FREEWOMAN

A WEEKLY FEMINIST REVIEW

No. 12. Vol. I.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1912

THREEPENCE

[Registered at G.P.O.] as a Newspaper.]

	PAGE
THE DRUDGE	221
Notes of the Week	223
MILTON'S "DOCTRINE AND	
DISCIPLINE OF DIVORCE."	
By E. H. Visiak	225
A Y. W. C. A. HOME. By	
Former Residents	227
THE ULTIMATE DREAD. By	
Winifred Rose Carey	228
BISCUITS. III. By K. D. Scott	229

CONTENTS

	TUUT
CORRESPONDENCE :	
Asceticism and Passion	231
Early Marriage and Pros-	-
titution	231
Limitation of Population	231
Uranians	232
Discussion of Sex Questions	232
The Representative System	
Karl Marx and the Single	
Tax	233

Joint Editors:	
DORA MARSDEN,	
MARY GAWTHO	RPE
	PAGE
RECREATION AS LABOUR. By	
Theodora Roscoe	234
THE HUMAN MINORITY. By	
Harry J. Birnstingl	235
EMANCIPATION. By Guy A.	
Aldred	236
FEMINISM AND THE DESTINY	
OF HUMANITY. By Alfred	
E. Bing	238

THE DRUDGE.

"HAT the activities of the housewife have drifted from the sphere of Work to that of Drudgery few people will attempt to deny. Looked at from the point of view of productive labour, there is nothing performed in the "house" at the present time which is done on a scale big enough and in a manner sufficiently efficient to produce wealth of the exchange value of a living wage. There is nothing productive, for instance, about the lifting of dirt from one place into another. Dirtremoval is the mere accompaniment of productive work. There is nothing in the providing of simple meals for three or four persons to occupy the energies of an adult female. All the work which formerly made the housewife a sound financial asset has, without waiting her permission, drifted from under her control. The housewife holds an office the business of which has become effete. She is an anachronism. She is, from the economic point of view, the fruitless vine. Whereas formerly she was the producer of extensive and visible "wealth" in addition to being the producer of children, she is now merely the latter, and little beyond. Whereas the housewife of former times established her office by making it produce more than half the material wealth of the world over and above her work in keeping up the population, the housewife of to-day considers she has established herself when she has produced a few children, allocated the earnings of the man who keeps her, grappled somewhat with the dirt of her dwelling, and undertaken simple preparations from ingredients which are nine parts prepared by the time they reach her hands. The modern housewife is a drudge because she creates nothing. Her work, compared with that of her predecessor, is paltry. Her work as mother, *i.e.*, as the reproducer of her kind, is of so instinctive a nature, being shared in common with every form of life, down to the simplest cell, that it never has been, and never can be, regarded as work, and this "work" aside, her remaining activities are makeweights. While it was the work of her predecessor

(upon whose virtues and value she is a hanger-on) to grind her corn and bake her bread, to carry her water, to wash and brew, to tend the cattle, milk the cows, and make her butter and cheese, to rear her pigs, salt her bacon and cure her hams, to shear the sheep, spin her wool, knit her coats and weave her cloth, to be doctor, seamstress, tailor, and cobbler, and cook, to lend a hand in the fields, to produce her children, rear them, and educate them, while this was her work, the homes of the land were the mainsprings of wealth, and the housewife the most valuable producer of the State. Compared with her, the modern suburban dweller-the modern housewife generally-shows herself to be clearly what she is, one who reaps what she has not sown, parasitic on the labour of others. This state of affairs is far from being due to any fault of hers. It has overtaken her in so quiet and subtle a fashion that even now she is unaware of her position. The tradition of thousands of years, the tradition of the woman being in or near the home, finding her work there, does not die out simultaneously with the undermining of its bases. It lives on to cause the contradictions between itself and reality which are present everywhere, but nowhere so patent as in this realm of housewives' "work." With the advent of machinery and the factory, women got their marching orders, "Out of the home," exactly as did men. Men obeyed the more readily because they had often before received such. To leave the home was no novelty to them. In war and in the hunt, they had become accustomed to moving afield. Women made no voluntary movement, though circumstances were strong enough to push millions of the less strongly entrenched out into the open world. Yet, after a century and a half of "Industrialism," women are still fondly imagining their highest destiny is in "The Home," and that they can earn their salt by the pottering little duties to be found there. And even if they do not so earn, they are worth their keep because they carry on the race! Such a state of mind is one which beggars

words. Women replenish the species for the same reason that dogs delight to bark and bite—because it is their nature to! If they get pecuniary returns in the matrimonial contract, it is not for producing children, but for giving "love," and giving it in the sense that the payer understands "love" in the "payee." It is a tacit understanding. For what else can this payment stand?

And, truth to tell, the feeling that women receive board and lodgings and social status for what they give, i.e., "love," has instinctively made itself felt and found expression amongst a great number of women. It is behind a good deal of female antisuffragism. It is really the instinct of a good sports-man and fair dealer. "Upon receipt of payment, deliver goods, and ask no questions." It is implicit deliver goods, and ask no questions." It is implicit in the present marriage contract. "With (all my) worldly goods I thee endow." "I promise—to love, honour, and *obey*." These two phrases represent a "deal," sanctified by the Church and State. It is, therefore, unsporting folly to make a contract and then pout at the fulfilment of its terms. A prostitute even would not haggle about her wares after re-ceiving her money. Why, then, should a wife? It is becoming more and more apparent that many modern and especially so-called "emancipated" women are playing very crookedly about this un-lovely business of the "love" contract, *i.e.*, mar-riage. At the outset, woman puts up "love." Man puts up love, plus, money and social station. Once inside the contract, *i.e.*, married, with the social position assured and the money which the man is now legally liable for secured, the woman begins questioning the "love" terms. She believes they are wrong, as they are, and were, before she made the contract, as she knew, or ought to have known. Without the courage of her convictions, without the reverence for love which would recoil from binding it in civil terms, and mixing it with pecuniary considerations, she slips it under the yoke, and then, after the event, bombastically speaks of the "higher" love. She forgets that she herself has forfeited the right to dictate the terms of love. She has sold the right with the sale of her economic independence, which is her sole means of enforcing the right. It is indeed a striking indication of how short a distance the woman movement has travelled when we find women like Mrs. Pankhurst on the practical side, and Olive Schreiner on the philosophical, quite content to tolerate in their new Utopia the position of the "housewife"—the "paid-housewife"—the "housewife-paid-by-herhusband." Mrs. Pankhurst says, in the course of her trial for inciting to riot, in October, 1908: "You in this court must have had experience of women, who would never have come here if married women were afforded by law that claim for maintenance by their husbands which I think in justice should be given them when they give up their economic independence, and are unable to earn a subsistence for themselves."

Olive Schreiner, in an introduction to her brilliant and powerful book, "Woman and Labour," says: "I have feared that this book" (*i.e.*, "Woman and Labour") "might lead to a misconception, if by its great insistence on the problem of sex parasitism, . . . it should lead to the impression that woman's domestic labour at the present day should not be highly, and most highly, recognised and recompensed. I believe it will be in the future, and when woman gives up her independent field of labour for domestic or marital duty of any kind, she will not receive her share of the earnings of the man as a more or less eleemosynary benefaction, placing her in a position of subjection, but an equal share, as the fair division, in an equal partnership." The italics are ours; but if the above does not condone and suggest the abandonment of women's "independent field of labour," upon marriage, and previsage the compulsory payment of wives by husbands, who will fulfil the rôleof employee and employer respectively, it has no meaning.

One has, however, only to think awhile in order to understand why the position of the housewife stands even now apparently impregnable, in spite of the fact that all productive work has fled from the home. It is because, in addition to the wife in the home there are the children, and popular sentiment has it that where the children are there must the wife be. It is quite true that the State has interfered with the wife's empire over the children, and, at the age of five years, has claimed the right to withdraw them also from the home. Even so; and here is the housewife's chance to regain her dignity as a wealth-producing individual. She can now cease to be a housewife, and become a human being. If the children can leave the house at five years, they can, under proper care, leave it at five weeks—or two weeks. It seems drastic, but it is the only way. We have looked round this problem from every side, and we believe there is no other way of securing women's independence and enabling the most capable women to have children. If women's work has to assume the permanent character of that of men, it must be of as permanent a nature. For a woman to cut herself adrift from her work in the early twenties of her life, and remain cut off from it for six or ten years, is to break the "working habit." Moreover, her existence-even temporary-in the home is a nuisance and a hindrance. As long as she continues, the development of home-architecture and home-management will halt in the wasteful, unscientific, hopeless muddle which present-day sentimentality grows ecstatic about.

As long as she continues, she will encourage such moled-eyed schemes as that of the London University, which proposes to confer a degree upon elaborate "housewifery" imbecility. If there were a real philosophy among "advanced" women, there would very promptly have been a move to confer cap and bells upon the promoters of such a Returning, however, to our "way-out," scheme. we are faced with this question, which is fundamental: Can another person be as adequate as the individual mother to fulfil the requirements of an infant's guardian? The answer appears to be in the affirmative, and is based upon the fact that, while some women are excellent as producers of children, they are inadequate as children's nurses and trainers. It is an affair of native endowment and temperament. Therefore, it is good social economy that those women who are good at the work of training should devote their time, not only to the bringing up of their own children (if they have any), but of the children of others also. Such a woman will thus be able to do work sufficient in quantity and efficient in kind, just as she would were she, for instance, a capable milliner or teacher-doing work not only for herself, but for a wider circle. Such a woman could take charge of eight or ten babies, either from the time in the morning when the mothers wish to leave them, till the time they return for them later in the day, or keep them night as well as day. Her work will fill in the gap which exists between the birth of the child and the Kindergarten period, and its first period should extend from the age of a few days to fifteen or eighteen months. Her principal qualification would be a love for children as children. Her

training will demand a general knowledge, such as would be denoted by one who had satisfied a matriculation standard, and from this degree of general education she would proceed to specialise as teachers do now. In fact, the existence of such a course and career as we proceed to outline would inevitably alter the subject matter of the matriculation and other examinations. For instance, psychology could be taught at a much earlier stage than it is at present. It could take the place of mathematics, and might become as much the foundation of subjective science as mathematics has been that of certain branches of objective science.

The specialised course might include studies on the following lines:---

(1) Psychology, Ethics, and History of Education.

(2) Literature comprised of folk-lore, fairy-tales, mythology, sagas, songs, and great epics.

(3) Ancient History.

(4) The Study of Play. Kindergarten principles.

(5) Nursing.

(6) Medicine relating to Children.

(7) General Hygiene.

Such a course would take about as long as it takes to prepare for an ordinary teaching career. Beginning with a student of eighteen, it would take her until she was twenty-one or twenty-two to complete her course, which would qualify her for not merely the "infancy" duties, but for those of the succeeding ages up to nine or ten. She would be guaranteed a fair salary, say, a minimum of £200 a year. For it is essential that an infant's nurse should be a woman of culture as well as of nursing efficiency. Such a one would be entirely responsible for her charges, and these latter should never be so increased in numbers that she would be compelled to delegate to others intimate knowledge of and responsibility for them. Such responsibility would limit the number of her babies to ten at most, thus wiping out the unmanageability and delegated responsibilities of large departments. Each matron would have four or five students-in-training, educated girls over eighteen years of age, who

would be of general assistance, and who would be studying for their own diplomas. As soon as the babies could toddle, at fifteen or eighteen months, they would be passed on to the next grade, that from one and a half years to three, and from thence through all the grades of the pre-Kindergarten period. The system begun as a voluntary undertaking could finally be incorporated in the State System of Education, upon which it would have the salutary effect of presenting children to State's charge, which would necessitate considerable improvement in the State schools' conditions if the children were to be maintained at their existing value. Inaugurated as a voluntary institution, it would seem that for £50 a year per child, a sufficient sum would be guaranteed to work the scheme without stint.

Facing what will be a strong prejudice, *i.e.*, that a mother's early and exclusive influence is allimportant for her children, we can only say that it is not supported by proof. In fact, the data upon which such proof might be based are not forthcoming. The ordinary mother has her attention so distracted by little cares, that there is little left for the children. She has to lend her mind to the cooking, cleaning, shopping, dressing, calling, receiving calls, and the husband; each duty small enough in itself, but, totalled together, they are sufficient to deprive the mother of that leisure for the culture of mind and quietness of attention which is necessary for the cultivation of baby mind.

Under the conditions of the wealth-producing mother, the latter would be able to give the concentrated attention to the child which she has found it impossible to give surrounded by other cares, and what had been a worry would become a keen pleasure. Only under such conditions, indeed, can mothers understand the extraordinary fascination of a growing child. Put in brief, all this means that under the new conditions the child would lose nothing, would stand to gain enormously; the mother would cease to be a drudge, and would regain her human independence; the financial strain would slip from marriage, and motherhood would become the honourable province of all women, married and single.

NOTES OF THE WEEK.

