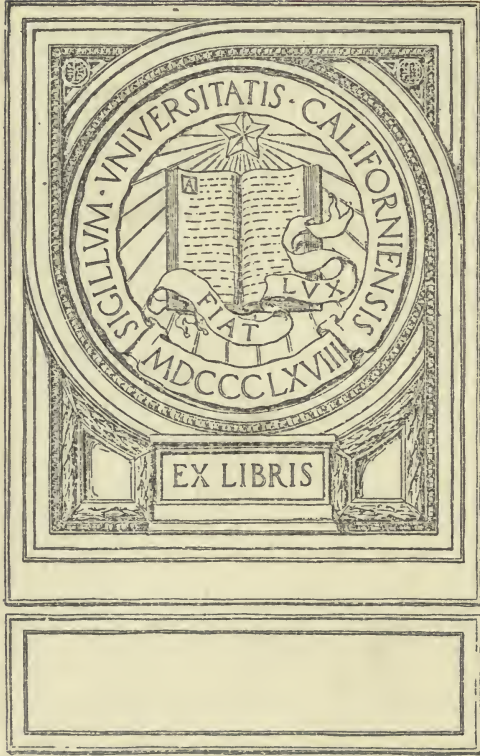
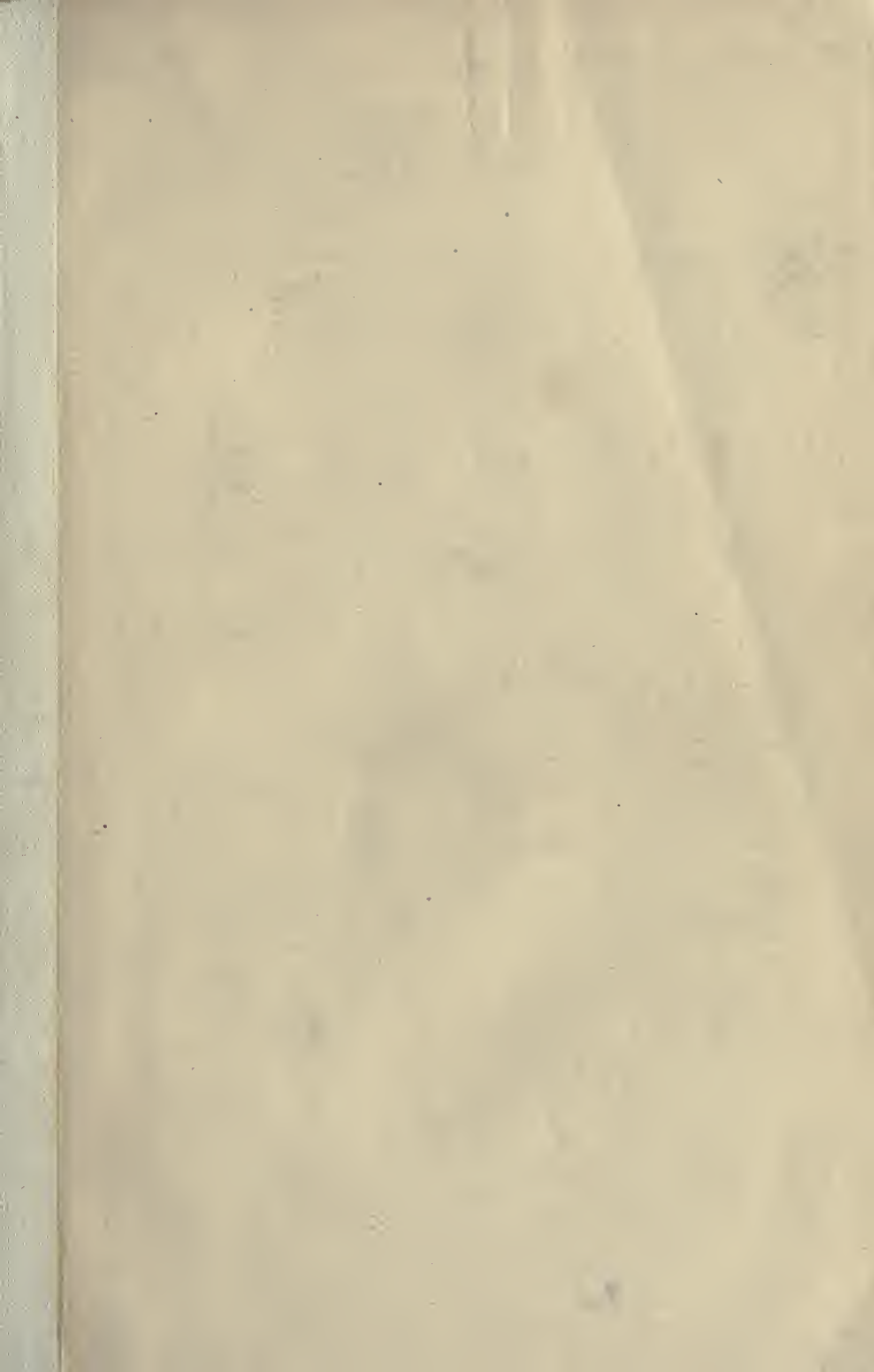


FEMINISM



MR. AND MRS. JOHN MARTIN





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FEMINISM



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FEMINISM

ITS FALLACIES AND FOLLIES

BY
MR. AND MRS. JOHN MARTIN



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BOOK I
FROM THE MAN'S POINT OF VIEW
BY
JOHN MARTIN

CHAPTER I

FEMINISM VERSUS HUMANISM

FEMINISM is a movement changing from year to year, not a code finally formulated. Whatever definition of Feminism one person offers, another person may deny. Even Socialism, with its fifty-seven varieties, is more authoritatively defined, because there is at least a Socialist party with a representative convention and a formally adopted platform. Feminists are not in one party, but in all parties. Their platform is not one document, but many documents; their prophetesses are not elected, but self appointed; of their leaders each has her own followers, but none is shepherd to all.

