent, the appendage, of man. Freedom is impossible for a woman, except at a price almost no woman voluntarily pays." He goes on: "I pity the women of our day, bred and educated in the tastes of men, and yet compelled to be dependents, and certain of defeat in a finish contest with man."

From that contrast between training and opportunity springs the bitterest tragedy of these books. Mr. Phillips's work falls into two periods. First, that of wide canvasses, crowded with figures that typify the corruption of business life. To this section belong "The Second Generation" and "Light-Fingered Gentry," the first-named the story of a mill-owner who, convinced that inherited wealth is a curse, willed away his money from his children, so that they might have a chance of making themselves "worth while"; the second, the tale of an insurance company that piles up wealth for its directors out of the hoarded savings of the poorest. In these books the world is represented as a rubbish-heap alive with human parasites, man feeding on the poor, woman feeding on the man; the bigger fleas harbouring lesser fleas, and so ad infinitum.

In these books Mr. Phillips is diagnosing the disease; in the next period—that of "Old Wives for New," of "The Husband's Story," "The Hungry Heart," and "The Grain of Dust"—he is studying the germ. And the germ is woman, the woman who gains her living by sex. To do this skilfully, she has no need of the highest qualities of brain and heart; she only requires to exercise physical charm and cunning. Anything else will only trip her up in the race she has to run. Think deep, look straight, and line. Look truth in the eyes, and you won't like your position. But man-trapping means a young, unlined face—even if you have to take off the outer skin to get it. And truth will out, if you look too much into her eyes.

In a series of mordant sketches of typical women, Mr. Phillips traces three types of misery and corruption. First, as in "Old Wives for New," there is the woman who, having gained a husband to support her, never exerts herself again. She becomes
by science, she is retarding all progress. She remains mediæval because her brains are rusty, and her brains are rusty because her powers are atrophied by the constant suggestion that no activity is required of her. The whole world had suddenly and completely revolutionised the conditions of life. The male sex, though poorly where at all equipped to meet the new conditions, still was compelled to meet them after a fashion. A river that for ages has moved quietly along in a deep bed, all at once is suddenly forced upon the human race. The men living in the inundated region—hastily, hystericly, incompetently, but with resolution and persistence, because forced by dire necessity—would proceed to deal with that vast new river. Just so were the men of our day dealing with the life of steam and electricity, of ancient landmarks of religion and morality swept away or shifted, of ancient industrial and social relations turned upside down and inside out. The men were coping with the situation after a fashion. But the women?

"These unfortunate creatures, faced with the new conditions, were, in their greater ignorance and incapacity and heedlessness, trying to live as if nothing had occurred!—as if the old order still existed. And the men, partly through ignorance, partly through preoccupation with the new order, partly through indifference and contempt veiled as consideration for the weaker sex, were encouraging them in their fatal folly; all, reduced to its lowest terms, is a summing up of the whole indictment against women, viz., that she is retarding the race, keeping it back as would a cripple forced to run by the side of a strong man. In two specific ways she suffers from the advance of science, for where it invites to fresh content she is kept back by the constant suggestion of her incapacity for action; where it gives comfort, she is first to deteriorate by her enervation. She may profit by motor-cars and lifts, but not for her is the conquest of the horse-leech.

Is there no balm in Gilead that Mr. Phillips has to offer? It is only vaguely prophesied in the pictures painted of certain women who have given themselves up to lives of action. Such are the studies of modern women, like Dr. Madalene Ranger, lecturer on Physiology to the women of Tecumseh University, whose married life is a joint and happy partnership; Narcisse Siersdorf, architect and landscape gardener, who is the guardian angel of her foolish brother; and Juliet Raeburn, successful shopkeeper, who savours healthy life to the full. Unfortunately, however, these women strike one rather as banners emblazoned with a creed than actual living, breathing women. They far too plainly point a moral and adorn a tale. For their creator is concerned with his purpose to such an extent that it overshadows his art. He is more propagandist than novelist; more satirist than creator. His style is often that of the rugged controversialist, and his plots show the purpose of their construction. As regards character-drawing, he lives but in the Court of the Gentiles. He has nothing to do with the lower shrine. We only know his people as we know our acquaintances, not as we know the men and women shown us by the masters. Above all, there is no vastness of background in his novels; his people live in a man-made world, and "make over" their lives as easily as a woman may turn a dress. Yet the clouds mass themselves, the winds blow; death and birth knock at the doors. We feel next
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The Unimportance of the Woman's Movement.

I

TAKE it no one will deny that prostitution, in the crudely disgusting forms in which we may see it, is due to economic causes. Idleness, luxury, and late marriages, which the desire to keep up the class standard of comfort makes customary in the middle class, are productive of whoremongers. Poverty, overcrowding, dull bareness of life, which destroys imagination, prevents women from perceiving what life holds, and throws a glamour over the well-dressed and correctly pronouncing gentleman—all these accompaniments of poverty lead to the woman's degradation. These economic causes, apart from the deliberate trading in women for the sake of profit carried on by procurers, must be held to be vital elements making for the evil. The under-payment and oppression of the ordinary unskilled wage-earner do not conduce to the abandonment of prostitution.

The vote is no cure for economic evils, as I shall later make a little clearer.

Women's wages are lower than men's: one reason is because many women are only partly dependent on their wages—their fathers or husbands give them money or money's worth. Law and custom force them to overcrowd comparatively few trades; in these trades they are prevented from doing (and learning to do) what a man could do. A woman clerk cannot, for example, however well she understands her employer's business, be sent to settle anything with the partners of another firm. Again, parents spend more on training sons than daughters for business.

The opening of professions to women (Law and the Church, for example) does not seem legislation. That I grant. But, taking the larger mass of women, who are in factories, shops, and kitchens, trade unionism is worth much more to them than votes. Low wages are a cause (as well as an effect) of want of unionism. Trade unionism would promote the feeling of fellowship and discourage blacklegging by pocket-money earning amateurs. Trade unionism would, by such successes as it won, encourage combination for fresh purposes of aggression, and so, not improbably, lead to the opening of closed employments.

