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CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
THE WOMAN MOVEMENT AND THE "ABLEST SOCIALISTS"	281	THE NEW HYGIENE: Natural Health <i>versus</i> Economic Wealth. By Helen Meredith Macdonald	292	The Case of Penelope	295
MR. JONES' DEFENCE. By H. F. Rubinstein	286	CORRESPONDENCE:		Chastity and Fidelity	296
USURY. The Prime Cause of Want and Unemployment. —II. By Arthur Kitson	288	A Correction	294	Grades in Happiness	296
A LAST WORD ON WHISTLER. By E. K. Guthrie	291	A Competitive Spirit	294	Rebecca West's Attack on Men	298
		Land and Capital	294	The Daughter and the Home	298
		Mr. McKenna and Forcible Feeding	295	The Forcible Feeding of Mrs. Leigh	299
		Insurrectionary Morality	295	The Lord Chief Justice and the Lash	299

THE WOMAN MOVEMENT AND THE "ABLEST SOCIALISTS."

THERE appears in the current issue of the *New Age* a lengthy review of those activities among women which the editor of that journal (following what now appears to be an established practice) elects to call the Woman Movement. The greater part of the ten columns of "Notes of the Week" are taken up with an estimation of the "tactics" of the Women's Social and Political Union, but as in part the review touches on wider issues, we feel it worth our while to make some reply, especially as the writer makes a specific challenge. "We challenge any of the women's leaders (!) or thinkers to define in intelligible language the particular system or grievance, as distinct from men's, from which they desire to be emancipated." Had a similarly-worded challenge issued from the pages of THE FREEWOMAN, we make bold to assert it would have been unanswerable, for it has been THE FREEWOMAN'S business to show the two causes, man's and woman's, are one, and by a more subtle line of reasoning than the editor of the *New Age* has dreamt of making we might prove that even for the *New Age* they are one—in THE FREEWOMAN, one in freedom; in the *New Age*, one in bondage. We will, however, restrain this subtler line of reasoning in order to meet the criticisms of the editor of the *New Age* on his own grounds; for while, very inconsistently, he maintains that there exists no distinction of cause, he proceeds to prove it by declaring men and women to be born different, having different outlooks upon life, different activities, and different goals. According to him, industry is man's natural sphere, as marriage is woman's. Women seek

"to be emancipated from the industrial system altogether." "They are in it under protest and against their will," a fact of which "the escape from industry into marriage which many women make and most women would gladly seize, is sufficient proof." On the other hand, "a man finds himself at home in industry, loves it for its own sake." "Thus it follows that (for women) the reform of marriage takes precedence in importance over the reform of the economic conditions of unmarried women, and should have been advocated in preference to the latter." In such phrases it becomes evident that the writer has answered his own challenge, and incidentally proves that he is the last person to have issued such. For obviously, if "Marriage Reform" is the right objective for the Woman Movement, and "Industrial Reform" the objective of men, the editor of the *New Age* himself relieves the "women's leaders (!) and thinkers" of the task he set them. It is he who arguing doubtless from the standpoint that man being "entirely subordinated to his brain," and woman being "an appendage of the uterus" (statements which appear in the same issue of the *New Age*, but not in the same article), proves that the Woman Movement *has* an objective distinct from that of men. The challenge is, therefore, merely indicative of confusion and slipshod thinking. These appearing in the pages of a single article are self-evident. Unfortunately, the unsound reasoning of the *New Age* is not always so obvious. The fact that it is a paper written by men and for men, that it is the "organ of the ablest Socialists," as Mr. G. K. Chesterton

characterised it last week in a daily paper, appears to have relieved it from all criticism in as far as it deals with the interests of men. Only when it hits out more harshly than usual at women does it raise a little shout of protest (occasionally, it must be granted, a squeal, indeed). We are, however, forced into the belief that its fallacious estimation of the women's emancipation movement is a secondary affair—secondary in relation to a more fundamental misapprehension of the movement for the emancipation of men. Having failed to grasp the latter, it would be unreasonable to expect a comprehension of the former. As to this latter, the writer in the same article is very precise. The emancipation of men is represented by a progress from the wage-system to another system—Guild-Socialism, to wit. "Every wage-slave, we contend, naturally desires to become economically independent of an employer—not of a master, *be it observed*—in his own trade, but of a profiteering employer." (The italics are ours.) "The means (to this), it is now well understood, are mainly economic; the enemy is the capitalist; and the system which will supersede wage-slavery . . . is Guild-Socialism, or an active partnership, for industrial purposes only between the State and the worker's unions." This progression from wage-slavery to Guild-Socialism, for the nonce, the writer christens Social Reform, and of it, and of women's relation to it, he speaks thus: "Let us distinguish between Social Reform and Social Culture; and let us agree that the former is purely economic and political work, and the latter a work for voluntary groups of individuals. In the matter of Social Reform it is plain, we hope, that the whole problem concerns industry and industry alone; its organisation, its materials and the distribution of its products. Parliament, we have said, in so far as it summarises and represents the industrial condition of England, is merely the index of this. But it follows that for women, whose share in industry is small in comparison with that of men, Social Reform, while of immense indirect consequence, is of no direct consequence. Only to the extent of their industrial importance have they or can they have any influence on the organisation of industry at all."

We note, though merely in passing, that in the scheme of things outlined, women are excluded from the world of work, and consequently from the world of pay. Their objective is to lie in marriage, this latter having been duly reformed, and they become appendages, not only of the physical organ to which reference has already been made, but appendages of some man or men. To this we shall return after examining the nature of this Man's world of industry, this Guild-Socialism. This refuge from the woes and indignities of the wage-system, though so strenuously advanced as the specific alternative, is treated by the *New Age* with that excess of respect which precludes examination. Though Guild-Socialism is for this journal the heaven of the emancipated man's hopes, it is never described. Just the bare indication is given—and we are requested to draw upon our hopes for the details—a procedure good enough in the first stirrings of things, but not good enough upon which to work out a revolution. However,

after careful study of a series of articles—editorial, we believe—on the "Wage-System," we feel justified in saying that we understand what is intended by Guild-Socialism, notwithstanding not having been told. There have appeared in the series about fourteen articles, and of these, if we except the last (which supports the doctrine of the single unions advocated by the Syndicalists and others), there is only one section of one article which is other than criticism of a negative (but highly interesting) kind. It is with some compunction, therefore, that we extract the one piece of constructive thought from the rest of the series, especially so, as it runs to some length. However, as it is only with the constructive side of the theory that we are concerned, we make bold to do so. In the issue of the *New Age* for July 25th there appears, under the title of "The Economics of the Wage-System," the following:

Now let us sum it up as far as we have got:—

- i. When a man sells his labour power for wages, he forfeits all claim upon the product.
- ii. He also admits, by his acceptance of wages, the right of the employer to dictate the conditions of his employment and to terminate such employment.
- iii. By his acceptance of wages he further admits that his potential labour power may be stolen from him and given to another.

If we consider these wage conditions dispassionately, in what way can we distinguish them from chattel slavery? The slave had no right to his own body—the source of his labour power; the wage-earner has no right to his own labour or its products.

Our definition of wages cannot be seriously disputed. Granted the accuracy of our definition, can these conclusions be seriously disputed? Yet some of our critics still think that we are wasting our time in concentrating upon the urgency of abolishing the wage system.

The struggle of the future (of the near future, let us pray) will be the struggle of the industrial workers to regain possession of what they have lost and to retain possession of what they produce. The bulwark which protects surplus value from the wage-earner, which secures it to the entrepreneur, is the wage system. That is why it must be abolished.

Now let us suppose that the work of the London docks were done, not by more or less casual wage slaves, but by a properly organised and regimented labour army, penetrated by a military spirit attuned to industry. Do soldiers receive wages? No; they receive pay. "Good God!" cries the practical man (and possibly even Mr. Sidney Webb), "what earthly difference is there between 'wages' and 'pay'?" Let us see. The soldier receives pay whether he is busy or idle, whether in peace or war. No employer pays him. A sum of money is voted annually by Parliament to maintain the Army, and the amount is paid in such gradations as may be agreed upon. Every soldier, officer or private, becomes a living integral part of that Army. He is protected by military law and regulations. He cannot be casualised, nor can his work, such as it is, be capitalised. The spirit that pervades the Army is, in consequence, different from the spirit that dominates wage slavery. In other words, "pay" and the discipline of effective organisation produce entirely different psychological results from those created by "wages" and ineffective organisation. Whether the military psychology is in every respect desirable is beside the point; the material fact is that "pay" is a totally different thing from "wages," producing its own psychology and atmosphere, and performing its work in its own way.

Let us further suppose that the army engaged on dock work were temporarily out of action, owing to a difference of opinion on high policy between the administrative and industrial leaders. Would the men cease to receive their pay? It would, of course, go on as usual. Oddly enough, in a vague way, the trade unionists appreciate this difference, for whilst they strike for increased "wages," or against decreased "wages," they go on strike "pay." It is curious and interesting to observe how philology often comes to the aid of economics.

But whilst accepting the true meaning of "pay" as distinct from "wages," let us vary our supposition and assume a guild rather than a military army. Is it difficult

to visualise a transport guild rising up out of the ashes of the dead wage system and putting all its members upon graduated "pay"?

Another interesting and suggestive aspect of the pay system is that it unifies every member of the organisation. Do officers ever dream of wages? Do they say they are going on "half-salary"? No; they go on "half-pay"—the general, the colonel, the major, the captain, and the lieutenant. It is obvious, is it not? that these verbal distinctions disclose substantial material differences. Again, a soldier's labour is not rated as a commodity. A soldier is expected to give something very different. His obedience is not exacted to produce profits; it is exacted to the great end that his unit shall fit efficiently into the whole Army organisation. He is expected to be brave; but nobody dreams of exploiting or capitalising his bravery. All the soldierly qualities are inculcated in a spirit and with a purpose "alien of end and of aim" to the spirit and purpose of commerce. But we have no wish either to idealise the Army or push our analogy too far. We quote the pay system that obtains in the Army to prove that a human organisation, efficiently regimented and spiritually nobly motivated, could easily dispense with the degrading wage system, and, having eliminated that dehumanising element, could do its work in a scientific and civilised manner.

So we find that what is comprised in this progression from hell to heaven is the "verbal distinction" with the "substantial material difference," which exists between "wages" and "pay"! The "substantial difference" is that it goes on when the industrial Thomas Atkins works or plays, just as it does in that free institution—the Army! Whatever comforts Guild-Socialism has in store, it very evidently has not liberty. The progression from the wage-slave to the pay-slave is not the progression from the bondman to the freeman. His "obedience" is still exacted, though in the golden era it is exacted in order that "his unit shall fit efficiently into the whole (industrial) army organisation." Though he has no longer an "employer," he still has a "master" we are very explicitly told, doubtless to produce the "human organisation efficiently regimented" in order that it may produce work in a "scientific and civilised manner." It is this master who will doubtless see to the graduation of the "pay." These verbal differences are indeed profoundly useful. With their aid one can do much: usher in the hope of a new world, no less, and doubtless not a few of the followers of the "organ of the ablest Socialists" believe that the verbal differences, with what they denote, will be efficient for the deed. We shall see what it is they denote. It is interesting that elsewhere in the articles the author asks, "What fool is there who will contend?" etc. "Probably only Mr. H. G. Wells." This is somewhat strange, for the person who has been most explicit in regard to detail of such a social scheme of Guild-Socialism is no other than Mr. Wells himself. What the editor of the *New Age* merely hints at, Mr. Wells expands in a volume—the Great State. It is true that he goes into no great details as to the methods which the workmen will engage in in their industrial alliance with the Great State; still no more does the writer of the Notes in the *New Age*. But Mr. Wells does take the risks of elaborating a constructive social scheme, and one can only believe that to the latter writer he is a "fool" precisely because he does so. Mr. Wells is always courageous. He rushes in and expounds the thing that others are content merely to make "brilliant" hints of, and if he is wrong, he gets the wiggling, and his erstwhile companions in poor thinking are loudest in their

denunciations of him. In the "Great State" Mr. Wells bells the cat in the interests of all the more timorous collectivistic rats. The Great State, with its "enregimented labour," receiving *pay* and not wages, was the application of collectivist theories to workaday life. It was the embodiment of what has been called the "Servile State," but which we have already pointed out is a sad misnomer. The "Great State" of Mr. Wells is the Servile State of Mr. Belloc (and of earlier numbers of THE FREEWOMAN), and of the State Almighty with the Little Servile People, of our later. This appears a digression, but it is only apparent. It is in the line of the main argument, for the truth is that the Great State of Mr. Wells, the Servile State of Mr. Belloc, the State Almighty with the Servile People of THE FREEWOMAN, is no other than the Guild-Socialism of the *New Age*. It is sad, but it is true, and it is doubtless some instinctive appreciation of its truth which keeps this last so long in its embryonic form. For immediately it is elaborated it will stand revealed in its own nature.