Nevertheless Feminism, or, as many feminists prefer to style it, "The Woman's Movement," is today a powerful ferment in society — it may be a healthy yeast or it may be a sour corruption.

The philosophy of the woman's movement must be gathered from a library of books, from a cloud of pamphlets, and from a host of speeches and conversations. By this tedious process we have found that Feminism is in several parts and can be comprehended and examined only when it is analysed. In general terms it has been defined by Mrs. Carrie Chapman

Catt, who speaks with authority in America for the organised suffragists, as:

“The world-wide movement of revolt against all the artificial barriers which laws and customs have interposed between women and human freedom.”

“Freedom” and “Independence” are the keywords of Feminism. Liberty for the individual woman, the throwing down of all barriers to her self-development or self-realisation, the opportunity for each woman to strike out on her own path, “the full and free emancipation of woman,” the revolt against the barriers which her sex and social custom interpose between her and human freedom — these are the ideas which persistently recur in feminist speech and writing. “It is a question of being free, free in all human ways,” says Mary Johnston.¹ “The chief purpose of feminists,” writes Mrs. Ethel Snowden, an English leader, “through all the years and at the present time, is the achievement of freedom for womanhood and its equal opportunity with manhood.”² “Women are striving for economic, legal and sexual independence,” writes Dr. Elizabeth S. Chesser.³

Without indulging in metaphysics about what is freedom, we can accept the minimum meaning attached to the words “human freedom” by feminists as “whatever freedom is allowed by laws and cus-

¹ “Hagar,” p. 255.

² “The Feminist Movement,” p. 13.

³ “Woman, Marriage and Motherhood,” p. 257.

toms to man." In China the women who revolt against the bandaging and crippling of the feet, to which men are not subjected, in India the women who refuse, as widows, to mount the funeral pyre which widowers are not expected to mount, in Turkey the ladies who experiment in walking the streets unveiled like men — these would all be included in the feminist world-wide movement of revolt by Mrs. Catt.

But while such generous inclusion of foreign movements, which every American instinctively approves, tends to recommend the home brand of Feminism to his favour, yet it does not clarify his judgment. Other revolts nearer to him concern him more closely. There is a movement of revolt in great cities and smart sets against the barrier of custom which is interposed between woman and the freedom men enjoy to smoke cigars and cigarettes; a revolt against the custom which requires the woman and not the man to change her name on marriage; which requires a chaperone for girls and young women where no chaperone protects young men. Dr. Mary Walker led a revolt against the custom which permits men, but not women, to wear trousers. Such revolts against the "artificial barriers which laws and customs have interposed between woman and human freedom" are not instinctively approved by Americans, but would come within Mrs. Catt's definition.

Historically the woman's movement in America was first concerned with winning for woman control over her own property without relinquishing her

rights in her husband's property, control of her children without sacrificing any of the father's responsibility for the children, opportunity for divorce on equal or easier terms with men, and an education like man's in college and university. These have been conceded by male legislatures and male public opinion in most of the States, although not always with that advantage to women and to society which feminist advocates take for granted.

At the same time women have trooped into factory, shop and store and dribbled into pulpit, court room and hospital. Paradoxically enough, while medical schools, law schools and theological seminaries were entered with loud huzzas after prolonged bombardment by a few hundreds of women, the factory, machine shop and store, eagerly thrown open by thrifty proprietors to those who would work for the lowest wages, were occupied by hundreds of thousands of women without agitation or tumult. But the invasion being accomplished, it became an integral and dominant part of the woman's movement. It found its philosophers, its apologists, its glorifiers, its poetesses. To-day the struggle for the so-styled "economic independence of woman" is an accepted part of the revolt "against the barriers which laws and customs have interposed between woman and human freedom." Woman's freedom to earn the living for herself and her children, just as man does, is indubitably a part of orthodox Feminism.

Along with these has gone continuously the de-

mand for woman suffrage. Now vociferous, now gentle voiced, for a period commanding universal attention, then for decades hushed and neglected, but never entirely stilled — wearied, but never put to sleep — the appeal has been made from the earliest times of the woman's movement for the equal right with men to the franchise. Unquestionably "votes for women" is a part of Feminism, though its relative importance is by no means proportionate to the noise it makes.

Later has arisen a revolt against the laws and customs interposed between woman and her human freedom to bear a child, to enjoy the blessings of maternity under the conditions she prefers, to own her own body either within or without marriage, to overthrow for herself the limitations which custom and law set upon mating. We shall show that the feminist philosophy logically covers much of this sex freedom, and that the political and economic and educational parts of the woman's movement, as its literary defenders show, inevitably lead up to the movement for sex freedom.

According to this advanced school of Feminism, of which Ellen Key is the chief prophetess, the goal of the woman's movement is the attainment by woman of sex freedom. All her achievements in other directions have been merely preparatory, a necessary training of the will in order to enable her to rise to this, her culminating emancipation. For this end it has been necessary for her to assert and prove

her equality to man; for this she has received higher education; for this she has steeled herself in industrial struggle; for this she is to wield the ballot. All these things are for their own sake not worth striving for; their use is to arm woman with sufficient strength to win her supreme right. Not only is sex freedom the final goal of the woman's movement, but without it the achievements of the movement hitherto have been worse than useless, for taken by themselves they rather degrade woman than otherwise. As Ellen Key declares:

“The net result of these achievements is merely to reduce woman to a competitive struggle with man, with no compensating advantage”; and “Wherever the conscious striving to elevate the education and to secure the rights of woman has been profound it has been united with the desire to reform the position of woman in love and marriage.”⁴

Another advocate exclaims: “The free power of Selection in Love. Yes! That is the true Female Franchise. It must be regained by woman. Existing marriage is a pernicious survival of the patriarchal age.”⁵ In the view of these intrepid feminists the woman who stops short of the final goal of the woman's movement is not so much prudent as blind, not so much reasonable as cowardly, not so much wise as incompetent.