N view of the reference made in this week's leader to the proposed graduate course in Housewifery put forward by the London Univer-sity, it is interesting to note that the completion of the preliminary £ 100,000 fund has just been arrived at. The Morning Standard announces that among the names of donors appear those of the Earl of Anglesey; the Dukes of Westminster and Devonshire; Messrs. Rothschild and Son; Mr. Otto Beit; and Mrs. Wharrie, daughter of the late Sir Henry Harben. From certain sources, money in large amounts will always be placed ready to hand, and it is no concern of ours, or of anyone who has serious work to do, to waste energy grumbling at the way other people spend their money. It is their affair, and we are not even interested. Where it is our affair, and where it becomes a public duty to interfere, is when a public educational body proceeds, without due consideration, to invest these silly schemes with its authority and prestige. We object to this scheme of the London University to issue a degree in Housewifery, on the precise ground that it involves the character of the University, which is a public property, and in whose intellectual integrity we

must have trust if it is to fulfil the purposes of its existence. If we are to expect that the universities will pander at the first blush to all the frothy appeals of half-educated women, and be prepared to issue degrees for proficiency in the Correct Modes of Teaching Pet Dog Fido Tricks, we are setting our faces towards a time of mental slush and sentimentality which would boggle the imagination of an anti-suffragist. We are put strongly in reminder of the friendly suggestion of a professor at one of the "mixed" universities, who met the difficulties of a tutor in regard to certain women students with "Can't you strike them in the face?" Intellectually, to be struck in the face is exactly what many educated and semi-educated women are in need of. They have quite enough stamina in them to stand it, and once they had recovered from the shock they would be quite capable of striking skilfully back. We learn that the holder of the Gilchrist Scholarship at the King's College Course in Household Science for the current year, has just resigned the scholarship on account of the reactionary tendencies of the entire course, and the worthlessness of the course in Chemistry for one who is a graduate in that subject. We understand

that much of the scheme is held in derision by a large proportion of the students.

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The breaking down of the temporary settlement which was recently arrived at in the Cotton Dis-putes regarding the employment of Non-Union Labour shows plainly that the interests at stake are too vital to the workers to permit of any botch-ing arrangements. It is vitally important that the limits of the unions should be coterminous with those of the trade, but it is equally important that this should be a condition recognised by the workers rather than imposed by the employers. It is to be secured rather by the solidarity of labour, as established by class consciousness, than by the "re-cognition" of the unions of "employees" by the "employers." And this because the gulf-separated distinctness of these two classes can never be permanent, and no contracts, therefore, which assume its permanency should be entered into. What we mean can be shown by the difference of ideal in re-spect of permanency between "employer" and "employed." It is the ideal of the employer to retain the employed in his present position, subject, of course, to a certain amelioration of conditions from time to time. He will, therefore, very readily, though under show of reluctance, agree to "recog-nition," if he is pressed for it. The ideal of the 'employed," on the other hand, is, by a method of warfare made up of open strife and armed truce, to eliminate the "employer," to become himself his own "employer." Hence it is not *his* business to be fighting for the present type of employer's "recognition" of his ammunition and tactics. It is his business himself to see that they are in good condition, and best fitted to his own ends, i.e., the abolition of the employer. Hence our disapproval of the trade union demands that employers should dismiss non-unionists, and our approval of their present attacks upon defaulting fellow-workers. We might illustrate our meaning by reference to the Mediæval Guild system, a system from which we consider more than one advanced journal has drawn a false analogy. A modern trade union is not a guild. It is not even a poor relation. There lies the entire tragedy of industrialism between a trade union and a guild. The guild was not a union of labourers as is a trade union. It was essentially a union of master-craftsmen. It was theirs to direct not merely the sale of labour ; they employed their own labour, owned the entire means of production, and assimilated the full and complete returns of their labour. In short, a guild presented a happy and natural intermixture of employer and em-ployed, and the profits of the entire craft largely were expended upon benefits shared by the guild as a whole. Under such conditions, there was no difficulty in forcing a craftsman to join the guild. He would refuse to be kept out. Its benefits were far too obvious. With a trade union, however, there are only benefits to be foreseen by those who have brains sufficient to foresee them. Unionists join, not a prosperous community, but an army which is to be used against an opponent, and that opponent is the employer. What the unionists have to do, then, is to make it clear to their fellow-workers that their interests are one, and that their reason for existing is the complete acquisition of the wealth which is produced by their labour. Hence, if the unionists choose to jeer and hoot at non-unionists, they are perfectly well within their rights in so doing. At all events, it is not a matter in which the employers have any right to interfere, and to do so, as they have just now done at Clitheroe, to the extent of dismissing a weaver because he refused to apologise for hooting, they

have put themselves wholly in the wrong. It is not the business of employers to enforce public order; it is the work of the police, and the sympathetic strike which is spreading as the result of this dismissal is justified as far as the workers are concerned.

There has been no new development in the Woman's Suffrage situation. The Referendum proposal has sunk back into the oblivion from which it had suddenly sprung. The rumour that the Government was considering a Plural Voting Bill in place of the promised Manhood Suffrage Bill has neither been confirmed nor denied, nor has the rumour that Mr. Asquith is to go to "another place," and that Sir Edward Grey is to form a new ministry, as yet received much support. It therefore appears that matters will remain in doubt until after the King's Speech. We note that during the week Mr. Philip Snowden at Southport, Mr. Keir Hardie at Glasgow, and Mr. Josiah Wedgwood at Manchester, have spoken with hopefulness of an Adult Suffrage measure, and that the New Age considers that Womanhood Suffrage is hopeless for half a century, and that any attempt to bring about such is a sign of "infatuate mulier-Of this last, for the sake of the sardonic osity. crispness of the phrase, one can readily forgive the blank pessimism of the sentiment.

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A correspondent suggests that in our notes of last issue, our reference to the breakdown of the Representative System should accurately have been a reference to the failure of that of the Party System. Such was not our meaning. The failure of the Party System, though inter-related to that of the Representative System, is based upon far less inherent and essential difficulties of human nature. The lack of fundamental differences between the parties, and the constant degeneration of the entire system into a mere game of collusion and con-niving, is a matter which lends itself to broad farce. Hence, with a little publicity, a little ridicule, a little more knowledge of the thickness of the blood relations between the occupants of the two front benches, of political jobbery and placement made common among the work-shops, and the Party System, were it based upon an otherwise sound system, would be progressing rapidly towards health and reality. It is not so easy and obvious a matter with the Representative System, which is based on the theory that one man is as good as his neighbour, whereas the truth is that one man, in the presence of his neighbour, *cancels out.* His neighbour gobbles him up, and if he "represents" any others, these others are gobbled up with him. The more the Representative System works towards its completion, the more obvious do its weaknesses appear. It ends, perforce, in close directorates and tyranny. The growth of the Cabinet System in England is added proof. The representative elected on the strength of the party ticket which carries measures laid on from outside, so numerous and dissimilar in character that it is impossible to say what measures he was elected on account of, and what in spite of, the representative votes as he is bid by those direct-ing the game. He becomes a "nithing" and a job-seeker, and those whom he represents become convinced that politics is a malodorous game, relying for its existence upon the befuddling of the intellect and the confusion of the issues. Democracy would seem to be at its tether's end. It need not be, for the Representative System, as we know it, and to which democracy has blindly trusted, is neither the first word nor the last word in real democratic progress.

Milton's "Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce."

[Milton's prose works have been salutary and necessary to me from my boyhood—they contain passages that are a joy for ever. Except in the Bible, English prose has not ascended half so high. The following linked quotations will reveal the sense, strength, and tenderness of Milton, and make no trifling contribution, in spirit if not in matter, to a controversy which is as urgent and important in our days as it was in his.]

ILTON'S thesis is that "indisposition, unfit-L ness, or contrariety of mind, arising from a cause in nature unchangeable, hindering, and ever likely to hinder the main benefits of conjugal society, which are solace and peace," is a legitimate -nay, the greatest-reason for divorce. He cites "three chief ends" of matrimony: "godly society," "civil" and sexual. ". . . If the particular of each person be considered, then of those three ends . . . that to him is greatest which is most necessary; ... to do him right by divorce only for the last and meanest is a perverse injury." It is "more worthy so excellent a creature as man is, and a higher end to honour and sanctify the league of marriage, whenas the solace and satisfaction of the mind is regarded and provided for before the sensitive pleasing of the body." For marriage is "a human society," not a "brutish" ("God does not principally take care for such cattle "). The "brutish" may be "kept low and obedient enough" by "strict life and labour and the abatement of a full diet; but this pure and more inbred desire of joining to itself in conjugal fellowship a fit conversing soul (which desire is properly called love) 'is stronger than death.' . . . ' Many waters cannot quench it, neither can the floods drown it." " Certainly such a one " (who has failed of this in matrimony), "forbidden to divorce, is in effect forbidden to marry, and compelled to greater difficulties than in a single life." . . . For in single life the absence and remoteness of a helper might inure him to expect his own comforts out of himself, or to seek with hope; but here the continual sight of his deluded thoughts, without cure, must needs be to him, if especially his complexion incline him to melancholy, a daily trouble and pain of loss, in some degree like that which reprobates feel."

"When, therefore, this original and sinless penury, or loneliness of the soul, cannot lay itself down by the side of such a meet and acceptable. union as God ordained in marriage, at least in some proportion, it cannot conceive and bring forth love, but remains utterly unmarried. . . . Then enters Hate; not that hate that sins, but that which only is natural dissatisfaction, and the turning aside from a mistaken object: if that mistake have done injury, it fails not to dismiss with recompense; for to retain still, and not to be able to love, is to heap more injury. . . . He, therefore, who, lacking of his due in the most native and humane end of marriage, thinks it better to part than to live sadly and injuriously to that cheerful covenant (for not to be beloved and yet retained is the greatest injury to a gentle spirit), he, I say, who therefore seeks to part, is one who highly honours the married life and would not stain it: and the reasons that now move him to divorce are equal to the best of those that could first warrant him to marry; for, as was plainly shewn, both the hate which now diverts him, and the loneliness which leads him still powerfully to seek a fit help, hath not the least grain of a sin in it, if he be worthy to understand himself."

"But some are ready to object, that the disposition ought seriously to be considered before. But let them know again, that for all the wariness can be used, it may yet befall a discreet man to be mistaken in his choice: and we have plenty of examples. The soberest and best-governed men are least practised in these affairs; and who knows not that the bashful muteness of a virgin may ofttimes hide all the unliveliness and natural sloth, which is really unfit for conversation? . . . And, lastly, it is not strange though many, who have spent their youth chastely, are in some things not so quick-sighted, while they haste too eagerly to light the nuptial torch; nor is it, therefore, that for a modest error a man should forfeit so great a happiness, and no charitable means to release him, since they who have lived most loosely, by reason of their bold accustoming, prove most successful in their matches, because their wild affections, unsettling at will, have been as so many divorces to ; teach them experience." And "touching those persons who, being of a pensive nature and course of life, have summed up all their solace in that free and lightsome conversation which God and man intends in marriage : whereof when they see themselves deprived by meeting an unsociable consort, they ofttimes resent one another's mistake so deeply, that long it is not ere grief end one of them. . . . It is no less than cruelty to force a man to remain in that state as the solace of his life, which he and his friends know will be either the undoing or the disheartening of his life. And what is life without the vigour and spiritual exercise of life? How can it be useful either to private or public employment? Shall it therefore be quite dejected, though never so valuable, and left to moulder away in heaviness, for the superstitious and impossible performance of an ill-driven bargain?"

With the theological element in Milton's book we are not concerned, nor with his "vindication" of "God and Moses" against "the misattended words of Christ." The grounds of his theological contention are, that God can truly be said to join together only those who are spiritually affine, "where the union of their souls be such as may even incorporate them to love and amity," and wedlock only inseparable when it is a "fit society," "as it was from the beginning." The "sacramental" view of matrimony, "exalting it above the end and person for whom it was ordained," is superstition, the greatest burden in the world, not only of ceremonies in the church, but of imaginary and scarecrow sins at home. What greater weakening, what more subtle stratagem against our Christian warfare, when besides the gross body of real transgressions to encounter, we shall be terrified by a vain and shadowy menacing of faults that are not? When things indifferent shall be set to overfront us under the banners of sin, what wonder if we be routed." "He who wisely would restrain the reasonable soul of man within due bounds, must first himself know perfectly, how far the territory and dominion extends of just and honest liberty. As little must we offer to bind that which God hath loosened, as to loosen that which He hath bound. The ignorance and mistake of this high point hath heaped up one huge half of all the misery that hath

been since Adam." "If any, therefore, who shall hap to read this discourse, hath been through misadventure ill engaged in this contracted evil here complained of,

and finds the fits and workings of a high impatience frequently upon him; of all those wild words which men in misery think to ease themselves by uttering, let him not open his lips against the providence of Heaven, or tax the ways of God and his divine truth; for they are equal, easy, and not burdensome; nor do they ever cross the just and reasonable desires of men, nor involve this our portion of mortal life into a necessity of sadness and malcontent, by laws commanding over the unreducible antipathies of nature, sooner or later found, but allow us to remedy and shake off those evils into which human error hath led us through the midst of our best intentions, and to support incident extremities by that authentic precept of sovereign charity, whose grand commission is to do and to dispose over all the ordinances of God to man, that love and truth may advance each other to everlasting. While we, literally superstitious, through customary faintness of heart, not venturing to pierce with our free thoughts into the full latitude of nature and religion, abandon ourselves to serve under the tyranny of usurped opinions; suffering those ordinances which were allotted to our solace and reviving, to trample over us, and hale us into a multitude of sorrows, which God never meant us. And where he sets us in a fair allowance of way, with honest liberty and prudence to our guard, we never leave subtilising and casuisting till we have straightened and pared that liberal path into a razor's edge to walk on; between a precipice of unnecessary mischief on either side, and starting at every false alarm, we do not know which way to set a foot forward with manly confidence and Christian resolution, through the confused ringing in our ears of panic scruples and amazements."

⁴... Every true Christian ... is a person dedicate to joy and peace, ... and there is no Christian duty that is not to be seasoned and set off with cheerishness, which in a thousand outward and intermitting crosses may yet be done well, as in this vale of tears: but in such a bosom affliction as this, crushing the very foundation of his inmost nature, when he shall be forced to love against a possibility, and to use a dissimulation against his soul in the perpetual and ceaseless duties of a husband; doubtless his whole duty of serving God must needs be blurred and tainted with a sad unpreparedness and dejection of spirit...."