It is a support to us in this criticism to remember from time to time that it is of the theories of the "organ of the ablest Socialists" we are writing, since if there exists any defence of collectivist theory as against the onslaughts of free individuals, those whose views we criticise are best able to make it. For the arguments we are offering will apply equally to any collectivistic or communistic community which can be suggested. We have turned the subject this way and that, and tried from it many an aforesaid-accepted point of view. But not one will stand the test of the demand for free-will, and a bureaucracy, whether composed of elected representatives in a Parliament, or of elected officers and committees in a vast industrial organisation, constituting a "government" of masses of men and women, is inimical, is contradictory to, the full growth of a free people. Socialism, in short, is an impossible form of society save with a servile people. Pay-dom is the comfortable side of a system of which wage-dom is the uncomfortable. They are both part and parcel of the same system. *Government* is their essence, and government for adults is immorality. An adult must be his own master, and a moral society is one in which the means are possible by virtue of which an individual may establish his own mastery, and protect it against the inroads of all other masters. The first duty of man or woman in this world is to secure his own independence, and to do it men and women must have property. The individual must have property because, without it, he is not a complete human being. He is as incomplete as if he were devoid of legs. The individual's maintenance is his first affair; it must be within his own domain of manœuvring; direct, or only one or two simple exchanges from the direct. To be dependent upon a thousand persons, scattered to all the ends of the earth, for his simple existence is not only inconvenient and dangerous; it is immoral. The propertyless individual is an anxiety and a frustration to himself, but he is also an ever-present temptation to those about him. He tempts them into the deadly sin—the exploitation of a human

being. The propertyless person must always, short of charity, be exploited, and must become as much an object of hatred to those he has tempted as he is one of misery and disgust, to himself. For we hate no one with the same intensity as we do the person we have done a real injury. That hatred will always separate the exploiters (the governors) from the exploited (the governed). The form it takes matters very little. The essence is ever the same. The *State* is the organisation, that which directs and controls, and it matters little whether that organisation is a trade union or a collection of the most perfectly, proportionately, completely representative members of Parliament. The antagonism will always be there—between the individuals and the officers who run the machine. A "State" for human beings is an immoral institution, and communism is as wrong in itself (and ultimately would become as rotten in its effects) as the corrupt bureaucracy which directs affairs in England to-day. This is the case against all or any "Socialism." Socialism is as immoral as Capitalism. Its only difference lies in its power to effect one-sided material advantages. Spiritually it is the same thing. It takes its roots in error. Like Capitalism, it regards the "People" in the bulk, and arranges for them in the bulk; and in the interests of this "bulk" (which really is a myth—an intellectual conception and not a reality) it sacrifices the idiosyncrasy of the individual. It fails to grasp the fact that the idiosyncrasy of the individual is the essential part of him, and must be consulted first, and not last; but the State is a myth—something which does not exist, even in thought—it is merely a slipshod and hazy half-concept, arrived at by slipshod thinking. There is in reality only a collection of individuals, whose superficial likenesses dissolve into unlikenesses immediately they are traded upon. Man is essentially a wild animal—which is not the same thing as being a fierce animal. His morality consists in his refusal to become tame—in maintaining his free-will, *i.e.*, his power to follow the inner "voice"—his only law.

The Socialist outlook ignores this morality. It considers him as the sensitive side of a machine—that is, of an organisation—"the unit (which) shall fit efficiently into the whole Army organisation." Socialism is really instinct with contempt for man. In spite of solicitude for his material welfare, it speaks to him unconsciously, *de haut en bas*. Listen to the "ablest Socialists" again. "Assuming that labour rejects the wage-system, and takes control of production, what will be its attitude to the thousand-and-one demands made upon it by a highly-educated and increasingly fastidious army of consumers? Will it ossify into conservative methods, rejecting variety as conducive to increased labour energy? That it will welcome labour-saving inventions we may be confident; but will it willingly meet the demand for an infinite variety of product, the inevitable requirements of a more highly-civilised community?"

There speaks the superior person. Will the industrial man-machine be satisfactory? Meet the demands of the "highly-educated and increasingly fastidious"? Will he? Willingly? We trow not. Morality and religion will save him. He will not be satisfactory—and Socialism will not prove a tenable human theory.

We have pointed out before in these pages, that

the time is now come when there must be a definite parting of the ways between Individualism and Socialism—when Socialism must be fought as ardently as Capitalism is fought. Indeed, it must be made clear that they are one and the same thing, merely with the "bosses" changed. Socialism is too closely related to Capitalism to see with any distinctness the real immorality of the latter. Socialists consider that its only offence is that it causes poverty. But poverty is only one offence of Capitalism, and that not the greatest. Its greatest offence is that by its regarding the production of the necessities of life all "en gros," all on the huge scale, it has destroyed the independence of the individual, and with it it is fast destroying the possibilities of greatness among men. It is weakening the worker's faculties, and with these his taste, his sense of beauty, and the realisation of his own personality. We have already dealt in "Work and Life" with this side of the subject, and those arguments cannot be gainsaid. This is the basic principle. If spiritual health is to be restored to men, economic arrangements will have to be adjusted to the Soul of man. Socialism, like Industrialism and Capitalism, shows a very deadly forgetfulness of this. Even Syndicalism, when its thinkers advance beyond the profound morality of its insurrectionism, appears in danger of being soiled with Socialism and Industrialism. Mr. A. D. Lewis, in his interesting chapters on the philosophy of M. Georges Sorel, profoundly wise as this philosophy is as far as it has worked itself out on the line of insurrectionist individualism, is marred by a reversal of the relationships of Morality and Economics. Economics, he argues (according to Mr. Lewis), produces the moral concepts of an age; Morality will be based on Economics. What a tragic misapprehension of Truth! What an Anti-Human creed! What a failure to comprehend the ethics at the root of those instinctive emotions which have created Syndicalism! There is only one supreme heresy, and this is it! It is this heresy the Socialists are guilty of when they accept industrialism as the base of Society. We hear (and read) of the Socialists who maintain that the economic emancipation of men is a moral question; but their own ideals of emancipation are the proofs that they do not comprehend in what its morality lies.

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After this long digression into the "Man Movement," we proceed to the application of its morality to the question of the "Woman Movement." We dissent entirely from the view of the editor of the *New Age*, who thinks that the two movements are distinct. *They are one.* They are one in economics, which the editor of the *New Age* denies; and, back of economics, they are one in morals, a consideration of which he does not appear to have thought. It is the most superficial of superficial views to imagine that the Woman's Movement is a Marriage-Reform Movement—a sex movement, or primarily an economic one. It is these only incidentally, merely so as its guiding principle touches upon these sectional aspects of life. At root, it is a religious affair: something which has to do with an instinctive attitude towards Destiny in Life. It is concerned with the development of Personality; its objective is opportunity for exercise of free-will. Its method is to restore the individual to natural conditions; to make each complete with his modicum of property. Through the property of the individual She (or He) can exercise faculties and confirm the timorous instinct. Free to cooperate, She (or He) is not free to subserve, because *that is immorality.* There is no other. An indi-

vidual's birthright is his property. He cannot deal lightly with it. Esau's offence and repetition down the times, have made civilisation rot and crumble. All the precautions of all the governments are as nothing before it. They shrivel up before it like stubble at the advance of a fierce fire. The Woman's Movement then is the movement amongst women towards the acquirement of property—not as an end in itself, but as the moulder of destiny. A woman wants property as a sculptor wants a chisel—to realise her soul by means of it. She seeks to become a complete human being, which is in its simplest rudiments a person plus the kind of property which, worked upon by labour, will yield an adequate sustenance. As a complete human being, she becomes her own master, master of her own free-will, independent and free to make her own alliances and her own co-operations.

To effect this is the animating principle of the Woman Movement, and it is identical with that of the Man Movement. Combined, indeed, they make the Humanist Movement. It is a failure of imagination and spirit which sees them in a narrower view—empirical demands seeking more favourable marriage laws, on the one hand, and pay instead of wages on the other; a mere shaking up of worn-out laws. Both movements are in the direction away from external law; they seek to give the inner law its real chance. It is true that from time to time we argue for or against these empirical changes as the case may be. That easily finds its explanation in the general lack of understanding among men and women alike as to the impulses which move them. For instance, women in bondage to Capitalism and Industrialism in common with men, but in a more ruthless degree, escape into marriage, and therein are, not rarely, made to feel that they are not only slaves of a general order, but slaves of a particular. They feel slaves of slaves. Hence, when the Socialist organisation-makers allocate the lot of State-endowment or, marital-endowment to women, women rightly make much of the servitude of marriage; but there is small hope of making Socialists see their absurdities in a detail, when they fail to comprehend the absurdity—and immorality—of their own central principle. Hence, before men can understand feminism, they must first learn to understand humanism, and it is the work of the Woman Movement—which is a Humanist Movement—to make it clear to men as well as to women.

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In the light of what we have already written, it is futile to examine in detail the three specific "fallacies" which the editor of the *New Age* charges to the account of the Woman Movement. We will merely outline them, and their triviality will be self-evident. It might, however, be said in advance that the elaborate attack on the W.S.P.U., interpreted as a criticism of the Woman Movement, is without force. The W.S.P.U., as an organisation, is not part of the wider movement. It merely asks for a trifling political readjustment—the vote! This slight demand apart, its constitution, its temper, its organisation are all anti-libertarian. It is, therefore, the nearest approach to a negation of the real Woman Movement, just as State-held property (Socialism) is in reality a negation of the Man Movement. We are not, therefore, much concerned with the third "fallacy" in respect of "force" meaning physical violence. There is no moral argument against a "governed" class of human beings using force, even violent force. Morally, they may use any means available until the governors cease to govern. What means these shall be should be decided on purely utilitarian

grounds. If force involving violence be in question, the tests to be applied to it should be those which decide whether the violent action available would be adequate to obtain victory, that is, to inflict effective damage. If not, since violence invites reprisals, and these from an admittedly stronger adversary, violence is bad sense. Augment violence until it stands a chance of being victorious over opposing violence, and the thing is not only moral, it is wise. Then it is "justified" Mrs. Leigh's action is wholly moral (seeing she acted of her own free-will), and doubtless she finds a justification on grounds even deeper than wisdom; but for group-action, wisdom in violence, must be forthcoming. There must exist proportion between the violence which it is proposed to exert and the violence which will rebound against it. Regarding the first "fallacy," *i.e.*, the notion that the Woman Movement is economically motived, we have already furnished proof that the editor of the *New Age* is wrong. It *has* an economic motive, based upon its moral motive. This article is already too long for us to argue seriously against the writer's strangely inaccurate notion that industry is something apart from, and alien to, women's instincts.

"How much wiser it would be of them, and how much more in accord with their natural genius and instincts, if instead of attempting to be better men in industry than Adam they were ambitious enough to attempt to become better women than Eve! Not only would men become more manly as women became more womanly, but society as a whole would breathe more happily from the presence in it of men and women each astride of their instincts and aiming at perfection in them."