American feminists are recognising more slowly

⁴ “Love and Marriage,” pp. 61 and 62.

⁵ “The Truth About Woman,” by C. Gasquoine Hartley, p. 256.

than their Swedish, German and English sisters that the extreme feminists are but extending the logical argument from the suffragist premises. As Katharine Anthony confesses: ⁶ "The extreme feminists have pushed on into fields of controversy which have estranged the more conservative spirits of their own ranks but which have nevertheless been the logical outgrowth of the self-same faith." And, "So completely have we, the political column of the woman movement, accepted our specialty that people are just beginning to discover that Feminism means more than suffragism; that the ballot for the ballot's sake is not the whole meaning of the suffrage agitation; that the political demands of women are inseparable from the social, educational, and economic demands of the whole feminist movement."

Feminism, or the woman's movement, to-day, then is mainly concerned with the demand for (1) political duties like man's, (2) educational and industrial careers like man's, and (3) sex freedom. In each case, as with respect to property rights and the control of children, no objection is being raised by feminists to an allowance of freedom or of privilege in excess of man's.

In contradistinction to Feminism may be set Humanism, a term employed in feminist literature to denote, vaguely, the belief in a movement toward a nobler civilisation for the whole race, men, women,

⁶ "Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia," by Katharine Anthony, pp. 10-11.

and children, and accepted in this book under that definition.⁷ Man and woman can alike advance only in co-operation, and the race can improve only on condition that man and woman, both, will sacrifice their own comfort and ease for the child. But Feminism, regarding fixedly the woman, her freedom, her self-development, her satisfaction, would sacrifice, sometimes consciously, sometimes unwittingly, the all-important child, its life, its development, its potential gifts.

Feminism is individualist; Humanism is social. Feminism is female Anarchism; it would cut woman loose from the family, the only well-rooted social group, to roam the world, self-sufficient, self-contained, self-satisfied. Humanism would cherish the family and attack the poverty, the weakness, the vice which undermine the family.

As the key word of Feminism is independence, the key word of Humanism is social obligation. Feminism is centripetal: driving the man, the woman, the child away from each other. Humanism is centrifugal: drawing the man, the woman, the child closer to one another.

Feminism decries distinctions of sex and would abolish them; Humanism glories in distinctions of sex and would develop them. Feminism would make women more like men; Humanism would make women less like men. Like evolution, Humanism

⁷ Humanism is defined by the Standard Dictionary as "a system of thought in which the human element or interest predominates."

seeks differentiation, while Feminism seeks similarity. Feminism laments what it sees as the inferiority of women; Humanism rejoices in what it sees as the superiority of women. Feminism would industrialise women in order to produce greater material wealth; Humanism would exempt women from competitive industry in order to produce greater human beings.

CHAPTER II

WOMAN'S PHYSICAL HANDICAPS

FEMINISM seeks to approximate woman's life and work to man's life and work. Women, it teaches, should be educated like men; they should do the same work as men in politics — voting, legislating, administering; they should follow industrial careers like men; they should reduce to a minimum the demands of motherhood and, like men, subordinate the home to their "life's work." "Feminism can be defined philosophically," says Mr. W. L. George, "as the levelling of the sexes."¹

Now, if it be admitted that women are in body and mind different from men, there is a preliminary obstacle, hard to evade, to the working out of this programme, and therefore Feminism is concerned to show that there is little difference in nature between men and women. Most of the characteristics that distinguish women from men are acquired, it contends, through the conventional training and environment to which they are subjected in a man-made world.

It is difficult to discover any characteristics that Feminists allow are feminine. Though the existence of those fundamental physiological habits of body

¹ "Woman and To-morrow," p. 8.

which handicap women cannot be denied, even they are pooh-poohed, minimised and ignored. "I find that an average of sixty per cent. of girls enter college," says Miss M. Carey Thomas, president of the Bryn Mawr College, "absolutely and in every respect well, and that less than thirty per cent. make, or need to make, any periodic difference whatever in exercise or study from year's end to year's end." ²

In the same spirit, a president of a woman's college in England tells a feminist group that she finds young women can study hard, take examinations, and keep up with all their work by exercising a little strength of will when they have headaches and pain. It is good for them, she thinks, not to allow trifling bodily ailments to check their pursuit of knowledge. ³

Scientific and medical opinion is emphatically in opposition to the statements of feminist heads of colleges at this point. It recommends, not that exercise and study be pursued without regard to periodic variations of bodily condition; but that closer attention be paid to the effect of college life on the girl's bodily functions. A medical study made in 1912, of three hundred and fourteen girls in the University of Chicago, "showed that 32 per cent. changed their type of menstruation during the year under the stress of university life. The physical director was able to

² *Educational Review*, January, 1908.

³ See Fabian Tract, No. 11, "Discussion upon the Disabilities of Mothers as Workers."

improve the type of only fourteen of these girls.”⁴

Similar testimony is given about women in business. Respecting a set of observations made by Engelmann, it is stated, “As is to be expected, great suffering during menstruation is found in the business woman, averaging in those here considered, 83 per cent.; but this varies, even in the same class of business, with the character of the work. The girl behind the counter, who is on her feet most of the day, with but little space for change of position, shows 91 per cent.; those who sit, bookkeepers and stenographers, show 82 per cent., and those who have a certain freedom of motion — floorwalkers — cash girls — packers — are noted with only 78 per cent.”⁵

So impressed is Dr. G. Stanley Hall, after a wide and thorough examination of medical and historical evidence, concerning the importance of the lunar period to the physical, mental and emotional life of adolescents that he surmises “the time may come when we must even change the divisions of the year for women, leaving to man his Sunday holiday each week and giving to her the same number of Sabbaths per year, but in groups of four successive days per month.”⁶

Such sympathetic recognition by humanists of the handicap which nature imposes on woman for man's

⁴ Dr. Caroline Hedger, at Conference on Infant Mortality, London, August, 1913.

