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CHIVALRY.

IT strikes one with a curious strangeness that, underneath all the anger and pity which the loss of the *Titanic* has roused, and persisting, indeed, after the storm of these has died, the most serious concern of us all has been a subtle weighing of debts of soul which the tragic drama of Lost and Saved has worked out in each individual consciousness. Not all our reverence for the lost, nor all our sympathy with the saved, prevents the nice balancing going on. Questions which start back like guilty things we surprise in our own minds, and stray words betray their haunting presence in the minds of our neighbours. Yet we shrink from facing them as we would from laying bare the nakedness of our own soul. We shrink from them as from all searching into spiritual realities. Nevertheless, the manner of the death of the majority of this great ship's human freight shows beyond any future questioning that there are laws at work in the minds of men which in daily life we should consider mere sentimentality to reckon upon, and which we, therefore, elect to ignore. What consideration of the soul is it which enables a man, looking death starkly in the face, to put a woman in the place of safety, knowing that his act spells death to him? What consideration when a group of men use hands which might have been effecting their own safety to call up harmonies to hearten fellow-men in distress? What happens in the soul of a man who, more responsible than any other for the safety of the ship, takes a refuge which is not available to all? What is it? Not a mere stoicism—a mere stiffening of the jaw, as it were—on the one hand, nor a mere lack of it on the other. What chivalry does to the heart of a man is not what an anæsthetic would do for the

body. It means an afflatus, and not a shrinking; a softening, and not a hardening. Chivalry is an affirming and expansion of the soul, which strengthens it to the point at which its own safety is self-assured, and intensifies its understanding to the point at which it can conceive the needs and wants of others. Chivalry is the law of the soul's evolution; it is the method of its growth. In an act of chivalry the soul affirms its own indestructibility. Out of its own nature it shows itself self-sufficient to survive. By its own capacity for exerting strength it has ensured itself. And what accounts for chivalry by its converse accounts for cowardice. A coward lives up to what strength he can muster. Because there is so little to be lost, he is afraid to hazard it. This explains the true inward impulse of chivalry, which is the impulse of the strong to lighten the burden of the weak. As long as one soul is weaker than another, so long must chivalry last. So we can understand the twin-paradox, "He who seeks his life shall lose it; he who loses his life shall find it," which, being interpreted, means that he who is anxious to hold to the outward appearances of life has not yet got his grasp on life; and that he who is able to let the appearances slide, has already laid hold on a more real strand of living. Hence, with the knowledge of the meaning of real life, it becomes abundantly plain that the kind of assumption which lies at the back of the notion which gives rise to the rule of the sea is an assumption which denies to woman her growth of soul. It denies her her soul's test. Physical weakness is not spiritual weakness. Women at least cannot allow it to be counted as such. Woman's physical weakness, translated as spiritual feebleness, and held as an axiomatic certainty, undermines a grow-

ing strength. The altruism which is chivalry, is in truth a higher egotism—egotism formulated on a wider basis. Not even to save men's *souls* alive—to allow them to be chivalrous—can woman acquiesce in her traditional capacity only to be the objective of chivalry. Such a tradition involves too much. What woman gains in temporal advantage she loses in the spiritual. What, then, will be the New Order? Woman's strength, spiritual at least, must be held as axiomatic as man's strength. No code which impugns this can claim allegiance in the new order of women. All which assumes that women will fail to love as grandly, to live as fearlessly, to die as greatly as men, they will repudiate. Such assumptions are not true. No one more than a woman knows them to be false. The knowledge that has been women's that they have had strength and capacity to do finer deeds than they have attempted has made women mean in their own sight. The knowledge that they have permitted a physical slightness to excuse in them spiritual leanness, is a matter of genuine self-contempt; the sum-total of those emotional over-reachings, effected not unknowingly by women, have become so fatally easy—second nature, indeed—and yet so intolerably detestable to a finer sense, that they have broken away into a series of repudiations which has been called the woman movement. It is the woman movement, because, though it comprises but comparatively few women, these few are they who embody the womanhood which mates and matches true manhood. What men in blindness and kindness do for women is so to surround them with second-rate gifts—gifts in the material—that they wean them from desiring spiritual gifts—which can only be self-conferred. The rule of the sea is a great soul-opportunity—for men; for women, it is an unbearable assumption. Women know it behoves the individual woman, who is great enough to know chivalry, to show it; and than this individual responsibility no greater can rest, even upon the individual man. There is not so much true chivalry abroad that we can afford to treat it cavalierly when we find it in woman. What, then, should be the rule in a situation such as the *Titanic* had to face, where, of men and women together, only a limited number could be saved? First and foremost, the element of sex should be eliminated. To do this the men and women should be separated, and boats allotted to each sex in proportion to its numbers. It would be obviously unfair to women to compel them to struggle with men of the less fine sort; while, on the other hand, it would be equally unfair to the men, whom long tradition has accustomed to hold that women are entitled to preferential treatment, if they were compelled to struggle with women for their own safety. But with men and women separated, chivalry and lower self-interest stand revealed in their true relation. The sex argument being wholly cancelled, the spiritually strong man will be chivalrous towards his weaker fellow, and the woman, strong in spirit, will show the quality of her mettle by acting chivalrously towards her weaker sister. Sex, in a crisis, confuses chivalry, as everyone who bespoke truly his inmost feelings would agree. Where love of an individualised nature comes in, chivalry itself is superseded by a still higher law. One can only say that universal instinct rejoices in the action of Mrs. Isidor Strauss (to quote one

woman's name which has come to us). No one would deny that this elderly woman has won a totally different place in our feelings from the wives who took their places in the boats. Moreover, we venture to say, in spite of the horror of the sea, the woman's husband must have had his moment. However anxious he might have been to give her preference, something which is wholly unrelated to the mean in human nature must have responded in pure joy to the action of the woman.

Such considerations as these bring positively before our minds this outstanding fact: there is a wide category of interests in life of which we have intimate knowledge, and to which we involuntarily accord a higher value than we do to life itself as we know it now. That is, the part is greater than the whole, which again is, that the partially divined potentialities of the part, are greater than those we commonly conceive of life, as a whole. All the spiritual things belong to this category. There is truth, knowledge, love, pity, what we call God, honour, tradition. This brings to mind some stupid things which have been said lately about human powers in relation to the "blind" forces of nature. Many blasphemous things have been said, and not all of them have been said outside churches. It has been said that the disaster of the *Titanic* has mocked the achievements of man; that blind chance has outdone the greatest that man could conceive. What a perversion of the truth. The disaster occurred because men were *trusting* to Blind Chance. Those responsible for the safety of the ship *chanced* that going at high speed through an ice-field she would *somehow* come safely through. All the garnered experience of man would have advised otherwise; but choosing to follow Chance rather than Knowledge like charlatans, they have brought the wonderful achievement to grief. So ratified by man's experience is the belief that vessels which go to sea should take with them a second plank—*i.e.*, lifeboats—for each passenger in case of danger to find refuge on, that it has struck the common people with horrified amaze that lifeboat accommodation has but rarely been efficient. So, the *Titanic*, sound in itself—its first essential—set out, deficient in lifeboats—its second essential. Charlatans indeed are those responsible, and it is surely unseemly to vilify the worth of men's good brains which have so unworthily been exploited.

Men who trust to Blind Chance have to tread very softly under the stars. It is not for them to race through icefields. Otherwise, what is there for them to say when disaster comes, save, "The thing which I have feared is come upon me"? But it is not so with the true worker. Nature is as faithful to him as she is terrible to charlatans, whether politicians or directors of the White Star Line. Man's true pride is not humbled. Rather, it is quickened. We stand ready and willing to do good work faithfully, whether that work is to build ocean liners or to write the truth as we know it.

And for those who died upholding the traditions—"being British"—we renew our faith in the deepest and wisest beliefs of men. To whatever civilisation we turn, to the Greek myths or to the Norse, we find that the instinct of man has divined immortality for those who die fighting. The happy warriors, whether of the sword or the spirit, have a place prepared for them. And, indeed, the joy which is born to us of their bravery cannot be reconciled with the thought of their annihilation. Somewhere near us they live, and all the more vividly because of the manner of their death. Let us not mourn for them as the dead. Death is not brought into being through such spirits as theirs. Rather let us regard them as that most magnificent

pilot on Shadowy Seas—Browning—bade us regard him—

At the midnight in the silence of the sleep-time,
When you set your fancies free,
Will they pass to where, by death, fools think, imprisoned—
Low I lie who once so loved you, whom you loved so,—
Pity me?

Oh, to love so, be so loved, yet so mistaken!
What had I on earth to do
With the slothful, with the mawkish, the unmanly,
Like the aimless, helpless, hopeless. . . . ?

No, at noonday, in the bustle of men's work-time,
Greet the unseen with a cheer!

As we do.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

Hunger Strikes.

IT would appear from the answer which the Home Secretary gave to a question put to him in the House of Commons, that the woman who re-started the hunger-strikes among the suffragists in prison was one receiving what, under the late Home Secretary's rules, may be considered political prisoners' treatment. This statement, if accurate, constitutes an important fact, of which the militant suffragists' spokeswomen and their friends in the House of Commons appear unable to make the most. Indeed, they appear embarrassed by it rather than otherwise.

That this should be so is due to a failure to grasp the essential nature of a militant revolt, with a consequent constantly recurring mal-interpretation by "leaders" of the import of acts of militancy whenever the "led" out-distance the "leaders."

The hunger-strike in England has not been essentially a revolt against the refusal of special forms of treatment of political rebels in prison. Prison treatment to the feminist rebel is, and has been, an incident merely, serving as a useful peg whereon to hang a manifestation of insurrection against Government. This should not be forgotten. Prison procedure is a matter for the conscience of the community rather than a serious matter for the rebel who is undergoing imprisonment. Mr. Churchill's new rules were the community's affair, calculated to restore the community's self-respect, and should have had no influence upon the policy of suffragists in prison. This at least has been our view since the hunger-strike began three years ago, and a view which we have been consistently prepared to carry out upon every occasion. The W.S.P.U. Committee, while having the good fortune to have in their ranks women who knew the possibilities of the hunger-strike, themselves failed to comprehend its genius. When the Committee realised that the Government meant business, and were proceeding to feed by force, and that a few of the rank and file were forcing the pace, they frustrated the possibilities of the entire situation by unaccountably proclaiming a truce, during which truce Mr. Churchill astutely utilised the situation to deprive the subtly incontrovertible argument of the hunger-strike of all its more superficial pertinence for the future.

This inability to use a great situation explains why the hunger-strike which is now going on is written down by the community as of small account. People confuse it with the haphazard changes of policy for which the society with which it is connected has now become notorious, and doubtless expect it will drop as suddenly as it began. Inexplicability in a general policy for the public, is sufficient to neutralise the effect of its strongest efforts. It is, therefore, time to differentiate between the policy of the hunger-strikers and the policy of the W.S.P.U., a differentiation very easy to make, considering even the baldest outline of the policy of that body.

The W.S.P.U. Committee, for instance, have recently sojourned in prison under conditions which were discreditable, not only to those who inflicted them, but to those who endured them, yet they made no attempt to spurn the insult by means of the hunger-strike. As soon, however, as the "leaders" were all clear of the prison, the suffragists broke out in revolt, and a suffragist, who was actually receiving political offenders' treatment, was the first to lead the way. Thus it becomes clear to any observer that the hunger-strike finds no official support in the W.S.P.U., and we must not, therefore, look to their official statements for the interpretation of its political and moral significance. We have, indeed, consciously to guard against under-estimating its significance by confusing it with the philosophic vacuity and political ineptitude of that body.

What, then, is the significance of the hunger-strike? It is the putting up of the sum total of the forces of the individual to resist the pressure of the combined forces of the community. It is the last weapon of the one against the many. It is the intensive force of the will of the individual pitted against the extensive force of the will of the community. Whether it is successful or not is a gamble in which the individual stands the risks and the community takes the odium. It is a final retort of a minority to the majority that would govern it without its consent. It will help to clear this argument and many others which are put forward by militant suffragists if we make clear the circumstances under which rebellion takes place. There is the rebellion of equal forces of innovation fighting against those of tradition. Of this we might instance the civil war in North America and the civil war in England; the tendency in such a case is towards an open conflict of arms; each side feels a possibility of winning, and takes its chance. Then there is the rebellion of an oppressed multitude against a tyrannous few. Here, if the multitude is in earnest, and knows its business, the result is a foregone conclusion; the few have no chance, and after a little intriguing and finessing, they capitulate to the many. As an instance, we might take the French Revolution, and, as a prophecy, the coming English industrial revolution. Here an appeal to arms is not necessary; all the multitude has to do is to show sternness of purpose sufficient to make the few understand that it is reality with which they are in contact. The French Revolution in this respect was unnecessarily sanguinary; the revolutionists sated their desire for revenge over and above their desire for justice. English revolutionists, we shall hope, will be satisfied with justice.