Concerning the fear of licence that might result from such divorce, he says: "What though the brood of Belial, the draff of men, to whom no liberty is pleasing, but unbridled and vagabond lust, . . . will laugh broad perhaps, . . . they will know better when they shall hence learn, that honest liberty is the greatest foe to dishonest licence." The law, which could deal with "licence and levity and unconsented breach of faith" is too clumsy an instrument to deal with "the faultless proprieties of nature," the law of which is "of more antiquity and deeper ground than marriage itself," and is under "the supreme dictate of charity." He instances "many gross faults, as ingratitude and the like, which are too far within the soul to be cured by constraint of law. . . . Hence it is, that the law forbidding divorce never attains to any good end of such prohibition, but rather multiplies evil. For if nature's resistless sway in love or hate be once compelled, it grows careless of itself, vicious, useless to friends, unserviceable and spiritless to the common-wealth." And concerning the noisome divorce wealth." And concerning the noisome divorce court: "... The woman whose honour is not appeached is less injured by a silent dismission, being otherwise not illiberally dealt with, than to endure a clamouring debate of utterless things, in a business of that civil secrecy and difficult discerning as not to be overmuch questioned by nearest friends. Which drew that answer from the greatest and worthiest Roman of his time, Paulus Emilius, being demanded why he would put away his wife for no visible reason? 'This shoe,' said he, and held it out on his foot, 'is a neat shoe, a new shoe, and yet none of you know where it wrings me': much less by the unfamiliar cognisance of a feed gamester can such a private difference be examined, neither ought it."

He enumerates certain cranks and fanatics of his day, "whose opinions . . . do end in satisfaction of the flesh; it may be come with reason into the thoughts of a wise man, whether all this proceed not partly, if not chiefly, from the restraint of some lawful liberty. . . As by physic we learn in menstruous bodies, where nature's current hathbeen stopped, that the suffocation and upward forcing of some lower part affects the head and inward sense with dotage and idle fancies." The offspring of such "no-marriages" he calls "'the children of wrath' and anguish."

THE MYTH OF ANTEROS.

"Love, if he be not twin born, yet hath a brother wondrous like him, called Anteros; whom while he seeks all about, his chance is to meet with many false and feigning desires, that wander singly up and down in his likeness: by them in their borrowed garb, Love, though not wholly blind, as poetswrong him, yet having but one eye, as being born an archer aiming, and that eye not the quickest in this dark region here below, which is not Love's proper sphere, partly out of the simplicity and credulity which is native to him, often deceived, embraces and consorts him with these obvious and suborned striplings, as if they were his mother's own sons; for so he thinks them, while they subtilly keep themselves most on his blind side. But after a while, as his manner is, when soaring up into thehigh tower of his Apogæum, above the shadow of the earth, he darts out the direct rays of his then. most piercing eyesight upon the impostures and trim disguises that were used with him, and discerns that this is not his genuine brother, as he imagined; he has no longer the power to hold friendship with such a personated mate : for straight his arrows lose their golden heads, and shed their purple feathers, his silken braids untwine, and sliptheir knots, and that original and fiery virtue given. him by fate all on a sudden goes out, and leaves. him undeified and despoiled of all his force; till finding Anteros at last, he kindles and repairs the almost faded ammunition of his deity by the reflec-tion of a coequal and homogeneal fire. Thus mine author sung to me: and by the leave of those who would be counted the only grave ones, this is no mere amatorious novel; (though to be wise and skilful in these matters, men heretofore of greatest name in virtue have esteemed it one of the highest arcs, that human contemplation circling upwards can make from the globy sea whereon she stands;) but this is a deep and serious verity, shewing us that love in marriage cannot live or subsist unless it be mutual; and where love cannot be, there can beleft of wedlock nothing but the empty husk of an outside matrimony, as undelightful and unpleasing

to God as any other kind of hypocrisy." Elsewhere he writes: "... As no man apprehends what vice is so well as he who is truly virtuous, no man knows hell like him who converses most in heaven; so there is none that can estimate the evil and the affliction of a natural hatred in matrimony, unless he have a soul gentle enough and spacious enough to contemplate what is true love." E. H. VISIAK.

A Y.W.C.A. Home.

S OME time ago, a pair of us were in search of a place to live. A limited income and a real fear of dingy houses, mean streets, musty curtains, and an atmosphere of food led us to try our luck at the central headquarters of the Y.W.C.A. A kindly woman supplied us with a list of addresses, and we sought out address number one. We were not received. We departed chastened, but not wholly depressed, for the place had presented an appearance which was a cross between a Sundayschool and a Messrs. Lockhart's. Consequently, when we stood upon the doorstep of the house indicated in the second address, we were startled to find ourselves under an impressive portico of a They verandahed house overlooking gardens. took us in, and a couple of days later saw us established there. We had been impressed by a fairly well furnished and lofty drawing-room, but our mental balance had been kept steady by the sight of the cubicles, in which we learnt we had to sleep. There were eight of these in the big room, and five in most of the smaller ones. They were formed by the simple device of resting iron rods on iron stoops and hanging on the rods drab and maroon striped sheeting, and to get into some of the cubicles the inhabitants had to journey through others. The first week's experience of sleeping in such surroundings was a real test of nerve. The restless tossings and mutterings of the seven other sleepers, and the cooped-up feeling of being shut up in a pen, made night a strenuous ordeal. Later, one became accustomed to one's neighbours and the strangeness of one's surroundings.

There were between thirty and forty women residents in the house, four maids, one charwoman, a The matron, we matron, and an under-matron. learned, received a good salary, had two charmingly appointed rooms, and was waited on by a maid. The under-matron also had a room. The residents had their little cubicles. There was a rule that lights should not be turned up in cubicles except upon retiring-a rule constantly broken, because there was only one good-sized room,-the drawingroom,-for all these women. Into this drawing-room congregated young and old, noisy and quiet, students and strenuous musicians at a piano. A few could find seats; some would stand till tired and then go out. A tiny room adjoining a box-room was used for ironing, each paying 1d. for gas for iron, for each half-hour, or portion thereof, during which it was used. The prices were 5s. or 5s. 6d. per week per cubicle, according to floor upon which situated. There was 2d. extra to pay for some kind of insurance (not medical), and one-halfpenny per week for the maids, who had instructions that they were not for any purpose to wait upon the residents. It was, therefore, the residents' duty to make their own beds, keep their cubicles dusted and tidy, and prepare them for, and straighten up after, the weekly floor-wash. Although the above sum was the nominal price of a cubicle, such could not be engaged for this sum merely. The minimum per week was IOS. 81/2d. or IOS. 21/2d., according to floor of cubicle. This was paid whether food was taken or not. Tea and bread

and butter, with treacle or marmalade, in the morning was compulsory-or the payment for it was. It cost $3\frac{1}{2}d$. per day, 2s. $0\frac{1}{2}d$. per week. (There was a hard-boiled egg Sunday mornings, but no treacle or marmalade.) This left 2s. $11\frac{1}{2}$ d. to be expended in further food. Usually this was spent in seven teas at $3\frac{1}{2}d$. per tea, consisting of tea and bread and butter. (The house humorist knew it for a fact that in the Kingdom of the Damned they fed them on bread and butter and rice pudding, the latter being the almost inevitable supper "sweet" dish.) There was tenpence left, eightpence of which went on Sunday dinner. There then remained to be provided the two most expensive meals of the day-mid-day dinner and supper: dinner (two courses), 7d.; supper, plain (cheese, bread, butter, sweet, coffee), 4d.; meat instead of butter and cheese, 8d. Almost the only dinner taken in the house was the Sunday one, as, most of the girls being in business, they had to get dinners out—usually spending 8d. or 10d. per day. Consequently, on food and cubicle alone, one spent about $\pounds I$ per week; therefore, with clothes and fares, holidays and amusements, to live in this Y.W.C.A. it requires as a minimum from 25s. to 30s. per week. Hence it is a complete mistake to imagine that poorer workers-café girls, badly paid shop assistants, and clerks-can come within the range of possible residents. This house, we were told by residents who had lived there nearly twenty had come into the possession of the Y.W.C.A. in the following manner :---Started as the private venture of a small philanthropic committee, it grew and flourished until the actual profits of the enterprise were such as to enable them to buy up the lease of the house. The lease was bought, and upon the death of the old matron, followed by the death or removal of many of the old committee, the house, with the lease and £700 standing in the bank to its credit (profits also, we understand), were handed over to the Y.W.C.A. authorities. These facts we did not trouble to verify from the Y.W.C.A. themselves, but they are passed on as the common knowledge of the house. The old residents complained that the house had not been turned into a co-operative concern, in which the residents might have taken shares, and appointed a working matron to suit their own needs. Instead, the Y.W.C.A. were good enough to accept the responsibility and gift of this working enter-prise, and at the New Year following the transference, they sent each resident a New Year's card, wishing them a happy New Year and informing them of the raised prices! The only concession which the residents secured from the Y.W.C.A. authorities was that it should rest with them when and how often they should pray no small concession, considering the rigidity with which this praying system is enforced in other Y.W.C.A. houses. The objection which the

AN IDEAL RECREATION FOR LADIES. MRS. EDITH GARRUD'S **NEW SYSTEM** OF **JU-JUTSU** SPECIALLY ADAPTED TO THE REQUIRE-MENTS OF EUROPEANS. Terms on application from

9, ARGYLL PLACE, REGENT STREET WEST

February 8, 1912

non-praying residents have to the formal reading of prayers, which takes place in the basement kitchen where all meals are served, every morning at 8.30 a.m., is that, as only thirty minutes are allowed for breakfast, the late-comers who are just getting the first mouthful of their bread-and-butter slice at 8.30, are pulled up short by the bell which brings in the file of servants, who engage in prayer. The luckless breakfaster must thereupon drop the now offending slice, and make her famished exit, leaving the bread on the plate, it being strictly against the rules to eat the bread going upstairs, or to take it from the table. Many of these women are between thirty and forty years of age, some even older. It is extraordinary how rage is always seething, and yet never breaking bounds. It is because to every complaint there is a formal reply, "If you do not like the house, you can go." The grudge which the residents have against the committee members is that they are inaccessible. Never do they come round to ask the girls if they are comfortable. All they come to ask after is whether the house is paying or not during the current month. There are only three inmates in the house who live in comfort (possibly four). These are the matron, and the two cats, who live in luxury, and possibly the under-matron. It is very bitter to the women whose wages keep the house running to have no possible means of interfering in the régime of the house for their own comfort. Without any warning, they find, conspicuously hung up in their cubicles, long lists of newly added rules and restric-tions. Times of meals are changed without any consultation as to their convenience, fresh duties are laid on the residents, for which the presence of an ample staff with restricted duties gives no warrant. The cooking is so limited that it could not possibly fill up one person's time, and the work done in the house is very small. The drawing-room fire is not lit till four in the afternoon. There is practically no one in for lunch. Bread and butter is not cut; it is merely left on the table for tea and breakfast. Even for the meat supper it is usually cold meat and pickles. There is a humorous side to this 'meat" supper. No menu of it is ever made known. The maids are strictly forbidden to disclose the dish. Names of those partaking in "meat" supper have to be put down at breakfast time. The quaint reason given for the elaborate secrecy is that, if the residents knew, they would not put down their names when they did not like the fare! Consequently, the girl who is forbidden to eat cold beef and pickles, or kipper, invariably finds one or other of these dishes placed before her, upon the sporting occasions when she puts her name down and risks it. And she is 8d. to the bad! She cannot even

THE FREEWOMAN **NOTICES & TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION**

EDITORIAL

Letters, etc., intended for the Editor should be addressed : 9, John Street, Adelphi, London, W.C. Telegrams to address below.

PUBLICATION

All business communications relative to the publication of THE FREEWOMAN should be addressed, and all cheques, postal and money orders, etc., made payable to the Publishers, STEPHEN SWIFT & CO., LTD., 10, John Street, Adelphi, London, W.C. Telegrams to "Lumenifer, London."

Terms of Subscription :- Yearly, 14s. ; Six Months, 7s. ; Three Months, 3s. 6d.; to any address in the Postal Union. ADVERTISEMENTS

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make use of the theatre to soothe her rage. For one thing, the supper is 8.30-a time which splits even into evening classes-and as the doors are locked at 10.30, the theatres are out of the question. Once a fortnight one may be out till 11.30. You pay Is. for a latchkey; but this is not to let you in at nights, but to save the maids answering the door! The only living things which receive to the full the benefits of the Christian spirit are the two cats. Woe betide any who speak disparagingly of the cats! One girl, the youngest in the house, was threatened with instant dismissal because of an unfortunate impulse which once seized her to burst into song coming downstairs. The cat, sleeping on the landing, was disturbed, and hastily rushed out of the zone of noise. The incident was seen by a maid, who reported that the resident had chased the cat downstairs. It was by a near shave that the

girl escaped being packed off then and there. That this Y.W.C.A. undertaking is either grossly extortionate or grossly mismanaged is shown by the comparison with conditions in a neighbouring hostel, which is run for private profit. This hostel only contains about 20 residents. Each resident has a small private furnished bed-sitting-room, with heating apparatus, from 4s. 6d. to 8s. 6d. weekly, an excellent room being obtained for 6s. per week. Very different are these conditions from the eightin-a-room sleeping accommodation, and the crowding together of 20 to 30 grown-up women in a single assembly room, which is provided by the Y.W.C.A. In the private hostel, for 9s. 6d., in addition to rent for room, you get an excellent meat breakfast, late dinner of four courses, well cooked and well served, and of very considerable variety, Sundays getting mid-day dinner and cold meat supper. You have a latch-key, and can go in at any time; in fact, the lack of restrictions, rules, and regulations gives each resident all the advantages of a private resi-dence. The intolerable monotony of bread diet which is the main feature of the Y.W.C.A. referred to, and the impertinent hustling of breakfast within the limits of half an hour, in order that the matrons and maids may join in prayer at 8.30 in the breakfast room, would not be contemplated by the man-agement, nor tolerated by the residents of the hostel, nor would the intolerable frustrating of any scheme of intellectual improvement or pleasurable amusement which is effected by regulations which put the evening meal at 8.30, and which close the doors at 10.30. We feel that the Y.W.C.A. manage-ment would be well advised to be just before charitable, and humane before religious. At present, in this instance, they are making religious charity a cloak for presumably keen capitalistic practices. FORMER RESIDENTS.