⁵ “Man and Woman,” by Havelock Ellis, p. 297.

⁶ “Adolescence,” by G. Stanley Hall, p. 511.

work, and of the unmistakable way in which nature marks woman for her own more important racial work, is obnoxious to devout feminists. Miss Thomas witnesses that she felt a feeling of humiliation and degradation on reading Dr. Hall's quiet, scholarly account of those physiological and psychical differences between men and women which appear during adolescence.

Similarly, the disability for man's work which motherhood imposes upon women is dismissed by Feminism as due mainly to artificial civilisation. Stories of savage women who drop aside for an hour or two on their march and presently catch up with the caravan, carrying their new-born babe, are consoling to those who, in their eagerness to minimise the pangs and exhaustion of maternity, overlook the medical testimony that the increased difficulty of birth is due in large part to the increasing size of the baby's head under civilisation. "The fact remains that more and more women require surgical aid, if they are to become mothers. Even within one generation, according to hospital statistics, the numbers requiring operative aid have enormously increased."⁷

Even the greater muscular strength of man is not accepted by Feminism as inherent in the constitution of things. Jealous that Samsons are males, Feminism points with pride to the fact that "Japanese women will coal a vessel with rapidity unsurpassable.

⁷ "Woman, Marriage and Motherhood," by Dr. E. S. Chesser, p. 90.

by man and the pit-brow women of the Lancashire collieries are said to be of finer physical development than any other class of women workers." ⁸ Such instances of the performance, under semi-savage conditions, of strenuous, brutalising physical toil by females do not shock the feminist.

In further denial of man's natural muscular superiority, some pleaders, following Lester Ward, take huge delight in the inferior size and relative unimportance of the male in the lowest reaches of the animal kingdom, away down below the vertebrates. At the beginnings of life, it appears that the male cell "was an afterthought of nature devised for the advantage of having a second sex," indicating that "the female is of more importance than the male from nature's point of view." ⁹ It is clearly, then, the height of impudence for the male, nowadays, to claim superiority.

Husbands among rotifers, cirripedes, menatodes and the like are usually pigmies, attached to the female and parasitic upon her. Cases have been found (and are seriously quoted in authoritative works for their significance in determining the relation of woman to man) in which seven little complementary males were attached to one female cirripede, and lived upon her juices, being tolerated by their host exclusively for their possible use in fertilising her.

"Here, indeed, is a knock-down blow to the theory

⁸ "The Truth about Woman," by C. G. Hartley, p. 284.

⁹ "The Truth about Woman," by C. G. Hartley, p. 284.

of the natural superiority of the male," exclaims a woman apologist of unusual learning and poise.¹⁰

If any twentieth-century man can stand upright again after this knock-down blow, Feminism invites him to contemplate the exploits of the female spider and the praying mantis, the conjugal antics of which are deliciously described by Fabre. The female spider, huge, fat and ferocious, slays and devours her mate immediately she has received the conjugal embrace; but not quite with the same circumstance of ferocity as is displayed by the praying mantis. That small monster, with fiendish fury, devours limb by limb and piece by piece the body of her spouse as, driven by inexorable instinct, though shrinking in terror, he clasps her capacious body and offers himself a martyr to the continuance of his species. Literally, but a fleck of him remains when his fierce partner has finished her bridal repast. "For the female of the species is more deadly than the male."

These instances satisfy some feminist advocates that the female in nature may be more robust, more muscular, than the male and dominate him, and that muscular weakness in womankind is not, therefore, natural and unchangeable. It is not explained how, if the female started with this advantage and has lost it in the æons of development from spider to man, the difficulty can now be overcome of retracing that development or of reversing conditions.

However, return to spider and mantis is unneces-

¹⁰ "The Truth about Woman," by C. G. Hartley, p. 52.

sary, it is further implied, because, since man appeared on earth, he has passed everywhere through a matriarchal stage of government during which "the husband, without property right, with no — or very little — control over the woman and none over her children, occupying the position of a more or less permanent guest in her hut or tent," woman ruled the roost.¹¹

Some who find spider and mantes unsatisfactory examples for their imitation and doubtful proofs of any natural superiority of the female body (ethics being left out of account), yet discern in that period long since passed by civilised man, when children were known by the name of their mother, property descended through her and tribal rule was exercised by her, a demonstration that woman is naturally the head of the household, and that mother right has only been superseded by father right through the use of the brute force of brothers, uncles and husbands at a time when, warfare being well-nigh continuous, woman (who, it is admitted, is not the warrior partner) was fain to submit for the sake of protection.

That period of woman's rule and man's subordination gives great joy and hope to those who complain that woman in modern society is degraded and subjugated. "It is a period whose history may well give pride to all women," they aver.¹²

If the historical existence of matriarchal societies

¹¹ "The Truth about Woman," by C. G. Hartley, p. 169.

¹² "The Truth about Woman," p. 124.

in which women held social sway be admitted (though it is denied by Lord Avebury, Letourneau, Chamberlain and other ethnologists), yet it remains to be explained how woman, having fatally permitted man by brute strength to dethrone her so long ago that the history of his usurpation can only be surmised, shall now undo that blunder and overcome the handicap of that difference of bodily strength which has been transmitted through the ages. If women once held sway and lost it, that is more damaging to their claim than if they had never possessed it. For, had they always been inferior in position, they might have contended that the inferiority of bodily strength was due to inferiority of position and would change with a change of *status*. But a monarch overthrown when she had the advantage of position can hardly re-establish herself, so long as her forces are weaker than her conquerors'.