The third case of rebellion is of the oppressed few against the many. In the two preceding cases the issues have turned upon considerations of physical force, but in the third the only chance of success for rebellion depends upon the ability to involve with it ethical considerations. Unless the rebelling forces can make the oppressors feel conscious of moral guilt in continuing oppression, its

efforts are futile; for instance, the rebellion of the Irish people has succeeded because, in one way and another, Englishmen have been made to appear cads and bullies in their own eyes. Ireland has won because Englishmen wished to forget the conduct of England.

The early Christian rebels subdued Rome because the process of crushing rebel Christians brought obloquy upon the Romans, and Constantine was probably no more of a Christian than was Diocletian, but rather than involve himself further in the methods of oppression, he veered round, and established a religion which hitherto it had been his work to oppress. Thus a minority can win if it be tenacious in a policy which places those who stand for the majority in an invidious position. This is the coercion of the few, and is as justifiable as the coercion of the many as embodied in the laws of a State, more so, in fact, because it is by way of the few that come those innovations which later will be the higher law for the many.

With these observations in mind, we return to the hunger-strike. We see the category into which the movement with which it is connected falls. The suffrage movement is a minority movement. It has not a huge numerical backing, such as the miners, for instance, had, nor, indeed, such as any of the male suffrage movements had behind them in their time. Hence the contention that these latter were successful on account of the application, or threat of application, of physical force, and that physical force exerted by women would therefore ensure success is fallacious to the point of the ludicrous.

Far from being a foregone conclusion that the women would win, the conclusion is foregone in the opposite direction. The militant women suffragists are not even a fighting force of a size to stand the ghost of a chance in civil war of any kind. They are essentially a recalcitrant minority. Very well, then! Let them cut their coat to suit their cloth. Let them cease this childish talk of forcing the Government by physical force. It merely serves to confuse the issue to themselves, and to make their pretensions ridiculous in the eyes of their enemies and of onlookers. But in the rank and file of the militant movement there is a handful with spirit sufficient to wear down the resisting power, and ruin the reputation of any Government which opposes them. Let them not waste power in trifling over political prisoners' treatment. That is the public's affair, and incidentally suffragists will make the public understand that it is a serious affair. But if they think that the vote is a sufficient reason, and if they think that the situation is sufficiently hopeless, then let them understand that in the hunger-strike, adopted in prisons on every occasion, is a weapon which calls out as an opposing weapon one which can only be used with an increasing sense of reluctance, shame, and moral degradation on the part of the user.

The Aftermath.

Brains, anywhere, are phenomenal. Brains in Tonypany are a portent, and undoubtedly there are brains in Tonypany. In connection with a leader on the Parliamentary system which we published a week or two ago, we have received a small pamphlet, the title-page of which runs as follows: "The Miners' Next Step. Being a Suggested Scheme for the Reorganisation of the Federation. Issued by the Unofficial Reform Committee, Tonypany. Robert Davis and Co., Printers. 1912. Price One Penny." This pamphlet, evidently the outcome of reflections upon the breakdown of the miners' strike, is to us more than compensation for

the breakdown. Indeed, the sharp disappointment of failure being over, we are inclined to think that the happiest events in the onward progress of our social evolution in recent times are the circumstances and method by means of which the Coal Strike and the Railway Strike have been broken. The waves of revolt have receded further in order to augment their force and volume. It is of infinitely greater import that the workers should know what they are about, know the sources of their weakness and their strength, than that they should win an individual victory. To say that we are amazed at the grasp of principles, the penetrative knowledge of human nature, and the relative working value of types which are shown in this pamphlet, is to speak wholly without exaggeration. "A chiel amang us, taking notes," is the nameless writer of this pamphlet. "We can only get what we are strong enough to win and to retain." "No statement of principles, no constitution, no programme, can be of any avail, unless the whole is quickened by that which will give it the breath of life—a militant, aggressive policy." Describing the new democratic policy in the reorganised Federation working from the individual upwards: "We reverse the present order of things, where, in the main, we centralise our negotiations and sectionalise our fighting." Advising joint action by lodges: "The tendency of large meetings is towards purity of tone and breadth of outlook. The reactionary cuts a poor figure under such circumstances, however successful he may be when surrounded in his own circle by his own special clique." Again: "The modern wage slave, with nothing but his labour to sell, selling that, with his manhood as a wrapper." A document which has phrases like these commands attention for its proposals, whether we agree with them or not. As a matter of fact, we agree with enthusiasm with all the proposals until we arrive at the last generalisation.

To amalgamate all kindred industries into a single body, to organise the body on a fighting basis, to secure entire control of conditions and management, is obviously the right thing to do. But to maintain that the industry should become the property of the workers is further than we would follow. For instance, state-schools teachers and post-office servants would, we think, if they had any spunk in them, dictate the conditions of their service, and practically assume full control of the working. But that would not make the schools or the postal services theirs. No more then should the mines become the property of the miners or the railways the property of the railway men. Nationalisation of public properties and services, as we understand nationalisation now, is, we agree, a procedure worthy of born slaves, but that does not shake our belief that the land and the possibilities thereof are the people's. We shall not for long suffer the nincompoops whom we call statesmen to fool about with public property as they would with a box of bricks. If conditions for sailing vessels had been laid down by seamen rather than by careless, unimaginative landlubbers at the Board of Trade, the *Titanic* would not now lie at the bottom of the Atlantic, nor her human freight either. Nevertheless, when the mercantile marine service men manage their own affairs, the service should still remain the property of the nation. Not, indeed, to be managed by stupid Parliamentary traditions, such as we know them now, but by a specialised industrial parliament such as is brought to one's mind by the paragraph in the pamphlet, which refers to the "Co-ordination of all industries in a Central Production Board (a parliament?), which, with a statistical department to ascertain the needs

of the people, will issue its demands on the different departments of industry, leaving to the men themselves to determine under what conditions, and how, the work should be done."

This criticism made, we welcome the rest as a statesmanlike pronouncement. A plea primarily for the remedying of the "present deplorable condition of the South Wales Miners' Federation," it is the draft of a general scheme which will restore self-government to the industrial as well as to the political world. "The rapidity of industrial development is forcing one Federation to take action on lines for which there exists no machinery properly to carry out. . . . The control of the organisation by the rank and file is far too indirect." Then follow strictures on leaders and leaderism, which must surely fill the hearts of democrats with grim joy. We take the liberty of quoting at length. "Democracy becomes impossible when officials or leaders dominate. . . . A careful and dispassionate survey of these historic struggles (*i.e.*, Aberdare and Cambrian) will show that at every stage the interference of leaders prejudiced the case for the men, and also helped to tie their hands in their endeavour to settle the disputes themselves." After this we are prepared for the diatribe on leaders which follows:—

"A leader implies at the outset some men who are being led; and the term is used to describe a man who, in a representative capacity, has acquired combined administrative and legislative power. As such, he sees no need for any high level of intelligence in the rank and file, except to applaud his actions. Indeed, such intelligence, from his point of view, by breeding criticism and opposition, is an obstacle and causes confusion. His motto is, 'Men, be loyal to your leaders.' His logical basis: Plenary powers."

After summarising their good points under headings as follows: "Leadership tends to efficiency. One decided man is better than a hesitating crowd." "A leader takes all responsibility," and this, therefore, "ensures that his advice will have been carefully considered before being tendered." "He stands for order and system." "Everybody's business is nobody's." "He affords a standard of goodness and ability." "His faithfulness and honesty are guarded. Hero-worship has great attractions, and a leader has great inducements on this side, apart from pecuniary considerations, to remain faithful and honest."

On the other hand:—

"Leadership implies power."

"Leadership implies power held by the leader. Without power the leader is inept. The possession of power inevitably leads to corruption. All leaders become corrupt, in spite of their own good intentions. No man was ever good enough, brave enough, or strong enough, to have such power at his disposal, as real leadership implies."

"Consider what it means."

"This power of initiative, this sense of responsibility, the self-respect which comes from expressed manhood, is taken from the men, and consolidated in the leader. The sum of *their* initiative, *their* responsibility, *their* self-respect becomes his."

"The order and system."

"The order and system he maintains, is based upon the suppression of the men, from being independent thinkers into being 'the men' or 'the mob.' Every argument which could be advanced to justify leadership on this score would apply equally well to the Czar of all the Russias and his policy of repression. In order to be effective, the leader *must* keep the men in order, or he forfeits the respect of the employers and 'the public,' and thus becomes ineffective as a leader."

"He corrupts the aspirants to public usefulness."

"He is compelled, in order to maintain his power, to see to it that only those who are willing to act as his

drill sergeants or coercive agents shall enjoy his patronage. In a word, he is compelled to become an autocrat and a foe to democracy."

"He prevents solidarity."

"Sheep cannot be said to have solidarity. In obedience to a shepherd, they will go up or down, backwards or forwards as they are driven by him and his dogs. But they have no solidarity, for that means unity and loyalty. Unity and loyalty, not to an individual or the policy of an individual, but to an interest and a policy which is understood and worked for by all."

That these are not merely sentimental theories roused momentarily by the continued failure of leaders in times of crises is shown by the fact that they are to be translated into action. For instance, in the following clauses in the proposed Constitution of the "South Wales Miners' Industrial Organisation," it is clear that the following are inserted deliberately to curtail the power of leaders and agents:—

III.—All power of legislation shall remain in the hands of the members, through the lodge and the ballot vote.

V.—The administration of the organisation shall be vested in the hands of one Central Executive Council, who shall be elected annually by ballot vote of the members. The method of election to be determined by a conference called for that purpose.

VI.—No agent or other permanent official of the Federation shall be eligible to a seat on the Executive Council.

VII.—The President and Vice-President shall be elected by the Executive Council from amongst its own members. No person shall hold the office of President for more than two years in succession.

VIII.—Executive Council Meetings shall be held every four weeks; oftener if necessary.

X.—All agents to be deemed equal in status and paid at similar rates, their duties to be directed from Centre.

XI.—Any agent who may be returned a member to Parliament shall be required to relinquish his industrial duties and position.

XII.—No member of Parliament shall be eligible to seek for or retain a seat on a local or National Executive Council

XIII.—They shall attend, when requested, meetings of such executive in an advisory capacity.

XIV.—On all proposed labour legislation Conferences shall be called to discuss same and instruct our M.P.s.

XV.—Any member of Parliament, as such under the auspices of the organisation, shall at once vacate his seat if a ballot vote of the membership so decides.

And further, that those who are keenest in forwarding the New Order are not prepared to fall into the trap of leaderism is shown in the concluding words of the Foreword, which run:—

"In conclusion, let us again emphasise as it is emphasised in the pamphlet, that this work is not offered as a hard and fast, or dogmatic scheme, which the workmen must accept. It is offered in the spirit of brotherhood, as a guide to the workmen, in the necessary work of putting their house in order. Hundreds of men all over the coal-field stretch out their hands to the workmen, and say: 'Here is the best product of our time and thought, which we freely offer as an expression of our oneness of heart and interest as a section of the working class. Do what you will with it, modify, or (we hope) improve, but at least give it your earnest consideration.'"

As we said at the beginning, all this means brains, and self-conscious thought. Coming as it does, nameless, from the heart of a rebelling industrial district, we take this small pamphlet as an indication that the class movement has become not only conscious, but self-conscious, and the birth of self-consciousness in the individual, the community, or the nation is the first token of a higher manifestation of existence.

A Preliminary Meeting of the Discussion Circles will be held to night, Thursday, April 25th, at the International Suffrage Shop, Adam Street, Strand, W.C. The Chair will be taken by E. S. P. Haynes, Esq., at 8.15 p.m.

Why Not?

TRAVELLING one day from Ashford to Charing Cross, I fell into conversation with a gentleman in a speckled straw hat. He asked me, in fact, my business in life. I informed him, and hesitating to be inferior in friendly curiosity, enquired of him in turn. He wavered a moment, then replied:

"A wife-insurance agent."