What raises men's wages? Not Parliamentary representation, I fear. Real wages have fallen since the Labour party was an exceedingly clear thinker, for if there was one thing he hated more than another it was muddle-headedness. And at present we are in greater need of thinkers than prophets, of men who can tell us what is rather than what might be. Above all, we want to go back to causes. "To one of his readers, at least, the author of "The Husband's Story" seems to go back to true causes.

M. P. WILLOCKS.
liberty” which he imagines is incompatible with Socialism. The idea of aristocracy only can exist in the minds of a people when society is composed of two or more distinct elements; and it were well to realise that in the present order men are not classified by mental attributes or traits of temperament, but by social status and financial position; not by the essential characteristics of their being, but by aspects which a false society has forced them to assume.

Universal law, though seeming frequently brutal, strives for expression in terms of eternal beauty. Human codes are assuredly hurtful in their application, conducing to ultimate ill. Nature is not malefic, and, except in so far as the forces which impel societies to subvert her laws are themselves the outcome of those same laws, she is not concerned in creating pernicious types. Universal laws are engaged in self-revelation; while human laws are merely occupied with the realisation of the men who fashion them.

Few critics have been able to perceive that the system does not seek “a rapid descent to a level of individual equality,” but it is to be regretted that the phrase owes its existence to Mr. Grierson. Rather does it seek to establish individual freedom, immunity from social snobbery and economic coercion, a love of the beautiful, a soul for the grand, a perception of the ideal, a lofter pinnacle of human purpose. Equality of intellect or artistic talent is not more easy to imagine than the negation of matter or a fourth dimension. Material equality can not only be conceived, but a means may be shown whereby to attain it.

Socialism, or (as we have said) that element in the world-scheme which leads to the ultimate welfare of humankind, is anarchic in nature, and it is difficult to see how a state of anarchy, in which the freedom of one unit is limited only by the liberty of another, can be conquered and governed by an aristocracy of intellect. And, since anarchic collectivism is itself dependent on individual liberty, it is not possible for the world to have “a manifestation of anarchiccollectivism before it can reach the natural and congenial element of individual liberty.” As Mr. Grierson admits, the wheels of progress are never reversed. Anarchy is not so much a lawless state as a state without need of law; not merely a society without authority, but one without need of authority.

There is no influence so fraught with disaster to the modern mind as intellectual snobbery, for the assumption of knowledge is an ample barrier against new ideas clamouring for admission to the intelligence. Nietzsche’s elaboration of Max Stirner’s Superman has his place in the scheme of things, but he is not final. He is not an end, but a means; and the end is a unity against which he, enduring, will war. But he will not endure, for the scheme will discard him, as it rejects all aesthetics and religions when they have ceased to be significant of the people from which they spring. Nature has a curious mode in this; she does not destroy, nor in reality discard. There is no cataclysm, no upheaval, but merely a quiet emergence, an almost imperceptible transition of what was true into what is false. The rise of Truth from the perception of the few to the grasp of the many is towards anti-climax, having attained which, it vanishes. A luminous intuition ascends from nowhere to the zenith of conception, whence it falls, not to the nadir, but to Nada, which is nothingness. But it has left its impression upon the sensitive mechanism of Progress.

A new type cannot be predicted, for the prophet is himself the prototype. Whatever is realised
already has existence, and needs only to be expressed. Therefore the Superman, having been extensively preached, is the type of the present passing; and that is what the snob should have known. Peradventure his critic sleepeth.

Regarded as the ultimate human aim, an aristocracy of intellect cannot hope to realise individual freedom. Since an aristocracy, of whatever kind, cannot embrace all mankind, it must needs conflict with the liberty of some. Beyond the ego of Superman there is always an ego; behind the thinly-shrouded alter of the State an ego is scarcely concealed. But through the avowed ego of anarchism an alter may be glimpsed. It is through the consciousness of anarchism which leads to the slopes of Superman that Socialism strives to gain the heights of final freedom.

Man is a dynamic, not a static, creature. And any artist with a regard for psychologic truth will show how, under great emotional stress, character becomes restless. When man is intensely self-conscious, he is supremely dynamic, and sanction may be found for this belief in Auguste Rodin’s “Thinker.” The title leads one to suppose it a static study, which, indeed, it is, as far as external aspects are concerned. Yet in its final essence it is imbued with a subtle rhythm of unity, and it is instinct with an energy which forbids association with the static. Seated on the primordial rock whence he sprang is a man in pensive mood. Ages of time lie behind him; he is facing eternity, and even as he seeks, by thought, to extend the limits of his consciousness, a latent power is expressed in his pose. He is the emblem of Man’s tendency to motion, the synthesis of Nature’s trend, dynamic Being.

The inability of peoples to perceive this truth is the chief cause of their reluctance to accept the good in life, and strive to dispel the ill. It is frequently urged against the possibility of a Commune that there is a growing class which is anti-communal because composed of static units; but, even if this were so, it might be well to enquire into the cause of their existence. Let us not forget that the present order permits of only a limited freedom in the choice of occupation. Intelligent opinion supports the view that men who are forced by economic pressure to occupy themselves with un-congenial labour are immune from all moral obligations in respect of that employment.