It is indeed vain to deny the obvious. Woman is not identical with man, either in body, mind or feelings. As Havelock Ellis testifies: "The whole organism of the average woman, physical and psychic, is fundamentally unlike that of the average man. The differences may be often of a slight or subtle character, but they are none the less real and they extend to the smallest details of organic constitution." "A man is a man to his very thumbs and a woman is a woman down to her little toes."¹³

Women flatter men unduly when they deny their

¹³ "Man and Woman," pp. 442.

own natures and prefer masculinity. As Dr. G. Stanley Hall says: "The pathos about the leaders of woman's so-called emancipation is that they, even more than those they would persuade, accept man's estimate of their state, disapprove, minimise and perhaps would eliminate, if they could, the very best thing in their nature. In so doing, it is the feminists who are still apishly servile to man, even in one of his greatest mistakes, who have done woman most wrong."¹⁴

Woman, then, is so distinct from man, in body and in mind, through and through, right down to the foundation of her nature, and such distinction is so precious to civilisation, so essential to that variety which is the mark of development and the charm of life that the approximation of woman's life and work to man's life and work is as hopeless as it would be disastrous. But, though it can never be accomplished, it may be partially tried. With ruinous results. Hence the necessity to expose the undertaking.

Most immediately threatening is the Industrial Subjugation of Woman, which will next be considered.

¹⁴ "Adolescence," p. 511.

CHAPTER III

THE INDUSTRIAL SUBJUGATION OF WOMAN

FEMINISM glories in the employment of women and girls in factory, shop, store and office. Any work for wages, however onerous, it extols as "economic independence," an indication that the woman is freeing herself from her age-long subjection as a "mere female" and asserting her dignity as a human being. It is blind to the hardships and the ills of industrial competition; it magnifies the pecuniary benefits.

In their laudation of money earning and their exaltation of woman's out-family work, feminists glimpse hazily the lot of the millions of wage earners and gaze fixedly, until hypnotised, on the shining instances of highly salaried earners. They assume to speak for womankind and wail to the world that the whole sex longs for more work. "We women, to-day, demand all labour for our province," exclaims Olive Schreiner, with the fervour of italics, over and over again.¹

This demand, she says, is in pursuance of "an endeavour on the part of a section of the race to save itself from inactivity and degeneration." Women are threatened with moral death by "parasitism," by living without labour, idly sucking sustenance from

¹ See "Woman and Labor."

man. And this dread fate "threatens vast masses" of women and "may, under future conditions, threaten the entire body." For, while "female parasitism in the past resembled gout—a disease dangerous only to the overfed, pampered and few, never to the population of any society as a whole"—in the next fifty years "it is inevitable that not merely a class but the whole bodies of females in civilised society must sink into a state of more or less absolute dependence on their sexual functions alone," unless indeed women, stirred by the preaching of feminists, "grasp the new forms of labour and procure all labour for their province."²

Already they are conquering in a variety of industries, and Miss M. Carey Thomas, the president of Bryn Mawr College, is "sure that in two or three generations practically all women will either support themselves or engage in some form of civic activity."³ Indeed, woman may supersede man as the provider, since it is possible, as Feminism foresees, "that with the smaller general bulk and the muscular fineness and the preponderance of brain and nervous system in net bulk over the fleshy and osseous parts of the organism, which generally characterise the female, go mental qualities which will peculiarly fit her for the labour of the future." So that, magnificent to relate, "it is quite possible that, taken in the bulk and on the whole, the female half

² "Woman and Labor," p. 115.

³ *Educational Review*, June, 1908.

of humanity may, by virtue of a structural adaptation, be found more fitted for the bulk of human labours in the future.”⁴ Then let man beware. The blight of parasitism will next attack him!

In one of the gospel books of Feminism, Charlotte Perkins Gilman deplors that “we are the only animal species in which the female depends on the male for food, the only animal species in which the sex relation is also an economic relation;”⁵ which difference, she argues, puts woman a little lower than the brutes, for by this dependence on husband for support “woman has been checked, starved, aborted in human growth, and the swelling forces of race development have been driven back in each generation to work in her through sex functions alone.”⁶

So it is the traditional family, in which the father is head of the household, and supplies the livelihood, which threatens woman’s degradation. Home-keeping mothers are a disgrace to their sex, it appears, and a menace to humanity, so subdued to their own shame that they are unaware of it. “We carefully maintain among us an enormous class of non-productive consumers — a class which is half the world and mother of the other half. We have made for ourselves this endless array of horse-leech’s daughters, crying, ‘Give! Give!’”⁷

⁴ “Woman and Labor,” p. 116.

⁵ “Woman and Economics,” p. 5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

This kind of doctrine is equally rampant in England. The London Fabian Woman's Group, all ardent and well-educated feminists, after prolonged consideration and the discussion of many papers, flatly endorse the wage or salary-earning self-support of all women, single or married, widowed or divorced. "Looking forward to a time when each individual shall be economically independent," they work to "bring women into line with men in the advance towards paid work for all"; and believing "economic independence to be the one remedy for various social ills," they are endeavouring to establish that "this solution must ultimately be accepted by all those who believe in the equality of opportunity for all citizens irrespective of sex." Suffrage without wage-earning to them is vain.⁸

At the root of the feminist demand for "all labour for woman's province" is the complaint, made in anguish and bitterness, that man excludes woman from lucrative opportunities in the business world solely on account of her sex. Law and custom, based on man's preferences, she laments, shut against her the avenues into life's richest careers. Feminist pleas imply that on every side woman's ambition is restricted by a statute of limitations.

In England, it is true, women are not admitted to the bar or to the pulpit or to the highest posts in the civil service. But in the United States in 1910 there

⁸ *The New Statesman*, February 21, 1914.

were 558 lawyers and 685 clergymen who are women; in Idaho, every school superintendent through the State is a woman, and in other States some of the highest educational posts are filled by women. Women buyers for department stores command high salaries and women novelists and dramatists find their sex no bar with publishers and managers. A multi-millionaire woman financier operates in Wall Street and a woman contractor runs a considerable building business in New York City. In fact, so hospitable are law and custom to woman's industrial ambitions that feminists "thrill with delight" as they read the census returns which display women's activities as steam-fitters, railroad engineers, railroad brakemen, baggagemen and switchmen, as blacksmiths, machinists, charcoal, coke, and lime burners, well-borers, boiler-makers and ships carpenters. "There are but few kinds of work from which the female sex is absolutely debarred either by nature, law or custom," explains the census man, for which opinion one enthusiastic feminist would "build a statue to him."