THE ULTIMATE DREAD.

She who had conquered fear was yet afraid

That life's great archangels might pass her by-Swift joy, grey sorrow, panoplied in shade,

Peace with her quiet eyes, and Ecstasy

Who treads the stars, in quivering light arrayed.

And more than all she feared lest Love, whose breath

Kindles the spheres, should pass on vibrant wing, Nor pause to bless her as she bowed beneath

His onrush ; leaving her still journeying Through thirsty deserts tow'rds the gates of death. WINIFRED ROSE CAREY.

Biscuits. III.

W^E await calmly and confidently the coun-try's verdict." With these words the Reading Trades and Labour Council conclude their reply to the retorts against their agitation made by a committee formed of old hands still employed in the factory. No doubt this is the only course to adopt if any improved conditions are to be wellfounded and permanent; but it means a longdrawn-out struggle and continued agitation, unless the country's verdict is given at once and emphatically. Messrs. Huntley and Palmers will take good care to gain time in this respect, and delay to the utmost the verdict's coming, and, if they can, they will destroy the emphatic nature of it. Their work towards this end has already begun, as the recent history of the struggle shows. After the victimisation of as many trade union hands as the firm could comfortably dispense with, or discover, the Reading Trades and Labour Council issued a true, but somewhat wild-worded, manifesto to every householder in Reading. A meeting was held inside the factory shortly afterwards. At this meeting about 1,000, or one-sixth of the total number of employees, were addressed by a number of foremen, who attempted to pull to pieces the statements contained in the manifesto of the Trades Council.

Some of their arguments will doubtless amuse the readers of THE FREEWOMAN. Mr. John Hayward, for instance, who presided, said that statements had been made about the Crumpsall works. "He happened to know that the object of the manufactory was not altogether to make a profit on the production of biscuits." And again, "that during the past ten years Huntley and Palmers had distributed six and a half million pounds in wages to their employees and in the purchase of raw materials produced by tradesmen in the district. If the annual sum of £650,000 were withdrawn, what would become of a large proportion of the inhabitants?" This kind of economist always pretends to forget the other alternative to the fearful catastrophe last mentioned. The Reading biscuit factory might conceivably be run, like the Crumpsall works, and profit, instead of being the object of all production, might be abolished-as profitand absorbed in order to better the producers' wages and hours of labour; and, after their condition is up to the proper standard, absorbed still further to reduce prices and increase quality. Even after doing some of these, Crumpsall makes 14 to 16 per cent. profit. Why does it not occur to the fatheaded tradesmen of Reading that if the £650,000 per annum were doubled by absorbing some of the profits their condition, as well as that of the workers, would more nearly approximate to the human? Doubtless there is a reflected glory upon Reading when the workers stint themselves in order to send the head of the firm to the Delhi Durbar. Doubtless there is some queer kind of satisfaction in grinding on in order to keep up the endowments of Reading's middle-class university! A Mr. Hawkins said "there are no more just, more considerate employers within fifty miles of Reading." (Applause from the 1,000.)

God help the South of England! His peroration was sublime, and he wound up as follows: "The

only way was to show their loyalty and to put the best of their ability into the work. They had to compete with hundreds of other firms, and speeding up and cutting down had been necessary to ensure success. Talk about killing people at Huntley and Palmers! Where was there a business firm in England where so many people had received clocks on completing fifty years' service?" One of the foremen, speaking of the women's conditions, said: "The most scrupulous attention was paid to the conditions under which they worked. If they met the ladies outside the factory—he would call them ladies—(laughter and "Hear, hear")—they could not detect much indication of puny faces and other signs of miserable living. 'They have no ventilasigns of miserable living. 'They have no ventila-tion,' it was said. Why, they were full of smiles." There was an exhibition at Reading Town Hall last year of methods of fighting consumption. A friend of mine went to it, and came home depressed and out of temper. Upon being asked if it was as bad as all that, he replied: "Oh, no! The exhibi-bition of consumption was nothing. I have come home in a tram filled with girls from the factory who have been working overtime!"

Anyway, the meeting passed unanimous resolu-tions as to their "profound indignation at the shameless misstatements being circulated in the town about our esteemed and highly respected employers." A committee was elected to investigate the conditions in the factory, and the committee investigated and issued a reply to the manifesto issued by the Trades Council. Now the important point is this: The firm has not confined the circulation of its reply to the inhabitants of Reading. In every town there probably exists at least one grocer selling their biscuits. I met a lady at Herne Hill the other day, who gave me the "Reply," and asked if I had seen it and whether I was quite sure the con-ditions were as bad as I had described in THE FREEWOMAN. I asked her where she got it from. She said: "It came with a pound of biscuits from the grocer." Having rebuked her for still buying the tainted stuff from Reading, I departed, telling her that her doubts would soon be set at rest.

If this kind of circularisation is being practised all over the country, it becomes still more urgent for the country to hear both sides before its verdict is passed.

Women's fight for political enfranchisement need not be hindered one little bit by the women, conscious of the need for both votes and social reorganisation, joining hands with the organised workers in order to teach this firm the lesson it so richly deserves. Read the following well-considered and very moderate reply of the Trades Council, and then do all in your power to make the housemothers of this country pass an immediate and K. D. SCOTT. emphatic verdict.

SUPPLEMENTARY MANIFESTO Issued in

ANSWER TO THE REPLY OF THE COMMITTEE OF FOREMEN AND OTHERS

(formed at a Meeting of Huntley and Palmers, Limited, Employees and Managers, held inside the Factory on December 29th)

MANIFESTO ISSUED BY THE TRADES AND LABOUR COUNCIL AT CHRISTMAS, 1911. TO

FELLOW-CITIZENS,-

FELLOW-CITIZENS,— A Committee, formed mainly of Messrs. Huntley and Palmer's foremen, have issued what is called a "reply" to our Manifesto concerning the dismissals at Christmas by that firm. How was this "mass" meeting at which this Committee was "formed" called? Was it the result of a spontaneous desire on the part of these employees or by an official order? Let us examine the facts: A short time before this meeting a written requisition was sent out from the office, foremen and old em-ployees were "asked" to sign it, and in many cases did so ignorant of its contents! What would have happened had these elderly men declined to sign?—the answer is obvious. Further,

this body of "indignant" protestors were "stopped" on leaving work and "asked" to attend this meeting. They quietly went! —again the reason is obvious.

In this reply these men have laid great stress on the charges as to wages and conditions contained in our Manifesto, but have against this firm—Victimisation. However, whilst we do not intend to be side-tracked off the main issue, we are quite willing and able to prove up to the hilt

the lesser charges.

the lesser charges. WAGES.—In reply to our charge of low wages, these "loyalists" assert "they give facts." We have failed to find any, except an echo of their Directors' assertion that the average when ware for men this last twelve months was 23s. Even if any, except an echo of their Directors' assertion that the average weekly wage for men this last twelve months was 23s. Even if true, this is not a living wage, but it must be remembered that to make up this average a very large number of skilled fitters, mechanics, etc., are included, proving that the real average of the biscuit weavers is about \pounds I per week, or lower, if working full time full time.

full time. The firm have deliberately lied when they assert that they do not engage men at less than 195. a week, for within the last few weeks temporary "hands" have had their wages made up to this wretched 195. These critics "state and defy contradiction that the wages paid compare with advantage with any similar organisation." We contradict this frankly and absolutely. Apart from the Crumpsall Works, which pay infinitely higher wages and work shorter hours, in addition to making 14 to 16 per cent. profit, many other firms pay much higher wages. Miss McArthur has publicly stated that a well-known biscuit firm pays from 20 to 30 per cent. higher wages. We have signed state-ments by us from men who have worked there many years for less than 195. a week, one by a man who worked in North Factory eighteen years for 185. a week. Anyone requiring proof as to conditions and wages at this firm

Anyone requiring proof as to conditions and wages at this firm has but to stand outside the factory gates and see these girls and men come out—that will speak volumes. The inquiry by the Sweated Industries Board, however, will throw light on this

question. We are not alone in our opinion on these matters, as a few quotations we give from many such others we have received shows.

From a Local Clergyman:— "Quite apart from any political or social question involved, I am more shocked than I can say at the heartless injustice of the recent dismissals. Living as I do in the midst of Factory em-ployees, I don't think there are words strong enough to charac-terise the conditions under which most of them work, and then on top of it all comes this callous irresponsibility towards men who have given the best years of their working lives . . . it is utterly terrible. "Yours, etc., ——"

Another Clergyman writes :-

Another Clergyman writes: — "The history of the past shows with unquestionable clearness that Labour must organise if it is to obtain fair terms and rea-sonable conditions from Capital. There can be no question that a Union should be formed amongst the workers at the Factory. If it is not formed, the workers are powerless, and the unfet-tered control of the Reading Labour market possessed by the Factory for so many years will continue to exist to the detriment of the workers and the general prosperity of the Town. . . . This is a matter on which Socialists and anti-Socialists may join hands. "Yours faithfully, —"

Nonconformist Minister :--"My personal sympathies are entirely with the people who are making a stand for more humane conditions. "Yours, etc., ----"

"Yours, etc., ——" SPEEDING UP OF GIRLS AND INJURIES TO HEALTH AND EXESIGHT.—This charge is treated flippantly by those signa-tories, "The work is simple, and the girls laughed." FACTS.—Most of the men who had denounced our charges as untrue had never seen one of these machines until after they had made their speeches!! They have since inspected them and interviewed the girls, who, acting under instructions, said they liked the work! Previous to the installation of these terrible weighing machines one girl's day's work was to weigh 240 empty and 240 full tins, also label them; now, or, rather, when our Manifesto was issued, a girl's work was increased to 800 full, 800 empties, and labelling. 800 empties, and labelling.

Soo empties, and labelling. DEFUTATIONS.—A deputation was formed from these scale girls. The two girls who headed it are both discharged. The deputation were told they could do this work, accept less money, or get out. Yet, when inspectors came round, they were in-formed the work was not compulsory! Girls are now wearing glasses solely as a result of eye-strain. The work is simple! These tins weigh 12 to 14 lb.; the continuous lifting is a severe strain on wrist and stomach; add to which their eyes and nerves were subjected to a constant and fearful strain, watching glitter-ing, revolving figures on a dial. How is it that girls now are not allowed to work for more than one half-day at a stretch on these machines if the work is so harmless and simple? VENTILATION.—This charge is proved. In Klondyke girls

VENTILATION.—This charge is proved. In Klondyke girls opened skylight, saying they were baked. The windows were shut and retort made, "Baked or boiled, the biscuits must not get soft." Girls have been carried fainting to the lavatories, so terrific is the heat.

Last October some coal-runners receiving $\pounds I$ a week signed a paper asking that their wages should be made up to 218. a week, the wages paid to other men on the same work. One man was sent for by Mr. F. East, who told him, in the presence of one of the Palmers, to shut up and think himself lucky he was not dis-

charged. All the 21s. a week men were then reduced to $\pounds 1!!$ This is only a typical case of many. We have no need to produce further proofs *re* speeding up and cutting down, for this was admitted by Mr. H. Hawkins, who said at this masters' and men's meeting, "Speeding up and cut-ting down had been necessary to ensure success!!!" We maintain that a wealthy firm, composed of a few persons drawing princely salaries and living in mansions—a firm in which two of its members can give $\pounds 200,000$ to a University and other gifts—is not justified in speeding up and cutting down men and girls till practically all the life is crushed out of them. In many cases men are doing half as much work again as they In many cases men are doing half as much work again as they previously did for the same or less money.

THE CHARGE AS TO GIRLS DOING MEN'S WORK HAS BEEN ADMITTED.—Men getting 23s. and 25s. a week on scales and pasting are gradually being ousted by girls at 11s. or 13s. a week. Girls have also been doing other heavy work of men, pushing heavy trolleys, etc.

heavy trolleys, etc. VICTIMISATION.—On November 6th an interview took place between Mr. F. East and three men—Messrs. Street, Hutton, and Waite—when Mr. East raved at them, "I am surprised to hear that you belong to the Union. The Secretary is paid £150 a year, hotel and travelling expenses, etc." The men asked why they should not belong to it. Mr. East stormed, "All right! When we slacken hands at Christmas we will put our backs to the wall, and for those who are loyal to us. We have plenty of men who are good and true, and the firm can employ who they like and discharge who they like."

These three men are prepared to swear on oath this is true, and we have many more who can testify that similar threats

Other men were dismissed by orders from the office, their foremen not being aware till then that these men had to be dismissed.