Then man shall be free to choose his mode of life, he shall have both leisure and inclination to foster his highest faculties; and, at that time, the aristocrat of intellect, having pointed to a plane of existence beyond material strife, shall yield to the cause of their existence. Let us not forget that communal because composed of static units; but, nevertheless, the mere recognition in theory of such principles is a great forward step. And, having got thus far, we appear to be falling into that trap which so often besets the well-meaning, somewhat superficial reformer, the harmful delusion that the new ideas may be set up as shibboleths in place of the old, accepted en bloc, and a new world and humanity will be evolved therefrom. All now is simple, plain-sailing, blissful, exclaim some of our most “advanced” educational reformers; the mechanism of the child is now laid bare before us; we guide the wheels aright, and all problems are solved. No doubt this superficial judgment is to be found in all directions, but I think it works most disastrously in the realm of Education. Everywhere to-day among progressive educationists I find evidence of this delusion (unconscious, in most cases, I fully believe), that the education of the young is a plain, simple matter, which has just to be grasped thoroughly in order to be competently carried out. Two striking examples of the kind of thing I mean come to my mind, and are to be found in the writings of Mr. Holmes, the ex-inspector, of recent fame, in his book entitled “Education, What Is, and What Might Be,” and in the educational article in last week’s issue of THE FRE EWOMAN. In the first place, both of these works maintain as their underlying principle that Education is a simple thing, which the human being takes to “naturally”—a suitable garment for civilised humanity to clothe itself in. In his book, Mr. Holmes tells us that the bad results we see around us are all the products of wrong teaching. Children, he says in one place, are naturally obedient, generous, active, and kind;
only, evil teachers and evil teaching stifle or displace these virtues. I make bold to deny this in toto. Children are "naturally" all sort of things, and comprise most of the vices and virtues. Children are often quite "naturally" (i.e., spontaneously, out of their own unchecked impulses) disobedient, ungenerous, idle, unkind, even if no teacher and no school have ever come near them; even if "they keep in touch with nature and the great unseen ... forces of the universe, and gradually become as the simple children of the soil, who do not need to search for health and truth and happiness, because they were born with them, and have never lost them," as Mr. Philip Oyler tells us in last week's issue of THE FREEWOMAN.

Will Mr. Oyler (and many of his friends who use this kind of phraseology) tell us exactly who are these "simple children of the soil, who do not need to search for health and truth and happiness because they were born with them"? I have not yet met any of them, nor, from my reading and study, do I gather that this description fits even such savage and primitive people as the Hairy Ainus, whom, I suppose, must be considered as "simple children of the soil." The fact is, that the above remarks of both Mr. Holmes and Mr. Oyler are meaningless, and it is necessary to ask whether they spring from folly or knavery (by "knavery" I mean the wilful turning away from known facts). In one small boy showed no disposition to brood over his own weaknesses and imperfections. He put his troubles on the back of his chair and nip a neighbour's shanks deftly between his feet—a rather exciting gymnastic feat, I may mention. The benevolent teacher noted him, and said, oh, so pleasantly: "We all want to cook our very best this afternoon, don't we, Geoffrey? and you are nearly as hungry and helpful, I know." Now, either this was an utter lack of perception on the teacher's part (Geoffrey was about as bored with cookery that whole lesson as it was possible to be), or it was a distinct attempt on her part to coerce the child into feeling as if there were a duty, and a duty, he desired to do this task—perhaps a justifiable attempt; but why call this "letting the child lead," or "trust the child's unspoilt desires"? Let us know where we are. My complaint is that too many of these progressive educators do not know, or are afraid to know, that you are nearly as hungry and helpful, I know. Consider yet another question—the disposition among many reforming educators to ignore all "adult" problems among their scholars. They like to maintain that the problems which beset the ordinary grown man and woman do not exist at all in the school world, and need not, therefore, be faced. Anything more perniciously false can hardly be imagined. Space forbids me to enter upon this matter in the present article; but I will only mention that Sex questions—one of the most fundamental matters of all for the educator to deal with—are nearly always ignored. Only a few days back, I was trying to discuss the question of Co-education with the head of a "reform" boarding school, and was greeted with the airy reply, on my asking how he dealt with the Sex question, "Oh, I find it unnecessary to deal with it at all. You see, the atmosphere here is so healthy, we have no sex difficulties!" I registered a vow mentally that I would do my level best to prevent any child I cared about from going to that school.

Dr. B. L.
Correspondence.

To the Editors of THE FREEWOMAN.

Questions for "over-populationists":—
1. What food products can be named which increase less rapidly than man increase in numbers?
2. If none, then how can all food products increase less rapidly than man?
3. Has anyone noticed a lack of food on the market? How is the land in use furnished enough, hold not the much greater area of land held out of use yield a very large surplus of food?
4. What was the first cost of land? What and made it so scarce and high prices?
5. Who has a moral right to hold land out of use?
6. What was the first cost of land? What and made it so scarce and high prices?

C. F. HUNT.

To the Editors of THE FREEWOMAN.

In view of the evidence tendered before the Royal Commission on Divorce and Matrimonial Causes, it may be stated, without fear of refutation, that the present laws of divorce inflict gross injustice and intolerable hardships on vast numbers of the community on account not only of the cost of obtaining relief under the existing system, but also of its refusal to recognise such grounds as malicious desertion, incurable insanity, chronic alcoholism, and the open and continued adultery of a husband (if not combined with either his cruelty or desertion) as good causes for the dissolution of marriage.

It may be stated further, and equally without fear of contradiction, that this denial of relief, which has the effect of imposing an unnatural system of celibacy on large numbers of men and women, is directly productive of illegitimacy, prostitution, concubinage, illegitimacy, and other social evils.

Although it is reasonable to assume, in view of these facts, that the Royal Commission, when published, will contain many proposals for an alteration of the existing laws of divorce and separation, the creation of a strong public opinion in favour of reform is urgently necessary to insure speedy effect being given to the Commissioners' reformatory recommendations.

With these objects in view, please allow me to inform your readers, through the medium of your columns, that we shall be pleased to send freely, on application, a pamphlet, in which the case for reform is set forth.

To those who have social welfare at heart we especially appeal for co-operation and practical assistance in the work that lies before us.

W. G. RAMSAY-FAIRFAX,
Chairman, Divorce Law Reform Union, 20, Copthall Avenue, E.C., January 8th, 1912.

THE FREEWOMAN.

To the Editors of THE FREEWOMAN.

Your readers cannot be too grateful to Dr. Drysdale for his clear statement of the main principles of the doctrines of Malthus—a man whose ideas are more talked about than understood.

There can be no doubt that many of the attempts to refute the Malthusian theory owe their origin to an unwillingness to recognise the fact that woman's sexual enslavement throughout the ages has been the cause of excessive births, leading to the horrors of human sacrifices, infanticides, and abortion. The solution of the woman's problem is the solution of the problem of over-population, the key to all economic progress, and, through the action of sexual selection, the key to racial progress through heredity.