"A life-insurance——?"

"A wife-insurance agent; and, handing me his card, he added: "Don't you know my place?"

I answered that I had not that advantage.

"Really!" he said; "I am surprised. I thought everyone was beginning to know of me."

"A wife-insurance agent, I think you said?"

"Certainly," he answered. "Let me explain! You see, for many years I was a solicitor; and the notion came to me one day in the course of business. I can assure you it did not take me long to grasp its possibilities"

He smoked for a moment silently, then went on:

"When I first started I was a good deal bothered how to get myself known, for I was afraid of wounding the susceptibilities of the public. It was a delicate matter. I might have been misunderstood, and laid myself open to attack in one of those papers that—er—you know. It was my wife who solved that difficulty. 'Don't advertise,' she said; 'go quietly round amongst your married friends. The thing is good—it will spread itself.'"

He paused, took his cigar from his mouth, and smiled.

"My dear sir, she was right. I issued five hundred policies that first year. Since then business has been going up by leaps and bounds; four thousand policies last year, this year they'll double that again."

I interrupted him to say:

"But forgive me! I haven't quite grasped as yet the nature of this insurance."

He looked at me as who should ask: "Where can you have lived lately?" but replied courteously:

"I will come to that presently. The notion struck me one day in Court, watching a divorce case I had in hand. I was acting for the petitioner—nice fellow, friend of my own, best type of Englishman. The poor chap had said to me—as a matter of fact, you know, they all do: 'I don't like claimin' damages. It may be my duty; but somehow I feel it's not quite delicate.' I told him that the Law expected it. 'But, of course,' I said, 'I quite understand your feelings. It is awkward. You're not in any way bound to.' 'Oh! well!' he said, 'I suppose it'll have to be—no good standing out against custom.'"

"Well, as I say, watching him that afternoon in the witness box, the inspiration came to me. Why *should* innocent people be put to all this difficulty about making up their minds whether or no to claim damages, and be left with that unpleasant feeling afterwards; for, say what you like, it *is* awkward for men with a sense of honour—or is it humour? I never know. Why, I remember one of my own clients—Society man, you'd probably recollect his case—I had him in my office four consecutive days changing his mind, and it was only when, quite by chance, he learned that his wife really was fond of the other fellow that he decided on putting in a claim. Well, as I say, watching my client in that other case, the idea came to me: Why not wife-insurance for misfortunes of this kind? Is there any distinction in Law between that and any other kind of accident? Here's a definite injury, to a definite bit of property, definitely assessed on hard facts, and paid for in hard cash, and no more account taken of private feelings, or spirituality, as you might say, than when you lost a toe by a defect in your employer's machine! I turned it over, and over, and over again; I could not see any distinction, and felt immediately what an immense thing it was that I had struck. Perfectly simple, too; I had only to get at the percentage of divorce to marriage. Well, being a bit of an actuary, I was very soon able to calculate my proper scale of premiums. These are payable, you know, on the same principle as life insurance, and work out very small on the whole. And—but this I consider a stroke of genius—if there's no divorce within twenty-five years of taking out the policy, the insured gets a substantial bonus. That's where I rebut all possible charge of fostering immorality. For, you see, the Law permits you to benefit by your wife's misconduct—so, of course, does my insurance; but, whereas the Law holds out no inducement to the husband not to make his claim, my insurance, through its bonus, does—it is, in fact, a premium on family life. No one has had a bonus *yet*, naturally, because I've only been established three years. But the principle is absolute. To put it crudely, instead of a simple benefit from the wife's infidelity such as the Law gives you, you have a benefit from her infidelity, counteracted by a benefit from her fidelity. I'm anxious to make that clear, of course, on moral grounds. You ask me, perhaps, can I afford this bonus? Certainly—I allow for it on the figures; so that my system is not only morally sounder than the Law, but really first-rate business."

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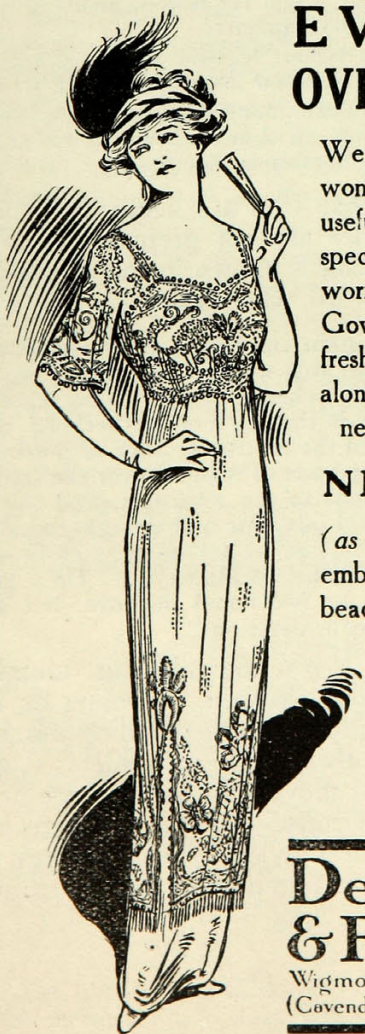
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He paused, but as I did not speak, went on again:

"I was very anxious to have got out a policy which took in also the risk of breach of promise; but at present I haven't been able to fix that up. Up till marriage, of course, the whole thing is in flux, and there's too much danger of collusion. Still, the system's young yet, and I don't despair, because I know very well that in breach of promise actions the same question of personal honour is involved, and people with any sense of humour feel a great delicacy about bringing them. However, as I say, the risk of *mala fides* is too great at present. You may contend, of course, that there's risk of *mala fides* in my divorce insurance, but you see I'm really secured against that by the Court." And here he laid one finger on his nose, and sunk his voice almost to a whisper: "*For, no man can recover from me on his policy unless the Court has given him his decree, which is practically a certificate that the misconduct was secret, and the relations of wife and husband those of cat and dog. Unless the Court is satisfied of this, you see, it never grants relief; and without a decree granted, there's no benefit to be had under my policies.*" Then recovering his voice he went on, buoyantly. "I pride myself, in fact, on not departing either from the letter or the spirit of the Law. All that my system deals with is the matter of personal delicacy. Under my policies you can go into Court, without asking for damages, and come out, a free man without a stain on your honour, and minus that miserable feeling that people know you've benefited by your wife's disgrace. And then you come to me, and I salve the wound. If you think it over, you'll see that the thing is absolutely sound. You come out of Court with clean hands. Instead of feeling the whole world's grinning at your having made money out of your wife's infidelity, not a soul knows but me. Secrecy, of course, is guaranteed."

As he spoke, we ran into a station, and he arose.

"I get down here, sir," he said, lifting his speckled hat: "Remember, I only follow out the principle of the Law—what's good enough for that is good enough for me. You have my card, in case at any time——!" JOHN GALSWORTHY.

Men, Mind and Morals.

"PROBLEMS of Men, Mind, and Morals" is further evidence of the fact which the Labour Party proved long ago—that when a Socialist takes to being dull, he is much duller than anybody else. Tariff Reformers do amusing tricks with loaves, and Ulstermen call on the name of God most entertainingly; but there is no comic relief about Socialists. Mr. Bax solemnly debates over such sedative subjects as, "Is one ethically justified in drinking alcohol?" in the most earnest manner. But at the same time his conclusions are most unorthodox—including free love and the old-fashioned dogmatic atheism of the "Hall of Science" type—so that the effect is as startling as though the members of a Church debating society should leap to their feet and blaspheme. He dislikes Christ for the most conservative reasons; for His unruly conduct in disturbing the members of the capitalist classes who were

"lawfully engaged in earning their livelihood" in the Temple, and for His impertinent precocity in "'disputing' with His learned elders" at the age of twelve. Yet had Mr. Bax hired a boy of twelve from the nearest Council school to "dispute" with him over his proof-reading, he might have learned that to write a sentence such as this: "My own 'lay' observation leads me to the conclusion that, while (1) there is a limit for every man beyond which he cannot continue imbibing alcohol without deleterious effects, (2) that this limit is subject to such wide individual variation that no hard-and-fast rule can be usefully formulated concerning it"—is to be not only commonplace, but also ungrammatical.

A certain interest attaches to his essay on "Modern Feminism," as he is one of the few articulate Anti-Feminists among Socialists. However, this interest is minimised by the fact that he seems to know little or nothing about Feminism. He states that "no Feminist has the smallest intention of abandoning one of the privileges of women," and formulates certain demands which amount to the obligation of every woman to maintain herself, and equal treatment of men and women under the law. "I can imagine," he exclaims vividly, "the sort of wry face the Feminists would make at the bare suggestion of these equitable demands." These remarks plainly point to the appalling fact that Mr. Bax has the temerity to write upon public affairs without reading THE FREEWOMAN.

The other great plank in his platforms is a startling theory that "women at present constitute an almost boundlessly privileged section of the community. A woman may, in the present day, do practically what she likes without fear of anything happening to her beyond a nominal punishment." Now this is not true, as Mr. Bax knows. I publicly challenge him to prove the sincerity of that statement: to go forth in the disguise of a woman, smash a jeweller's plate-glass window and abstract a diamond necklace, assault a policeman, set fire to the National Liberal Club, and assassinate Sir Edward Carson. If he believes his own statement he will do it fearlessly. And I will pay the forty-shilling fine he pretends would be his "nominal punishment." He need have no fear of the Wry Face of the Feminist: I will pay it gladly, for this brief saturnalia would open a new and thrilling field of activity to women.

What lies behind all this nonsense is a consciousness of the leniency of the law towards female criminals. This leniency is due to the bad conditions of passenger transport before the opening of the Inner Circle of the Metropolitan Railway in 1884. Before that date young men living in the Temple were cut off from the social life of their class. A visit to Chelsea or Kensington meant either an expensive cab-drive or a long journey in a stuffy omnibus at an exorbitant fare. Naturally, the young legal gentlemen, deprived of the society of women of their own class, made the acquaintance of women of the lowest kind. One obvious effect of these associations was the notorious fact that, in the middle and end of last century, a judge's wife was as likely as not unpresentable. But the most lasting result was the tenderness of the law towards female criminals. For when a disreputable woman entered a court of law, although she personally might be unknown to the legal gentlemen therein, her kind was not. Her vices had been convenient to them in the past; therefore, they could hardly be expected to punish them in the present. Thus there was established a tradition of maudlin sympathy and good-fellowship with the female defendant.

* "Problems of Men, Mind, and Morals." By E. Belfort Bax. 5s. (Grant Richards.)

"The Solemnization of Jacklin." By Florence Farr. 6s. (Fifield.)

That Mr. Bax can adduce this squalid folly of his sex as an argument against the enfranchisement of women is only another proof of the slatternly moral sense bred in men by the possession of sex privilege.

Mr. Bax alludes in terms of disgust to the defence of Daisy Lord by Feminists. "To read the gush on that occasion, one might have thought that the murder of new-born children represented the highest ideal of Motherhood." Statements like this really do give a Feminist a Wry Face.

The State kindly allowed Daisy Lord to be born fatherless in a workhouse ward, and then kicked her and her mother out into the cold and dirt. After having provided Daisy with an expensive education which seems to have been no earthly use to her, the State permitted her to enter a laundry. By neglecting to inspect that laundry or to interfere when the owner paid Daisy a pittance of from five to ten shillings a week, the State tacitly consented to Daisy being brought to such a state of physical and mental starvation that any kind of emotion—even illicit and imprudent love—was a thing not to be resisted. Then when she was going to have a child, the State created such a strong feeling against her that the last drop of courage was squeezed out of a weakened body, and she dared not risk exposure by calling assistance during childbirth. So that, in a fit of delirium, she killed her baby.

Then Mr. Bax wants the State to finish its beneficent ministrations to Daisy by hanging her. This is the limit.

The release of Daisy Lord was one of those hopeful signs that the State does sometimes try to do the gentlemanly thing. But Mr. Bax does not want the State to be a gentleman. He wants the State to be an orderly collection of atheists living with docile she-atheists and obedient little atheists, whom they will take on Saturday afternoons to visit the tomb of Karl Marx and explain what a very much more genteel person than Christ he was. This has the smell of Death about it.