A little thought, not to mention a little history, would convince the editor of the *New Age* that industry, undegraded by machinery, is woman's natural province. Woman is the mother of the arts. Spinning, weaving, pottery, and the rest, were the outcome of woman's instincts. So they will become again when art ceases to be divorced from life. Regarding the remaining "fallacy," the second, which is the notion that the aspirations of the movement can be satisfied by political means, we think "Suffragists," *i.e.*, the politically minded, have good cause to complain. For since it follows upon the writer's earlier statement that the real objective of the women should be found in reform of the marriage laws—a purely political affair, having to do with law—they might very well make the retort that a political end must needs seek a political means. This would constitute an unanswerable retort from the Suffragists, granting the *New Age's* view of their right objective; but for us, who consider the *New Age's* objective merely trivial, it is no answer. The objective of the Woman Movement being the development of the individual Ego, it seeks means like to its end. It appeals to the spirit of woman, each or any woman, to awaken to the realisation of its destiny. It seeks to make them strong in spirit, to rise up and seize the means to their own development—to seize the very base of their existence—property of its own. It seeks to induce them to throw off external authority, and to follow the voice within; to throw off ugliness, monotony, interference, and all else which thwarts the development of the human soul. And the same is the objective of the Man Movement. All which lies to the special account of some women in the matter is a little finer sensitiveness. They have responded a little more readily than the machine-obsessed male to the Call of Life, to the dictates of an individual morality.

The Discussion Circle, Wednesday, September 4th, 8 p.m., Chandos Hall, Maiden Lane. Dr. C. V. Drysdale on Neo-Malthusianism.

Mr. Jones' Defence.

THE recent revival of "Mrs. Dane's Defence" was a *faux pas* that should cost its author's reputation dear. Possibly, after the manner of family skeletons, it escaped from Mr. Jones' cupboard under circumstances over which he had no control. A wise man would have taken strict precautions in such a case. But at least he is saved that trouble for the future. Mrs. Dane is dead for all time. If one masterly, truthful scene were sufficient to keep any play alive, "Mrs. Dane's Defence" might have aspired to some measure of survival; but it is not sufficient—at least, not with every play—certainly not with Mrs. Dane. The scene in which the old lawyer wrests a certain secret from Miss Lena Ashwell (had it been from anyone else, it would probably have fallen flat) is horribly true, and tremendously powerful. Unfortunately, its effect is completely nullified by the fact that the secret is not worth wresting. It is as though someone were to paint a beautiful picture on a sheet of ice which melted at the first rays of the sun. There was no sun to mar its beauty in the days of its first production. For the play is in reality no more than a defence by Mr. Jones himself of an old and popular prejudice which has only recently been assailed. On its first production, the defence succeeded—in default of a plaintiff. It received the complete and active approval of the play-going public, much as the vilest rendering of the National Anthem receives that public's complete and active respect. The verdict was, indeed, a mere formality in a court where individual judgment, unassisted by the efforts of some bright, if unlearned, counsel, is out of the question. But that was many years ago, and the spiritual temperature of the world has risen somewhat in the meantime. Mrs. Dane was not to enjoy such good fortune a second time. At her second venture into the light of public opinion, the change in the atmosphere was at once apparent; there was a decided thaw. To complete her discomfiture, she was challenged, chased, and cut to pieces by an astonishing young Northerner, who, in splendid exemplification of Nature's notorious dislike of a vacuum, at once assumed the rôle of plaintiff with a simple and crushing case that reduced poor Mr. Jones' defence to an insignificant absurdity. "Hindle Wakes" still holds the field, challenging fairly and unanswerably the pseudo-morality of Mr. Jones—holding up the mirror to Nature, and in particular shedding that much-needed illumination on a certain dark and depressing British swamp, whereby materially conducting, let us hope, to its ultimate evaporation.

The miserable prejudice which Mr. Henry Arthur Jones set out so confidently to defend may be boiled down to this: That a woman who has once succumbed to passion, without the formality of a wedding ring, is, *ipso facto*, and irretrievably damned for the remainder of her earthly existence. There is, indeed, a pious and generous suggestion thrown out that, somehow or other, somewhere or other, somewhen or other—when she has shuffled off this mortal coil, after we have finished hellifying her life on earth—forgiveness lies; but for Humanity, association with her must be restricted to a mild Hellenic sort of pity, and—the hand of horror. This was the pleasing doctrine solemnly and solidly defended before a Christian community less than half a century ago. Only a public dead to all sense of comedy could have refrained from laughing—as an alternative to hissing—it out of court. And what of the author? Was he dead to

all sense of comedy? Was it the work of a merely stupid provincial parson gifted with what Samuel Butler called the wisdom of the dove and the harmlessness of the serpent? Or was it, perhaps, the work of a demagogue, a literary F. E. Smith, playing down to a rich and ignorant public? In one respect at least the work resembles that of the Tory Lloyd George: like the utterances of Smith, Mr. Jones' defence fully justified his name. It expresses the philosophy of Jones and Smith; it is vulgar, plebeian, in the worst sense of the word.

Like many vulgar things, it is also ridiculous. A very brief analysis of the play will show this. Mrs. Dane is an honest, sensitive, conscientious creature—the sort of person one could safely lend money to, the sort of person who would never be quite happy until her accounts were settled to a penny. While in her teens, she has been concerned in a scandal, the exact extent of which, so far as she was morally implicated, was the more or less innocent acceptance of the advances of a married man. She was—like most well-brought-up girls—an ignoramus; or, I am afraid, she would have repulsed him in a terribly respectable manner. In her ignorance, however, she followed her instinct, and—to the delight of the sort of audience Mr. Jones appeals to, and quite irrelevantly, so far as the story is concerned—she became a mother (an experience, by the by, which, I should imagine, must have considerably ennobled and enriched her character, though Mr. Jones prefers to ignore that aspect of the question). By way of further sensational stimulus—for Mr. Jones is well up in the art of special pleading—we are informed that the wife of her lover committed suicide, and the lover himself went mad (or the other way round). Here, indeed, this cheap defence touches low-water mark. We are tacitly invited to blame the poor, deluded girl for every one of these stupid and irrelevant circumstances. And blasphemies concerning Fate, Justice, and the like are freely indulged in.

In a sort of parody of the Ibsen method, the curtain rises five or so years after this crude and slobby business. And this time Mrs. Dane is genuinely in love. Her lover is an innocent and sentimental boy, with stock honourable intentions. Mrs. Dane is, of course, a name and personality assumed to conceal the notorious adventuress Felicia Hindemarsch, murderer of an innocent woman, driver of an innocent man into a lunatic asylum (or the other way round). The feeble booby to whom she is duly engaged is the unfortunate possessor of an adoptive parent, the incarnation of copious virtues effervescing in the most appalling sentimentality one remembers ever to have come across—even on the stage. He, in his turn, is in love with a mysterious person, advertised as a practical and sensible woman, but who, as a matter of fact, appears to tolerate his interminable floods of gush with what looks dangerously like sympathy. And with reason—of a sort; for the old buffoon—if you please—is the *deus ex machina* of the play. It was a touching stroke of drawing-room genius to make him a Judge of the High Court (apart from the solecism of making him act as solicitor at the same time), for many of the old fogies who "adorn the bench" are quite as sickly and boring. Only they are not exactly *dei ex machina*. That was a slight—an ever so slight—deviation from reality.

As soon as it leaks out (Act III.) that his son's fiancée is no other than etc., etc., this dreadful old man surpasses himself. The marriage must be stopped at all costs: his son's honour or purity or

whatever it is demands it imperatively. One almost expects to see the latter rush across the footlights with a dagger aimed at an immaculate shirt-front—as the good old men used to be murdered in the good old melodramas. But I need hardly say the young man belongs to the same school of senile imbecility, and eventually submits with Kismet resignation. The “sensible” old woman goes further: with a sycophantic gurgle about the old man’s “masterfulness”—(though, of course, it’s an awful shame, and we women *are* an unhappy race)—she actually falls into his palsied old arms. As for Mrs. Dane, her treatment is literally the limit: she is dismissed with the wholly mendacious and abominable statement that a “Higher Law” prevents her marrying the feeble young man. This is not an allusion to Eugenics. It is the moral of the play—the gist of Mr. Jones’ Defence. Let us waste a moment in considering it, if only to illustrate the utter unscrupulousness of this pot-boiling piffle.

Pre-conjugal virginity a “Higher Law”: it is a lie. Pre-conjugal virginity is a law of traffickers in the woman market. From a purely sensual and beastly point of view, the virgin *per se* is a more delectable article than the already initiated—consequently she is more marketable. From every other point of view the idea is monstrous and unnatural. Our marriage laws, written and unwritten, originated—and still remain to an enormous extent—on a commercial basis: the “law” of virginity along with them. It is not a high law, though an old law; it is a law of the “oldest profession in the world.” It is a law of the human intelligence at its lowest and greediest period, and it has survived like many others of the lowest and dirtiest and greediest laws of humanity. With animals—who, with all their vices, have no organised greed code—it is unknown, nor does it exist among primitive people. Only where the element of commerce has adulterated sex is this artificial value set on virginity, and gradually sunk into tradition and eventual idealisation.

For it is precisely creators of the calibre of Mr. Jones who do all the mischief. Left to itself, the hideous custom might have fallen into disuse with the gradual advance of the human soul. It is your literary demagogue who clogs the way, finding “copy” in the lowest and most demoralising of existing conditions. Sentiment is his trade—sentiment must be aroused for all things that *are*, whether they be good or bad. Thus we have a “Cranford” with its glorification of bigotry and stupidity, rhapsodies in praise of poverty, the French school of vice-mongers, the Nietzschean advocacy of cruelty. We only needed to be told that the virgin-mania was a Higher Law. *Il ne manquait que ça!* Our only consolation must be that this particular apologia is of so poor and unconvincing a nature.

The real fallacy in the defence happens to consist in a fact easily demonstrable. I have referred to the hopelessly unnatural conduct of the “sensible” old lady. We are asked to accept her as an altogether superior type of person. Now, one of the most obvious characteristics of the higher type of person in real life is his total repudiation at every possible occasion of the Higher Morality of Mr. Jones. The superior type of person not only pardons, or rather ignores, the breach of this precious code in others—he usually commits it himself deliberately and unashamedly. Ethically, the race has produced no higher types than, say, Mary Wollstonecraft and Shelley. Both of them had nothing but an ineffable contempt for the

“Higher Law.” One might recite an interminable list of names of higher persons who have spat at this bourgeois morality. Mr. Jones might possibly have defended the practice by a Chestertonian appeal to mobolatry, a renunciation of Progress, and a dare-devil defence of “*l’homme moyen sensuel*.” When he talks about the “Higher Law,” he is merely making a fool of himself.

And if the poor old lady makes a bad witness for the defence, she is, at any rate, no worse than the others. The young man is not only an ass, but an incredible ass. He thought Mrs. Dane a widow, and finds her, to all intents and purposes, a seduced woman. Even the virginity business fires damp at the critical moment: a widow is obviously no more virgin than a paramour. Mr. Jones, carried away by his own rhetoric, has got into a muddle. We are asked to believe that a young man, under such circumstances, would throw over the woman he is in love with. What in heaven’s name *is* this Jonesian love?

Mrs. Dane herself fades into an actress glorying in a highly emotional part. Her conduct at the end of the play would not convince—though it might thrill—a costermonger. Such witnesses are to be seen any day in the Law Courts. Having mastered their proof of evidence, precisely as an actor learns his part, they proceed to fire it off with every variety of expression, deaf to all reason, deaf to black and white itself. The cross-examination gives them away—they miss the cue, they flounder, they can only repeat themselves parrotwise. Mr. Jones’ witnesses collapse, one after the other, under this test. In the old days, before his evidence was challenged, he had it all his own way. Now it is the plaintiff’s turn. Mr. Jones’ defence becomes one of the latter’s most valuable assets. Indeed, with its exposure, his own case becomes almost superfluous. But it would be a pity to ignore such an admirable piece of art as Stanley Houghton’s “Hindle Wakes” merely on that account.