THE GIRLS.—Forewomen went round asking if any of the girls belonged to the Union. The girls were told if they washed their hands of the Union they would be all right. As a result

girls belonged to the Union. The girls were told if they washed their hands of the Union they would be all right. As a result of this and of intimidation, many girls were afraid to visit the Branch rooms to pay their subscriptions. Men were engaged as spies, pacing several nights for hours outside the Union rooms, girls' names were taken, and their dismissals followed. Another "man" inquired of men who worked with girls which girls belonged to the Union, and even searched in these poor girls' private tins to find Union cards. Other girls were picked out, one from each department, the order coming from the office, this action completely surprising the girls' forewomen, some of whom broke down and wept, as these girls were their best and most trusted workers ! Men and girls have been discharged who have neither dis-cussed Politics or the Union, or even had any charge made against them as to neglect of work or insubordination. This Committee wickedly lie when they assert "they have made searching inquiry into the charge of Victimisation." They have not interviewed a single one of these victims, men or girls, or any of the Union officials to hear their statements! We regret to have to use hard words, more especially as some of these signatories are old men, but it is our sad duty to record our deep conviction that these poor creatures, John J. Hayward, Frank H. Fanstone, Thomas Archer, John Bird, G. W. Cook, E. B. Deadman, H. G. Hawkins, C. Martin, Thomas Miles, and J. White have, either from fear or for pelf and place, sold their souls, sullied their consciences, outraged truth and justice, be-trayed their fellow-workers, endeavoured to fasten still tighter in poverty's chains suffering women and innocent children, and have stamped for ever upon their brow the brand of Cain. The long series of extraordinarily successful protest demon-strations, reaching their climax in the phenomenal and unprece

have stamped for ever upon their brow the brand of Cain. The long series of extraordinarily successful protest demon-strations, reaching their climax in the phenomenal and unprece-dented meetings in the Town Hall and Market Place on January 11th, the magnificent response in Reading and all over January 17th, the magnificent response in Reading and all over the country to the appeal for funds, the numerous expressions of sympathy and indignation from all sorts and conditions of men and women, the accumulating and overwhelming mass of evidence brought forward and as yet undisclosed, the marvel-lous growth of the Unions, now 1,500 strong, shows that Messrs. Huntley and Palmer, having been arraigned before the bar of humanity, are proved guilty of wantonly oppressing their workers, and guilty, beyond a shadow of doubt, of victimising their workers for joining Trade Unions. We have patiently endeavoured to persuade the firm to re-

their workers for joining Trade Unions. We have patiently endeavoured to persuade the firm to re-ceive deputations to hear their victims' evidence, but in vain. We shall now send copies of these two Manifestoes to every Trades Council in the United Kingdom, to the Trades Union and Labour Party Conference now sitting and representing two and a half millions of organised workers, to the Chairman of the Labour party in the House of Commons, and to the Board of Trade. We await calmus and coefficiently the country's workers.

We await calmly and confidently the country's verdict. Our motive during the whole agitation has not been hatred of Huntley and Palmers for amassing wealth, but moral indigna-tion against them for the way in which they have used the power that wealth has given them, and pity and compassion for our oppressed fellow-workers.

TRADES AND LABOUR COUNCIL, READING. January 22nd, 1912.

A communication from Dr. Drysdale, in answer to his critics, has been held over until next week.-ED.

We greatly regret that Miss Winifred Hindshaw's article on "Modesty" was published last week, owing to an oversight, without any signature.—ED.

Correspondence.

ASCETICISM AND PASSION.

To the Editors of THE FREEWOMAN.

The hospitality that you accord in your pages to all shades of feminist opinions, while adding to their variety and interest, obscures somewhat the underlying sympathies which generally govern the tone and teaching of a propagandist review. Even the editorial leaders on "The New Morality," suggestive as they are, leave no very clear impression on the reader's mind regarding lines of conduct freely discussed in other parts of the journal. Thus we have seen in one of those articles a truly noble exposition of "passion" as distinguished from mere instinct, side by side with a decided tendency in other contributors to laud the spread of sterilisation in marriage.

I would point out the incompatibility of these two lines of thought. Passion, in its nature absolutely impulsive and spontaneous, *cannot* co-exist with the studied, mechanical means of sex-sterilisation. Assert that all sex intercourse between men and women must be truly pas-sionate, and you destroy the possibility of legitimate sterilisation.

sterilisation. I neither admire nor condemn these preventive methods. To the fastidious they will always appear inesthetic and undignified, but as the truly fastidious are a small minority, it is unwise to base arguments for general use upon their repugnances. I would, however, urge upon all who advocate such methods not to give them out as a new and remarkable scientific discovery. They have been extensively practised for centuries in all free unions: their prevalence in our generation only means nave been extensively practised for centuries in an nee-unions; their prevalence in our generation only means that what has always been known to men's mistresses has now been learnt by their wives, who, while still con-tent, like those others, to be the instruments of men's pleasure, have largely refused to become the instruments of Networks means

pleasure, have largely refused to become the instruments of Nature's purpose. I do not, as I say, condemn them. I do not see why a man's wife should have a harder time—as she has most frequently a lesser salary—than his mistress; but while granting how human and easy it is to follow our instincts and avoid, if possible, their consequences, let us not over-look the fact that such practices are as much a deliberate self-indulgence as eating more than is necessary for physical fitness, or lying in bed longer than is requisite for bodily and mental recuperation, and that all such in-dulgences, though harmless in themselves, are inimical to the culture of the more heroic qualities.

dulgences, though harmless in themselves, are inimical to the culture of the more heroic qualities. I was pleased to see that two of your correspondents— Mrs. Sherwin and Jane Craig, L.L.A.—had dared to advance the "old" morality of self-control. In advanced circles nowadays to speak of anything sexual as "immoral" is to proclaim oneself a back number. "Alles ist erlaubt," we must cry with Nietsche if we would be truly modern. Well, I will be as broad as anyone else and admit that harring sexual intercourse in which one party admit that, barring sexual intercourse in which one party is reluctant, intercourse between consanguineous persons, or persons physically or mentally tainted, and all forms of sex pleasure that can be bought or sold, I am inclined to look with indifference on any sex-intimacy which is without deceit.

out deceit. But I believe that the highest forms of development are the outcome of habitual self-control, and see no advance-ment for women along the lines of a laxity in sex matters equal to that which characterises men. One of your con-tributors affirms that genius often co-exists with sexual inversion. We all know of one case, but I never heard of another. We do know, however, that many of our greatest geniuses have been virtually ascetics. "Genius," says Emerson, "is always ascetic, and piety and love. Appetite shows to finer souls as a disease, and they find beauty in rites and bounds that resist it." And to quote a more modern authority, Bernard Shaw proclaims that the production of his best work necessitates a partial asceticism. One of your contributors speaks of "painful and physio-

Asceticism. One of your contributors speaks of "painful and physio-logically injurious abstinence," though he admits that such a conception of abstinence is denied by more than one body of medical men. I maintain that this conception has done of medical men. I maintain that this conception has the more harm to women in marriage and more to foster the horrors of prostitution than any other of the theories of sex. Where is the proof of it? What proof is there that the enforced abstinence of many single women has been the enforced abstinence of many single women has been injurious to them? I affirm, on the contrary, that there is a greater percentage of nervous and physical wrecks among married than among single women. The force that is expended in sexual intercourse is enormous, but nothing proves that it could not perfectly well be deflected into other and—where sterilisation is practised—more whethe changels valuable channels.

I believe that the notorious facility with which men

indulge in sexual intercourse is directly traceable to their immunity from painful consequences—danger of disease being rarely reckoned with. I believe that women have at least as great a temptation to such indulgence as men, but are restrained by considerations of fear or prudence; but are restrained by considerations of fear or prudence; the fact that the sexual organs occupy a much larger place in a woman's physical economy than in that of a man's points to the probability of an even greater sexual impulse in women. But the abstinence that the woman practises for herself she is expected to renounce in view of the "suffering" that abstinence is supposed to entail on a man.

a man. Considering the vast sum of suffering that their sex imposes first and last on women, whether married or celibate, we may be forgiven for holding very cheap the "suffering" that abstinence imposes on men. To liken it to hunger or thirst is an absurdity, for men cannot live a week without food or drink, but are known to be capable of remaining celibate for a lifetime. Yet it is on this theory of male "suffering" that the present marital rela-tion is based, and women sacrifice themselves to it daily. The movement for freedom among women bade fair to do The movement for freedom among women bade fair to do it some injury, but men have met the difficulty by preach-ing and teaching sterilisation—anything rather than practise restraint.

I cannot believe that such sterilisation will ever be the ideal of the freewoman, or that her freedom will take the form of a loose licence. She will seek to teach men the restraint that Nature has taught her to impose on herself, and will give dignity and value to sexual intercourse by preserving its spontaneous and emotional quality—abso-lutely destroyed, I repeat, by mechanical precautions. To this end she will seek to tame in herself, as well as in her lover, the mere mating instinct, by means of a much greater privacy. She will do away with the indelicate obviousness of the double room, and seek to raise mar-riage to the standard of a spiritual and intellectual as well as a physical union—a union, indeed, in which physical intercourse *cannot* exist without a spiritual affinity. This ideal realised, and women's economic independence secured, I see nothing to be gained by the abolition of I cannot believe that such sterilisation will ever be the

secured, I see nothing to be gained by the abolition of marriage—an institution which is older than the Consti-tution—which is as old as Moses. Abolish, by all means, obsolete marriage and divorce laws which exist in no modern reformed State, but retain marriage as the basis modern reformed State, but retain marriage as the basis of society. Marriage, as a means of saddling the male with the responsibilities from which Nature has freed him, is a most valuable social institution. I have no patience with the attitude of those who preach free unions and the care of the resulting children by the State. Who is the State but ourselves—the ratepayers? If we have to bear the expense of rearing children, let us rather pay to rear our own than other people's, or be allowed to keep our money for hobbes more congenial to us

This is a prodigious letter. I don't know if you will find room for it, but it is the epitome of all that I have found to criticise in your journal since its start. With the rest I am in hearty agreement. E. M. WATSON. E. M. WATSON.

February 1st, 1912.

[It is not possible to answer this letter in a short note. We therefore hold over a reply until our following issue. -ED.] 83 612

EARLY MARRIAGE AND PROSTITUTION. To the Editors of THE FREEWOMAN.

If any criticism of Mr. Upton Sinclair's article is not too belated, I should like to point out that in France, too belated, I should like to point out that in France, where his remedies for prostitution—early marriages and strict limitation of the family—are almost universal, the social evil is just as pronounced as it is in any other country. To advocate marriage as a cure for prostitution shows an extraordinary ignorance of the facts of history and of human psychology. In the Middle Ages, when marriage as an institution was in its heyday, prostitution was so widespread and unashamed that all over Europe it boasted a guild organisation, and municipalities, sovereigns, and even the Church battened on its profits. The admirable article by W. B. Esson in your current issue shows how superficial are the Malthusian reforms— which, by the way, Malthus would have repudiated which, by the way, Malthus would have repudiated utterly. One wonders how many neo-Malthusians would be found in that particular galley if the artificial sterilisa-tion of marriage had yet to be discovered and moral restraint was the only check on population.

LIONEL KINGSLEY.

LIMITATION OF POPULATION. To the Editors of THE FREEWOMAN.

May I add a few words to Mr. Esson's admirable reply to Mr. Upton Sinclair's panacea for prostitution? Mr. Esson points out that the idea is not new, and instances Mrs. Besant's "Fruits of Philosophy." It is not only

not new as an idea, but is actually in practice in at least two countries of which I have an intimate knowledge, and with very different results to those imagined by Mr. Sinclair.

Sinclair. Take our next-door neighbour, France. There early marriages are very general, the French parent invari-ably seeking to marry his son at twenty-five (and his daughter at twenty), with the result that in France there are comparatively few bachelors. And French families are limited, very strictly limited. And yet there are prostitutes in France, more possibly than with us, and conjugal infidelity (though much less frequent than the average Englishman believes) is not a distinguishing characteristic of the French nation. Far from the limited family curing prostitution, I think it could quite well be maintained that by setting free a larger portion of the husband's income it may encourage prostitution, for it enables him to spend more money on his own pleasures, among which sexual indulgence must, in many cases, be reckoned. reckoned.

France, it is true, does not grant divorce on easy terms; let us take a country that does.

In Japan divorce (by the man, naturally) can be obtained for any of seven reasons; among these are childlessness and incompatibility of temper. It is therefore practically unlimited; moreover, Japan is a country where there are no bachelors. As it is the first duty of every parent to see that there are descendants to perform the ancestral rites, every boy is married on reaching manhood. According to Mr. Sinclair's reasoning, then, Japan should be a happy country where there are no prostitutes. Unfortunately for his theory, there are prostitutes in Japan. Certainly the Japanese family is not artificially limited, but as this does not prevent early marrieds it will not support Mr. does not prevent early marriages it will not support Mr. Sinclair's argument.

I fear he must look deeper into the unrighteous economic basis on which society is built, driving women by sheer starvation to sell themselves; and deeper still, into the heart of man and his, at present, vastly over-

into the heart of man and his, at present, vasily over-grown sexual passions. And, lastly, I should like to join my voice with that of my friend Mrs. Leatham, who so ably protested against the artificial limitation of the family on æsthetic grounds. No question of the manner in which this is effected can answer her objection, though Dr. Drysdale, by referring to "the methods used by educated and refined women on the Continent," in his reply, seems to think it could. No difference in method can answer an objection based on principle. Nor have I seen any real answer to the ethical difficulty which Mrs. Leatham instanced, and for which I may as well now claim responsibility.

may as well now claim responsibility. If it is true as a general principle that continually to shirk the consequences of one's actions does have a deteriorating effect on character—and Dr. Drysdale care-fully avoided answering this point—then it stands to reason that there exists at least a strong presumption that the shirking in this, as in any other particular instance, will also have a deteriorating effect. I believe in the general statement; I am, therefore, forced to believe in it

Under present conditions I am prepared to admit that in certain definite cases the artificial limitation of the family may be the lesser of two evils, but to elevate it into an ideal, and to endeavour to teach men and women to accept it as an article of faith, and to practise it as a religious observance, is a very different thing. When the proffered remedies for undoubted diseases run

counter to the best instincts of the better men and women, as from my experience I believe they do, we should beware of their proving not remedies, but merely patent medicines. A. HERBAGE EDWARDS.

February 4th. 1912.

89 69 69 To the Editors of THE FREEWOMAN.