A bracing change from Mr. Bax's gloom is Miss Florence Farr's "The Solemnization of Jacklin." It is true that it is very depressing for women workers to read that an unhappy couple struggling along on £900 a year can only afford scrambled eggs for lunch and roller-skating for recreation. But it is an invigorating novel, and contains a most charming semi-supernatural gentleman, the son of Eros by a wealthy American lady, who picturesquely goes to sleep among the Annunciation lilies or dallies at Fontainebleau talking Pantheism and Theosophy and anything else that comes handy to beautiful ladies.

"Solemnization," Miss Farr explains, "is the work of making her mind clear by first-hand experience." Jacklin solemnizes herself by divorcing her husband, marrying a dissipated artist, having a baby, and going back to her first husband. The main thesis seems to be that married couples ought to part for a time and try other partners, so that they will learn to appreciate each other better. This adds a new terror to life. Falling in love being the squandering of emotion that it is, an interpolated and impermanent love affair seems a heavy price to pay for the privilege of ending where one started.

But, at any rate, fantastic and obscure as the book may be, Miss Farr does try to get somewhere. She sees Life as an ocean bounded by infinity, not as a drop of water to be examined under the microscope. Reading her book is like straying into the chapel of some vast cathedral after an hour in the corrugated iron Little Bethel of Mr. Bax's dogmatism.

REBECCA WEST.

The Right to Love.

"LIFE is Love," "Christ is Love," are commonplace sayings of that superior religion under the saving grace of which the most civilised part of mankind is supposed to thrive. Nevertheless, no one who in spite of the censor was able to listen, for instance, to Eden Philpott's powerful drama would deny that such cruelly tragic events as the drama portrayed were the natural outcome of the curtailment of humanity's most precious privilege—the right to love. Yet to admit this, and to acknowledge that ultimately all the hideous misery under which mankind suffers arises from an indictable cause, would presumably, in this Christian community, be unthinkable in a censor, and derogatory to the dignity of a Lord Chamberlain. Just imagine what would happen to the vested interests of religious and political institutions, upon the strict observance of which the respectability necessary for cajoling human vanity depends, if every man and every woman had a genuine belief that life without unlimited right to love was not worth living. To grasp the profound import of this staggeringly intricate and yet simple query one has only to bear in mind that the feelings which moved the uncouth Devonshire peasants in Philpott's play are common to the whole of mankind, the overwhelmingly majority of whom have to toil for their daily bread in similar monotony, and surrounded by equally rigid boundaries from which escape is impossible, and whose outlook is equally limited.

Can it be wondered at that men seem dull and gloomy if there be brought to mind the ghastly array of "moral" sufferings, which have terrorised "God's Image" ever since the formulation of principles of guidance wholly opposed to the innermost cravings of human nature? How could civilisation become anything other than a mockery, when it was destroying life's most precious attribute: the joy of life itself? Is it not natural that under such circumstances we alone amongst all living beings should consider life such a burden that our greatest thinkers try to look behind the screen instead of occupying themselves with the immeasurable opportunities which life offers? The light of truth is so hidden that the beautiful reality of existence has changed into the pitiful and grotesque spectacle of living beings, who hold their lives of so little value that its miseries are only made bearable by a faint hope for compensation after death.

Nevertheless, the time-honoured saying that love transfigures every aspect of life is more than an everyday truism. It is a living truth for rich and poor alike, and allowed to work out to its natural consequences will do more for the contentment of human beings than all the social reforms put together. Wealth and poverty are only degrees of material well-being. Whatever a man's status of life, he can never be happy if his right to love be curtailed. His power to develop his specific inherent possibilities to their fullest measure are at once diminished. And this is, after all, the real standard of happiness, the driving power of life, which all living things enjoy, and which is interfered with by nature's latest product—man.

Many animals, though not by any means all, fight for the right to love. That stage we have passed, and the right to love now for us implies also the right not to love. Why it should be impossible for us thus to imitate the gentle inhabitants of the air, whose wonderful mating and co-operation yearly comes under our notice, is a riddle for man

alone. However, mankind, who has absorbed the most absurd, complicated, contradictory dogmas, ought to be capable of applying to love such a beautiful and simple principle as the essence of the ecclesiastical forgery, the Sermon on the Mount.

The necessity and usefulness of the principle of doing to others as you wish others to do unto yourself can so easily be demonstrated in every act, small or great, which forms part of our daily life from infancy, that there is no reason, except the danger to established creeds and beliefs, why it should not come to be as inseparable from our nature as it has become our unquestioned habit to sleep at night and to wake at daytime. With this principle as the bedrock of education, it will surely not take many generations before mankind instinctively realises that love is not complete when only one-sided, and that supreme personal happiness simply means that all with whom we come in contact are themselves happy—that they feel as intensely as possible the joy of life. As a consequence and as a reward will come the invaluable recognition that love without response is not love. The harrowing spectre of jealousy will pass away when the would-be lover instantaneously reverses his position, and clearly understands that the right to love is a faithful companion of the right not to love. Surely here is the universal field for Mr. Holmes' Egeria, where the seeds of comprehensive training, after a unifying and extremely simple principle, would reap the most bountiful harvest.

That love in its highest form must be spontaneous as well as mutual is as clear as it is in reality denied by the institution of the prevalent marriage laws, which tacitly imply that human beings ought to dominate their love. If love is and ought to be spontaneous, the introduction of a time-limit is as ludicrous as it is tragic. But it cannot, of course, be done away with unless women's and men's rights and opportunities become equalised. It does not bespeak well of our intelligence that there is a long way to the realisation of this ideal, and that the feminist problem appertains exclusively to mankind, who never has questioned the propriety of other animals to follow their natural impulses. One cannot even excuse our monstrous folly by pretending that mankind has not yet solved the sex problem. The plain truth is, that man is the only organism on this earth which has managed to disturb the relations between the sexes, and has created a problem of the most natural facts, without the existence of which love would lose its deepest meaning. As it is, our education is based upon the conception that the untrammelled love between man and woman is full of beauty and poetry; but the social conditions propounded by tyranny of many different kinds continue to prevent our theories being carried into practice,—primarily, no doubt, because the most natural results of sexual love have to-day, when the struggle against external circumstances no longer weeds out the unfit, and prevents over-population, become a matter of the most disquieting consequences for the lovers. Fortunately, however, the general trend of human development, which never has and never will belie itself, has come to their rescue. Progress which has meant that mankind has ever been able to discover means to benefit itself, is still ready with a remedy for the evil. As in the past, it behoves the leaders of thought to raise the storm against the vested interests, who play upon the narrow prejudices of the multitude, and refuse to take advantage of the new opportunities. With the danger of over-population we have acquired the insight and the power not to permit more children to be born than we desire. Hence there is nothing to prevent us

from firmly establishing the right to love except our own folly and stupidity.

The right to love must be illimitable, and ought not to be circumscribed by any laws whatsoever. All offspring would be engendered in love, and so give hope for a better humanity. The protection of the children is the true object for future "marriage laws," for which the necessary preamble evidently must be that the right to give new life should be reserved for those parents who are able to bring up their offspring in a way that they in their time can become useful members of the community. Before we have arrived at such a conception of citizenship, it is paradoxical to talk of the liberty of the individual. To exact taxes for the education of other people's children is ridiculously unfair, and puts the welfare of the community before that of the individual. It is directly opposed to the principle of doing to others as you would wish others to do to you. It, moreover, does away with the rock-bottom of responsibility.

The doctrine of indiscriminate child-bearing which, in fact, to-day only reigns amongst the poor, had, possibly, some excuse as long as nations existed principally in order to fight others, bowing to symbols, which would be meaningless unless they embody violent antagonism to other nations' ideals. Now, the time is fast approaching when inherited and narrow traditions yield to vaster and fresher conceptions. Our planet is practically becoming one indivisible entity, of which all the parts are known. We need and use daily all its riches. We have conquered distance and time. We are beginning to know no fear, and fear no knowledge. Why should we seem to fear a healthy and natural joy of life when human self-consciousness at last is capable of knowing the whole of its ultimate sphere of working: the planet Earth? No metaphysics,

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no philosophy, no religion can ever teach us anything definite about the other side of the grave, for the reason that, if we ever knew anything of it, we would necessarily occupy ourselves rather with Death than with this existence, and so unavoidably destroy Life itself. Earthly life gives us quite enough problems to solve; it will always offer unlimited scope for our energy and inquisitiveness. Let us at last turn our minds to make it as beautiful as possible for as many as possible. Let us all be ourselves!

AUGUST SCHVAN.

Feminism and Shipwrecks.

THE precedence of women and children over the men in the wreck of the *Titanic* has let loose a flood of hysterical twaddle on a serious subject. The rule at sea has more than emotional sanctions. In a calamity like a fire or shipwreck panic can only be averted by acting on a rule of some kind, and the reason for looking after women and children first is clearly that they have not the same chances of escape as a man, because they are, for the most part, physically weaker. The rule does not necessarily presuppose the certainty of death, or any odious comparisons in regard to the comparative worth of male and female lives. The result of breaking the rule in such a calamity was clearly seen in the well-known fire of the charity bazaar in Paris, where the men, in some instances, used their sticks to get out. The result was that the women and weaker persons fell to the ground and impeded everyone else. I recently saw one of these women on her deathbed. During the fire she had been covered by slowly charred bodies for four hours, and, most unfortunately for herself, survived her unspeakable injuries. Had the rule been carried out many more lives might have been saved.

The rule cannot be said to satisfy women much better than men. Wives would in most cases prefer their husbands to be saved at the expense of other women. A wife may be excused for considering her husband's life, if he is a breadwinner, of more importance than that of an unattached spinster. Both the widow and unattached spinster may be thrown starving on the world if the husband or father is left to drown.

Cases like that of the *Birkenhead* and the *Titanic* are, of course, extreme instances, for the men had to face what was almost equivalent to certain death, instead of merely having to handicap themselves in the race for safety; but even so it is difficult to see what better rule could be adopted, as no principle of valuing lives is likely to be agreed upon, e.g., celibates would not in most cases agree to give way to married persons, or old people to young people, irrespective of sex.

Whatever the merits of the rule, it is absurdly irrelevant to argue that it justifies depriving women of equality of opportunity in ordinary life.

Two seemingly logical alternatives are popularly presented from Carmelite House.

(1) Every man protects and provides for at least one woman, and will always give her a better chance of safety in a fire or shipwreck. Therefore a woman must never compete with a man in what he chooses as his own field, or interfere with the man's ultimate decision in affairs.

(2) If women claim equality in any respect, then they must abandon their claim to economic support, and their better chance of safety in a fire or shipwreck.

This crude dilemma does not even correspond with the facts. Men do not invariably succeed in providing for their daughters, even if they do their duty by their wives; if they did, female labour would not be sweated, and prostitution, in so far as it implies economic compulsion, would not exist. If the shipwreck rule were followed by men in the economic struggle for existence, men would help destitute spinsters to support themselves, and legislate to give deserted wives the chance of remarriage. I do not wish to emulate Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's offensive remarks to a newspaper reporter, and I happen to be a man, but I do object to irrelevant deductions being drawn from shipwrecks. THE FREEWOMAN has been accused of vilifying men as such because other feminist journals do so. This accusation is not justified, and most of its readers and contributors are intelligent enough to realise that sex antagonism will only retard our civilisation.

France affords a striking example, not perhaps of chivalry, but of commonsense, in adjusting the relations of sex. The wife has no separate property, though there is a kind of partnership in regard to the property of a married couple. Frenchwomen have no votes, and, so far as I know, do not want them. On the other hand, the normal relation of husband and wife is much more that of a partnership in regard to personal tastes and property than it is in England, and more professions are open to women. The imbecilities of sex warfare do not trouble the lucidity of the Gallic mind.

Nothing can excuse the rodomontade of the W.S.P.U. but the kind of stuff that appears in the *Daily Mail*, and which but too faithfully reflects the domestic atmosphere of those who presumably want to read it. One smells the disgusting reek of the home in which male youth is educated to secretive indulgence, either with domestic servants or prostitutes, as a preliminary to marrying a "pure woman," the price of whose expensive but frequently stale virginity is amply compensated by her unpaid services as a household drudge. One smells again the new reek of the new home in which the "pure" woman is assumed to have no opinions but those of her husband, and to conceal the normal emotions of sex in deference to the husband, who out of sheer boredom returns to the excitements of the gutter. The whole relationship is quasi-barbaric; it represents a pathetic failure to live up to the ideals of the cave man as faithfully reproduced by that queer compound of Christian pseudo-asceticism and Anglo-Saxon animality which emanates from the churches and educational establishments of the British Empire.