I think that the Freewoman of the future will be a better Malthusian than the Malthusians, for she will take up Malthus's idea of "moral restraint" on propagation, and will give it a new meaning and application in the light of the greater responsibilities which her emancipation from conventional morals will bring with it.

I certainly hope that Freewomen will not enter upon the sex relationship for any such conscious purpose as that of repopulating the earth; but rather that they will find in passionate love between man and woman, even if that be transient, the only sanction for sex intimacy—a very different thing from the seeking of such a sanction in the habit created and the opportunity afforded by marriage. The difference between the two is all the difference between emotion and appetite.

To the healthy human instinct, there is something repugnant in long-continued sexual relationship with a person with whom one is in the constant and often jarring intimacy of daily life, for the emotion on both sides tends to become merely brotherly and sisterly, or, in the great majority of cases, to degenerate into the indifference always bred of familiarity. From a union of the kind that I have indicated a child would normally result; but from the time of conception and for a long period afterwards all sexual life would cease for the mother; and I think it would be found that such an experience was not intense enough to be able to pass through the mind as a parenthesis, that in this matter we have something to learn from the instincts of primitive folk, for amongst many of them, as soon as a wife is no longer virgins and the opportunity afforded by marriage. The difference

to racial progress through heredity. But I think that the problem of over-population, the key to all economic progress, and, through the action of sexual selection, the key

ne "Nature," but inheritance and property established the family; so how it is going to persist under Socialism is somewhat of a mystery. Why doesn't someone write an essay on "The Family versus the State?"
woman earning her living. The majority of my committee are county gentlemen, and all are rather old-fashioned, so I much doubt, in the event of my venturing to put my request before them, if it would be granted.

HOSPITAL MATRON.

[In personal matters it is difficult to pass comment. If, however, it is a certainty that the Board would snatch away the father's livelihood if she married, why marry? Corporate bodies who do not recognise natural impulses cannot expect their subordinates to subordinate conventions.—Ed. The Freewoman.]

To the Editors of The Freewoman.

As an “ordinary woman” in the “rear guard,” whose immediate concern is the “Vote” in order to help the helpless, I should like to say a few words on this position.

Our country is nobly guarded by our men from foes from without. On an average, in every century, about 5,000 lives are sacrificed yearly to protect the country. All honour to them; we deeply deplore such a loss of manhood.

To turn to the woman side of humanity. What is happening there? This: an army of 30,000 women sacrificed yearly to lives of infamy, to satisfy the lust of our foes within the country—our own men.

Moreover, the 5,000 who die clean, quick, honoured deaths; how do we women feel over the 30,000, of us sacrificed yearly for our countrymen’s sensuality?

But it may be said, “Many women are there by choice.” Granted. How could it be otherwise, while heredity reigns supreme? Our daughters inherit the sins of our fathers. What of those who do not want to go, but are driven there by circumstances? Lecky, in the “History of European Morals,” says:—

“The statistics of prostitution show that a great proportion of those who have fallen into it have been impelled by the most extreme poverty, in many instances verging upon starvation.”

These are the ones to be saved. How is it to be done? As it were, the fathers of all the women in the country, naturally it should be their first concern as law makers to see that the daughters they have brought into the world should have every chance to lead clean, straight lives.

It ought to be the fight of the fathers to see that the girls had a fair wage, to see that their daughters had a voice in the conditions of their own lives by the power of the “Vote.” This ought to have been the father’s fight, not the daughters’.

Instead of this, what do we find? An absolutely irresponsible and woefully defective fatherhood of girls. These women are either necessary, or they are not. It is quite useless to pass a law by which their own daughters of sixteen years of age can consent to their own ruin; they turn them into the world without the means to alter or attract the girls interested in the Church, they use has been wrought in purity and love.

January 11, 1912.

JENNIE C. BRACE.
A Freewoman’s Attitude to Motherhood.

T HE general attitude of the masses to motherhood is the outcome of looking at the subject—strictly speaking, I should say object—from three points of view: the mystic, the moral, and the domestic. Precisely what that attitude is, we see by the ideas that are commonly regarded as being the only decent thoughts and feelings for anyone to harbour and express concerning maternity. Here is an epitome of them.

The mystic point of view is responsible for the notion that any man and woman who collaborate in bringing a child into the world are creators of the highest human type. Women are convinced that they have done something wonderful if they have given birth to a child—even though it be an imbecile. Men, when they become fathers, flatter themselves that they, too, are wonder workers, the while they congratulate themselves on belonging to the sex which, by sacred decree, is absolved from doing any of the dirty work in connection with bringing off the miracle.

From the moral standpoint, motherhood is the glorious fulfilment of a woman’s highest purpose in life, always provided she is married. If she is not duly licensed, by a certificate known as “lines,” to produce children, motherhood is the disgraceful result of giving way to the low passion of sex.

Domesticity dictates the conditions that complete the one and only standard under which maternity is blessed. No mother is worthy the name unless she is anxious to act as nursemaid, sempstress, and washerwoman to her infant. Financial circumstances may not make it necessary for her to wash and dress her babe, to cleanse its soiled linen, to take it for daily airings in a perambulator, and to sew for it, but she must like to do such things. It is not sufficient that she should want to render such services now and again, but in the case of the mysterious power called love makes her delightfully and unreasonably jealous of anyone who does anything for her child; no, such services must be persistently given in the name of duty, and, compared with them, any work of a literary or artistic nature for which she may have a gift is menial.

As a freewoman, I, too, look upon motherhood from those three standpoints: the mystic, the moral, and the domestic. But with no conventions to bid me think this and feel that, I, an out-and-out idealist, can find nothing but cant and humbug in the idealistic prejudices which are responsible for the general attitude of men and women to this vital subject.

Looking at the Creation with the eyes of a mystic, I see a healthy child as the wondrous work of the Supreme Artist in Life, a clever child as one of His masterpieces. But in a world where eugenics have yet to become an applied science, where the majority can only choose a mate from the most limited selection, and where the minority who profess to believe in free love are, for the most part, cowards, or people with not a glimmer of appreciation of the great responsibilities which freedom engenders, or folk who are as narrow-minded in practice as they are broad-minded in preaching, what part does the human race take in the creation of human beings? Merely the part of tools.