To the Editors of THE FREEWOMAN. I cannot resist troubling THE FREEWOMAN with another letter thanking W. B. Esson for clothing my thoughts for me so much more successfully in his criticism of Mr. Upton Sinclair's article than I suc-ceeded in doing for myself in my letter, both published in your issue of February 1st. There is a sordidness, an animalism about the idea of deliberately sterile marriages which gives one a feeling of nausea, but like W. B. Esson I tried in my letter to keep away from "feelings." We women have been so often accused of living by feeling and instinct that we have grown a little afraid of trust-ing our intuitions, but this should not be. "Baulked calculation is bad enough, but baulked intuition causes us to doubt all things." Instinct and intuition are really two of women's chief assets. True, intuition is only a rapid, lightning-like process of reasoning and deduction— so quick, so subtle, so sub-conscious that we cannot trace the processes ourselves; but processes there are,

and we must not be content to let men-or anyone else-deny these processes. "Toutes les verités nouvelles commencent par n'être qu'une intuition."

mencent par n'être qu'une intuition." But I wander from my point, which was thanking W. B. Esson for saying that which I lacked ability to express for myself. He asserts as a scientific fact, and I "feel," that Upton Sinclair's solution is not the right one, that it is merely replacing one devil by seven. Still, let us hope some solution is not too far off. It may take fifty, or fifty times fifty, years to find one, but "where there's life, there's hope," and we are at any rate alive to these things now. We have done with the ostrich game. game.

At any rate, each of us can read and listen and think and learn and watch life, and joy and sorrow and truth and illusion and vice and virtue, and can try in our own and fluision and vice and virtue, and can try in our own little corner to lay a stone here, destroy a wall there, and help men and women to adapt themselves to conditions which in these rapidly moving times need such quick adaptation that we are in danger, as W. B. Esson points out, of arriving at hasty decisions with regard to ques-tions of such vital importance that we must endeavour to walk a little work last a work of the store that we to walk a little warily lest a worse thing befall us.

As I cannot very well write unlimited numbers of letters to THE FREEWOMAN, may I make a pot-pouri of this one, and also thank Frank Watts for his timely letter, "The Freewoman and Life Problems." British prudery probably has itself to thank for a revulsion in "advanced" people who go to the other extreme, and are inclined to wallow in sex questions particle and advanced and a particular four discuss

normal and abnormal. Personally, I do not fear discus-sions on *any* subject, the gods having been very kind, and gifted me with an absolute lack of morbidity—on sex questions, at any rate—but . . . there is moderation in all things, and Frank Watts' application of the brakes will do as harm will do no harm.

And now to tackle "A Man, Married and Happy." If he will for one moment reflect he will realise that people whose shoes fit them don't mention it, but those whose shoes blister them . . . complain. I also imagine that if he is a business man he doesn't run round patting his clerks on the back when they do their work all right, but I do imagine there is a row if they do it wrong! In plain words, we complain when things aren't comfort-able. It is natural that silence should belong to the happy.

But—and here I tremble, foreseeing I may raise a storm—I think there are VERY few really happy married women! Nor will there be until sex-relations are read-justed to fit existing conditions. There are plenty of happily married men, of course. We all like being tin-gods, and the thinner the tin, the greater the enjoyment. February 2nd, 1912. CORALIE M. BOORD.

URANIANS.

To the Editors of THE FREEWOMAN.

I have read with some interest the articles by Mr. Birnstingl and Dr. Whitby, and feel I must put a question to the latter contributor, if space will allow. Surely, the repulsive type of "effeminate" Uranian as defined by Dr. Whitby, in your issue of February 1st, is the *prostitute* of that third category of the human race? I have travelled considerably, and have upon several occasions come in contact with Uranian men and women of the higher two and must easy that durat without

of the higher type, and must say that, almost without exception, there has been no outward and visible sign to

As regards the literature upon the subject, I am of opinion that it can decidedly help the higher type of Uranians, and is written for them, and not for the prosti-Uranians, and is written for them, and not for the prost-tute type, who does not occupy his mind as to the why and wherefore of his condition, but finds special satisfac-tion in flaunting his vulgarity and sensuality in the eyes of the public.

8 6 6 6

DISCUSSION OF SEX-QUESTIONS.

To the Editors of THE FREEWOMAN.

Mr. Frank Watts has made cowardly innuendoes (such as are often made against reformers) against "certain writers" for your paper who are interested in Divorce Law Reform and the cure of venereal diseases. I do not know who Mr. Frank Watts is or what writers he means to attack, but as I have written on both these subjects in the paper I desire to state that

I am happily married, but if I did want a divorce should have the money to obtain one.
I also have the money to obtain a speedy and efficient

cure for any venereal disease I might contract.

3. A poor man or woman cannot obtain divorce, and is merely neglected and bullied if he or she contracts a venereal disease.

4. I have no personal knowledge of any writer on these subjects being handicapped by poverty in regard to divorce or venereal disease. Poor men are quite inarticulate on

5. If Mr. Watts will take the trouble to read my evidence before the Divorce Commission when published he will see that the "libertine" is much better off, financially and otherwise, in countries where there is no

divorce. 6. There are many "refined and educated girls " whose health and lives have been ruined by deception, whatever Mr. Watts chooses to assert.

From the wording of the letter I suspect that Mr. Frank Watts is a very young man writing on subjects of which he has a sadly imperfect knowledge. It is to be hoped that when he gets older he will either not make discredit-able insinuations at all, or, if he wishes to attack men with whom he disagrees, will do so in an honourable and straightforward manner.—Yours, etc.,

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E. S. P. HAYNES.

83 THE REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM. To the Editors of THE FREEWOMAN.

May I criticise one of your statements in "Notes of the Week" of your last issue? You say"... we believe in the Referendum. We believe in it because we realise that the representative system has broken down." I would have had no reason to quarrel with you if you had sub-stituted the *party* system for the *representative* system. The representative system has not broken down for the very simple reason that it has never been in existence. Can you point to a dozen out of the six hundred and seventy members of Parliament of whom it could be said that they represent their electors? Moreover, the existence of huge party organisations and secret party funds makes it practically impossible for a member of Parlia-ment with any ideals in the direction of public affairs to keep his seat.

The party system and not the representative system is to blame for the present situation on the Suffrage ques-tion. There would have been no talk of a Referendum on the question of Women's Suffrage if members of Parliament were freed from the Party Whips.

I feel very strongly that the Referendum would be un-necessary under a system which was truly representative. —Yours faithfully, MINNIE GLASSMAN.

January 31st, 1912.

[The subject matter of this letter is dealt with in current "Notes of the Week."—ED.]

63 683 88

KARL MARX AND THE SINGLE TAX.

To the Editors of THE FREEWOMAN.

Mr. Hunt, in defending his single-tax position against my attack, now brings forward, I think, a fresh proposi-tion—that if, by taxing away the rent, land is made free, the cultivators of land will be able to save such great sums that the supply of capital will be so increased as to make the rate of interest small.

I have before suggested that "land without a spade is useless "—rent can therefore be charged for agricultural instruments just as much as for land itself, so that the exploitation of cultivators, the eating up of the little man by the big (because the big can buy at a cheaper price all that he needs in the way of tools, manure, and so forth; one obtain better expected of the structure to the structure of the s can obtain better expert advice; can transport his produce to the best market; even if, in agriculture, where this operates least, large-scale production is not more econo-mical of effort than small)—the eating up of the little man by the big would still go on, and if the rate of interest ware diminiched, the operate of the big income operates were diminished, the power of the big income over the little one, with all its consequences, would still be there. Does Mr. Hunt think that with a land-tax in existence the rate of interest would go down to nought? I should be satisfied with that.

Another matter I should like to refer to is this: to gain by monopolising "Nature's gifts " looks at first sight specially wicked. But the owner of railway shares, who owns them because he never bored any tunnels, put up any embankments, drove any engines, or shut any carriage doors, seems just as much a thief of the results of other men's labour as any land-lord. Nature makes steam-engines just as much as fields. In both, man, and

that part of the universe that is not man, collaborate. There is no "automatic, natural law" for the distribu-tion of wealth. In a competitive society wealth is distri-buted, not in accordance with the value of services ren-

dered, or the needs of the population, or any principle that can be defended on rational grounds, but simply according to the state of the market, the number of people willing to render any service asked for; hence, as long as people inherit different amounts from their parents, some will be able, by entering into professions for which an expensive training is needed (which training limits the numbers of those who can enter) to gain large incomes while others those who can enter), to gain large incomes, while others are kept on the verge of extinction, and I believe they would be even if land were free and unoccupied, and they could work on a little allotment with a spade. Of course, the poorest man would get the worst land. "Free land" in modern England would not mean the same as "free land" in newly occupied Australia or America. The State would have to charge a rent-tax for any land worth having. The single-tax in present-day England simply will not free land. People will have to pay rent and call it a tax.

I think the Socialists show their sense in not trusting to "automatic, natural law." All our difficulties come from nature, and will never be set right except by purposive human interference. In my opinion, nature is for the most part hostile to man.

I venture to think that Mr. Hunt agrees with me that Karl Marx was not a single-taxer, because, as Mr. Hunt says, Marx "held additional beliefs"—that is, he did not trust to the operation of "automatic, natural law." The case of Mr. Peel is not to the point, because in a new settlement the circumstances are quite different from what they would become in England if a single-tax law were passed.

passed. Single-taxers do not "depend on automatic, natural law" any more than Socialists do, or Conservatives, or anybody else. They propose to put a tax on land-values by means of Parliament, just as in the past Parliament, by secularising Church lands, enclosing, turning arable land in pasture, created that landless, resourceless population which now "freely" contracts with masters for wages. Why is putting a tax on land so natural? A highly centralised and highly regulative state would be an evil, but there is no necessity to centralise and regulate exten-sively in order to set up a Socialist state—the too much unified, centralised Socialist state (à la Schaeffle) is an extreme expression of one tendency. extreme expression of one tendency.

So far as I can at present judge, my own tendency is towards communism—that is, the provision of property which everyone may use. In appearance, the working of many systems may look automatic and natural (especially to people who were born in them and are used to them), but they are all set up by methods of holding property and methods of production which are really peculiar to certain

ages and places. Mr. Hunt says :—"Land can never 'diminish in importance in a manufacturing country.'" However, it is a fact that, as measured by their money-values, land does in England get less important than other sources of income and the incomes derived from land decrease in income, and the incomes derived from land decrease in comparison with those derived from other sources. English laws can only affect England, and in so far as England becomes more and more a manufacturing country, importing its raw materials, such as cotton and wool, from what is grown or fed on foreign lands, less and less is the land of England an important element in our economy.

our economy. It is perfectly clear that, in order to abolish poverty and exploitation, the capitalist (whose rent is called interest) must be expropriated just as much as the landlord. I know it looks more awkward and, at first sight, less obviously necessary; but I do not think the hard cases of the workmen with a few shillings in the savings banks will offer any insuperable difficulty to a change that will not offer unwarranted hardchips to the poorer classes but will offer any insuperable uniculty to a change that will not offer unwarranted hardships to the poorer classes, but will benefit them at the expense of the cruel-hearted, blinkered, self-satisfied wealthy. If you want to look at difficulties of detail, the single-tax is not as simple as it looks; what about the position of mortgages on land and other forms of ar perty excured by or derived from land other forms of property secured by or derived from land, but in ways other than by direct receipt of rent?-Yours ARTHUR D. LEWIS. faithfully.

£500 FUND.

Owing to the action of the Censor, the "Benefit Performance," which was to have started the above Fund to ensure the con-



tinued life of the International Suffrage Shop, at 15, Adam Street, Strand, had to be given at dead loss. All, therefore, who consider the shop worthy of existence, are asked to contribute as generously as possible.

CONTRIBUTORS' LIST WILL BE PUBLISHED,

Recreation as Labour.

"Do come and play a round of golf with me every morning for a week, Gladys! I must improve in my play."

"Right O! But I shall have to be back by huncheon-time every day, as I've got two 'At Homes' on next week, a bridge party, and the other days the mater will certainly want me to go out calling with her."

"Then be on the links by eleven on Monday, old girl. Don't forget."

This dialogue, it is best to explain, comes from no special individuals, yet it might serve for hundreds of girls who are the products of well-to-do parents-daughters belonging mainly to large country houses. A species of their own, their whole maxim of existence may be summed up in the phrase "Life wasters." To be faithful to this appellation, these girls must be, first of all, devoid of any definite aim in life. Then they must be thoroughly imbued with the idea that they are, when in the house, tolerably helpless, otherwise they destroy the necessity of being waited on. But sometimes their helplessness is forgotten for a moment, and the daughter of the house will run and fetch a thing which Smith or James should have brought, and more helpless mother looks on reprovingly, exclaiming, "Dorothy dear, you will spoil the servants!"

And so, as there is no demand for energy within doors, the daughters turn to sport in order to work off their fine physical vigour. Sometimes, for a lark, they hire a cottage by the sea for a fortnight, and picnic there to their heart's content. Then, and only then, do they realise their helplessness; and because they never have been fitted for this work, they give it up at the end of the fortnight sometimes with a tinge of regret at having to return to their state of idleness, but more often to sink back into luxury and helplessness, with a sigh of deliverance.

Supposing there are three daughters living at home with parents rich enough to keep them com-fortably, even if not luxuriously. The brothers naturally have professions of their own, and so, of course, are not expected to stay at home. (The sisters' professions were somehow overlooked.) The minute that the hour strikes for these girls to turn eighteen, their schooldays disappear for ever, and they emerge as moths-no doubt some only see them as butterflies-who flutter incessantly round the gaieties before which they are placed. No one can call them slackers, if the energy be counted which brings them, week after week, year after year, to all the "At Homes," bridge parties, bazaars, and dances. Seven, eight, nine years may pass by since the clock struck eighteen for them, and still they appear just as charming as ever. At a dance their conversation is of hunting, their lower handicap in golf; they discuss as one who skims on the surface the state of the political world. This comes natural to them. They have been taught that the superficial things of life are the weightiest. Had they not, they would never be able to remain in the state of

existence they do remain in. And the next day, following the dance, when the partners of the night before are going about their business, remembering now and then by weariness of foot, or a stale feeling, that they had been to a dance the previous night, these daughters of country houses are resting, not only from the fatigues of the recreation, but because the excitement is all over—they have nothing else to do for the present. Their work, as they saw it, and as their parents and most of their partners did, was to look attractive, dance well, and be lively. As long as they performed all these, their work was well done.