No less barbaric, however, is the retaliatory Billingsgate of a certain type of female. It is for women "by persuasion and reasoning and gentleness to achieve the salvation of men," to quote St. Chrysostom's words to the Christians of his time, and it need not be difficult for them to do so if they clearly understand what they want.

The wreck of the *Titanic* is a national humiliation, because it pours limelight on the fact that the House of Commons has been spending all its energies on preposterous party squabbles instead of protecting human lives. At such a moment the British public might at least have been spared the monstrous accusations of Ben Tillett, the Pankhurst depreciation of the heroic dead, and the Harmsworthian drivel about female inferiority. A. B.

French Feminism.

THE Feminist societies of France are very far from having the force of those in England. Paris has only a few groups, often rivals of each other, while the provinces have a certain number of Feminist societies among teachers. This want of effective organisation is due to the French and not to the feminine attitude of mind.

There is no strongly organised political party in France. The Radical party, which holds the power, has only phantoms of societies. The Socialist party has groups of a more definite character, but for some years the number of its militants has remained stationary. Syndicalism has more followers, because it has a group of interests, but it is far from being strong, in spite of appearances.

A Frenchman has always a great fear, as he expresses it, of "enlisting." He is full of ideas, but if one asks him, in order to forward these ideas, to enter a society, he draws back, from a vague fear of contracting obligations which he would be forced to fulfil. Under these conditions, one can understand that women, who take no part in the affairs of the country, are still less capable of organisation than men.

Besides, the necessary subordination of the mass of adherents to a few is profoundly repugnant to women in general economic life. The years given to the army have raised men to the hierarchy. Also, comprehending that in political societies, as elsewhere, everybody cannot command, they obey without too much ill-humour. The woman who till now has lived isolated in her family feels no common interest which binds her to other women, and, rather than recognise her chief in one of them, she prefers to renounce the idea of forming societies or groups.

Nevertheless, the Feminist idea makes undoubted progress. The journals speak of it constantly, either to uphold or combat it. Books, both didactic and imaginative, which treat of the emancipation of woman are very numerous. Feminism has become one of the questions of the day, and among the enlightened classes a good minority has been secured for it.

In practice, the economic emancipation of woman has made great progress. Our women advocates have the right of pleading, and they plead. Our medical women are beginning to win public approval, and as a consequence to gain their living. The high administrative offices remain closed to women, and will do so until women have gained their political rights. But the less important posts are all open to women, and a table here shows the number of women employed in the various administrations:—

WOMEN FUNCTIONARIES.

War Department	...	...	...	...	3,920
Marine	...	...	...	...	442
Works	...	...	...	...	132
Public Works, Post and Telegraph	...	...	...	...	18,678
State Railways	...	...	...	...	6,356
Finance	...	...	...	...	15,266
Justice	...	...	...	...	266
Interior	...	...	...	...	893
Foreign Affairs	...	...	...	...	101
Colonies	...	...	...	...	53
Agriculture	...	...	...	...	11
Commerce	...	...	...	...	14
Public Instruction	...	...	...	...	70,808
Fine Arts	...	...	...	...	86
Total	...	...	...	...	117,026

All these women can, if necessary—unmarried or widows—live without the help of men, for the salary, which is from 1,500 to 5,000 francs per year, is sufficient to assure them a modest livelihood.

Women are, besides, being employed in greater and greater numbers in offices and in banks; commercial houses employ them as typists to the accountants; the salary is from 100 to 250 francs per month. At lunch time, in the centre of Paris, women are as numerous as men in the employees' restaurants. They come there dressed in quiet clothing, their manner already possessing a greater freedom than that of the young girl of former days.

Another very important fact is that *the married woman works*; the man himself demands this, not with the idea of emancipating his wife evidently, but in order to increase the well-being of the home. Being occupied during so much of the day in office or workshop, the woman frees herself from the servitude of the home; she is less of a slave to her husband, and, should he prove too hard a master, she can free herself of him by divorce.

When we shall obtain our political emancipation it is difficult to say. Various legal projects are being considered. Just lately the amendment of M. Longuery, of Boisserin, deputy, who would give the political suffrage to women having a municipal vote, has been attached to article 50 of the legal project upon proportional representation, which is being discussed at this time in the Chamber. If it is adopted, this will be a first step.

DR. MADELEINE PELLETIER.

Syndicalism and Women.

THE article, "Women and Labour," in the issue of THE FREEWOMAN of April 11th is very suggestive from the point of view of the Syndicalist.

If Parliament is the titular brains of the community, it is but natural that women should desire the vote, and it is but a survival of ideas from the past which prevents her having it.

But if, as you suggest, Parliament should become frankly a body of delegates instead of representatives, then there could be no question but that women would have their share in the election of the delegates.

Parliament to-day is composed of members from the different geographical subdivisions of the nation, elected by the voters in such subdivisions to represent them.

But at one time a member of Parliament was really but a delegate from the owner or owners of land in the same various subdivisions.

With the progress of democracy we have had not only a broadening of the franchise, but also a transformation of the former delegate into the present representative.

One of the essentials of a successful democratic Parliament, built upon a delegatory system, is the organisation of the voters who send the delegate. By organisation I do not mean an unnatural political machine organised from otherwise unorganised voters, by Tammany leaders to elect a certain candidate. I mean a natural organisation which has sprung as a necessary evolution out of the industrial life of the voters.

As we have said, the member of Parliament in the days of a limited franchise was frankly the delegate of the land owners, the men who controlled and organised the industry of the day.

It was a perfectly natural relationship of servant

to master, and we preserve even yet the fiction that our member of Parliament is our servant. But we know better.

We know that he is no longer our delegate, and yet we do not see how to return him to his original status.

We certainly shall not do so by once more restricting the franchise to the capitalist owners of industry. This would undoubtedly make the member once more a delegate, but not our delegate.

Continuing as we are, the organisation force of the capitalist being so superior to the disorganisation of the workers, makes the member practically a delegate of the capitalist, although nominally the free representative of the people.

It would seem to be obvious that to make him in reality our servant and a true delegate, that we must have an organised electorate, but in order that this organisation may be effective it must spring up naturally from a soil that can give it proper sustenance.

The past has shown us what sort of an organisation is effective, namely, that of the owner and controllers of industry, and it seems to me that taking this lesson to heart we should see that if we are to have effective control over our delegates to Parliament that we must organise and make ourselves as a whole owners and controllers of our industry.

Let the workers take full control of industry, and let them in their natural industrial subdivisions select delegates to a central body—call it Parliament if you will—and we have found the one step necessary to democratise Parliament.

As long as we have a Parliament consisting of members acting as representatives of unorganised voters we must be dominated by that Parliament. And we cannot change to a delegatory system as long as the voters are unorganised, and they cannot be effectively and permanently organised as long as they have not become their own masters through ownership of their own industry.

Therefore, for democracy to progress, the workers must organise, and take over the various industries of the nation. We cannot have any truly democratic, vital, responsive central body until it is made up of delegates sent from vital industrial organisations of the electorate.

This is practically the Syndicalist theory as opposed to the Socialist theory.

The Syndicalist insists that the central body shall be made up of delegates from the normal industrial organisations of a future industrial society, whereas the Socialist looks to a future Parliament of representatives elected by an unorganised electorate.

Syndicalism with organised workers once attained must be permanent, whereas Socialism, even if attained, would be most unstable.

Of course, it goes without saying that the Syndicalist and Socialist both make no distinctions of sex, but inasmuch as the Socialist looks to the broadening and extension of power of the present Parliament, whereas the Syndicalist looks to the super-session of Parliament altogether by another body growing up from the delegates of the organised workers, it is evident that the Syndicalist woman will be considerably less interested in obtaining the right to vote than the Socialist woman.

From the Syndicalist point of view the suffragist is merely striving to have a place among the pallbearers of the existing representative parliamentary system. No doubt in justice woman has quite as much right to help carry out the corpse as have men, but why so much worry over the inconsequential?

Again, it is interesting to note that inasmuch as the Socialist is really, despite all his protests, proposing to have the State impose from above a plan of life for the individual, because the very prolongation of the representative parliamentary system necessitates an artificial building from above down, and not a natural growth from below up.

Therefore, the Socialist is bound to enter into fruitless discussions as to free-love, the division of the products of labour, religion, etc., whereas the Syndicalist, looking to the inevitable and natural metamorphosis of the industrial unions into the future industrial community, is not called upon to "solve problems." Such problems under Syndicalism will never appear, inasmuch as the formation of the future society will emerge as the result of a natural growth, and our social actions will be as natural as slaking thirst with water.

The difference between the two is the difference between the conception of a mother being called upon to decide as to the colour of the hair of the baby lying in her womb, of its sex, or other characteristics, and the realisation of the fact that in reality she has no control whatever over such details. She must take the baby as it is born to her.

GAYLORD WILSHIRE.

Woman and Mankind.

CHAPTER XIV. OF WEININGER'S "SEX AND CHARACTER."

Reprinted from Otto Weininger's "Sex and Character" by kind permission of the publisher, Mr. William Heinemann, London.

[As there is no serious anti-feminist in England, and as it has been pointed out to us an extract which we recently quoted from Weininger was calculated to give only the apparent absurdities of his theory, we are glad to be able to reprint the last chapter of this work—the one which best renders the idealism underlying Weininger's philosophy.—ED.]

I.

At last we are ready, clear-eyed and well armed, to deal with the question of the emancipation of women. Our eyes are clear, for we have freed them from the thronging specks of dubiety that had hitherto obscured the question, and we are armed with a well-founded grasp of theory, and a secure ethical basis. We are far from the maze in which this controversy usually lies, and our investigation has got beyond the mere statement of different natural capacity for men and women, to a point whence the part of women in the world-whole and the meaning of her relation to humanity can be estimated. I am not going to deal with any practical applications of my results; the latter are not nearly optimistic enough for me to hope that they could have any effect on the progress of political movements. I refrain from working out laws of social hygiene, and content myself with facing the problem from the standpoint of that conception of humanity which pervades the philosophy of Immanuel Kant.

This conception is in great danger from woman. Woman is able, in a quite extraordinary way, to produce the impression that she herself is really non-sexual, and that her sexuality is only a concession to man. But be that as it may, at the present time men have almost allowed themselves to be persuaded by woman that their strongest and most markedly characteristic desire lies in sexuality, that it is only through woman that they can hope to satisfy their truest and best ambitions, and that chastity is an unnatural and impossible state for

them. How often it happens that young men who are wrapped up in their work are told by women to whom they appeal and who would prefer to have them paying them attention, or even as sons-in-law, that "they ought not to work too hard," that they ought to "enjoy life." At the bottom of this sort of advice there lies a feeling on the woman's part, which is none the less real because it is unconscious, that her whole significance and existence depend on her mission as a procreating agent, and that she goes to the wall if man is allowed to occupy himself altogether with other than sexual matters.

That women will ever change in this respect is doubtful. There is nothing to show that she ever was different. It may be that to-day the physical side of the question is more to the fore than formerly, since a great deal of the "woman movement" of the times is merely a desire to be "free," to shake off the trammels of motherhood; as a whole the practical results show that it is revolt from motherhood towards prostitution, a prostitute emancipation rather than the emancipation of woman that is aimed at: a bold bid for the success of the courtesan. The only real change is man's behaviour towards the movement. Under the influence of modern Judaism, men seem inclined to accept woman's estimate of them and to bow before it.

Masculine chastity is laughed at, and the feeling that woman is the evil influence in man's life is no longer understood, and men are not ashamed of their own lust.

It is now apparent from where this demand for "seeing life," the Dionysian view of the music-hall, the cult of Goethe in so far as he follows Ovid, and this quite modern "coitus-cult" comes. There is no doubt that the movement is so widespread that very few men have the courage to acknowledge their chastity, preferring to pretend that they are regular Don Juans. Sexual excess is held to be the most desirable characteristic of a man of the world, and sexuality has attained such pre-eminence that a man is doubted unless he can, as it were, show proofs of his prowess. Chastity, on the other hand, is so despised that many a really pure lad attempts to appear a *blasé roué*. It is even true that those who are modest are ashamed of the feeling; but there is another, the modern form of shame—not the eroticist's shame, but the shame of the woman who has no lover, who has not received appraisal from the opposite sex. Hence it comes that men make it their business to tell each other what a right and proper pleasure they take in "doing their duty" by the opposite sex. And women are careful to let it be known that only what is "manly" in man can appeal to them: and man takes their measure of his manliness and makes it his own. Man's qualifications as a male have, in fact, become identical with his value with women, in women's eyes.