Under present conditions, men and women are not doing anything in the least bit wonderful by producing children. Indeed, they are doing something much more wonderful when they prevent the natural consequences of sexual intercourse. It is not my business just now to discuss how far sterilisation is justifiable; suffice it to say that in all I say I speak as a freewoman, not as a libertine. Most emphatically I repeat that sterilisation is a higher human achievement than production. The one is the outcome of human discoveries; the other is the result of an instinct which is as common among beasts and savages as among civilised humans. Infant production is commonplace work; the agents who perform it are given at birth, as part of their bodily outfit, material and appliances, and in course of time they intuitively learn how to use them. The human power to work wonders is so strikingly made manifest by the steam engine, the motor-car, electric light, cables, the flying machine, and a host of other marvellous inventions, that any unprejudiced person who compares infant production with such achievements cannot help but feel astounded at the out-of-proportion conceit with which the community views any specimen, however poor, of a manufactured human body. I can hear the multitude swarming to rend me to pieces with the old argument that children develop into grown-ups who discover such forces as steam power and electric power, and who invent the machinery in which these forces can pulsate as life. Verily so; all praise, honour, and glory to the Artist who can occasionally turn out masterpieces. Every such conception is to me a miracle, and the most abject failures in the way of human beings are to me all the more tragic because I am fully conscious that every conception is a mysterious embodiment of that greatest of all powers, human life. But whilst the failures are constantly showing me very plainly what clumsy tools men and women have become.

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for the work of reproducing the human species, I fail to see in the brilliant successes of any evidence that men and women have taken up the high rôle of deputy-creators. So far as human influence is concerned, genius, we know, is a fluke.

Having shown that it is a popular fallacy to believe that there is anything wonderful in the part played by men and women in producing children, I should like to draw attention to the fact that women are bigger culprits than men in the matter of keeping up the farce. There is some sense in a man posing as the “pride father” of a little cripple, even; men know how very much it is to their advantage in all sexual affairs to pander to the idealism of women. But if I am to expose the folly of the women who, as a body, provided they are married, presume to take up a superior attitude to all women, married and single, who have not given birth to a child. Let me not run any risk of being misunderstood. In plain English, my sympathies are always and always the point of jealousy if the woman who possesses a child that is so essentially a part of the man she loves. My quarrel with mothers, married hopefully or otherwise, is over the absurd airs they give themselves because of the mere fact that they have brought a child into the world. Where, oh! where is the wisdom in the words of one who has brought a child into the world? Where is the wisdom in the words of one who is a stimulating comrade to her child, who can superintend that child’s education, and who has a sufficiently interesting personality to win for that child the opportunity of mixing, as it grows up, with all sorts and conditions of interesting people, seems to me a far more ideal type than the mother-domestic-drudge.

Coming now to the moral aspect of motherhood. To argue that a woman is fulfilling her highest purpose in producing a child provided she is married, but that she disgraces herself, her sex, her family, and society if she becomes a mother, is illogical to a degree. Similar intercourses produces the same kind of result in each case. Physiological functions are not influenced in any way by a marriage certificate, so, no matter whether a woman be married or single, she has exactly the same choice of letting her functions fulfill their purpose either as servants of an embonpoint or as slaves of money. For many reasons it may be argued that it is expedient for a couple to marry when they have children, but none of them worth discussion has an ethical basis.

The domestic conventions which fix the duties of a mother are the point of jealousy if they were not so sadly narrow-minded that they sometimes bring about most dire catastrophes. No extraordinary intelligence is required for learning how to wash and dress a baby, to feed it properly, and to wheel it about in a perambulator. It is just as absurd to expect that every mother should want to play nursemaid to her baby as it used to be to insist that every woman must only do work of a domestic nature, that being her natural forte. We are quickly exploding the old ideas about woman’s sphere in the labour market, and it is high time we began to explode the petty notions which demarcate the mother’s sphere in the home. At the moment, space forbids me going into this big subject any further than it touches the duties of a mother to her child. Motherhood, it should be remembered, does not absolve women from the duty of self-development on the broadest lines. I seem to hear a chorus of such retorts as “Motherhood develops everything that is best in man.”

Does it? Have you never seen a brilliantly clever woman go all to pieces when she becomes a mother? No, I am not referring to a physical collapse, but to the ruin of intellect and individuality. Have you, men and women, who are working for the cause of the emancipation of women, never lost a most enthusiastic woman supporter by reason of her getting married and becoming a mother? Do not imagine that I think motherhood is incompatible with emancipation—quite the reverse. I consider that we shall never get the ideal race of mothers until women are free. But under present conditions women are more often the mother-women who, as a body, provided they are married, presume to take up a superior attitude to all women, married and single, who have not given birth to a child. Let me not run any risk of being misunderstood.

One last word to the “superior” mothers, many of whom are highly intelligent women except for this bee in their bonnet about the glory of child-production. When you talk about the “experience” that can only come with child-bearing, to what kind of experience do you refer? I can understand those of you I have overheard discussing the numerous ills that feminine flesh is heir to in connection with a confinement. But the more intelligent of you use that word “experience” in such a vague way. Of course I shall be an object of pity for my lamentable ignorance in having to ask for this explanation. Well, out of my ignorance, I challenge you to answer me a few questions.

Are you not mixing up material consequences with the subtler effects of passion when you use that word “experience”? Is not passion the all-potent cause of emotional development, no matter whether or not it is materially productive? Do you consider that any man’s emotions are necessarily of a lower order than any mother’s because the woman has borne children and the man cannot do so? Do you not know that every woman is so constituted physically that she must needs have a very good idea of what child-bearing means? Do you deny the power of imagination? Do you not know that most women are so constituted physically, psychically, and psychologically that they cannot always stifle desire, and that there are bound to be times when they are tempted simultaneously with that desire being most acute? Whether, under such circumstances, women yield after a battle with themselves, or are strong enough to endure the torture of renunciation, have they not gained sexual experience? If you persist that only those women who have purposely renounced have any right to talk about experience, what reply have you to the very natural retort of those who resist that you cannot possibly understand the experience which is gained by renunciation? As for the scope of passion as a teacher, is it limited to sexual intercourse? Does it not enter into every friend-
ship that is worthy the name, be it between man and woman, man and man, or woman and woman?