Yet, even in America, including those States where women long have voted, the number of women occupying the highest industrial and governmental posts is negligible. Though law and custom may not absolutely bar woman from any branch of industry, Nature bars her from the highest success in industry. In Idaho, and in most suffrage States, there is no

woman in the legislature and where, as in Colorado, a few women have been elected, they have not won eminence.

At the risk of appearing to be ungallant it must be pointed out that, though brakemen have climbed to the railroad president's chair, no woman stenographer or secretary on a railroad has climbed near that dizzy eminence. Though the automobile business, but a decade old, was wide open to women to enter, and many women had independent fortunes which they might have risked for their "self-realisation" in a new field where nobody could say a woman, "Nay," yet no woman's name is connected with a popular machine. Though rich women actresses are many, women theatre owners and managers are few. Women write successful novels and plays; but men win the fortunes by publishing and producing them. Women become buyers in department stores; but men continue to own and control the stores. Women doctors are not scarce; but the eminent surgeons are all men and the most lucrative physicians' practices are men's. Women may enter the Church, but the metropolitan pulpits of distinction are all filled by men. Women lawyers practise in every large city, but the leaders of the bar are all men and no woman has dazzled the nation by her brilliancy in any *cause célèbre*.

Neither law nor custom prevents any woman from making a fortune in real estate. A broker will buy or sell houses and lots as eagerly for a woman as for

a man. Yet, where is the bold and successful woman real estate operator? Cotton spinners and woollen weavers are in a majority women. No law precludes a woman from starting a small cotton or woollen mill, engaging other women to operate the machinery, establishing her own credit by skilful management and gradually enlarging her mill until she stands among the giants. But where have women thus mastered the difficulties which even negro men, against greater external odds, have conquered?

Woman is free to win riches and distinction as a mining prospector. The mountain solitudes and lone wildernesses of the West, the icy sands and stern wastes of Alaska, are open to her to roam. She may shoulder a pack or load a burro and, like adventurous man, roam silent and lonesome to uncover some vein of gold or silver or copper. Why has woman never discovered a Calumet or a Homestake mine and leaped into national prominence? Not on account of legal barriers.

Multitudinous women are boarding-house keepers, but the palatial hotels that adorn our cities are managed by men. Even hotels for women have men in the top positions. The United States Patent Office will register a patent without asking the sex of the inventor and no legislature nor man-made prejudice forbids a woman from contriving new devices to serve mankind. She may rack her brains and spend her substance till she perfects the process which in imagination she foresaw and no law or public opinion

will try to thwart her. But where is the feminine Edison or Westinghouse or MacCormack or Singer? Not that man or statute forbade her taking precedence. Here was labour she had not to demand for her province. It was free to any man or woman. The laws of mechanics are sexless. Why has she failed? Not through man-made restrictions.

Let it be conceded that the law blocks the ambition of a woman to be President of the United States, a member of the Cabinet or the Governor of a State. But, even if these conspicuous posts were open to them, of what avail would that be to their ambitions, when they have not produced a legislator of commanding ability and power as yet in any State where legislative halls are theirs to enter? Governorships and cabinets and Presidencies must be confined to persons already eminent in professional, administrative or business life. Under the Homestead Act, Uncle Sam will give a woman a free farm on exactly the same terms as a man. But has any woman so distinguished herself as a farmer and a leader of farmers that she could be considered for Secretary of Agriculture?

For every place of power from which women are excluded there are a thousand to which they may aspire. When they have won an appreciable fraction of those already open, it will be credible that they would qualify for the handful that are closed and that their legal exclusion is a grievous wrong.

Not statute law but natural law bars women from

eminence in industrial life. And nature will not be gainsaid. For her own purposes, she has endowed the male with muscular strength, with pugnacity and adventurous spirit, with conquering will and with vaulting ambition. She does not handicap him for commercial contest by a periodic drain upon his strength. He can fight with competitors day by day, year in and year out, without respite; he can plan long campaigns and follow them to the fatiguing and distant end without exhaustion. No baby drains his vitality or paralyses his roaming spirit. The family responsibilities, which are inescapable if the race is to endure, exert opposing influences on the man and the woman for success in commerce and industry. They debilitate her, they invigorate him. They pull her back into the home, they thrust him out into the world. They bid her be reposeful, they bid him be adventurous. His fatherhood but stimulates his energies and adds courage to his enterprises. While the woman is enduring the pangs that have compelled her withdrawal, perchance at a critical moment, from her outside undertaking, he is braced for her sake to more strenuous effort. While the infant, to feed its own life, is sucking the mother's strength, it is adding, by its helpless appeal, fresh strength to the father's determination.

Few occupations offer chances either to men or to women for winning national distinction or considerable fortune. In the employments which engage the mass of workers at weekly wages, woman's competi-

tion with man in office, store and factory has meant for woman the occupation of the lowest places at the meanest wages. Wherever skill, experience, brains and leadership yield large incomes, there she is in a trifling minority; wherever weakness, unskilfulness and ignorance are worst exploited, there she is in overwhelming majority. In the sweated trades, which starve the workers for an inhuman length of workday, woman, not man, is the chief victim. Only her children endure like privation and fatigue. Everywhere the women work for less remuneration than men in similar callings and hold only the more monotonous and less responsible posts.