But God forbid that it should be so; that would mean that there are no longer any *men*.

Contrast with this the fact that the high value set on women's virtue originated with man, and will always come from men worthy of the name; it is the projection of man's own ideal of spotless purity on the object of his love.

But there should be no mistaking this true chastity for the shivering and shaking before contact, which is soon changed for delighted acquiescence, nor for the hysterical suppression of sexual desires. The outward endeavour to correspond to man's demand for physical purity must not be taken for anything but a fear lest the buyer will fight shy of the bargain; least of all the care which

women so often take to choose only the man who can give them most value must not deceive any one (it has been called the "high value" or "self-respect" a girl has for herself)! If one remembers the view women take of virginity, there can be very little doubt that woman's one end is the bringing about of universal pairing as the only means by which they acquire a real existence; that women desire pairing, and nothing else, even if they personally appear to be as uninterested as possible in sensual matters. All this can be fully proved from the generality of the match-making instinct.

In order to be fully persuaded of this, woman's attitude towards the virginity of those of her own sex must be considered.

It is certain that women have a very low opinion of the unmarried. It is, in fact, the one female condition which has a negative value for woman. Women only respect a woman when she is married; even if she is unhappily married to a hideous, weak, poor, common, tyrannical, "impossible" man, she is, nevertheless, married, has received value, existence. Even if a woman has had a short experience of the freedom of a courtesan's life, even if she has been on the streets, she still stands higher in a woman's estimation than the old maid, who works and toils alone in her room, without ever having known lawful or unlawful union with a man, the enduring or fleeting ecstasy of love.

Even a young and beautiful girl is never valued by a woman for her attractions as such (the sense of the beautiful is wanting in woman since they have no standard in themselves to measure it by), but merely because she has more prospect of enslaving a man. The more beautiful a young girl is, the more promising she appears to other women, the greater her value to woman as the match-maker in her mission as guardian of the race; it is only this unconscious feeling which makes it possible for a woman to take pleasure in the beauty of a young girl. It goes without saying that this can only happen when the woman in question has already achieved her own end (because, otherwise, envy of a contemporary, and the fear of having her own chances jeopardised by others, would overcome other considerations). She must first of all attain her own union, and then she is ready to help others.

Women are altogether to blame for the unpleasant associations which are so unfortunately connected with "old maids." One often hears men talking respectfully of an elderly woman; but every woman and girl, whether married or single, has nothing but contempt for such a one, even when, as is often the case, they are unconscious that it is so with them. I once heard a married woman, whose talents and beauty put jealousy quite out of the question, making fun of her plain and elderly Italian governess for repeatedly saying that: "Io sono ancora una virgine" (that she was still a virgin). The interpretation put on the words was that the speaker wished to admit she had made a virtue of necessity, and would have been very glad to get rid of her virginity if she could have done so without detriment to her position in life.

This is the most important point of all: women not only disparage and despise the virginity of other women, but they set no value on their own state of virginity (except that men prize it so highly). This is why they look upon every married woman as a sort of superior being. The deep impression made on women by the sexual act can be most plainly seen by the respect which girls pay to a married woman, of however short a standing; which points to their idea of their existence being the attainment of the same zenith themselves. They look upon other young girls, on the contrary,

as being, like themselves, still imperfect beings awaiting consummation.

I think I have said enough to show that experience confirms the deduction I made from the importance of the pairing instinct in women, the deduction that virgin worship is of male, not female origin.

A man demands chastity in himself and others, most of all from the being he loves; a woman wants the man with most experience and sensuality, not virtue. Woman has no comprehension of paragons. On the contrary, it is well known that a woman is most ready to fly to the arms of the man with the widest reputation for being a Don Juan.

Woman requires man to be sexual, because she only gains existence through his sexuality. Women have no sense of a man's love, as a superior phenomenon, they only perceive that side of him which unceasingly desires and appropriates the object of his affections, and men who have none or very little of the instinct of brutality developed in them have no influence on them.

As for the higher, platonic love of man, they do not want it; it flatters and pleases them, but it has no significance for them, and if the homage on bended knees lasts too long, Beatrice becomes just as impatient as Messalina.

In coitus lies woman's greatest humiliation, in love her supremest exaltation. Since woman desires coitus and not love, she proves that she wishes to be humiliated and not worshipped. The ultimate opponent of the emancipation of women is woman.

It is not because sexual union is voluptuous, not because it is the typical example of all the pleasures of the lower life, that it is immoral. Asceticism, which would regard pleasure in itself as immoral, is itself immoral, inasmuch as it attributes immorality

to an action because of the external consequences of it, not because of immorality in the thing itself; it is the imposition of an alien, not an inherent law. A man may seek pleasure, he may strive to make his life easier and more pleasant; but he must not sacrifice a moral law. Asceticism attempts to make man moral by self-repression and will give him credit and praise for morality simply because he has denied himself certain things. Asceticism must be rejected from the point of view of ethics and of psychology inasmuch as it makes virtue the effect of a cause, and not the thing itself. Asceticism is a dangerous although attractive guide; since pleasure is one of the chief things that beguile men from the higher path, it is easy to suppose that its mere abandonment is meritorious.

In itself, however, pleasure is neither moral nor immoral. It is only when the desire for pleasure conquers the desire for worthiness that a human being has fallen.

Coitus is immoral because there is no man who does not use woman at such times as a means to an end; for whom pleasure does not, in his own as well as her being, during that time represent the value of mankind.

During coitus a man forgets all about everything, he forgets the woman; she has no longer a psychic but only a physical existence for him. He either desires a child by her or the satisfaction of his own passion; in neither case does he use her as an end in herself, but for an outside cause. This and this alone makes coitus immoral.

There is no doubt that woman is the missionary of sexual union, and that she looks upon herself, as on everything else, merely as a means to its ends. She wants a man to satisfy her passion or to obtain children; she is willing to be used by man as a tool, as a thing, as an object, to be treated as his property, to be changed and modelled according to his good pleasure. But we should not allow ourselves to be used by others as means to an end.

Kundry appealed often to Parsifal's compassion for her yearnings: but here we see the weakness of sympathetic morality, which attempts to grant every desire of those around, however wrong such wishes may be. Ethics and morality based on sympathy are equally absurd, since they make the "ought" dependent on the "will" (whether it be the will of oneself, or of others, or of society, it is all the same), instead of making the "will" dependent on the "ought"; they take as a standard of morality concrete cases of human history, concrete cases of human happiness, concrete moments in life instead of the idea.

But the question is: how ought man to treat woman? As she herself desires to be treated or as the moral idea would dictate?

If he is going to treat her as she wishes, he must have intercourse with her, for she desires it; he must beat her, for she likes to be hurt; he must hypnotise her, since she wishes to be hypnotised; he must prove to her by his attentions how little he thinks of himself, for she likes compliments, and has no desire to be respected for herself.

If he is going to treat her as the moral idea demands, he must try to see in her the concept of mankind and endeavour to respect her. Even although woman is only a function of man, a function he can degrade or raise at will, and women do not wish to be more or anything else than what man makes them, it is no more a moral arrangement than the suttee of Indian widows, which, even though it be voluntary and insisted upon by them, is none the less terrible barbarity.

The emancipation of woman is analogous to the emancipation of Jews and negroes. Undoubtedly

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the principal reason why these people have been treated as slaves and inferiors is to be found in their servile dispositions; their desire for freedom is not nearly so strong as that of the Indo-Germans. And even although the whites in America at the present day find it necessary to keep themselves quite aloof from the negro population because they make such a bad use of their freedom, yet in the war of the Northern States against the Federals, which resulted in the freedom of the slaves, right was entirely on the side of the emancipators.

Although the humanity of Jews, negroes, and still more of women, is weighed down by many immoral impulses; although in these cases there is so much more to fight against than in the case of Aryan men, still we must try to respect mankind, and to venerate the idea of humanity (by which I do not mean the human community, but the being, man, the soul as part of the spiritual world). No matter how degraded a criminal may be, no one ought to arrogate to himself the functions of the law; no man has the right to lynch such an offender.

The problem of woman and the problem of the Jews are absolutely identical with the problem of slavery, and they must be solved in the same way. No one should be oppressed, even if the oppression is of such a kind as to be unfelt as such. The animals about a house are not "slaves," because they have no freedom in the proper sense of the word which could be taken away.

But woman has a faint idea of her incapacity, a last remnant, however weak, of the free intelligible ego, simply because there is no such thing as an absolute woman. Women are human beings, and must be treated as such, even if they themselves do not wish it. Woman and man have the same rights. That is not to say that women ought to have an equal share in political affairs. From the utilitarian standpoint such a concession, certainly at present and probably always, would be most undesirable; in New Zealand, where, on ethical principles, women have been enfranchised, the worst results have followed. As children, imbeciles and criminals would be justly prevented from taking any part in public affairs even if they were numerically equal or in the majority; woman must in the same way be kept from having a share in anything which concerns the public welfare, as it is much to be feared that the mere effect of female influence would be harmful. Just as the results of science do not depend on whether all men accept them or not, so justice and injustice can be dealt out to the woman, although she is unable to distinguish between them, and she need not be afraid that injury will be done her, as justice and not might will be the deciding factor in her treatment. But justice is always the same whether for man or woman. No one has a right to forbid things to a woman because they are "unwomanly"; neither should any man be so mean as to talk of his unfaithful wife's doings as if they were his affair. Woman must be looked upon as an individual and as if she were a free individual, not as one of a species, not as a sort of creation from the various wants of man's nature; even though woman herself may never prove worthy of such a lofty view.

Thus this book may be considered as the greatest honour ever paid to women. Nothing but the most moral relation towards women should be possible for men; there should be neither sexuality nor love, for both make woman the means to an end, but only the attempt to understand her. Most men theoretically respect women, but practically they thoroughly despise them; according to my ideas this method should be reversed. It is impossible to think highly of women, but it does not follow that we are to despise them for ever. It is unfortunate that so

many great and famous men have had mean views on this point. The views of Schopenhauer and Demosthenes as to the emancipation of women are good instances. So also Goethe's

Immer is so das Mädchen beschäftigt und reifet im stillen
Häuslicher Tugend entgegen, den klugen Mann zu beglücken.
Wünscht sie dann endlich zu lesen, so wählt sie gewisslich ein Kochbuch,

is scarcely better than Molière's

. . . Une femme en sait toujours assez,
Quand la capacité de son esprit se hausse
A connaître un pourpoint d'avec un haut de chausse.

Men will have to overcome their dislike for masculine women, for that is no more than a mean egoism. If women ever become masculine by becoming logical and ethical, they would no longer be such good material for man's projection; but that is not a sufficient reason for the present method of tying woman down to the needs of her husband and children and forbidding her certain things because they are masculine.

For even if the possibility of morality is incompatible with the idea of the absolute woman, it does not follow that man is to make no effort to save the average woman from further deterioration; much less is he to help to keep woman as she is. In every living woman the presence of what Kant calls "the germ of good" must be assumed; it is the remnant of a free state which makes it possible for woman to have a dim notion of her destiny. The theoretical possibility of grafting much more on this "germ of good" should never be lost sight of, even although nothing has ever been done, or even if nothing could ever be done in that respect.

The basis and the purpose of the universe is the good, and the whole world exists under a moral law; even to the animals, which are mere phenomena, we assign moral values, holding the elephant, for instance, to be higher than the snake, notwithstanding the fact that we do not make an animal accountable when it kills another. In the case of woman, however, we regard her as responsible if she commits murder, and in this alone is a proof that women are above the animals. If it be the case that womanliness is simply immorality, then woman must cease to be womanly and try to be manly.

THE GRUDGE.

I grudge against the people who
Loved me and would not let me do
The eager mischief that I would,
Because, they said, it was not good.

For had I done the ill I would,
The doing of it had been good:
I should have known the thing I did—
But they have kept its meaning hid,

Until my spirit is encased
In blindness: for I cannot taste
The fruit that should have ripened on
The thwarted deed I have not done.

Desire grows sullen, that was hot:
Still though I long, I do it not:
Until, O God, I grow into
The evil thing I did not do.

HENRY BRYAN BINNS.

Correspondence.