Any little extra experience that falls to the lot of mothers, over and above that of all married women, does not seem to me as if it could be a sufficient excuse for the scornful and patronising way in which married women who have children are apt to speak of married women who have none; and nature sees to it that the purest spinster is not quite such an ignoramus as the superior mothers make out in stubbing her.

Under present conditions, I utterly fail to find any explanation to justify the attitude of the masses to motherhood, and the superior airs of mothers themselves. On the contrary, I consider that many women are doing much finer work than producing children by trying to make the world a more congenial place for children to be born into, especially for girl children. A few women, I know, are successfully doubling the role of ideal mother and reformer, and to them I bend the knee. But many are using their position for this productive work, and neglecting their children, and identifying themselves conspicuously with some progressive movement, merely for the sake of social advancement or sexual philandering. They are hindered progress even more than the conventional mothers. And for they make any movement for the emancipation of the sex unpopular by taking licence and trying to justify their conduct by means of arguments that are intended to be based on a particular strain of responsibility. My contempt for them is too deep for words.

Edith A. Browne.

Feminism Under the Republic and the Early Empire.

VI.

Thus we have traced the history of Roman women from the old days of their absolute subjection, when they had been self-respecting if ignorant, brave and heroic if uncultured, simple and industrious if of narrow outlook—virtues they had shared with husbands who were also self-respecting, simple, heroic and industrious—to the days when, in comparative freedom, they had deteriorated into the fitting mates of their deteriorated partners.

We have been at some pains to show the effect of the teachings of Greek and Asiatic civilisations on the Roman world, illustrated so clearly in the undermining of the early characteristics of the masculine half of the Roman community, and subsequently—though far more slowly, on account of the opposition offered by men in their illogical and impossible demands that the women should be simple, virtuous, and submissive as before, while they went free of all restraints imposed by the old morality—in the creation of a new type of Roman woman, a woman free in comparison with her earlier condition, but using her freedom to hasten the decay of the decayed state.

We have, however, premise two statements. First, the Roman woman was never free, even in the sense in which men of a corresponding class were free. True, as we have seen, she commanded her own fortune—this by custom and not by law—and divorced her husband with ease; but free, as her husband was free, she certainly was not. She was not free politically or civically, though she might be free pecuniarily and socially. She was not as free as the English woman of today, since the latter may at least exercise open influence as a citizen. The restraints of responsibility did not devolve upon the Roman woman, nor did they ever so devolve.

She was still, at the end of our period, a lurker in the background of public life, a wire-puller, an intriguer, a double-dealer: all circumstances which tend towards degeneracy of character.

But, to go beyond this, she was not born even socially and financially free until the state into which she was so born was no longer a free state—was indeed hideously bond.

To be a freewoman in the fullest sense of the term it is necessary to be a member of a free community, and Rome had ceased to be free to the extent to which she had been free in the early days of the Republic. Briefly, the greatness of her conquests had, as Scipio anticipated, when he wept after the fall of Carthage, resulted in her overthrow.

Long before Goth or Vandal overstepped the limits of Italy, the Roman Empire was rotting to its fall. The Northern invader can scarcely have needed to lay the axe to the tree.

The difficulties attendant on the control of so wide an empire proved insuperable; all the abuses to which the proud and tyrannical Roman had subjected his conquered foes were, now it often happened that the slave—freed perhaps, but retaining in his blood a probably unconscious animus—was at the right hand, of Emperor or Governor, whispering into his master's ear such counsel as only his trained degradation could devise.

Prostitution at its worst, ever going hand in hand with the slave-system, openly rampant and fiercely victorious over all legal ties, demanded its usual tolls, which, in their heavy exactations, amply avenge it on the state which has brought these things to pass.

Patrician families who retained the old homely virtues, and of these there still were many, suffered, with the rest of the Roman nobility, all the horrors which the caprices of degenerate Emperors could inflict upon them.

The fever for gaining money had brought its curse in its train. The old self-respecting free burgher population which formed the true riches of Rome had largely disappeared, their small estates devoured by the huge slave-worked domains of the great capitalists, their old homely virtues turned into ridicule by the new vices of their social superiors, their simple religion replaced by the orgies of Bacchus and Cybele. Thus, when women obtained their measure of freedom, they were involved in the swinging downward of the Roman world, already "falling, falling towards the Abyss." They were not meet to help their men. They themselves were possessed of slavish instincts, the product of age-long slavishness. Their powers of mind had been left uncultivated; they had in all things been legislated for and had never legislated; they filled their natural position in the whole of the decadence, which meant Rome.

To no one cause can be attributed the downfall of the Empire, unless we attribute it, in general terms, to its natural collapse under its own weight. But this decadence, in spite of the astonishingly unhistorical and illogical attempt of the hasty reader to ascribe it to them, can least of all be attributed to the women. Indeed, we should not stop
even to discuss the point, but for the wearisome repetition of the accusation.

Women, restricted as Roman women were restricted, could neither make nor mar the state to the extent suggested. In so far as, as members of the state, they did contribute their quota to the downfall of the Empire, the onus of responsibility lay on the shoulders of those who, by putting restraint on women's natural and inherent abilities, did not lay on the shoulders of those who, by putting restraint on women's natural and inherent capabilities, by debarring her from freely using her abilities in the world of all-embracing state-management, diminished the sum-total of mind-force which might have been brought to bear on the problems of state and forced her for interest into anti-social conduct.

Just as we should not dream of attributing the evil results of the slave-system to the conduct of the individual slaves, but rather to those who were responsible for the system, so we cannot blame the women for conduct into which they were forced by the social system which they had certainly had but an insignificant part in creating.