The outstanding feature of this delightful play is its note of perfect confidence. The Woman who *Does*—in defiance of Mr. Jones’ Higher Law—Does frankly and unconcernedly. It would have been easy to arouse sympathy on her behalf by the adjunction of “extenuating” circumstances, such as seduction or a higher love. But Mr. Houghton can afford to dispense with this method. His Fanny has picked up a man, in a fit of light-heartedness, and gone off on the spree, as any young libertine might do—or, rather, *overdo*. If Mrs. Dane was damned, how many more times damned must Fanny Hawthorne be! But, stay—the Higher Law provides one way of salvation for this class of sinner: only let the magic wedding-ring be secured, and the two victims forced to perpetuate their sin thereunder—and, behold, they may yet live happily ever after, on that glorious and homœopathic principle that two wrong-uns make a right. But, as a matter of fact, Fanny Hawthorne is far from “taking any,” and not, as might at first be supposed, from a mere morbid craving for damnation. *Mirabile dictu*, she feels none of the symptoms of that stimulating state. Her little spree remains for her a little spree—not a very edifying or ennobling experience, perhaps, but a real relief from the sordid conditions of her workaday life, and which has left her spiritually much as she was before. She feels no more inclination to change her status as an independent woman on account of it than to flee the country, change her name, bury her past life, and generally excite herself after the manner of Mrs. Dane. She feels neither shame nor—what is, from the Higher

Morality point of view, far more important—the smallest diminution of her hopes—such as they are—of future matrimony. “But where,” Mr. Jones will ask, “is my prejudice? Does it not exist? Have we not incontestable evidence—apart from my own humble efforts—of its existence? How can this wretched woman escape from it?” The question scarcely needs reply, for Mr. Houghton’s play is Realism, and presents a living and actual tendency. But Mr. Jones might be reminded of a poem which amusingly describes an encounter with just such a prejudice: the victim, after vainly seeking to overcome it with prayers, abuse, and frantic struggles, succeeds finally by the simple expedient of “walking through it.” And that, I imagine, has been Fanny’s way. A steady, busy woman, with herself and her self-respect to keep, she has no time for moralising, or arguing, or fighting. She is faced with a prejudice that has weighed on her sex for centuries, that has produced untold misery and tragedy, and which popular playwrights are still trying to keep alive with elaborate and ingenious defences. But Fanny is unconscious of all this. Innocently, she follows the line of least resistance. She walks through it—Mr. Jones, Higher Morality, and all.

H. F. RUBINSTEIN.

Usury

THE PRIME CAUSE OF WANT AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

II.

THE same test that is applied to ethical teachings must be applied to Political Economy. “Do they tend to the maintenance of a complete social life for the time being? And do they tend to social life and its prolongation to its full extent? To answer ‘Yes’ or ‘No’ to either of these questions is to pronounce these teachings true or false.” (Spencer’s Ethics).

The truth is, neither the Church nor the State understood that interest is an inevitable accompaniment of a State-restricted, monopolistic currency. The attempt to suppress usury under a monopolistic monetary system is like attempting to suppress typhoid whilst permitting the pollution of the water supply to continue; or, like President Roosevelt’s quixotic attempt to suppress the American Trusts whilst tolerating the Protective system which fosters them. What are the defences for the practice? Judging from the way the business world has hailed every attempt to justify it—no matter how feeble—one would suppose the public knew the case to be a naturally bad one. The most popular justification for interest is that it represents a reward for abstinence.

Nothing serves to indicate the absolutely unjustifiable nature of interest more than the attempts to prove its justice. The abstinence theory is this: Because you do not act like a hog and consume your wealth instant—because you save it—you ought to be rewarded. Well, the natural reward of not consuming a thing is that you have it; but why should you have it plus more? “You cannot eat your cake and have it,” says an old proverb! No! And if you don’t eat it you have your cake—provided the mice don’t get at it—as John Ruskin says. But you don’t increase the size of your cake by saving it. And yet this preposterous plea was and is to-day advanced as a justification for interest. Wealth does not increase by the mere act

of saving. You put your savings in your money-box, not with the expectation of finding at the end of a given time there are more pennies than you put in. If there were, you would say someone was playing you a practical joke, or that a miracle had happened. When this plea was first advanced, it was made to appear that those who lived on interest were very virtuous, self-denying people, who avoided the temptation of eating and drinking their wealth in a few days, and for this self-sacrifice were entitled to a reward—like the good boy who is given a penny for not eating all his candy at one fell swoop.

La Salle made merry over this plea by instancing the Rothschilds as the chief abstainers of Europe. What astonishes most people nowadays is how men like Rockefeller, Morgan, and other multi-millionaires are able to spend even one-half of the incomes which usury pours into their coffers! What abstinence do these gentlemen practise? But this plea has failed to such an extent that others had to be invented.

Then we have the fructification theory of Turgot—which Henry George revived. It is one of the most curious instances of inconsistency, that whilst denouncing the payment of rent as robbery, Henry George should have striven to justify interest. The fructification theory says that since wine improves with age, since bees swarm and multiply, since sheep, hogs, and cattle grow and increase, since nature has imparted growth to life, therefore interest is natural and just.

The answer to this is, first, that when one buys or sells a cow, a hive of bees, or a hogshead of wine, he buys or sells it with all its future uses and possibilities. Moreover, this growth and increase is invariably the result of effort and expenditure and labour, which requires compensation. And in borrowing, the loan usually takes the form of money, to which nature contributes no power of increase whatever.

Besides, why should man claim payment for the vegetative and reproductive forces of nature which he is in no wise responsible for? The more generally accepted theory of the phenomenon of interest is that of the Austrian Economist, Professor Böhm-Bawerk, which may now be termed the classical theory, and it is this: “Present goods invariably possess a greater value than future goods of the same number and kind, and therefore a definite sum of present goods can, as a rule, only be purchased by a larger sum of future goods.” In short, the loan is the exchange of present against future goods—so that the question is actually brought to the basis of an equation thus:—

$$M = (M + AM) \frac{1}{t}$$

Here, however, several points arise. To whom are present goods worth more than future goods? Supposing a restaurant-keeper owes you a dozen dinners. Having finished one, he offers you the other eleven. Would you say these dinners are worth more to you then, than if spread over eleven future days? Rather than be compelled to devour a dozen dinners in succession, would you not beg him to spare your digestion, and even indicate your willingness to accept half the number for future delivery? If he refused, would you not be willing to give five or six other men a dinner on condition that they provide you with one in the future when you require it? Present goods are of more value than future goods only to the needy and those in want. Now loans are made not from the consumable goods a man himself requires, they are always made from surplus wealth—from that which a man

himself cannot use. And here is the very root of the subject. Interest is obtained by trading upon the necessities of others, and hence the aim of moneylenders is to create conditions which shall force the public to come to them for loans.

The great bulk of the wealth produced is of a perishable nature. It must be consumed quickly or it perishes. Now to the man who has satisfied his wants, future goods are worth more than present goods. And, therefore, the borrower who offers to return an equivalent at a future time would prove a friend, and would be doing the lender a service.

Time will not permit me to consider several other pleas and theories which have all done duty in their time. The thing that strikes one in reading all these attempts for the justification of interest, is the way in which the most obvious interpretation of the phenomenon has been shunned.

The reason that interest is charged and paid is, first, because the thing loaned is comparatively scarce, either naturally or artificially, and, secondly, because all other avenues for procuring a similar thing except by borrowing are closed—either by law or by nature.

Take the question of a bank loan. Supposing you wish to borrow £1,000! You apply to your banker, and the first thing he demands is ample security against risk. You offer a mortgage on your house, worth, say, £2,000 or £3,000. You then execute the mortgage and agree to repay the loan in a given time, plus 5 per cent. interest. Now what is the interest for? It is certainly not for any risk taken by the banker. If he thought he was running any risk, he wouldn't make you the loan. It is not a payment for his time and services, for he would not have the cheek to ask £50 for fifteen minutes' time—which is, perhaps, all that such a transaction would require. Here, bear in mind, is an exchange transaction in which you are transferring twice the amount of wealth which he transfers to you, and yet you are to pay him something for doing it!

At first sight the transaction seems absurd. What has the bank done to warrant your paying £50 interest? The answer is this: The bank supplies a commodity which our legal tender laws have made compulsory for paying debts. And you cannot get it in any other way. The bank deals in a specially privileged article, the supply of which is enormously insufficient to meet the natural demand, and therefore bankers know that the public must come to them and will pay anywhere from 3 per cent. to 10 per cent. interest, depending upon the state of the money market. All the banker has done was to enable you to fluidise a portion of your wealth. Our laws have conferred this enormous privilege upon one commodity, viz., gold, thus giving its owners power to tax all other forms of wealth. Interest or usury is nothing more than the price of a legally created monopoly. The money loan is not an exchange of present goods for future goods. It is merely the exchange of one form of purchasing power for another.

Money is a social instrument of exchange, created under our laws, which are supposed to be on behalf of all members, but which in reality give power to one class to prey upon and tax all others.

Those who really believe our monetary and banking system a monument to the good, benevolent gentlemen who have provided it from philanthropic motives, should read the history of the Bank of England and of the legislation enacted at the instigation of its founders and directors to suppress any and all possible competition. Had the

Bank been successful in maintaining its original monopoly, our commerce, trade and industries would have been but a small portion of what they are to-day. And even now this private institution holds an absolute monopoly in regard to issuing notes within a radius of sixty-five miles of London. Competitive banks can only do business in London by forfeiting their right to issue bank notes.

We boast of our Free Trade system, and yet permit a private company to hold the most valuable monopoly that any nation can grant respecting the medium of exchange, the tool of trade! We pity the Americans who are in the grip of their trusts, and yet our laws have given a bank the power to levy a tax which varies from £100,000 to £500,000 per week without even the consent of Parliament. When the directors of the Bank of England decide to raise the bank rate they don't even notify the House of Commons—with its supposed control of the finances of the country—of their intention. And they do this for the benefit of their own shareholders. We talk of our freedom from the curse of Protection, and yet permit the nation's banker to put up a tariff barrier whenever the directors deem it to their interest to do so. When the United States were having their panic in 1907, and applied to London for their gold, they got it, and because the Bank of England wished to make a profit and oblige their American friends, the bank rate was raised to 7 per cent. for several weeks, costing our business and commercial classes over £1,000,000 per week.

The actual figures are these: The Bank supplied New York with £16,000,000 for ten weeks, inflicting a tax by reason of the extra bank rate of somewhere about £10,000,000 upon our own people.

All our legislation on this subject is based upon superstition, ignorance and favouritism. The people have been prevented by their own laws from creating a Currency and Banking system upon a scientific basis which would have stimulated our industries, provided for their healthy growth, and reduced the rate of interest to the mere labour cost involved, estimated at less than half of 1 per cent. Had our laws permitted freedom in banking to accompany freedom to trade abroad, our industrial and social system would have been one long unbroken chain of progress. Half the evils we now complain of would not exist, and the world, witnessing our march of success, would have followed suit.

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The economic history of the world is nothing more than a recital of attempts on the part of governments, rulers, and individuals to erect obstructions to prevent wealth-producers from creating and exchanging wealth until they had paid a large proportion of such wealth to those controlling such obstructions. Every factor—except labour—entering into production has been the subject of monopoly. The nobles and landlords took possession of the land, and said: "You shall not use this nor cultivate it unless you agree to give us so much of the produce. You shall neither dig nor take any mineral or vegetable without you divide with us." Then governments and rulers enacted monetary and legal tender laws, and said: "You shall pay your debts in the particular commodity we specify." And those owning or controlling this commodity said: "We refuse to lend you any, unless you pay us for the use of it and return us more than we lend you." Governments erected barriers at their frontiers, and said: "You shall not trade with your neighbours unless you pay us toll." They obstructed roads and thoroughfares, and said: "No thoroughfare until you pay us toll." They have even raised barriers in front of their halls of justice by saying: "No one may apply for justice until he has paid toll to the privileged band of lawyers."

Usury exists on every hand. It is an artificial, legally created obstruction, and a tax upon the production, distribution, and enjoyment of wealth.

Our currency laws have made money an obstruction to trade. It absolutely hinders and checks it, owing to the very limited amount permitted. Therefore, in paying for the use of money, you are paying to maintain a system which instead of facilitating trade actually hampers it. Precisely the same might be said of an obstruction to the traffic. Supposing the London County Council should permit a private syndicate to erect toll-gates on our principal streets. Would not this greatly interfere with our traffic? The syndicate might say: "But when we open the gates we are facilitating traffic, and, therefore, you must pay us for doing so." You would naturally reply: "What right have you to erect this toll-gate at all? Let us demolish it, and then we shall not have to pay you for your facilities." We pay for the use of what we can't otherwise obtain, and if we are prevented by law from obtaining a substitute, we are treated with injustice.

Now let us glance at the effects of Usury.