NOTE TO CORRESPONDENTS.—*While quite willing to publish letters under noms de plume, we make it a condition of publication that the name and address of each correspondent should be supplied to the editor.*—ED.

QUESTIONS.

To the Editor of THE FREEWOMAN.

MADAM,—The survivors of the *Titanic* are women, children, and but a few men. Putting the question of the children on one side for a moment, will the Editor of THE FREEWOMAN (and other freewomen) give their views on the questions stated below? When answering the questions the fact that a captain is in supreme authority on his ship must, of course, be omitted as irrelevant.

(a) Should only women have been saved, and if so, why?

(b) Or should no distinction of sex have been made?

(c) If the sex difference had been ignored, what should have been the basis of selection?

(d) Assuming that the men stood back of their own free will (and not merely under the captain's orders), what was the fundamental cause?

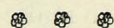
(e) What is the fundamental cause underlying the tradition that women should be saved first?

(f) Do freewomen approve of the tradition?

April 19th, 1912.

VINCENT NELLO.

[We refer Mr. Nello's attention to the leader on Chivalry in this week's issue.—ED.]



GENIUS AND DECADENCE.

To the Editor of THE FREEWOMAN.

MADAM,—By the enumeration of certain names, the author of an interesting article—"Genius and Decadence"—in your issue of April 4th, tends to mislead your readers, I think. M. Claude Monet, because he divided his tints, cannot be classed as a decadent artist. M. Claude Monet was the initiator of a new movement in art, and as decadence implies the decay, the old age of a period, the flower run to seed, in fact, Claude Monet is distinctly at the opposite end of the pole. There is no reason either for applying the term to Gauguin and Cezanne, while from decadence not necessarily comprising monstrosity, M. Henri-Matisse, who does not represent the climax of any school, movement, or period, must equally be excluded. Mr. Weston's list of "decadent" types strikes me as quite arbitrary, even as concerns certain English writers.

Decadence is a natural consequence in all artistic evolution. M. Rodin, for instance, declares that Greek sculpture falls into the decadence stage from the fourth century onwards. We all detect the symptoms of approaching decadence in relation to his predecessors in the paintings of Botticelli. Decadence can, for instance, also be quite distinctly traced in the school of Japanese wood-engravers. But to admit decadence you must suppose a strong, homogeneous ideal pervading a period, a distinct school or movement. An isolated case like, say, Aubrey Beardsley cannot, I consider, be termed decadent unless you confuse the term with the philistine view, attributing it to all manifestations which are not "fleshy," and what is thought by the normal as entirely sane or healthy. This, however, is not the artistic standpoint, for flesh, muscle, sanity, health, and normality are not necessarily artistic attributes, though they may, on occasion, be concomitant with them. Nothing that is artistic ought

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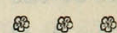
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really to be considered abnormal, unhealthy, or insane; it is only so by comparison with the leading conditions and views of a period more or less foreign to the artistic spirit. Art will always be considered somewhat effeminate and abnormal during a commercial or martial period.



M. CIOLKOWSKI.

CAGES FOR HUSBANDS.

To the Editor of THE FREEWOMAN.

MADAM,—Mr. Gallichan believes "that if wives would construct cages for husbands as skilfully as they spread nets for them, we should hear much less of husbands reverting to the ephemeral amours of their bachelor days." Of course, we should. Caged men would be as faithful as caged women are. But is it worth while? It is nearly as boring to be a jailer as to be a prisoner. Has it ever suggested itself to Mr. Gallichan that a wife's reward for perennial manœuvring hardly justifies the exertion, or that a woman's passion may be as ephemeral as a man's? The only reason I can see why a woman should scheme to retain her husband's affection more than he schemes to retain hers is because sexual relations are her livelihood, but surely free men and women seek to do away with all that.

"FREISCHÜTZ."

April 20th, 1912.



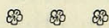
THE AGE OF CHIVALRY.

To the Editor of THE FREEWOMAN.

MADAM,—No sensible person would wish to disparage the bravery of the men who sacrificed their lives in the *Titanic* disaster, but the "unctuous rectitude" of the whole male sex is getting rather nauseous. The only alternative to what apparently took place is that there should have been a general scramble for the boats, in which case, of course, the women would have had a better chance against the children, than the men against the women. The thought is impossible to all decent men. What, then, should be said? That the men (passengers and crew) who perished simply did their duty, with superb heroism doubtless, but no more. One would be sorry to think that, under such circumstances, Englishmen could do less. It is sad enough to know that under circumstances far less stimulating to heroism so many men fail to treat women even decently. I have an idea that this sudden outburst of masculine vanity is not only somewhat silly, but combines a sly hit at the suffragettes. And is it not singular that Mr. Bruce Ismay, chairman of the White Star Line, should be amongst the survivors?

April 19th, 1912.

S. SKELHORN.



CORPORAL PUNISHMENT.

To the Editor of THE FREEWOMAN.

MADAM,—I sincerely hope that you will not open your columns to letters on the subject of "Corporal Punishment for Girls."

Every decent-minded man and woman condemns corporal punishment for girls, boys, or adults, and they know perfectly well why they do so.

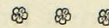
Surely the last word has been uttered on this unsavoury subject by George Bernard Shaw, whose plain, wise, and decent, but thoroughly suggestive, remarks should be read by everybody. A correspondence was started in the *Standard* some time ago, but closed abruptly, probably on account of the tone and tenour of some of the letters received by the editor, and which could not possibly be published.

To my mind, "corporal punishment for girls" is unthinkable, and the whole subject only to be classed with those other sex abnormalities, abominations, and perversions which ultimately lead to the hospital or the madhouse.

AMY MONTAGUE.

April 19th, 1912.

[We have received a large number of letters on this subject, all emphasising the above point of view.—ED.]



A DETACHED IMPRESSION.

To the Editor of THE FREEWOMAN.

MADAM,—The air of England, which I have not breathed for some three years, seems to excite one to take part in controversies, and notably to move one to that very foolish act—"writing to the papers." Abroad we have our opinions, hold our counsel, and go our way. For some reason—which could be defined, but I must discipline the fever I have caught over here in England—we not only feel we want to tell people what we think, but at times feel—most absurd of attitudes—that we should actually enjoy being crucified for our ideas. This sensation, which is evidently common over here to people who pride themselves on their independent detachment, that is, from the "middle-class" standpoint (and by this I do not mean a standpoint exclusively peculiar to the

so-called "middle classes"), would explain the defiance of certain of our "freer" spirits in the face of public opinion. It would explain your own, for instance.

There is no country in the world where people indulge in such excesses as England, none where people drink harder, swear more offensively, gamble more furiously, no country where women can fall lower and men be more brutal or sensual, and for these extremes we have to thank that preaching, moralising spirit which pervades even the broadest English minds at one time or another, and which naturally excites all the rebelliousness of evil in us as it would in any other nationality. For we are not inherently an immoral people; inherently we are what the French call *d'honnêtes gens*. Therefore, why do we bother so much about morality, why, as even those who are immoral strive to render even immorality moral? Why can we not be content to observe the beautiful things of Nature's and man's creation, and limit our activity to the prevention of cruelty and all such causes as may engender suffering? Thus we should have quite enough to fill our lives. It is morality, with its constraint, laws, punishments, conventions, prejudices, and timidities, which spoils life, not unmorality, or even immorality, provided it does not extend to the passions affecting others in a physical or material sense.

And we English, who consider ourselves humane, and who in many respects are so, who have taken upon ourselves to reform the world, we do everything we can to make life unbearable for each other, on grounds which are generally quite mythical, moreover. Thus a man who, because he is drunk or careless, gets himself run over is treated with consideration in a hospital, while a woman, whose conduct in her life does not impress the English hypocritical sense of the respectable, may be bullied in a court of law.

For moral teaching cannot be only theoretical; it must stand not only the proof of reasoning, but the practical test. If we could only put that into our otherwise clever heads—so clever, particularly, at evading the main point—we should be saved. For we are more intelligent than we are wise.

The above remarks are provoked by three opinions which I have just read, and which strike me as connected. The one is Mr. Frederic Harrison's qualification of the fashion of dancing in bare legs as "foul," for in an article entitled "The Cult of the Foul" in the *Nineteenth Century* he waves a finger of reproof at bare dancing limbs, as recently he sighed over the immorality of M. Rodin's sculpture. (One wonders what Auguste Comte would have said to women's legs—among the most beautiful of creations, and for that reason probably hidden, on Christian grounds, constantly from view—being called foul, for if positivism cannot make an Englishman sensible, moral considerations don't make a fool, usually, of a Frenchman.) The other is your quotation from Otto Weininger's book, proving once again that little which is good or intelligent has come out of that unfeminine country, Germany, for half a century. The third, Sir Almroth Wright's letter to the *Times*. These three opinions, emanating from three separate Teutonic minds, prove the enormous gulf between men and women in these countries, the *mépris* hidden under a guise of courtesy in England, not disguised at all in Germany—the coward's *mépris* and perhaps hatred for what he cannot do without—for what he needs. And because he cannot do without it, and because he despises it, to clear himself, he calls it his "guilt," his "sin."

Was ever more unfounded, chaotic German rubbish presented in a scientific dress than this book of Mr. Weininger's?

We could return that gentleman's and all man's *mépris* tenfold if we wanted to, and not because man is indispensable to us, for he is *not*, but for a number of reasons, which are clear to most women; but wisdom withholds us from despising the inevitable. To despise man would be as foolish as to despise the sun and the moon, or anything that is and has to be put up with and made the best of. I think we have proved that we have known how to make use of him by allowing him to do, and even making him do, a certain number of things in the world which we did not care about doing—the duller things, in fact. It is, indeed, a question whether we have not had the better part, and are not about to lose it by our emancipation.

But by this I do not agree with that extraordinarily conceited masculine view of Sir Almroth Wright's, that in the constant, physical, and mental companionship of a man a woman can find the perfection of happiness, even given that it is completed by child-bearing, for I do not think that all women are gifted to be mothers, any more than men think that all men are gifted to be soldiers. (Men are just now harping on the cowardice

of women as regards the realisation of their reproductive faculties, but, without insisting on their own participation in this negative attitude, what about their own courage *vis-à-vis* their national duties?)

Sir Almroth Wright talks of the modesties and reticences on which our civilisation has been built up; our civilisation perhaps, but not that population about which he is so anxious, for if women were always modest, as he would have them be, they would not marry. But Sir Almroth Wright thinks it *immodest* of women to study the only important science, though not immodest of them to confide their most intimate sufferings to him. Therefore, according to Sir Almroth, it was immodest of Florence Nightingale to save the lives of soldiers who had been butchering each other at the order of other men.

Such is masculine logic. Such also is its bad faith, for Sir Almroth, who, as a doctor, knows quite well the advantages women owe to those periodical revolutions which save them from so many accidents common to men (carbuncles, boils, eruptions, etc.), would have his readers believe, because it serves his argument, that they render women unfit for public work or competition with men. He knows also that women's stamina is, in the long run, superior to that of men, whose only advantage over us, as far as physical capacity goes, lies in muscular power. Women have more nervous resistance than men; he knows that, and, though they are frequently indisposed, they are not as easily "upset" as men. Moreover, they are more long-lived, and few of them, compared with men, ruin their health by the abuse of alcohol, tobacco, and other excesses. As to women requiring to be treated as insane during the "change of life," is this common? The event has always passed entirely imperceptibly, as far as my experience in my family and friends is concerned. And I think many women can say as much for their friends and relations.

Before closing this letter I should like to add how troubled I am to see so many of your readers attaching so much importance to their husband's pre-marital experiences. To begin with, a woman should sufficiently esteem herself to realise that there is no competition between the wife and the casual concubine. Secondly, that the man who is fond of women generally is the more apt to be fond of one woman in particular. Thirdly, that physical fidelity has no importance. Fourthly, that it is a mistake to expect it of a man, or even, for that matter,

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of a woman. In fact, men and women must not expect or exact anything from each other, except loyalty and mutual respect. For I think that those who understand each other best are those who are independent of each other—in a word, *freewomen*, as also freemen.

“TIENS FERME.”

FOOD AND POPULATION.

To the Editor of THE FREEWOMAN.

MADAM,—After reading the letters from Messrs. Flugel and Drysdale I am still unconvinced that there is anything to withdraw from what I have previously written on the above subject.

The only point I seem to have failed to make clear to your correspondents is whether it is possible to overcome the *insouance* of the lower classes until we have given better facilities for culture among them.