“Those who enter gainful employments as girls of from fourteen to eighteen,” writes Prof. Henry Seager, president of the American Association for Labour Legislation, “may marry before they reach the age of twenty-five. With this possibility before them, they have less incentive than boys to learn trades. The consequence of these two facts, reinforced by the inferior strength of women, is that they are able to command wages which average about one-half those that are paid to men. This means for most girls and women who have to be self-supporting a heartbreaking and health-destroying struggle. Underpay and the correlative overwork are the common lot.”⁹

Reformers and philanthropists are struggling

⁹ Introduction to “Women in the Bookbinding Trade,” by Mary Van Kleeck.

heroically to ameliorate that "heartbreaking and health-destroying struggle," due to the circumstance that women can "command wages which average one-half those that are paid to men." Feminists have an easy road, a short cut, to the cure. Simply enact, they say, that women shall be paid the same as men and all will be well. Alas! In our complex industrial organisation, where each employer is striving to cut down costs to save his own economic life, and where women are employed mainly because they will accept lower wages and worse conditions than men, no royal remedy can be applied.

CHAPTER IV

HUMANIST INDUSTRIAL PROGRAMME FOR WOMEN

LET us outline a humanist programme for women in industry, a programme consistent with her own natural and happiest development and with national and racial welfare. Such a programme must take cognisance of

1. The industrial conditions which are inimical to all girls and women, and

2. The special conditions applicable to women at different stages of life, under which they may beneficially be wage earners.

1. The fundamental fact which must control the humanist determination of woman's place in industry is that nearly every woman is a potential mother. Even those women who are unhappily sterile must be considered through most of life as potential mothers, for only prolonged experience can prove their sterility. This potential motherhood is woman's prime social value, of higher worth to her and to the nation than any quantity of cotton she can spin or ledgers she can balance or ribbons she can sell across the counter. To the maintenance of her power for healthy, happy motherhood, every other factor in her

life must be subordinate. Law and custom should distinguish, with eternal vigilance, in matters industrial, between man's place and woman's place. Woman's prime difference from man, instead of being ignored, as feminists demand, should be more and more watchfully considered.

"The heartbreaking and health-destroying struggle," which Professor Seager testifies, is the lot of "most girls and women who have to be self-supporting," unavoidably involves damage to their powers of maternity. A man may be terribly overworked without affecting his power for paternity. He may toil for twenty-three hours and yet become the father of a healthy child in the twenty-fourth hour. He may stand the livelong day at a machine and subsist on black bread and water and still beget vigorous babies.

But a woman who similarly stands all the long day before an unwearying machine cannot bring forth healthy offspring. She has sold something which her wages have not and never could pay for — the life and vigour of the next generation.

Employments not so mechanical but yet exhausting have their proportionate effects upon the woman's highest function. Appallingly common are the cases of girls with tense nervous organisations and delicate brains whose latent maternity has been rendered a torture by the exhaustion following on their conscientious obedience to the demands of school and college, of social work or society life.

No industry is suitable for any woman nor should be open to her which overstrains her female organs, drains the vitality which she will need at her supreme moment or so denatures her as to make motherhood distasteful.

“Every employment open to women,” is the motto of Feminism. “No employment open to women unless proven noninjurious” is the motto of Humanism.

Already, a hesitating start has been made in fixing the humanist conditions under which an industry shall be closed to women. Women are forbidden by law in civilised States to work underground in the dark and dirt of mines. They are usually excluded also from the poisonous dangers of white lead works. In America they are forbidden to incur the moral dangers of service behind a saloon bar. In six States, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Massachusetts, New York, Oregon, and Nebraska, though the law has not yet run the gauntlet of the courts, they are not permitted to work in factories or workshops by night; in a number of States woman's maximum hours of labour are legally less than man's maximum hours. Her constitutional right to contract for the sale of her labour has been limited, with the approval of the Supreme Courts of various States and of the United States, as man's right cannot be constitutionally limited, under the exercise of a police power which takes cognisance of the basic fact that, as the Federal Supreme Court said, “Woman's physical structure and the per-

formance of maternal functions place her at a disadvantage in the struggle for subsistence."

Even these tentative restrictions are condemned by the straitest sect of the feminists, who are prepared to face unflinchingly the sufferings of their sisters caused by a rigorously logical application of the doctrine of equal treatment for men and women. The Equality Alliance of New York City, whose membership includes teachers, editors, professors and writers of influence, proposed to offer an amendment of the State Constitution which should make it impossible to deny by legislation "any civil or legal right to any person on account of sex." They would even thus prevent, if possible, the enforcement of the humane law which forbids the employment of a woman in factory, store or shop for a few weeks before or after a baby is born to her, since it is by nature impossible to make that law applicable to man. In like spirit some women's organisations in London, headed by eminent ladies, actively opposed the closing of the saloons against women up to eleven A.M. during the war, a step taken to check the increasing drunkenness among women. They argued that women should not be denied any opportunity to get drunk which men enjoyed.

On the other hand, pioneer humanists have proposed far-reaching extensions of this sex discrimination in favour of womankind. A section of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections

has approved the legal prohibition to women of work which requires continuous standing. Settlement leaders have declared that work as store clerks is specially unsuitable to girls and women.¹

If only these two proposals were adopted, what an exodus of women from the Land of Bondage would commence! In the United States nearly two hundred and fifty thousand saleswomen alone would be liberated and from every steam laundry, cotton mill, woollen mill and silk mill, pale-faced women would emerge into the sunshine.

Only scientific and prolonged enquiry can determine which employments can be undertaken by women without deranging their peculiar and racially essential powers or the limits within which the employments open to them are safe for them and for posterity.

From all poisonous occupations they should evidently be excluded, for women are peculiarly susceptible to industrial poison. To expose them to the fumes of lead, arsenic or phosphorus is more murderous than to expose their brothers and husbands.

From some of the most dangerous employments — caisson sinking for deep foundations in which work under compressed air causes a painful disease called the "bends," structural iron working on bridges and skyscrapers, as brakemen on railroads, rollers in steel mills and labourers around smelting furnaces — women are already protected by custom

¹ See "Young Working Girls," edited by Woods and Kennedy.

and by muscular weakness; for the bizarre and startling instances, discovered by the census, of odd women engaged in such virile occupations are only negligible exceptions.