Out of an annual production equivalent to £1,800,000,000, it is estimated that £800,000,000—nearly one-half—goes in payment of usury! That is to say, that for no exertion or contribution on their part, a certain proportion of the population—estimated at about 10 per cent.—absorb more than three-sevenths of the total production. What is the effect of this? First, it tends to concentrate the wealth in the hands of the few. Secondly, it restricts demand, and necessarily lessens employment. For it is obvious that since each man's powers of consumption are strictly limited, he cannot create the same demand for commodities that a number of men could. Consumption is the parent of Demand. If a nation does not consume heavily, it cannot produce heavily. Now demand, to be effective, must be accompanied by purchasing power, but if this is distributed among the few, the masses have no power of purchasing, and hence consumption falls off and with it the demand for more goods. Which is better—for a nation to pay high wages to its workers and small dividends to its investors, or vice versa? Surely, there can be no two opinions on this point. High wages mean a

heavy demand for goods, and brisk trade, with constant employment. High dividends and small wages mean low consumption, a limited demand, industrial stagnation and unemployment. It means exporting our capital to foreign countries and building up their industries, whilst our own decay.

Look at the results of usury upon the nations of the world. As long ago as 1776, Adam Smith protested against "the progress of the national debts which oppress, and will in the long run probably ruin all the great nations of Europe." At that time the national debts of the world were not 8 per cent. of what they are now.

The national debts of the world are so gigantic that taxation fails to keep pace with the interest charges, and fresh loans have to be made to pay them. Every nation is now groaning under the mountainous burdens heaped upon it by usury! Add to these all the municipal and corporate and private indebtedness upon which interest is paid, and you will readily see how impossible it is that the condition of wage-earners and the masses generally can improve. For the interest charges of the world more than keep pace with the world's increase in wealth-productiveness—great as that is!

Under our present system, as our wealth and capital increase, so do our interest charges. Labour is actually engaged in creating burdens which it must bear, so that, instead of emancipating itself, it is actually forging its own fetters.

You have doubtless all heard of the blacksmith who shod the horse and offered to accept payment at the rate of one farthing for the first nail, which was to be doubled for each succeeding one—which totalled up to a considerable fortune. This is the principle of usury. A writer with a head for figures has shown what the results of interest would be if someone in the first year of our Christian era had left a penny at the rate of 5 per cent. interest, which was allowed to accumulate and the interest re-invested. The result of that ridiculously small investment, even at a mere 5 per cent. interest, would to-day represent a sum so colossal as to require no less than thirty-nine figures for its expression, and would equal millions of times all the total wealth of the world! The writer went on to show that, supposing the population of the world to be 1,483,000,000 souls, the interest charges on that single penny would be sufficient to make multi-millionaires of every soul on earth!

The fact is, usury is not only immoral, not only a burden upon industry! but, as a universal economic system, it is impossible! It claims more than the world can produce!

Take any sum of money you like and figure out what usury means after a long period.

Some years ago, during one of the great American panics, I showed that the interest charges in the United States so outran their productive capacity that it made the industrial classes bankrupt to the extent of at least £160,000,000 of liabilities over assets every ten years. The same is true of all nations. There is the real cause of these decennial panics which Professor Jevons attributed to sun spots! Production fails to keep pace with the demands of Usury. Matters come to a crisis every ten years or so. Bankruptcy becomes general. The small capitalist is wiped out, and his capital goes as an offering to this god of Usury to pay interest to some larger capital.

The mightier the fortune, the more interest it draws. Fortunes are piling up under this system into fewer and fewer hands, and the only reason that the process of absorption is delayed is because death and panics intervene to disperse such wealth.

How long will it take the Rockefeller and Astor families to absorb all the wealth of America if they allow their wealth to accumulate under this system? Certainly not more than three or four generations.

Talk of Usury as an Economic system! It is opposed to every sound economical and ethical principle! It means inevitable ruin and devastation! It paralyzes industry by robbing the producer! It takes all and gives nothing! It represents taxation and oppression! "The children born of it are Fire and Sword, Red ruin and the breaking up of laws." It cannot last. It must end in repudiation or revolution!

ARTHUR KITSON.

A Last Word on Whistler.

IN a previous article I endeavoured to do justice to Whistler's genius. That it was no ordinary genius is shown not only by his pictures, but also by another factor in his artistic development which I propose to touch upon in a moment. There are plenty of people, however, who are now only too ready to attempt to belittle Whistler's work, though the reasons they assign for affecting to despise him are not generally convincing. We may hear it said that he was merely daring so far as his own age was concerned, and that we have now advanced beyond him. It is true that there are pictures by Whistler which would justify our including him in the school labelled "Impressionist"; and to that extent the so-called Post-Impressionists have advanced beyond him, or, to express it better, they have sunk more and more deeply below him. But, although some of Whistler's work may be styled "Impressionist," his work as a whole did not belong to that school, and he has consequently nothing in common with the Post-Impressionists, and still less with the Futurists.

It is also said that Whistler was too abstract in his subjects, that he neglected life for the sake of mere forms, and that his peculiar titles—"symphonies," "harmonies," "nocturnes"—represent so much aversion to life instead of an attempt to make us feel that life holds out something to us; that it is worthy of being lived. This criticism I have found repeated in the columns of a contemporary; and it has been common enough for some time past in "advanced" circles, but continued repetition does not make it true. It is notorious, surely, that we western races have no very great capacity for abstractions or for abstract thought. Nevertheless, a capacity for abstract thought rather than the consideration of concrete forms of expression has always been a characteristic of those nations which demonstrated their capacity for thinking. Greece, India, and China are examples. Now, to my mind, Whistler's capacity for dispensing with a concrete subject forms one of his strongest claims to greatness; for only a man with exceptional gifts can portray abstractions on canvas as he did. A nocturne by Whistler is what I mean by an abstraction; Frith's "Derby Day" is as good an example as any of a concrete subject. But "Derby Day" conveys us nothing in particular, and there is no lesson to be derived from the crowds of people who are standing about in various holiday attitudes. The nocturnes, however, do signify something more than the mere scene depicted. There is as much thought in them as in a chapter of a treatise; there is something more in them than we can find in a mere photograph; and the concrete subjects por-

trayed on canvas by British nineteenth-century artists were in all cases little more than enlarged photographs.

Whistler's abstract pictures, then, justify themselves by their philosophic depth. In the "Battersea Bridge" we can see little of Battersea Bridge, but we can catch a glimpse or two of the wonders of art and life. Is not this something more than a mere photographic reproduction of a concrete subject, viz., the mere Bridge? The question only requires to be put for it to answer itself.

But Whistler's genius is the greater because he had much to overcome. We can go to the exhibition at the Tate Gallery and look at his works there. The pictures are finished as they stand; for, as Whistler himself said, the picture of the genuine artist is complete from the beginning. But these pictures represent more than artistic ability; they represent the harmony in the artist's mind after an inner struggle against his early upbringing. Whistler, we must never forget, was an American. As we know, he lived for some years in St. Petersburg as a boy; but he went to West Point, which is a typically American institution, and his early training, in the widest sense of the expression—both home life and school life—was American through and through. The family was a New England one; and the New England atmosphere of the eighteen-thirties did not tend to improve the lot of the artist. It was, in fact, thoroughly Puritan; and I think this fact will give us the clue to Whistler's strength and weakness.

As an artist, Whistler had to forget his Puritanism; but it is not easy to unlearn what one has absorbed in youth. Even in the "Gentle Art of Making Enemies," the influence of Biblical language is clearly apparent, as it is apparent in the "Ten o'Clock." This alone is enough to show us how Whistler was brought up. Had he been born in Paris, let us say, he would have found himself practically from the day of his birth in an atmosphere congenial to artistic development, whereas he had to devote much of his early artistic energy to combating the anti-cultural influences of his boyhood. That Whistler shook off these influences as well as he did must stand to his credit; from this very fact we can see how strong his genius must have been. But he did not shake off such influences altogether; and the result is seen in many of his canvases. The "Miss Alexander," the "Carlyle," and the "Mother," admirable as they are in all other respects—colouring, pose, selection of salient points and qualities—have still what might be called a New England touch about them. It is life; but it is the calm life of the Egyptian rather than the life of movement which we associate with European peoples and find in pictures and statues of the Renaissance period.

While nearly every writer on Whistler has emphasised this Puritanism, it seems to me that one gratifying feature in connection with it has been omitted. A training such as Whistler had is undoubtedly of no service to art, as art; but, unless it be carried to excess, it does give a man character, and character is seen in work. Life does not consist in eroticism, as many artists, unfortunately for their work, have interpreted it; and there are only too many so-called artistic "atmospheres" which are hectic—which, in a word, get rid of Puritanism by going too far towards the other extreme. Whistler's early training delayed his artistic maturity, and, in my opinion, it marred some of his work; but it, at any rate, kept him from sinking into idealism and effeminacy, such as we find, for instance, in Watts or Rossetti. Whistler marred, however, is better than any other painter of his time; and I must

emphasise the fact that it is only in a few pictures that we can find these traces of Nonconformity.

When we look at the Post-Impressionists or the Futurists, and compare them with Whistler, I think we shall be led to conclude that the modern artist has no character left. Only lack of internal control, a discordant mind, absence of will-power, could account for some of the contortions we now see placed on canvas and actually offered for sale instead of being dumped in the dust-bin. The artistic mind, nervous and delicate as it is, and more responsive than the average commercial or labouring mind to external shocks and suggestions, needs a strong character to support it. A strict Puritan training early in life, is one way of acquiring such a character. It may not be the best way—I am far from saying that it is—but, as it prevented possible degeneracy, it has justified itself in this instance. Let us therefore be willing to forgive the few traces of Puritanism in the "Mother" and the "Carlyle" when we think of the noble art of the "nocturnes" and the "harmonies."

E. K. GUTHRIE.

The New Hygiene:

NATURAL HEALTH VERSUS ECONOMIC WEALTH.

I.—HEALTH WINNING IN WORKADAY LIFE.

IF the previous Tracts in the New Order series have achieved their aim, they have familiarised the minds of the reader with the conception of the free life—freed on the one side by security in the food basis, and on the other by the acquired sense of equality in organisation and exchange. Out of this twofold freedom, producing harmony alike between man and nature and between man and man, flows the New Hygiene as quietly, unobtrusively, and withal inevitably as all the great silent and natural forces which pursue their daily course around us.

The first important point to be noted is that in this new free world the maintenance of health conditions in daily occupations becomes the *sine qua non* of rational and truly social living, in lieu of the hitherto prevalent aim of "making money." Yet in the New Hygiene health does not signify the petty fad-worship of the hypochondriac, but covers in the widest sense the human need of continuous development, physical, intellectual, spiritual. When man examines the fruits of experience, the fact stares him in the face that a modicum of activity in providing for his own daily wants conduces to his health, rather than the abandonment of these for long hours of specialised devotion to some routine task, whether heavy or light. The more rapidly enactors of the New Order can achieve the establishment of their free system of exchange (see Series I., Tract 3, The New Money) the more successfully they can attain a varied development, including the practice of the highest arts and sciences, and this without sacrificing their primary health habits, the loss of which has spelt degeneracy, and produced the human wreckage of our great cities. Thus conversely the more they combine the enthusiasm for free organisation with the moral and intellectual ardour of the artist and scientist, the more easily and quickly they will throw off the entangling meshes of the old money, and this by spontaneous constructive effort altogether apart from legislation. It is taken here as proved, though the figures and experiments are recorded elsewhere, that a community working and

producing along these lines—*i.e.*, growing their own food and exchanging freely their material and mental output by the aid of the new money—would secure a healthy and adequate livelihood for all its members by working only a few hours daily: while the wage workers in the old order, as many recent investigators have irrefutably demonstrated, are working ten or twelve hours a day and yet are insufficiently fed, and are enduring an anxious and cramped existence below the poverty line.

Again, all useless and undesired work is to that extent unhealthy, and the more it is repeated by way of routine, the more cumulative is the evil effect. So the devotees of the New Order have to be constantly bringing into grave question the oft-reiterated cry of the advantages of being in "regular work": they have to examine first the nature of the work and the relation it bears to the needs and qualities of the individual who is to do it. The growth of this habit of mind is clearly calculated to bring support and encouragement to those daring spirits in the industrial work who are declaring their intention of introducing determined health requisitions by direct action on the part of the worker, as the condition of continuing his supply of work. Were the principle on which they are working extended throughout the industrial world, the discovery would soon be made that constructive health-seeking in daily occupations is far better for the average man and for the race than the continued pursuit of death-dealing or unwholesome jobs "by order of the money lords," even though tempered by such costly remedial measures as the National Health Insurance Act can contrive to bestow after it has settled all its feuds with doctors, duchesses, and the rest.