We are all agreed that no headway can be made in the “family limitation” method of abolishing poverty until we get the proletariat interested in the subject. I do not differ with them in agreeing that restricted fecundity is necessary in preventing population increasing faster than the food supply (the most elementary student of the subject knows it has a tendency to do so), but I suggest there is a difficulty in getting the working classes to understand the subject, so long as the present economic conditions obtain.

All progressive thinkers must deprecate the timidity, *mauvaise honte*, hypocrisy, and artificial ignorance which have hitherto prevailed in connection with matters relating to sex problems; and the first duty of propagandists must be to break down this barrier. When that is done we shall be better able to discuss the subject rationally, and that is why I have in each of my previous letters praised the freedom which is given in your columns for the unrestricted expression of one's views, however unconventional they may be.

Mr. Flugel appears to agree with the “commonplace of political economy, that any improvement in the condition of the lower classes in itself affords an additional stimulus to reproduction,” and yet he previously states: “There is every reason to believe that the increased knowledge and foresight which improved conditions would bring in their train would soon lead the whole population (or an overwhelmingly large proportion of it) to follow the example of those already in the enjoyment of comfortable circumstances, i.e., the adoption of neo-Malthusian principles.”

Now, as this is exactly what I wished to draw attention to, I think I may leave Mr. Flugel with the parting assurance that I am in perfect agreement with him on every other point in his interesting letter, and believe with him it is right to publicly recognise and discuss the whole question in all its bearings.

Concerning Mr. Drysdale's article, appearing in the current issue of THE FREEWOMAN, I can understand now why he is continually bemoaning his lot and wishing he could retire from the arena of Malthusian propaganda. When one has to write so much to say so little, as he has done in the three pages and a half devoted to the article referred to, I am not surprised he calls it “heavy Malthusian work.”

I have not felt disposed to dispute with this gentleman before, having a sort of reverence for his sixty years' hereditary connection with the Malthusian principle. The article under notice, however, inclines me to think that he is overwhelmingly infatuated with the conclusion he has drawn (or were they drawn for him sixty years ago?) from the data in his possession.

Mr. Drysdale assumes the close connection between the birth and death rate in this or any other country is solely on account of the country being unable to support a higher increase of population than that which actually occurs. He states that England is only now able to support an increase of 11 per 1,000, where she once supported 15 per 1,000. No account whatever has been taken of the fact that both food and commodities are produced solely for profit, under the present system, without taking into consideration the requirements of

the people, so far as maintaining life and health are concerned.

All the figures which your correspondent brings forward to prove what has taken place in the past under an enslaved and ignorant capitalistic system cannot help us in the least in realising what would happen in a free, enlightened, and co-operative commonwealth of the future.

The contention of this enthusiastic Malthusian is that the increase of population is entirely dependent on the state of its agriculture, manufactures, etc. No one wishes to dispute that fact; but there is also the other fact that under a capitalistic system improvements in the means of wealth production do not imply that the increase of wealth obtained will advance the comfort or improve the conditions of a larger number of the population. As a matter of fact, almost every improvement in the way of increasing wealth reduces the number of people sharing in the wealth produced.

Mr. Drysdale, when he says the Malthusians “in no way deny the apparent inefficiency of the present social system,” must be overlooking the fact that 250,000 people in this country take £600,000,000 of the national income. The inefficiency is plain, palpable, glaring.

Surely the more equal distribution of wealth would decrease the number of premature deaths, from starvation and unhealthy modes of living, and thus reduce the death-rate; this without taking into consideration the benefits which would accrue from the supply of pure food which the abolition of the capitalistic system of production for profit would bring about.

In saying all this I am not disclaiming the efficacy of the neo-Malthusian principles; I simply assert, as I do in my answer to Mr. Flugel, that there is a great difficulty to get the lower classes instructed in the theory, in consequence of the economic conditions which prevail under the present system.

The lack of leisure, the feeling of insecurity, the dread of unemployment, all tend to dispel any inclination for reading or study, even if the facilities were at hand.

I think this, in conjunction with my previous letters, makes my case clear; but, in conclusion, I would like to ask Mr. Drysdale if he is not aware that commodities are withheld for the purpose of raising the market value. If he does know this, why does he trot out, as evidence in support of his case, that the “newspapers last year were continually informing us of the pressure of population on food as an explanation of the rise of food prices”? He should know as well as anyone that the Press of to-day has prostituted itself to the capitalist class, and acts accordingly.

I must apologise for occupying so much of your space, which might have been more profitably employed, but I wish it understood that I do not desire to oppose Malthusians or any other body of progressive propagandists, but to co-operate with them. It is desirable, however, that all phases of the subject should be reviewed, and it appeared to me the Malthusians were working in the belief that theirs was the only straight road to Utopia.

FRED COLLINS.

April 20th, 1912.

NEO-MALTHUSIANISM AND THE WORKING CLASSES.

To the Editor of THE FREEWOMAN.

MADAM,—In reading up Malthus's Essay on Population some two years ago for the purpose of a paper which I was writing on Marriage, I came upon the following striking sentence:—“Allowing the stimulus of inequality of conditions to have been necessary in order to raise man from the indolence and apathy of the savage to the activity and intelligence of civilised life, it does not follow that the continuance of the same stimulus should be necessary when this activity and energy of mind have been once gained.” From which I conclude that, were Malthus living now he would be amongst the Socialists, and not in the ranks of the Neo-Malthusians.

Mr. Drysdale must rid himself of the idea that the propaganda of the Neo-Malthusian League will ever make headway amongst the working classes, who are too close to Life and too healthy in their instincts not to be revolted by practices which are to the outcome of that *fear* of Life, and that self-distrust which are the universal marks of individual and class parasitism. The gospel of Feminism will, however, make its own appeal to the workers; and there is, to my mind, no more hopeful sign of the times than the way in which the working-class woman regards work outside the home. If she does not exactly make a virtue of the necessity she is under to support herself, she does (I speak from first-hand knowledge), in numerous cases, value very highly the independence which her work ensures to her; and the

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camaraderie of the life in workshop or factory appeals to her social sense—a sense which, by the way, is much more highly developed in her than it is in the middle-class woman. That the working woman should be forced to bear children—and incidentally to make a population problem—in her spare time, as it were, is the fault of our foolish notions of sexual morality, which insists on keeping her tied to some man when the purpose of their union, as far as she is concerned, has been achieved. Left to her natural inclinations, she is the prototype of the freewoman, having, at one time or another, her man and her child, but having her work always.

The constant pressure of population upon the means of subsistence and the consequent horrors of human sacrifices, infanticide, abortion, war, and slavery, are the awful price that humanity has had to pay for the institution of marriage and the patriarchal family. But the cry of the average sensual man throughout history has been: "Speak unto us smooth things; prophesy unto us deceits"; and so he does not see that if he enslave woman he cannot escape the righteous retribution of being a slave himself.

ISABEL LEATHAM.

“MADE BY MAN.”

To the Editor of THE FREEWOMAN.

MADAM,—Mr. Arthur D. Lewis furnishes a text for a sermon on economics, "The difference between a field anywhere in Europe and a steam engine is only a question of degree: both were made by man."

The words "question of degree" must refer to "made by man." That is, one is made by man in a greater degree than the other, for if man can make a complete field, he can make a bleak mountain or a torrid desert. But his field must be located in a region of rain and sun; in other words, Nature must help make the field. But Nature creates also in degrees; sun, rain, soil, availability, etc.—the qualities that make land useful—are not evenly distributed; the spots offering the greatest return to labour, therefore, offer an advantage to the possessor. This advantage is measured by ground-rent. Hence, if all people have equal rights on the earth, then all have an equal right to the ground-rent, which might be taken instead of taxes, thus abolishing taxation.

Each year thousands are added to the number of people who believe that the above reasons justify the abolition of the private claims on ground-rent. Can we find as good reasons for collective ownership of an engine, which is "made by man" in a greater degree than is the field? Labour begins with iron ore, which costs nothing, and which depends on neither sun, rain, nor soil; labour smelts the ore, rolls, casts, and beats the iron, and the engine is formed, the product of labour, justly belonging to the producer. The ultra-collectivist will urge that many men worked on the engine, hence it is a social product; this is not necessary to satisfy justice, if each contributor has received an equivalent for his labour in some other form. By paying each producer justly, either an individual or a collectivity, may rightly own an engine. This is not true of land. No man-made land, hence no man may justly charge a price for land. How can the Socialist hold that any product of labour MUST be collective, without violating the just maxim that the product belongs to the producer?

If Marx classifies rent and interest under surplus value, he confuses things that are totally different. He defines surplus value as unpaid labour. He says rent may arise because of a waterfall, which furnishes productive power that is certainly not labour power.

I mentioned Marx's "independent man," not mine. What did Marx mean when he said land makes a man independent of capital, unless he meant that the man is independent of exploitation. Why cite the boy who is glad to become a porter under present conditions? Free the vacant land, and the conditions will be so changed that labour will get its whole product. With ample scope for all, there is nothing pitiless about competition. Single tax would make "huge incomes" impossible; profit would be absorbed by high wages. The idea that single taxes favour a "capitalist class," or a return to capital over what capital will yield if retained by its creator, labour, is wholly erroneous. Socialists should remember that labourers now willingly hand over their capital to non-workers, and cannot complain if the latter receive the earnings of that capital.

C. F. HUNT.

FOOD AND POPULATION.

To the Editor of THE FREEWOMAN.

MADAM,—Dr. Drysdale quotes passages from Bernard Shaw and Ruskin. No doubt both have said that the population question is a question, but neither, as I think I can show, agreed with Dr. Drysdale about it. Dr.

Drysdale's quotation from Ruskin ("Time and Tide," Letter III., § 10) is a rhetorical question, asking the working man whether he has considered the question at all and not indicating Ruskin's opinion on it. In § 143 Ruskin declares that he would not deal with the population directly at all: "By this or that law respecting land you decide whether the nation shall consist of fifty or of a hundred millions. But by this or that law respecting work, you decide whether the given number of millions shall be rogues or honest men, shall be wretched or happy men. And the question of numbers is wholly immaterial, compared with that of character; or, rather, its own materialness depends on the prior determination of character. Make your nation consist of knaves, and, as Emerson said long ago, it is but the case of any other vermin—the more, the worse." Mr. Hunt might rejoice too soon at this passage; but, in § 151 and 152, Ruskin shows he is not a single-taxer, and declares that he wishes land to be an expense to State-paid owners, "great part of it being kept in conditions of natural grace, which return no rent but their loveliness, and the rest made, at whatever cost, exemplary in perfection of such agriculture as develops the happiest peasant life; agriculture which, as I will show you hereafter, must reject the aid of all mechanism except that of instruments guided solely by the human hand, or by animal, or directly natural forces, and which, therefore, cannot compete for profitability with agriculture carried on by aid of machinery."

There is no doubt much truth in what Ruskin says, but as for his supporting Dr. Drysdale, in this book (I know Ruskin cannot be relied on always to say the same thing, but Dr. Drysdale found this special volume of his works for me) Ruskin does not attach importance to any sized population, big or little, and positively prefers a small food supply and happy cultivators to a large food supply and drudges.

Mr. Bernard Shaw, from whom Dr. Drysdale has a quotation, is apparently at present in favour of the State taking steps to hasten the increase of population, for I find in his preface to Brieux's plays (page 39) the following passage:—

"The expectation of the neo-Malthusians that the regulation of births in our families would give the fewer children born a better chance of survival in greater numbers, and in fuller health and efficiency, than the children of the old unrestricted families, and of the mother exhausted by excessive child-bearing has no doubt been fulfilled in some cases; but, on the whole, artificial sterility seems to be beating natural fertility, for, as far as can be judged by certain sectional but typical private censuses, the average number of children produced is being dragged down to one and a half per family by the large proportion of intentionally childless marriages, and the heavy pressure of the cost of private child-bearing on the scanty incomes of the masses.

"That this will force us to a liberal State endowment of parentage, direct or indirect, is not now doubted by people who understand the problem; in fact, as I write, the first step has already been taken by the Government's proposal to exempt parents from the full burden of taxation borne by the childless."

April 19th, 1912.

ARTHUR D. LEWIS.

[Dr. Drysdale last week intimated that, as far as he was concerned, the Malthusian discussion from the economic point of view must be considered closed for the time being.—ED.]

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