And this is the key to all their life: their play becomes their work.

Later on one of these girls may be elected secretary of the local golf club. She suddenly realises her importance. It calls out her capabilities. It means another sort of work. People murmur, "Who would have thought Mabel So-andso had enough in her to run the golf club as she does!"

But some of these well-to-do English girls are not even lucky enough to become elected secretaries of golf clubs. They play their games, and occupy their time in the carrying out of their small duties—duties which to them have grown to seem weighty and important—until, one so-called lucky day, they exchange their dependence on their father for the dependence on a husband.

There are others who, in the hurry of life's swift stream, pause to watch these girls carrying out to the full their definition of "Life wasters." These others, some having known such days themselves, gaze with mingled pity and derision to see such fine material thrown away, through the fault of convention, and the lacking spirit of independence.

convention, and the lacking spirit of independence. "Opportunity! opportunity!" the lookers-on cry out. Sometimes the gods listen, and suddenly take these girls away from a position where social functions and recreation is their life's work to place them in wider fields.

Some may even say that the spirit of independence is already too rife in the hearts of England's daughters. They do not realise, these people, that if the cry to-day is, "I want to leave my home, for I want to be independent!" it is not from the home that they are seeking to flee, but from the state of absolute idleness, of dependence, which for them exists there. This cry is echoing in the homes of the poorer classes to-day. To-morrow it may be heard in the homes where comfort and luxury entour the daughters. It is harder, however, to be heard there, for the very tiniest sprouts of the wings of independence have been clipped as they appeared. It takes longer for them to grow, if they ever do.

And what is it, after all, that first tells them that their life is but one of a parasite? It seems like a voice in the air. It whispers at first softly, and then, if it thinks it is being heard, louder and louder, until it shouts so hard that no one can do anything but listen to it. This voice may be called a knowledge of their dependent state, and a realisation of the waste of life. Whatever it may be, it has the power of awakening within these daughters a wish to exert their minds and limbs to greater advantage than sport alone. When a taste of real life has been given them,

When a taste of real life has been given them, and the dignity of work felt, only one out of a hundred will go back to her early existence. The rest realise that it is better to have the slightest position made by their own individual selves than to hold the highest made for them by others.

the highest made for them by others. "How, how did we manage to exist in those days?" the once helpless ones cry out, as they look back on the days of life-wasting. "What was then our greatest occupation—our work, the boundary of our ideals—is now but mere recreation!"

The Human Minority.

O NE statement in Dr. Whitby's article forms, as it were, a mutual basis from which we could argue. It is: "Every man is more or less feminine; pure and unmixed masculinity is an abstraction which does not occur in real life." Therefore all men and women are in a greater or lesser degree Intermediates. On this point, then, we are agreed. I have, therefore, not to defend the charge that all Intermediates are *ipso facto* undesirables. Granted the above, it would indeed require a veritable misanthrope of the most pronounced kind to support such a contention, and our discussion would cease to be one of relative values; but even on that account it could hardly become more difficult or comprehensive.

But Dr. Whitby does not appear to me to be a true "feminist." He allows women the "abuse of cosmetics, tight-lacing, the wearing of high-heeled shoes, the affectation of mincing gait," without a word of absolute censure; only those unfortunates who are anatomically males (or who appeared so at birth, and have therefore since masqueraded in trousers) incur his displeasure.

Here, then, lies our fundamental difference perhaps. The women, together with the men, are to be condemned, in my opinion.

be condemned, in my opinion. If one has decided that certain things are vicious and others desirable (we will not here concern ourselves with the greater problem—vicious or desirable for what end), then I maintain that they are equally vicious or desirable in either sex.

All women do not ipso facto desire cosmetics and tight-lacing (taking these as typical petty vices). The reason for their adherence to them is not directly dependent upon the make of their body. The reasons are to be sought elsewhere: man's attitude to women through numerous centuries, environment, and the inheritance of qualities and potentialities from all that has gone before-vast and complicated questions, that still await thorough investigation. And, let me add, the golden age of "nature," so often alluded to by the deluded, did not begin with the Christian era, nor even with the muchly admired period of Hellenism—that would indeed be an anachronism—but with a state of self-impregnating protoplasms. (This remark is not in reference to any statement in Dr. Whitby's article.) However, it is not to be imagined that the women who indulge in these petty vices are held in high esteem by their own sex. I am pleased to say that I know several women who regard these things as highly absurd.

Now with regard to the Weininger theory of sexual attraction—a theory, by the way, in which I have not over much faith, for I do not believe that these things can be decided mathematically. The forces at work upon a human being—atavism, environment, and the like, besides those little minor tricks that chance and fortune play upon him—are matters far too complex to be decided by such peremptory methods.

The amount of feminine plasm in a man (thelyplasm) is not limited to half the total amount of sex in that man. It is by no means inconceivable that a man should be composed 30M + 70F (taking 100 as our total), in which case his complement would be a man or a woman 70M + 30F—more probably, however, a man, as I shall now show. For among the supposed absolutely feminine qualities may be that inherent dislike of the female form (for sexual purposes) that is to be found in the more normal types of women. And then it may be that in order to attract his complement he may resort to the abuse of cosmetics, tight-lacing, etc., or even desire "hobble skirts and frilly petticoats": a thing very much to be deplored, although no more in him than in anyone else. But, as I have already stated, the blame is to be laid upon man, since he demands these things, nay, even, for the most part, delights in them: a case merely of demand and supply. 1 admit that it is absolutely unnecessary that these unpleasant methods should be employed; but it is necessary that the man should desire (probably only subconsciously) to seek his affinity, and all the therapeutic methods and schemes of hypnotic suggestion that have been essayed have, I believe, proved utterly futile.

However, I consider that it is to be deeply deplored that those people who discuss this subject from an unsympathetic standpoint dwell with such tedious and unnecessary persistency upon the physical side of the question. It is the less important side. It is in the sphere of affection, a sphere entirely separate from that with which we have hitherto been concerned, that the real significance of the matter lies.

Its educational value cannot be over-estimated, and it would indeed be interesting and illuminating to investigate as to how earlier civilisations have recognised and made use of such attachments. Such a friendship, for example, as that depicted in Walter Pater's "Marius the Epicurean," or, to descend to more familiar examples, the proverbial friendships of Jonathan and David, Damon and Pythias, serve to typify the kind of attachment that is frequently to be found amongst these people, and it is by no means to be presumed that these affections are only to be found amongst men.

This type of man and woman, by reason of the almost total negation of sex (to be in no way confused with asceticism and the effete theory of chastity for chastity's sake) is particularly befitted for certain valuable intellectual activities; and, moreover, by reason of its divergent and discrepant qualities, is unusually sympathetic and catholic, possessing a peculiar kind of universality and a faculty for perceiving things from a stand point other than its own, which renders it an indispensable asset to mankind.

Nevertheless, I can altogether understand that for the classifier, the maker of laws, and other similar guardians of the public morals, these persons form a serious obstruction, seeing that they refuse to be "pigeon-holed," as it were; and placing them in the category of criminology can hardly be said to prove entirely satisfactory in many cases, especially when a genius arises from their ranks and utterly overturns the laboured calculations.

So that reluctantly the classifiers must be compelled to relinquish their task, and the makers of laws must revise their statutes, and we must insist upon the speedy erection of more "pigeon-holes." But perhaps the best of all remedies would be to abolish the pigeon-holes altogether.

HARRY J. BIRNSTINGL.

T is satisfactory to be able to record that the new business transacted by the AUSTRALIAN MUTUAL PROVIDENT SOCIETY (London Office, 37, Threadneedle Street, E.C.) during 1911 in the ordinary department exceeded £6,300,000, and constitutes a new record. In the course of the year the Society issued a report of investigation into its mortality experience for the fifty-five years of its existence, up to December 31st, 1903, which revealed the fact that the actual deaths experienced among first-class lives under the whole life assurance section amounted to less than 74 per cent. of the expectation on the basis of the British Offices' experience 1863-1893 under similar classes of lives and policies. The business of the Society is confined to Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom.—ADVT.

Emancipation.

HAT woman is daily asserting her equality with man cannot be questioned. But exactly what the result of this assertion will be she does not seem to know herself. This is especially the case where she has decked herself out too much in the colours of orthodox suffragism, and consequently mistaken those colours for the banner of emancipation. Such errors are inevitable ; but their effects are none the less deplorable. The Suffragist bride who hesitated over the word "obey" has secured a good, but offensive, advertisement for straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel. She did not mind merging her identity in that of the man; but she did object and hesitate and blush and stumble over "obey." I do not say women should obev their I do not say women should obey their husbands, or promise to obey them. The very suggestion of such a thing is both barbarous and absurd. It is too ridiculous to grow indignant over. But to stumble over the word when one has consented to lose for the rest of one's life one's individual name and all its associations is so undignified and cowardly as to merit nothing but contempt. It is failing to play the game. And the cause of these errors? I will tell my

And the cause of these errors? I will tell my readers. Woman, in approaching this question of her emancipation, regards man as a fixed quantity. That is the first mistake. Arising out of this error is another notion, that man-made society is perfect, except for a few tinkering reforms that will leave its fundamentals untouched. "We are equal to man," is the rallying cry of Suffragism. Very true; but then you are speaking of man as though he was something established, a definite quantity or quality, at all time equal to himself. But he is nothing of the kind. Neither are his standards of judgment, his tests of equality absolute or permanent ones. Let us apply the historic touch.

An anti-suffragist, or, rather, an anti-feminist, is before. He feels fresh for the fray as a result of a careful perusal of Belfort Bax. Perhaps his blood has been tingled and his nerves strengthened by a communion with the choice spirits of Strindberg and Schopenhauer. Anyway, his face is suffused with a glow of health and a genial warmth has spread itself all over his body. What feminist dare withstand him? We listen to his arguments. First, there is poor woman's brain, so much smaller than that of a man, to be sure. "Yes, my dear chap," the feminist replies; "but it is not the weight, but the structure of the brain that counts. Besides, the calculators have been males, with an economic interest in preserving the superstition re woman's inferiority, apart from prejudice, and a love of social conquest over and above a mere economic interest." The anti-feminist apologist may not be prepared for this; and when it comes to cool reasoning on the subject, neither Bax nor Schopenhauer nor Strindberg will help him much. But cool audacity will rescue him from his discomfiture. And he will appeal to history. If the feminist is an orthodox Suffragist, she will follow him in his arguments, and submit to being trapped occasionally in his snares. For are not man-made impositions and institutions, as regards their fundamentals, combinations of the respectable? And, whilst it is forgivable to want the vote, it is not permissible to want to outrage the canons of respectability. One may stumble over "obey" at the altar; for no one takes this word too seriously. But one must not insist so far on equality of woman with man. This would be so bold, so rational, so calmly defiant as to drive poor man into hysterics. The dear creature! Of course, he believes, when he is in a good temper, that women need not say "obey." But not to take his name, to be known and appreciated for herself, to be

accepted as a chum and a friend, to be liked in the social circle for her wit and bonhomie—whatever could woman be coming to, to demand such things? And yet this would be equality, this would mean emancipation.

How should the believer in emancipation as thus defined meet the anti-feminist appeal to history? By declaring that she is the equal of man, and demanding admission to many professions that are by no means admirable occupations? By attempting to prove that woman is as capable a priest, as efficient a mere hireling instrument of war-waged from obedience to discipline and not from loyalty to principle—as "brilliant" a hack journalist, or as distinguished a pot-boiling novelist as man? By accepting all male standards of efficiency as good, and trying to measure character by reputation, scholarship by pedantry, wisdom by something less than knowledge, and mental acumen by examina-tion cramming? No. But the real feminist, the real emancipationist of her sex, will set all these false standards aside, and make a bid for reality. She will want to appeal to the sociology of history, not to the gossip of tradition. She will not bother about woman's power to play at noughts and crosses on ballot-papers, or her ability to put such competition-papers in boxes when no one is looking. She will not contest too much woman's ability to sell her soul as a lawyer for gain, and to prosecute or to defend, without regard to truth, in the criminal atmosphere of the trial-room! She will not want to qualify as a mere thoughtless hireling of diplomatic blunderers and their lust for blood! She will prefer to be the prophet rather than the priest, the rebel-pioneer of thought rather than the manacler of reason. Before her impeachment, her repudiation of outworn standards, her test of reality, what answer will the feminist have to make? Let us follow her appeal to history.

At the beginning of the Christian era a man named Jesus Christ appeared in a nation subject to the Roman Despotism. Superior man repudiated and deserted this Carpenter, who had not where to lay His head. The women flocked to his standard—the women and such men as were deemed the vile wealth-producers of the world. ' Why? Because His message placed a premium upon practical virtue, upon culture wedded to the people's daily life, upon simple earnestness, and, above all, purity of soul; in a word, because He was single-eyed and stood for integrity. Less than four centuries elapsed. For political purposes, Constantine corrupted the Christian teaching by establishing it. And now superior man flocked to its altars, because they feared to displease their emperor, because they were courtiers, coward slaves of despotim.

A few years more elapsed, and a woman appeared on the scene at Alexandria. Her name was Hypatia; and she lived at the beginning of the Dark Ages as we live near their close. Her thoughts went back beyond the time of Christ. They went back to Socrates and Plato: to Socrates, who was the bravest and most virtuous man of his time, who opposed social service to private gain, believed in the honest word, and hated the traffic in phrases of which the place-hunting politicians were guilty. Hypatia was deemed a pagan by the pious ecclesiastics, who had set their hearts on worldliness, and based their Christianity on Pharisaism and their philosophy on Sophism. Fearful of the appeal of reason, like the mob that murdered Christ, superior man, with Cyril of Alexandria as leader, waylaid Hypatia, dragged her before the altar of Christ, stripped her, tore her flesh from her bones with sharp shells, then cremated her, and cast her ashes to the winds. "No woman could be a great ecclesiastic," says the antifeminist. "No, indeed?" the feminist might query.