It is not unlikely that the medical reader of these Tracts may here take alarm, protesting that his craft is in danger. Should he decide, however, to abandon the money prizes of the old world, for the sake of breathing the free atmosphere of the New Order, he will be consoled by the reflection that he gains thereby a far better thing for the art and science which his mind has made its own than the economic accretions which he has lost, namely, freedom to work out his ideas and discoveries unhampered by the painful necessity of adjusting his supply of remedies to the limited intelligence of the patients to whose fees he must look for his maintenance and promotion in the old order. Among the free folk, free experiments will be the rule, and the medical enthusiast, having secured his food supply by his daily hour of work-time, will be under no temptation to prostitute his genius for health prescription to the baser ends of economicism.

II.—THE CLIMATIC HEALTH-BALANCE.

Constructive health practice must include, over and above the pursuit of wholesome occupations, some degree of effort to neutralise, or escape from, the evils inherent in the methods of the economic era, ingrained therein by the triple forces of inheritance, custom, and education. It is not necessary here to enumerate the tragic list of diseases to which man has become a victim in proportion as he has allowed the use of money to lure him unto that "protection" of himself from the elements by "wood and wall," which is the easy descent into degeneracy. What is important for enactors of the New Hygiene to realise is that one of the finest tests of health is the ability to subject the breathing organs, especially the skin, to any and every climatic variation without becoming unpleasantly conscious of the change. The modern trend towards the so-called nature cure methods betrays

the dim prevision of the new climatic treatment embodied in the science of vitology. Many are the methods whereby the new hygienist seeks to balance his organism among the elemental forces functioning within him and without. In the first place, the security of the free basis will give men and women the courage to follow their own bent in matters of clothing, heedless of the dictates of fashion or the chimera of what is good for trade. The practice of going barefoot on the land induces hardihood, and is gladly embraced by children; while keeping the head bare conserves the hair, and keeps the brain in good working order: the two should go together in order that the body may become a true conductor for the magnetisms of earth and sky. Carrying this one step further, sun, rain, and air baths frequently taken are most conducive to the speedy attainment of the climatic health-balance. This part of the Theory, however, can only be appreciated by experiment and experience, and must, in the nature of the case, be of slower adoption than the rest, inasmuch as it has to contend against a heavy weight of unthinking prejudice and custom. Occasional sleeping out in forest air is valuable, as by breathing air laden with organic moisture, man counteracts the effects of the dry, inorganic atmosphere of towns. This is felt by the gipsy tribes and most of the coloured races. The white man is on the verge of recovering this lost truth, as he emerges slowly from the phase in which he held civilisation to be bound up with the development of city life.

III.—LAND LORE IN THE NEW ORDER.

Any form of land tenure, any system of exchange, or any common denominator of values, that tends to remove men from the land, crowding them into cities, leads the race further and further away from health. In the name of health, it is that most reformers are nowadays raising the cry of "back to the land," the starved and devitalised human organism yearning for its base, from which it can in the long run no more safely depart than the fish from water.

Yet it is vain for him to attempt to get back there, with any hope of thriving, under present conditions: only by throwing off his end of the monopoly chain, which is fastened around him by money, can the worker achieve the New Hygiene even in the country. Going back to the land in the sense in which the allotment holder or the small holder goes back means only adding further slavery to his already over-laborious life. Thus the logic of the New Order persistently returns always to the same truth—only by solving them together can the land and money problems be solved, and the solution of the health problem is intimately bound up with both. Hence no student of New Order principles can become a crank on land, money, diet, or any other separate aspect of the social problem, for he sees them all indissolubly linked together in one great harmony. He does not forget either the physiological link which binds him, wheresoever he may hide himself, to that portion of the land which he consumes by way of food, nor overlook the significance and potency of the form which his relationship with his fellows has assumed since chattel slavery melted into wage slavery, and the feudal idea gave place to the dominion of the sacred rights of property. Co-equal in importance are these two aspects of his earth life for him, and alike in their bearing on his physical and moral health, while his progress in applying the principles of the New Order to both brings him into ever-nearer and more intimate experience of that great hidden world where the material and spiritual climate meet

and blend, which is known among some scattered thinkers as the world of cosmic emotion, or expressed as functioning in the cosmic consciousness. Even from the brief and transient glimpses, which are all he can yet attain of this other world, he wins that more intimate and sympathetic insight into the needs and habits of his mother earth, and her fruit and vegetable offspring, which characterises the new agriculturist. This fascinating land lore enables him to grow for human consumption food products as vital and health-giving in their nutrients as those so-called wild weeds which, in the old agriculture, unless uprooted, will outbreed the triumphs of the market gardener's art.

These vital foods, untouched by human appliances and unspoiled by culinary interference, will figure more and more largely in the dietary of the new groups, who will recognise that their own natural triturating and digestive appliances thrive only with use, and cannot therefore be wisely replaced by external machinery; similarly they realise that no form of food preparation can equal that of the vivifying warmth of the sun outside, and the organic heat constantly produced by the vital forces in full working order within him. At the same time, it is proved that all progress in the adoption of those simpler foods which are palatable and nutritious without the aid of the culinary art tends to increased freedom from the trammels of the money world, and, finally, the New Order group is in a fair way towards making the "desert blossom like the rose," having once for all abandoned the self-stultifying effort to make the garden and fruitful field grow money.

HELEN MEREDITH MACDONALD.

[A section on "Free Exchange and Natural Hygiene" is held over.—ED.]

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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.

To the Editor of THE FREEWOMAN.

A CORRECTION.

MADAM,—It is stated in an article on "Ulster and the W.S.P.U.," in your issue of August 22nd, that "Miss Evelyn Sharp has never at any time done any action calculated to involve her in war against law and order." May I draw your attention to the fact that Miss Sharp went to prison as recently as last November for breaking windows at the War Office? It is not fair to your readers that they should be left with the impression that Miss Sharp preaches another course to that which she practises.

August 24th, 1912.

BLOOMSBURY.

[We are very glad to publish the above correction, and acknowledge the mistake we made in regard to Miss Sharp. The fact that Miss Sharp took part in the window-breaking of recent times had escaped our notice, and we still retained an impression that she belonged, as in the days of our connection with the Women's Social and Political Union, to that section of its members who expounded and supported militancy rather than actually participated in it. While making this correction, and regretting the mistake, we still would point out that window-breaking is only toy-rebellion, and that in Miss Sharp's letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, in which she prognosticated "more militancy and yet more," she was writing in connection with the action of Mrs. Leigh, whose rebellion is of a very different order. "More militancy and yet more" than the Dublin affair means simply murder, and Miss Sharp, in our opinion, unless she is prepared to shoulder the responsibility of carrying out this development of militancy herself, is using literary means in a manner which does not find a justification in morals. Very subtly she is exerting undue influence.—ED.]

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THE COMPETITIVE SPIRIT.

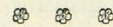
MADAM,—The picturesque boldness of Mr. Mylius' assertion that the competitive spirit has never been responsible for any flowers of intellect or culture is, unfortunately, discounted by the fact that it is entirely opposed to the accepted data of sociology. History demonstrates that centralised control of industry and production in common were only suitable to the military stage of society; with the development of peaceful relations it was perceived that centralised control gave rise only to inefficiency and social discord. Hence primitive communism and, later, feudalism, gave way to the guild system, and the latter in its turn to private ownership. It is only a ruthless opponent of freedom who can regard the competitive spirit solely as the endeavour of one man to deprive another of his living by underselling. Surely there is equally in most men the desire to promote any methods of production which can be proved to result in cheaper goods for the sake of the consumer. If this quality of sympathy is entirely non-existent, it only renders all schemes of common ownership the more impracticable. For the fundamental advantage of free competition, in banking as in ordinary industry, is the liberty of choice thereby accorded to the individual, affording the highest inducement to producers to comply with demand.

I do not deny that harmful underselling occasionally occurs to-day. The governments of every civilised country have prohibited the voluntary co-operation between banks and producers in the circulation of bank-note substitutes for gold. Accordingly, industry is compelled to pay a heavy toll in dividends to owners of gold, and the simultaneous restriction of loans obstructs the path for the capable individual to the possession of machinery, thus causing under-competition among employers and over-competition among wage-earners. This over-competition results in low wages and general restriction of purchasing power. The monopoly of industry naturally results in excessive aggregations of wealth in certain quarters, and occasionally enables particular firms to sell at a loss in order to obtain control of a market. But it is essential to remark that they are only enabled thereby seriously to harm their competitors by reason of the present legal restriction of purchasing power. Under freedom of credit, any such reduction of prices would immediately cause such an increase of purchase as would seriously tax the productive powers of the industry which proposed thus to sell at a loss. At present, on the contrary, such "freezing out" simply exhausts the existing purchasing power of the market without creating a sufficient quantity of fresh purchasers.

The Banking Reform League advocates freedom as opposed to a monopolistic State Bank. Free competition in the issue of credit would prevent an artificial increase of prices by a combine; and we may trust to the ordinary qualities of sympathy and self-interest of employers to avoid attempts to undersell.

HENRY MEULEN,
Hon. Secretary,

Banking and Currency Reform League, 10, Adelphi Terrace, W.C., August 24th, 1912.



LAND AND CAPITAL.

MADAM,—Mr. Kitson says interest is a "purely artificial system." Then all private property is open to the same objection.

Interest is a portion of the product of the capital loaned. If the borrower and lender are free, and command their rightful opportunities, their contract will be just, and should be kept. If the borrower is oppressed by the effects of an unjust system, or monopoly, the latter, not interest, is at fault. Interest is not paid for the use of money, for the money is at once spent for labour and other productive forces. The borrowed wealth is not "consumed or destroyed in order to be available for creating more wealth"; if it were, there could be no product, and no interest. The borrowed wealth takes the form of productive tools. The precious metals do not owe their value to their use as money, but to their use in the various forms that satisfy human desire, like any other product. Coinage does not make the metals scarcer, for any coin may be used by the owner in the arts. Paper money would be "dishonest" if it pretended to be anything other than what it is, a promise to pay coin. No one ever yet saw a paper pound or dollar.

Pioneers exchange services. I doubt if any pioneer ever kept a plough to lend, and be worn out, without any return. But if such a one can be found, the State will not interfere, nor in any case will the State interfere if anyone wishes to lend capital in any form, free

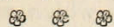
of interest. What is the reason for such queer statements?

What is the form of credit that would be better than bank credits, or coin, and how would values be measured under such system?

"Finance" does not control land. Give land to the people, and moneylenders will have no power over them.

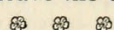
Chicago, August 15th, 1912.

C. F. HUNT.



MR. MCKENNA AND FORCIBLE FEEDING.

MADAM,—Miss Gawthorpe has practically admitted my chief point in her last letter, because, by her answer that the public did not rise up in the case of William Ball and other released hunger-strikers, she inferentially assumes that the public expect the women to be forcibly fed on their refusing their prison food. All the persons mentioned by her had been forcibly fed, and then released. We were arguing whether Mr. McKenna had an alternative to *any* forcible feeding of the hunger-striking women. I suggested he had not, and that public opinion had insisted upon the women being forcibly fed and then released; not before. Judging by the cases quoted, Miss Gawthorpe is in agreement with me, so I am content to leave the discussion there.



C. H. NORMAN.

INSURRECTIONARY MORALITY.

MADAM,—I should like to tell you of one or two vitally important considerations which determine my opposition to your unqualified statement, "we in no way deprecate the action of Mrs. Leigh." Before receiving this week's issue of THE FREEWOMAN, I had already forwarded letters for publication to the editor of the *New Age*, who prints no less than ten columns of criticism of the militant suffrage position in the current issue of that paper. In one of these letters I have paid full tribute to the undoubted courage of our former co-worker, Mrs. Mary Leigh. Nevertheless, I will oppose to the utmost of my powers and opportunities continued action on similar lines, whether on the part of individuals or groups; and I proceed to indicate the direction of my thoughts.