Thus their measure of freedom, won by such hard strivings, through so many devises, amid so much bitter recreation, just as they had been practised at the Parisian Bar, which fact is but a typical modern equivalent of the activities of the Maid of Dommery. In politics and social reform the voice of woman is strong, and this merely proves that many modern figures are descendants of those brave spirits who fought by the side of brother and lover in the Polish rising of 1830. The day in which women "go and spin," in Homeric phrase, and leave the stage of life to men has gone. We still await a female Beethoven, but to-day the art, as it is studied and practised, is more closely connected with the activities of women than ever it was.

One must not forget that the connection between the beauty of woman and the beauty of music is almost as old as the world itself. Many of the old classical poems tell us this. And at a time of which one can talk with more certainty, we find Beethoven writing his only opera to a libretto, which shows those self-sacrificing qualities which the composer so much admired in woman. Beethoven could never understand how Mozart could wed his music to a theme like "Don Giovanni." But Beethoven looked upon life seriously. He was a tower of moral strength. It is, therefore, surely a strange piece of irony that Tolstoi should base his story, "The Kreutzer Sonata," with its moral teaching, upon one of the greatest of Beethoven's inspirations. The Russian novelist seems unable to understand the composer's greatness. The last movement of the sonata, he says, causes base desires to spring up in the breast. It is mesmeric, dangerous. But one may leave the matter with the remark that one isaton does not make a pianist, and that all violinists are not like the Troukhachevsky of Tolstoi.

The Influence of Women in Music.

It has always remained somewhat of a mystery why women have contributed so little to the great music of the world, for music is the most emotional of all the arts; and yet music is inseparably connected with the activities of women. Women and song are two branches of that Lutheran trinity which all wise men hold dear; and Wagner, wishing to describe the conditions of the art in three countries of Europe, likened them to women. In Germany music was a prude; in France, a coquette; in Italy, a wanton. In the poet's mind the softest harmonies are associated with all womanly virtues. To the dreamer of a far-off isle of bliss music is the sweet and restful melody fitly suggested by the noble countenance of St. Cecilia, whose praises have been sung by Dryden and Pope.

Modern tendencies indicate that women are going to take a much larger part as creative artists than they have hitherto done. The old prejudice against a woman appearing in the rôle of composer is fast disappearing. With the opening of all occupations there seems to be a good chance for clever people to show what they can do in the world. We have a modern Portia, Mlle. Miropowski, practising at the Parisian Bar, which fact is but a typical modern equivalent of the activities of the Maid of Dommery. In politics and social reform the voice of woman is strong, and this merely proves that many modern figures are descendants of those brave spirits who fought by the side of brother and lover in the Polish rising of 1830. The day in which women "go and spin," in Homeric phrase, and leave the stage of life to men has gone. We still await a female Beethoven, but to-day the art, as it is studied and practised, is more closely connected with the activities of women than ever it was.

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It is generally recognised, then, that from early times women have had an indirect influence upon music. They have been the source of inspiration, and, as such, those who really shaped the whisper and the word. In a hundred ways, by help, example, self-abnegation, they have aided the genius to unbend his soul, to deliver his message. And in this they were true to their saga, which, Ibsen tells us, is "to let it be forgotten." There is, for example, Marya Szymanowska, a woman of charm and accomplishment, who played the pianoforte with all the poetry
applauded.

possessed good popular qualities, for it was much
tious is the operetta written by Madame Nickisch,
produced in Leipzig with success. While not
songs and pianoforte pieces, often with consider­
able success, as in the case of Chaminade, whose
own performed. It might be argued that more
attention is paid to her work because she is a
conductor's desk, and Miss Ethel Smyth has also
now boast of a lady who wields the
and romance of the Pole to Mickiewicz, and Malewski during their sojourn in St. Petersburg.
There is Susanne Leenhoff, the clever wife of the
painter Manet, who is well known as an
interesting writer on musical topics. It is, perhaps,
a sign of the times that she has elected to be
associated with what is a more or less recent feature
of musical activity. I mean programme notes of
value and considerable consequence. This
work which women have accomplished as
interpreters of music deserves a word of mention.
When one thinks of Clara Schumann, Elena
Gerhardt, Aino Ackté, Madame Maeterlinck,
Wanda Landowska, Mary Garden, and Destinn—
if I may take a few names at random—one realises
their value to music as an art. The heyday of the
merely beautiful and wealthy prima-donna is gone
for ever. We have now entered upon a period in
which sterner demands are made. Intelligence,
personality, culture, temperament—all these are
asked of the artist. At no other time has so much
been required of singers. Infinite trouble and care
is necessary in order to realise the characters which
composers have drawn, whether it be Isolde,
Elektra, or Melisande. Such women as Princess
Caroline, the friend of Liszt, or Frau von Meck, the
adviser of Ischaikowsky, doubtless influenced music
more than they or these composers thoroughly
realised. But it was not by direct and active
pressure. It was by suggestion, by power of per­
sonality, by the smile and finesse, which are more
effective than a drill-sergeant’s oath or the threat
of a bully. But the doors of the harem and zenana
have been opened. Now many women are present­
ing unforgettable pictures of heroines on the
operatic stage, or giving forth word or note from
busy pens. This means hard work and enthusiasm.
It does not necessarily imply rivalry with men, but
rather co-operation with them in artistic affairs.
For there is room for both. And is it not all in the
very nature of things? For Browning himself, in
one of his most ecstatic moments, found all the joys
of the earth gathered up and expressed in the kiss
of a girl.

D. C. PARKER.

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THE NATIONAL VENDORS’ SYNDICATE,
55, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON, W.C.
The advent of The Freewoman has been noted with interest both in the American Woman's Journal and in some of the Continental journals. Frau Schreiber-Krieger, the well-known German Feminist, says that in dealing with questions of marriage and prostitution and other sexual matters, the paper fills a want not yet supplied by the women's suffrage journals.