"Do you mean a woman can only be a Hypatia in A.D. 415, when man was the ecclesiastic, the ignoramus, and the murderer?"

We come on through the Dark Ages. It is not necessary to concern ourself with all the barbarities and the absurdities with which the masculine intellect concerned itself between the time of Hypatia and that of John Wycliffe, who was the first man to translate the whole Bible into English, and thus lay it open to understanding and to reason. This was a great work, a far greater work than trafficing in the hireling trade of murder. Man, the superior animal; man, whose directive ability secured him Court favour and ecclesiastical promotion, so long as he favoured corruption and *laissezfaire*, generally did not identify himself with Wycliffe's work. There was torture and murder to be faced, and man, brave-like, disliked the prospect just as much as woman. But truth will spread, and liberty has a ready army of martyrvolunteers. Foremost amongst those who were the prophets of right against might, of a free and open Bible, were women.

Lady Joan Boughton was over eighty years of age. She read the Scriptures, and openly avowed her adherence to the opinions of Wycliffe, whom she regarded as a saint. The priests threatened that she should be burnt unless she renounced what they called her "obstinacy in that false belief." She defied them, and avowed that she had no fear of the fire, and, indeed, set nothing by their menacing words. Her destruction was contrived by the masculine intellect of the priests, and sanctioned by Henry VII.; and she died at the stake, firm to the last, on April 28th, 1494.

In 1543 Cardinal David Beaton caused the following six persons to be condemned and executed for heresy:-William Anderson, Robert Lamb, James Finlayson, James Hunter, James Rawlinson, and Helen Stark, who was the wife of one of the foregoing. The first was murdered for interruptforegoing. ing a friar while teaching that a man could not be saved without praying to the saints. Three others were hung upon the same gibbet for having disrespectfully treated the image of a saint, and for having eaten flesh upon a certain festival, on which it was forbidden by the Romish Church. The fifth person was executed for adorning his house, in derision of the cardinal, as was pretended, with a representation carved in wood of the three-crowned diadem of the Pope, as the supposed successor of the Apostle Peter. Helen Stark was condemned the Apostle Peter. for having refused, when in child-bed, to invoke the Virgin Mary, and for affirming that she would pray to God alone through Jesus Christ. She followed her husband to his execution, and exhorted him to die bravely and patiently. Masculine superiority declined to allow her to be executed with her hus-hand, but murdered her immediately afterwards. She was martyred by drowning. After this we have She was martyred by drowning. After this we have the following list of woman martyrs:—Lady Anne Askew, at Smithfield, June, 1546; Mrs. Wame, at Smithfield, July, 1556; Joan Lashford, at Smith-field, January 27th, 1557; Joan Waste, at Derby, August 1st, 1556; Alice Benden, at Canterbury, June 30th, 1557; Mrs. Joyce Lewis, at Lichfield, September 10th, 1557; Elizabeth Prest, at Exeter, November 17th, 1558; Lady Lisle, at Winchester, September, 1685; Mrs. Gaunt, at Tyburn, October 12th, 1658. 13th, 1658.

At any moment during this period, had it been urged that woman was the equal of man, it would have been replied that she was not a great ecclesiastic, that, therefore, she did not have the brain of man, etc. Yet, I hold that these women martyrs who suffered for the cause of Protestantism, in repudiating Romish priestcraft showed more mental strength, more reason, and more moral courage, than any of the place-hunting priests whose names no one remembers. These women will live, in history, with Wycliffe. And if we are right in applauding Wycliffe above his enemies, then these women have played a greater part in religious and spiritual development of mankind than any ecclesiastic who was up against them.

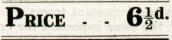
If we take another leap, and come down to the nineteenth century, when the Messiah of the printing press played such havoc with despotism and priestcraft, we see one man, scorned by the pedants of his time, named Richard Carlile, maintaining by defiance and imprisonment the cause of reason and the self-education of the people against the "superior persons" who thrived on ignorance. Once more, women were foremost in the struggle, were imprisoned and hounded down, for nothing more than applying the test of reality to things as they were. In Russia, women have played a noble part in the struggle for freedom; and in India, Ranee Laksmi Bai of Jhansi struggled nobly, in 1857, against British despotism. But what does this mean? Only this: that to

But what does this mean? Only this: that to struggle by unconventional or conventional means for conventional privileges, when so many of the privileges mean nothing real, nothing of value to mankind, is rather to betray than to enhance the cause of woman's emancipation. Women have enriched the literature of the world, have added to the lore of science, have enlarged the domain of philosophy, and triumphed in mathematics. But these are realities; they partake of the nature of the character of equality with man. The mere reputation of academic honours does not count. How many men who have benefited mankind, how

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THE NATIONAL VENDORS' SYNDICATE, 55, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON, W.C. many philosophers would have " crammed " through examinations?

Yes, men are regarded as absolute quantities. Too many of their slavish vices are regarded as signs of superiority, whereas they are evidences of sensuous indulgence, mere traits of animalism. To affect these vices is not to be emancipated, only to be in subjection to male standards. Equality and emancipation mean being natural in all things. It means recognising that each man and each woman is an individual; that, as such, each must be loyal to the dictates of their own respective individualities. Here there are crossing of desires, with no suggestion of sexual differences as the basic cause of such divergences. It is for woman to take her stand as an individual, assert her individual rights as such, and not be afraid to take her stand as an outcast. To-day, knowledge can be secured by all, and all can teach. Woman has but to take her rights, that is all. And to call out for the right to take honours sane men are beginning to despise, only to refuse to insist on her individuality where such insistence will sound the note of freedom and emancipation, is nonsense. Woman may smoke or drink or swear or gamble; that neither means she is or is not emancipated. But to regard man as chum, to insist on her right to be a mother, because of her sex and not of her "responsibility," to have some special man friend without losing her identity, to insist on the power of knowledge as knowledge, on the might of Truth standing alone—this is to be emancipated. How far short of this does orthodox Suffragism fall my readers themselves can see.

GUY A. ALDRED.

Feminism and the Destiny of Humanity.

I N Pragmatism there are many keen ideas fit for particular application to modern affairs. 1 propose to apply one such idea to Feminism. James advanced an argument that the comparative truth of an idea can be tested by the number and importance of other ideas that by its inclusion are connected into a practicable theory. The working of this pragmatic test can be illustrated almost anywhere. At the risk of being tedious I will apply it to highroads.

If a mile length of a little frequented country road, running between two obscure hamlets, disappeared into the earth, far from its proper and useful position, the incident would be annoying. But the consequences would be far more serious if a similar fate befell a mile length of a great highway between two important towns.

Obviously, the more important the ends that are connected, the more important is the way between them. Moreover, the longer the distance, and the more numerous and important the places between which the road is a necessary connection, the more necessary is the road. If only one connecting way is possible, then it is of vital importance indeed.

This idea can not only be very appropriately applied to modern progressive activities, but the application is urgently needed, so that we obtain at last a same valuation of those movements. To-day, ideas receive attention according to the amount of clatter that is raised about them. Thus too often they are popularly accepted at the value set upon them by interested supporters wielding extensive powers of wealth and journalism. The application of James' test is the only way to end the existing condition of affairs.

Our pragmatic test is the final criticism of the worth of any suggested social reform. No proposed social reform ought to be carried out unless it is part of a well-conceived, entire scheme for the organisation of society. Unfortunately, modern public men do not follow that idea. And it is precisely because modern legislation is the passing of temporary expedients that little real progress is made. If we form first a complete social vision, then every step taken should be towards a definite goal. It is the ordering of present events towards ultimate purposes. Well, Feminism is an important step that we are asked to take in social reform. What is the "complete social vision" in which Feminism is a necessary, connecting link?

Let us employ a metaphor to elucidate the problem, to obtain a clearer perspective. A steel chain is a series of steel links continuously connected. If every link in the chain is true steel, then the chain is a good one. Similarly, a theory is a series of ideas continuously connected. Every idea in a theory must sturdily fulfil its function, or the theory falls to the ground. Well, a "complete social vision" is an entire view of human life. What, then, is the comprehensive view of life that gives our conception of Feminism an authoritative standing?

Naturally, a "complete social vision" must embrace a view of the whole course of human life on earth, from origin to destiny. Feminists need not detail an elaborate statement of that view. We need to say, only very briefly, that human life has risen from a very low standard, and that the destiny of human life is to reach the highest possible civilisation. But how are we to know what is the highest possible civilisation? Well, the low standard of life is a living in obedience to coarse, base appetites, and savage, hasty passions. This conduct produces a discordant society, cursed by hideous social evils—poverty and crime; a society torn generally by domestic and international strife. The highest possible civilisation will be the reverse of the conditions prevailing in the primitive society. "Coarse, base

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appetites, and savage, hasty passions" in the nation and the individual will be subordinated to reason, and purified. Instincts will be made conscious and subjected to entire control. The discordant society will be nobly reorganised upon an altruistic basis, and the "hideous social evils" purposefully abolished.

Through all human life Humanity has been struggling, perhaps mainly unconsciously, to reach that ideal civilisation. Why has mankind never reached the position? The explanation is simple. Human life is chiefly the expression of two living forces, which I will contrast as "good" and "evil." The good forces establish certain social conditions which preserve society, permitting and assisting the prevailing civilisation to develop towards the ideal. On the other hand, there are evil social conditions that destroy society, and eventually ruin a civilisation if they become the predominant influence, the spirit of the age.

All past civilisations have collapsed because evil triumphed over the good. The immediate cause may have been war. Surely no one needs to be convinced that war is one of the worst social evils?

Obviously, if Humanity desires to prevent the recurrence of the tragic breakdowns, we must decide what are the good social conditions, and ensure their supremacy over evil conditions, even to the extermination of the latter. Moreover, if we wish to preserve our European civilisation and pursue a healthy development to the ideal, then the task of enthroning "good" and destroying "evil" conditions immediately devolves upon us as an imperative duty to be performed at once. And here Feminism reappears.

Among the evil social conditions that have ruined past civilisations there can be no doubt whatever that man's treatment of woman is one of the worst. It is quite unnecessary that I should elaborate an argument upon this point. Mainly, through all ages, woman has been treated upon two dual lines: (1) as a chattel-slave, and (2) as a sexual indulgence. Usually, the latter has eventually predominated. Restrained from the expression of a full individuality, woman became solely a figure for gross sensuality. With terrific influences preventing her intellectual and economic freedom, woman has been in a dishonourable position in nearly every civilisation that has disappeared into eternity. There can be no question that the sex relations have been very destructory forces.

Well, whatever steps man intends to take to abolish evil social conditions so that life may be a credit to Humanity, woman, for her part, is valiantly determined to be mistress of her destiny. It is not my purpose here, even if I had the space, to discuss Feminist proposals to rectify existing conditions. Generally, we must proceed along the line of obtaining equal treatment for man and woman, intellectually, socially, and economically.

My object has been to present a simple, clear view of the fundamentals of Feminism. It is vitally necessary that we should understand our attitude to life, our place in "the scheme of things."

In the *Daily Mail*, on January 15th, "A Tory" wrote: "The New Feminism, in brief, is the ugliest movement of modern or ancient times." Further, on January 17th, the same writer observes: "The world is old and of a sound experience. It has decided that woman shall not take part in the trade of politics, which in no age, and under no sky, has been amiable or magnanimous. And then comes along a handful of women, neither magnanimous nor amiable, to defy the solid experience of history."

Ye gods! Is history a credit to man? Rather, does not every intellectual fibre writhe in shame and anger beneath the disgrace of civilisation after civilisation collapsing?

When will the consciousness of massed Humanity be roused to feel the burning disgrace of past history, and the ignominy of our present position? When *shall* we make society a fit expression of the high, noble nature that we believe to be mankind's?

"A handful of women come . . . to *defy* the solid experience of history"? Rather, are we not *emphasising* the teaching of history? Does not the experience of thousands of years declare that man, left to himself, and trusted as sole guide, has made hell out of every civilisation? Have not the "eternal verities" always answered man by hurling him and his civilisations headlong into chaos? Are not they threatening to do so again to-day?

Search the universe, and where can one find an animal to rival in idiocy the idiot Man? "The trade of politics, which in no age, and

"The trade of politics, which in no age, and under no sky, has been amiable or magnanimous"! Is this a credit to man? Is it not proof merely that the repulsive, physical tyranny that man has always exercised against woman he also extends to fellow-man? And is not woman's nature the supreme force that is calculated to *make* politics both amiable and magnanimous?

Man has always stated that woman's nature is love, sweetness, and so forth. Further, he is continually expressing his desire for peace, for harmony, joy, beauty, and prosperity, in social conditions. Yet when woman demands the extension of the scope of her influence, so that the qualities of her nature may produce in public affairs the very conditions and characteristics that man himself wants but cannot supply, then he turns to her and says: . . . Well, come to think of it, what does he say? Nothing! He shifts his ground. And man is the personification of logic, and the soul of woman is illogic!

Feminism is one of the vital questions that man has to solve. It is an issue that has been open all through the ages. Untold evils: a huge mass of awful individual suffering, and fearful consequences to mankind generally, have resulted from delayed settlement. Let us see that our generation makes great headway to the permanent position. Feminism is the only possible road for the all-important journey towards the happiness of our species.

Personally, only in sorrow can I greet "A Tory." Can any man continue to live in such utter, unconscious falsehood, in such blind stupidity? Yet anger is impossible. One says of him what Mr. Wells said recently of Mr. Asquith: He will surely die! and his kind also. ALFRED E. BING.

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