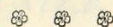
"But should she (Ulster) of her own accord, apart from the egging-on of leaders," revolt, then, you say, "questioning as to the morality of the revolt is so much hypocrisy or empty wind. The immorality lies in the forcing of Ulster. Her actual immorality would lie in allowing herself to be forced." Now you had already set up the tablets whereon you define, with utmost simplicity, the morality of the new "self-conscious" religion. In last week's issue of THE FREEWOMAN you write, "we are therefore sure of our morality, individually or socially. Individually, therefore, morality forbids the letting out of the will into bondage: either into the bondage of *external personal force* or the bondage of *internal personal desire*. Socially, morality forbids interference with the *free-will of another* or the making of arrangements which will tend to negate the *free-will of another*." The italics are, of course, mine. The logic of this is clear enough. If you or I accept this morality, we cannot seek to compel Mr. Asquith to yield to us by throwing the hatchet; we cannot seek to terminate the free-will of Mr. Redmond because, "*socially, morality forbids interference with the free-will of another or the making of arrangements which will tend to negate the free-will of another*." And how does instinct come "to the rescue of too hasty a logic" in this respect, either to modify or reinforce the latter's strength? My instinct answers thus: I will *never* attempt bodily harm and human outrage on undefended people *as a matter of policy*. From the reserves and depths of personality, the inmost man further confirms: "Not even the coercion of Mr. Asquith's will in this way. Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Lawrence, Miss Pankhurst would never tolerate coercion of this kind. I myself would die, literally, before I would suffer coercion at the hands of anyone." Such is *my* inner reading. We have had demonstrated to us that Mrs. Mary Leigh's instincts gave a different reply. The paradox is that if Mrs. Mary Leigh's actions are unquestionably *her truth* (and I agree with you in thinking they are), then she, in the long run, has gone "right." Granted, then, that Mrs. Mary Leigh has demonstrated *the truth of the rebel* (as you state it), I challenge you, with all courtesy, to prove to us that, according to your light and your truth, you can go *all the way* in approval of Mrs. Mary Leigh's action.

Your expressed standard of morality would, in my reading, exclude such action on your part; and your intellectual appraisal, "Still, it is five years, and for the sake of the vote!" erects, for you, a further barrier. You, madam, have more than once defined the attributes of the philosophical anarchist. The limitation expressed by the added "philosophical" alters the whole outlook.

A philosophical anarchist is really not an anarchist at all. Philosophical anarchist though, in theory, you be, you avow your practical platform when you say, "To Be, to Know, to Create, to Do, to Have. Here in a descending scale of wants we have a descending grade of human quality." You accept the distinctions revealed to you through the *power of mind*. Intellectually speaking, you have signed on as a member of the coming aristocracy. Free individuals you would have us be, but you would have us in our ranks; and there are degrees in your estimation of us and of our powers. To Have—to Do—to Create—to Know—to Be—it is all very good; and I am inclined to think you are right. I ask you—is it for nothing that the Apostle of the Power of Mind, Browning, is also the poet in whom you can find no "worse"? Would it not have been more in accordance with your Power of Knowledge deliberately to show the W.S.P.U. how to retrieve the wavering fortunes of recent times? Truly, the W.S.P.U. members, as a Union, are not "insurrectionary." In a strictly genuine sense they are not *at war*. But do you want them to be insurrectionary, or are your suggestions of Machiavellian import? *Do you think insurrection will win votes for women this year?*

You will remember that in our original circular we announced that the forthcoming feminist venture, THE FREEWOMAN, would regard the question of woman suffrage as "an accomplished fact." We should certainly be pro-suffrage; but we should not place the accent on votes for women. Indeed, yes! some of us still regard the W.S.P.U. as *our* Union, which we have "helped to build up into power." We still are "jealous for its honour and public repute, as in the earliest days of trial and sincerity"; and I, who have a mighty respect for the Mind of You, have also lasting remembrance of the Endeavours of Christabel. She has run away, you think. But may she not live to fight another day? Now, please: if you were in Miss Pankhurst's shoes to-day, how would you act, recent events in mind, in the interest of *Votes for women this year?* I am quite willing to answer this question on my own behalf; and you are not bound to answer. Between the two of us, though, we might be able (having such close and intimate knowledge of the W.S.P.U.) to render some effective assistance. You have previously recognised how difficult it is to think in an atmosphere of incessant action! Mrs. Pankhurst's recent moral permission to individual members of the W.S.P.U. to exercise the right of free action opens the way to the right of free thought among W.S.P.U. members generally. Let us avail ourselves of it. Perhaps our words will not fall on deaf ears. MARY GAWTHORPE.

[The answer to this letter will appear in our next issue.—ED.]



THE CASE OF PENELOPE.

MADAM,—In reply to Mr. d'Auvergne's article, "The Case of Penelope," I would like to suggest that there are various excellent reasons for prizing conjugal fidelity. The first and most important is that the fruit of love is normally a child, and that incomparably the best and sanest emotional atmosphere for the upbringing of children is that of the calmed and mellowed love of wedded life, and most emphatically not that of the feverish unrest of newly born passion. This point is subtly and admirably insisted upon by Mr. Henry James. What wholesome care could a child expect from parents perpetually acquiring "new loves"? The longer we can possibly delay the knowledge of the power of sex in children the better. Imagine a child speculating as to the cause of the unhappiness of its deserted mother or neglected father, when its parents ought to be combining to develop its faculties in such a way that its youth may be so full of innocent delights and many-sided interests that sex may gain no power over it, and it may learn to regard falling in love with the kindly contempt felt by all healthy and well-bred youths and maidens. Secondly, I would suggest that asceticism produces certain results which more than compensate for its real or imagined painfulness. In the first place, the more you deny yourself, the more you enjoy what you permit yourself. The happiness of Dante and Petrarch does not compare unfavourably with that of the roué about town. St. Francis and his companions may have been imbeciles, but they seem to have been cheerful imbeciles. I bet Mr. d'Auvergne a year's subscription to THE FREEWOMAN that Penelope did not refuse her suitors from an irksome sense of duty, but because she happened (misguidedly, no doubt!) to like thinking of Ulysses better than "sharing pleasure" with them. She even seems (poor uneconomically minded wretch!) to have preferred crying over the thought of her dead Ulysses to laughing with her lovers. It is true she consented provisionally to marry one of

them, but that was only to please her dead lord's son. In the second place, voluntary asceticism means clearness of intellect. In the third, it means strength of will. Either voluntarily to embrace pain or willingly to submit to it so much ability acquired to win the victory over both ourselves and others; and I would suggest that to get our own way, and not to experience pleasure, is what we mortals most earnestly desire. Even if finally we find that submitting our wills is even more delightful, a necessary preliminary is still that we should have acquired a will to submit.

The lack of ability to be constant is, too, a confession both of greed and of imprudent folly. I imagine faithful husbands and wives are proud of their fidelity, for the same reasons that I am proud of enjoying the same thing for dinner every day, and of being able to wear out a dress without getting tired of it: I don't take a distaste to bread and fruit, because I don't take too much of them; I could wear a sufficiently strongly made dress for life, because I should take care to have it beautiful and comfortable to start with.

Finally, the chastity and constancy of human beings does not necessarily "diminish their sum of happiness by limiting their experience and their fellowship with mankind." When I make the acquaintance of a man or woman it rests with myself whether I think, "Here is a fellow-creature with whom it is possible to have sexual relations," or "Here is a rival"; or whether I reflect that the man is a fellow struggler after mental clarity and goodness of heart, and the woman a person with whom it is possible to have dignified and affectionate relations. In neither case, I submit, if I adopt the latter course, does either experience or fellowship suffer a limitation. And is not the abandonment of those who have ceased to excite our desire a novel way of cultivating pitifulness? I like to think of that tenderly considerate French husband with his "new love," and then of the cold harshness of the loves of St. Francis and St. Clara.

Mr. d'Auvergne also quite begs the question whether man is *merely* an animal or not. He may be quite rightly trying to become something else as well. The diet of love-birds, by-the-by, is seeds and fruit. Perhaps if Mr. d'Auvergne were to adopt a diet less carnivorous than his present one (whatever it may be), he might be able to entertain the possibility of being jolly without a fresh sweetheart every month or so. MARGARET THEOBALD.

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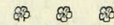
CHASTITY AND FIDELITY.

MADAM,—I cannot reconcile the end of Mr. d'Auvergne's article with the beginning. If happiness is what the public should aim at, why is pity a great gift? Would not insensibility be a greater? Granting men are affected (some more, some less) by the sufferings of others, the whole simplicity of his argument goes, because taking into account how much people differ in what makes them unhappy, and the effects which would follow if everyone counted fidelity and sexual restraint as useless, a considerable defence of the maintenance of something like "conjugal fidelity" is established. (I express myself like this because I do not see the special beauty of sexual abstinence, and do not think that the present ideas of marriage and its divorce are correct, but still believe that the ideal of the well-mated husband and wife is correct.) Again, does the public want happiness? No man calculates whether life will make him happy: the mother that feeds her child while she herself starves; even the man who to-day marries when he knows he can't really afford to do so, must be imagined to act on impulses—a desire for life or a continued existence in their child which they hold dearer than life—and these impulses are stronger than, and do not reflect about, happiness. I know it will be said happiness differs in quality; but, if so, again the whole theory is really destroyed, for if there is simple happiness (as that of drinking beer) and a happiness which has another quality, we are not really testing all conduct by its happiness-producing quality, but have silently slipped in some other consideration. In short, I am not so sure that if we follow nature and instinct, we shall aim at happiness, as Mr. d'Auvergne is. Man's instincts are very vague—the actions he really does automatically under given circumstances very few, and he is necessarily guided by conflicting forces, inborn and acquired. I think it will be found impossible to prevent this being so: and, if so, what use is it to tell him to follow his nature? He has not got a nature in the way in which the love bird seems to have.

Did Crowsley aim at happiness when he went down to Aldershot and distributed leaflets telling soldiers not to shoot down strikers asking for fairer wages? Of course, he took the risk of being punished, and punished he was.

ARTHUR D. LEWIS.

August 23rd, 1912.



GRADES IN HAPPINESS.

MADAM,—Mr. d'Auvergne says, concerning Penelope, "What the public wants is happiness." Few of us will sincerely quarrel with that statement, but the argument which he has based upon this truth cannot be so easily accepted.

We are told that the ascetics came and set up a new standard of virtue, which was pain; the more it hurt you to perform an action, the more meritorious that action was; and that the ascetics discovered that chastity was extremely distasteful to men, clearly, therefore, it was a good thing for men. Now since the seeking after happiness is in the nature of man (from what has been said, I think we may dare to postulate this), how was it that the ascetics deliberately sought pain? Mortification of the flesh was not practised for its own sake, but as a means to an end; the realisation of what is called spiritual experience. This "Spiritual Experience" was claimed to entail a happiness infinitely higher than happiness through the medium of the senses. Whether this claim is justifiable or not shall be dealt with later.

Mr. d'Auvergne does not see why we should rise superior to our nature. It does not require abnormal intelligence to see that, whether we wish to or not, that is impossible; but what is our nature? There is something in man's nature which makes a comparison between humanity and love birds, etc., impossible. Man owes allegiance to the spirit world as well as to the animal kingdom. Thus it may happen that while the animal part of man desires sex intercourse, the spiritual tendencies strive towards chastity; or, in the words of another, "I see a different law in my members warring against the law of my mind." The person who urges the animal man to be chaste may be advising him to eat coke, but the epicurean is also recommending a simi-

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lar diet for the more spiritual type of man, such as the saint, poet, or ascetic.