Frau Schreiber-Krieger has also favoured us with a copy of the Frauenzeitung, a new manuscript paper circulating among the leading Continental Feminists (among whom we notice Ellen Key and Rosika Schwimmer), with the object of distributing items of general interest to advanced women. This paper informs us that four women in France have now received the Cross of the Legion of Honour—the first being the renowned painted Rosa Bonheur; the second Mme. Furtado-Heine, for her philanthropic work; the third Mme. Pauline Kergomard, who won the distinction for her work as inspector of infant schools; while the latest is Mme. Malmanchi, for her organisation in connection with mercantile instruction for women.

Germany has just sustained a great loss in the death of Ruth Bré, a great champion of the rights of mothers and children and of the cause of peace. The Berliner Tageblatt publishes a woman's page (somewhat on the lines of the Standard's Woman's Platform), and during November a stirring appeal from her pen appeared in this journal, calling on all women to boycott Italy for her treatment of the Arabs during the war between Italy and Turkey. "You women are a Power in yourselves, and do not need to wait for the answer of the Great Powers to pass judgment on the various vehicles—motors, cycles, waggons, dog-carts—that pass by; but they who climb the hills occasionally can see the real movements of the walkers and runners, can see, too, whither the road leads. Therefore, let us climb a ridge and gaze upon militancy."

One of the most energetic of Feminist societies in Europe is that of the Hungarian women in Budapest, led by Frau Rosika Schwimmer and Dr. Vilma Gedeckh. Backward as Hungary is in many respects in the matter of female emancipation, it is curious that the aristocratic classes have shown more interest and sympathy with the present awakening of women than is the case in any other country. The society is now busily preparing for the great biennial congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, which takes place in Budapest in 1913.

Militancy in Women.

Militancy in women is one of the things it is as well to get at the back of, so as to examine the principles behind it, and view it from without, before passing judgment for or against it. It is so easy for those in the road to praise or blame the others who help or jostle or outrun them, and to pass judgment on the various vehicles—motors, cycles, waggons, dog-carts—that pass by; but they who climb the hills occasionally can see the real movements of the walkers and runners, can see, too, whither the road leads. Therefore, let us climb a ridge and gaze upon militancy.

What is it? The name implies physical violence, but in reality the physical violence comes from the other side. There are one or two instances when physical violence was used by the woman, e.g., whipping Mr. Churchill, attacking Mr. Lloyd George, etc.; but these instances are isolated and irresponsible, and, whatever the leaders say, they do not belong to the militant movement proper. They will be forgotten when militancy assumes its proper place in history. What is known as militancy consists of unconventionality and the breaking of legal laws, which provokes physical violence on the other side. It is compatible with dignity and calm self-restraint, and is cold-blooded, deliberate, and planned out beforehand. In all this it differs from men's militancy, which in general is unpre-

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mediated, carried out under the influence of strong feeling (which in women would be called hysteria), and is often regardless of consequences. Women's militancy is essentially symbolic, and carried out with a set purpose. Instances of this are the stones wrapped in paper so that they should harm no one, and inscribed with messages; Lady Constance Lytton's obtain food when starving. Thus, famine riots are more justifiable than any war. (c) In protecting those weaker and incapable of self-defence. But, it may be urged, the suffrage does not come under this category; therefore, militancy is not justifiable in order to obtain it. But this typical Suffragist would answer that to her the suffrage was symbolic of the power to prevent all these things, and, therefore, the symbolic violence of the militant movement was peculiarly necessary and justifiable in order to obtain that power. She may not or may not take the power of the suffrage to prevent poverty, prostitution, and the exploitation of the weak, but in using militancy she is urged on more by the sense of the existence of these evils than by the hope of obtaining "freedom" for herself or her sex.

An aspect of militancy that is not often noticed is the secondary effects it is having. The primary ones of advertisement and pressure are of less real importance, and will no longer exist when the vote is won. But the others will be incorporated for ever in the characteristics of woman. Perhaps the most far-reaching lies in the fact that here is a moral standard for their actions set up by women irrespectively of the wishes of men, though not necessarily antagonistic to men. Hitherto woman has, sometimes consciously, often unconsciously, developed herself according to a pattern set by man. Whether this is right or not, and whether it should be encouraged and made reciprocal, is a question that would require an article to itself; but the fact remains that here is a large body of women of all classes and kinds who insist on following a course of action that they judge to be right, and that is disapproved of by the generality of men. They insist on working out their own salvation, and ultimately helping to work out the salvation of the race, in their own way. It is something new, and its effects may reach to every part of sex-relationship and of life. It is in another way a breaking-down of that god of terror and power to which, from earliest childhood, human beings are taught to bow—the god named Conventionalism. It is a smashing of his Juggernaut car that cuts down any originality and naturalness which dares to come in the way of its relentless march; and the god and the car as they fell, rather than the blows of the smirpers, have caused the noise and confusion surrounding militancy in women.

The ultimate aim of any movement is a criticism of as much force as the methods employed, and should modify the judgment passed on those methods. The ultimate aim of the Feminist movement is something more than freedom. In itself freedom is a precious possession, but it is no more a sign of morality, in the highest and broadest sense of the word, than is slavery. Why does the woman—soul want freedom, and what is she going to do with it? Those are the important things to consider. Is this freedom desired in order that Woman may develop herself to the highest? And why does she wish to do this? If the answer implies that it is that she may give more to the world, then it is well. And this developed ideal woman, what is she like? We see her figure in the dim distance, but it is not yet clearly defined. In the attempt to reach her we shall clear away much that now clings to our souls; in fact, if we see her form at all, we must clear it away now. Is the future freewoman militant, then? In a sense this is the same as asking whether she is a law unto herself or unto an outside standard. If an outside standard is adopted, then convention is immediately set up again, and the question is answered. The true Freewoman is essentially trustworthy, and moral in the highest sense, i.e., she works no harm to others either by omission or commission, and she gives of her best for the good of others. But before she is fully evolved militancy will have ceased to be either in men or women, so she will not have that decision to make. The present modern woman has to make it for her, and she, looking forwards and realising her responsibility to the future unborn woman, decides that, in so far as it is a sign that women will free themselves, no matter what the cost to themselves may be, and in so far as militancy means, not the popular caricature of it, but the really symbolic thing sketched above, then she is right in using it.

E. M. WHITE.

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