What standard, then, can we apply to judge which of these two laws which are found warring one against the other is the more worthy to be obeyed? There is such a standard, and that in the personality of man himself. "There are few men who could tell a woman that they had ceased to love her without feeling a sense of shame." We are thankful to say that there are. And why this sense of shame? Is it not because the innate standard of good condemns infidelity? Thus in the same way we know unselfishness to be better than selfishness, however expedient the latter may be; and that pleasure for the mind is superior to pleasure for the body; and by this standard the ascetics know that pleasure for the spirit is superior to both mind and body. By a sincere application of this standard, to the conflicting tendencies, the law of sense happiness has been found so unworthy to be obeyed that men throughout the ages have been willing to endure sense-pain and physical torture, even though their fellows scolded, in order to obey the mandate of this innate standard of good. But there is something more. How do we know that the men who have refused sense-pleasure so that they might attain soul-pleasure have not been mistaken? What evidence have we that spiritual experience is a higher happiness than sense-pleasure? We may apply the test of efficiency. As we are seeking happiness, the experiences which give the greatest amount of happiness in quality and quantity are the most efficient, and, therefore, worthiest to be sought. Now it is quite easy to find men and women satiated with sensual pleasure, but much harder to find persons who, having tasted the sweets of the mind, have had their fill. As a giver of lasting happiness, the mind is infinitely superior to the body. Similarly though one may come across people whom the triumphs of intellect have ceased to charm, yet the poet, saint, or ascetic who has stilled the fierce heats of desire and entered into the spiritual experience referred to, very rarely turns back to eat the coke of the mind and body. If he does relapse he feels that he has lowered himself; as has been recorded by notable saints. Satiety of spiritual experience is, as far as I know, unknown. If these premises be valid, the conclusion follows that instead of our poets, saints, and moralists upholding an ideal which may be compared to the hopes of the Laputan sheep breeders, they are showing to humanity the way to the highest happiness. Mr. d'Auvergne recognises the ideal taught by the Galilean, "To love our neighbour as ourselves." The reason why the realisation of this ideal seems so far off, is because each one of us is so eager for sense-satisfaction. The attainment of soul-pleasure can neither injure nor rob our neighbour, nor is there the possibility that what is pleasure for one is pain for the other, as so often happens in the pursuit of fleshly joys. Perhaps, after all, Penelope was not denying herself pleasure when she refused the suitors; she may have been something more than a creature of sense.

When the sun of righteousness has illumined the consciousness of all men, then men will have evolved higher than a creature of the senses. His highest happiness will not consist in the gratification of his animal instincts, but in the exercise of the sublime functions of his spirit. Though we cannot rise higher than our nature, we should strive to realise the highest in our nature; which is not sex-pleasure, but God. E. NOEL MORGAN.

August 26th, 1912. ❀ ❀ ❀

REBECCA WEST'S ATTACK ON MEN.

MADAM,—In your issue of the 15th inst., Miss Rebecca West feels justified in describing all men as (1) "swine" because Sir Almroth Wright wrote a certain letter, and (2) "asses" because Strindberg (along with the readers of the *Sketch* and *Tatler*) liked a pretty ankle or a small foot daintily shod. These seem slight grounds for so sweeping a generalisation, but I am only concerned here with the second charge.

May I suggest to your contributor that she is blaming the wrong sex? To be quite frank, what is the motive, conscious or unconscious, of the whole scheme of feminine dress and fashion? Is it not just to accentuate the difference of sex and to draw the attention of men to the fact of sex? I do not blame women for this. I think, on the whole, it makes for the furtherance of nature's purposes, and, incidentally, does much to develop the æsthetic sense. But may I point out to Miss Rebecca West just how it works?

A man may be going along the street with his eyes on the pavement and lost in, say, one of Mr. Kitson's currency problems. Suddenly he catches a glimpse of some rainbow-hued stocking. Then he notes a neat ankle, and then, once more, he stands amazed and bewildered

before the "veiled nudity" of the modern summer dress. It is with more or less difficulty that he gets his thoughts back to the currency problem.

Now there is no great harm in these daily sex challenges, though abnormal persons or the physically imperfect may deplore them. But I do not see why Miss Rebecca West—whose flashes of critical insight are sometimes admirable—should not keep her hard words for her own sex, who set out with the motive I have mentioned, and who generally succeed in it.

To guard against misapprehension, please note that I do not suggest that every woman dresses with this motive alone in view. There can be little doubt, however, that in this, as in other matters, the sex tradition is wiser than the individual. SCOTUS.

August 19th, 1912. ❀ ❀ ❀

THE DAUGHTER AND THE HOME.

MADAM,—May I be allowed to express my opinion on the present unsatisfactory relationship existing between mothers and daughters in their home life?

Education is a question of interest to people of all classes and both sexes, because everybody is affected by it, either directly or indirectly.

In England, though the education has improved considerably, it still leaves much to be desired, and even in these days of democracy it is the so-called upper classes that receive the best tuition.

A good education, as I understand it, is one that leads the pupil out; in other words, that develops and makes those it teaches fit to occupy desirable and suitable positions in the world.

On the other hand, if society be unprepared to help students follow up their education, bearing the fruit thereof in helping to make the life of the world, it is defeating one of its chief *raison d'être*.

The education of boys has suffered very little change in the last few years. The average son of fairly wealthy parents goes from a public school to the University, and later he is either set up in business, or he goes into a profession. He may, or may not, live at home, but in either case he is nearly always free to go in and out without any questions being asked, and his business or professional pursuits once settled upon, he very rarely suffers interference from his parents.

Now let us turn to the daughter. How does she fare, and what is her position? She remains at school or in the schoolroom until about the age of eighteen. She will then probably either go abroad for about a year or spend three or four years at Oxford or Cambridge—(in her case one cannot say the "University," for though she may attend all the requisite amount of lectures, etc., she is still not recognised as a member of these Universities).

Her parents will encourage her to achieve honour and success in her studies. When she comes home after she has "finished," what does it all lead to? At first her mother, who may not be used to having a grown-up girl in the house, will impress upon her daughter that she ought to "take something up," and not fritter all her time away on gaieties and amusements—I am taking it for granted in this case that the mother is a so-called modern woman, possibly a suffragette, and at any rate considers that she has advanced ideas as to the conditions and education of women and girls. Now, how does she put her ideas and theories into practice when applied to her own daughter? The girl, who has received quite a good education, in many cases much broader than that of her brother, is usually quite anxious to "take up" something seriously—but as soon as her occupation is settled and really begins to take up a large portion of her time and energy, her parents will come down on her, more than likely accusing her of wasting her time.

One continually hears the following kind of remarks from a mother about her daughter: "She spends all her time at the studio (East End, etc., as the case may be), and I can never get her to go to an "At Home" or pay a call with me. As for helping in the house, she hardly ever thinks of even offering, and if she does she is more hindrance than help, and is eaten up with selfishness."

And these remarks come from the mother who thinks she is both advanced and logical; possibly she *may* be, on some line of her own, but when it comes to her daughter she is usually reactionary and almost invariably illogical.

In a house well staffed with servants, and where the mother is a capable woman, there is little or no need for a daughter to help in household affairs. Any such help is usually regarded as interference by the domestics, and the peace of a household is never enhanced by orders coming from more than one person in authority. In large, modern households, there is very little opportunity for the daughter of acquiring any domestic science, and unless she takes up the subject, either at school or col-

lege (a subject which, incidentally, I consider should be compulsory in a girl's education), she is likely to remain ignorant of all its finesses unto the end of her days.

To obviate the unpleasantness and points of discord that are almost bound to arise between parents and their daughters, considerable pacific benefit might be derived by their coming to an understanding as to what the daughters are really expected to undertake in the duties of the home, before they definitely take up any outside work or occupation.

I do not wish anyone to be carried away with the idea that it is my belief that daughters should in no way help their parents in the home; but what I maintain is that if girls do take up serious work, whether it is remunerative or not, this work should in no way be interfered with, and household duties should then become a matter of secondary importance.

It is absolutely a false idea, and I go so far as to say it is an immoral principle, to regard self-development as selfishness. Nothing can or ever will be done for the benefit of society unless it comes from the individual.

This idea is perfectly summed up in the following words from "L'Évasion" of Almérás—"Nous (women) avons l'intuition que le type humain se développera non par le perfectionnement de la machine sociale, mais par celui des forces individuelles. Et c'est cette protection de l'individu qui doit devenir notre mission." . . .

The present unsatisfactory position of the daughter is not only due to parents. Unconsciously, perhaps, but nevertheless they must be influenced by the fact that the English Government and society treat women all around in the same illogical fashion. They allow them to be educated, to pass almost any public examination, but yet there are still numerous posts and berths that are closed to women.

Whilst women's social position is still so unsatisfactory (and which we may hope is only temporary on account of its transitional state), both mother and daughter must expect continual unrest and discontent in the home.

✻ ✻ ✻

E. J. C.

THE FORCIBLE FEEDING OF MRS. LEIGH.

MADAM,—There is every reason to believe that two courageous women are being fed *by force* in Mountjoy Prison, Dublin. Will not every convinced Humanist among the readers of THE FREEWOMAN assist in putting a stop to this inhuman practice of *feeding the brave by force*, by helping in the preparation of a petition to the responsible authorities; and will you not give your consent to such a petition being organised from THE FREEWOMAN?

If I go on a smashing expedition, and choose the *right* Home Office door as my mark (having smashed the *left* one on behalf of William Ball's case in February last), I should only be "thrown out" again. Moreover, the authorities would probably choose to be unpleasantly suggestive, in view of the former expedition, as to my need of mental rest. They might possibly adjudge me as belonging to the numerous "women suffering from nervous disorder whose actions are temporarily beyond their normal control" (*New Age*, August 22nd). This wouldn't matter one bit to me personally, but it might spoil the protest. Then, please, let us get a petition, or a series of petitions, together, asking for the cessation of forcible feeding and for the transference of Mrs. Mary Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans to the first division, for which authoritative action the treatment of Irish cattle-drivers in recent times affords an admirable precedent.

Forcible feeding is a beastly affront, an outrage, and an insult to the brave women now being fed by such force. It also represents an utter degradation of feeling on the part of those unfortunate fellow humans who feel bound to acquiesce in such treatment, and who verily "know not what they do." Mrs. Jennie Baines has already been released, forcible feeding having *failed to sustain the strength sufficiently to ensure her serving of the judge's sentence of seven months*. The authorities have paid tribute to Mrs. Baines's physical weakness.

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They have paid no tribute to her spiritual strength. Though I, personally, would gladly welcome the release of the other prisoners, I suggest the petition's request for first division treatment, because it provides an honourable solution of the dilemma faced by the authorities when met by the challenge of the Hunger-Strike. Will some one please take the petitions in hand from town? For myself, I will not rest, nor shall my mental sword sleep in my hand until the iniquity of feeding by force sink into the hearts of all responsible for its continuation.

The forcible feeding of brave prisoners must go.

August 26th, 1912.

MARY GAWTHORPE.

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THE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE AND THE LASH.

The following letter has been addressed to the Home Secretary by the Committee of the Humanitarian League:—

It was lately reported in the Press that the grand juries at the Kent and the Sussex Assizes had recommended, with the approval of the Lord Chief Justice, that flogging should be added to the penalty in cases of assault upon children.

While we feel the utmost abhorrence of the class of crime referred to, as one which ought beyond question to be rigorously put down, we venture to express to you our opinion that it would be a blunder of the gravest kind thus to extend the use of the lash, and we say this not from pity for the offender, or from lack of sympathy with his victim, but from a conviction that it is the community itself that is degraded when the law resorts to physical torture as a punishment. We submit that the experience derived from the use of flogging, in old times for all sorts of offences, and more recently for robbery with violence, affords no argument whatever for extending it, inasmuch as in those countries and in those districts, where the lash has *not* been employed, there is no less personal security, and crime decreases no less surely, than elsewhere.

We regard flogging, in brief, as a purely vindictive punishment; that is, as inflicted not because it has been proved to be a deterrent—for its history points to quite the opposite conclusion—but because certain crimes are felt to "deserve" it, a consideration which, though often indicative of honest indignation, is merely sentimental, and unworthy of the legislator's concern.

Finally, with all respect for the Lord Chief Justice's opinion, we would remind you that high judicial, as well as moral, authority can be quoted on the other side. To give two recent instances only: it was Lord Justice Mathew who condemned flogging as "the punishment of the slave," and it was Mr. Justice Hawkins who asserted that "you make a perfect devil of the man you flog." We earnestly hope that the Government, bearing in mind that the object in view is the good of the community, not the gratification of any resentment, however justly felt, will disregard all appeals in favour of reactionary legislation, from whatever quarter they may be received.

THE HUMANITARIAN LEAGUE.

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