How unsafe it is to assume the suitability of the most alluring and seemingly light and cleanly work to woman's organism is indicated by the report of the Canadian Royal Commission that in the telephone service "the breaking point of the operator's health is not far from the breaking point of efficient work." When the breaking point of the female operator's health is approached, her potentiality for motherhood, the gift which raises her in social value above man, is in imminent danger, and society must intervene for the sake of its own permanence.

Hitherto, the rule has been, in blind stupidity, to permit girls and women to be lured into any occupation where their labour could be utilised and, later, when the evil effects were too conspicuous to be ignored, timidly to curtail the damaging conditions. Humanism would make a survey of all industries with respect to their influence on women workers and permit no industry, either new or old, to engage female workers unless licenced by a medical and scientific board as "Non-deleterious."

Progressive States, in order to conserve the workers' general health, require a statutory minimum of light and air and ventilation and sanitary conveniences in work places where women are em-

ployed. But these requirements are vain when the whole working process undermines their powers. The thorough application of the humanist principle that the woman's vigour and maternity shall not be sacrificed necessitates the barring of all conditions which militate against the potential mother's life. "Take women and children out of the factories"—the programme announced by Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labour, at its Annual Convention in 1915 — is acceptable to Humanism.

Though there be found occupations in which women may engage without injury to their maternal powers, it does not follow that a woman with social safety and to her own ultimate advantage can pursue them all through life.

Woman's working life is naturally divided, as man's is not, into three stages: First, the period before marriage when, her formal education being finished as far as her parents' means will allow, she is waiting for her romance and womanly realisation and has a few years for money-earning work.

Second, her married life, when, normally, for her own best development and for society's preservation, she will bear and rear a family, and

Third, her declining years, after her physiological climacteric when, her children matured and leaving the home she made for them, she still has vigour and capacity that may be utilised for the social good. These we will consider in order.

CHAPTER V

WOMAN'S WORK BEFORE MARRIAGE

THE first period in woman's working life is the shortest. Its length varies according to social grades. The wage-earning working girl leaves school between fourteen and eighteen (usually by sixteen) and hopes to marry before she is twenty-five. Physiologically, socially and morally it is advantageous if she marry by twenty-three. The college woman graduates at twenty-two to twenty-five, but she marries several years later than her less privileged sister. Though entirely her misfortune, that is not entirely her own fault, since the men in the social grades from which her mate naturally comes delay marriage until their prolonged business preparation and novitiate are complete.

For all grades of women, then, there may be a period of six to nine years between finishing school and starting a home. What shall they do with it? Idle philandering is not possible for the working woman nor desirable for the college woman. In anticipation of their coming high duties the best occupation for them would be connected with children and homemaking. A mechanic who expected to be a carpenter for the twenty years of his prime would not try stenography nor selling ribbons for five or

six years. A college man who purposed being an engineer would not put in five or six years in a law office. But women who anticipate being mothers and homemakers during their prime are urged by Feminism to practise cotton spinning or ribbon selling or law — anything, no matter how remote from their life's work, that offers wages.

Fortunately, one profession, that of teaching, most popular with educated women, does prepare them for training their own children. Its only drawbacks are the overstrain on their physical powers, which it often involves, especially during the preparatory period of examinations, and the temptation which the high salaries in the better positions present to women to discard motherhood entirely.

A conscious adaptation of work during this interlude to work in after life, an adaptation which Humanism would welcome, will come only when the adolescent girls and their mothers — and society — exhibit a better appreciation of the significance and difficulty and glory of the home queen's duties. "Though the average girl sees in marriage a step toward freedom," witness the best informed observers, yet "while in her romancing the girl naturally centres her thoughts about the management of a home, she does not look upon housekeeping as a trade to be learned, but expects to blossom into domestic competence after the marriage ceremony. Some few girls have a fore-handed interest in cooking, a still smaller number manifest a workmanlike

zest for homemaking; hardly any think to prepare themselves for motherhood. From the very start the interest of the girl is divided between present wage-earning and future housekeeping.”¹

Since the normal woman will pursue a money-making occupation only for a few years, she cannot profitably devote several years to special preparation for it, unless it also prepares her for homemaking and motherhood. Occupations which require a lustrum to a decade of special study, and which, like law and preaching, yield an equipment not serviceable to the mother, presuppose either the abandonment of the profession before it can return the expenses of preparation, or the renunciation of motherhood by the woman who undertakes them. Medicine and teaching, on the other hand, have value in the home which compensates for the long novitiate.

Machine industry, the destiny of most industrialised women, requires but short time for learning, and speed, the element most sought by employers, is gained while wages are being earned. It is for this reason that factory work has become so widely available. The feminisation of industry follows upon its simplification. The lighter and more mechanical the process, the greater the certainty that it will be done by women.

So women can and do and should regard industrial employment as a stop gap in a life's work — an interlude between the subjection of school and the

¹“Young Working Girls,” by Woods and Kennedy, p. 162.

independence of marriage. They view their occupation differently from men. They have not the same stimulus to master a complicated industry, not the same interest in laying foundations wide and deep on which they may build a lucrative career in later life. They consequently combine less readily than men in trade organisations, endure less willingly the sacrifice necessary to perfect a defence which will serve them a decade later. They must have immediate returns.

These limitations Feminism bemoans and urges women to break through. It laments that a woman, by looking forward to matrimony, should diminish her interest in her factory work. It would reverse conditions: make wage earning permanent and marriage transient, salary the major and children the minor interest.

Humanism, on the contrary, would encourage young women to regard industrial work as only a temporary expedient for filling their time, with more or less profit, until they marry. No employment would it countenance which, in any way, would reduce the young woman's fitness for motherhood, and it would advise her to select an employment which would prepare her for her real life's work. For instance, domestic service in a good home, even at low wages under an intelligent, sympathetic woman who would encourage the servant in "keeping company," would be more advantageous than making paper boxes or artificial flowers, dipping matches, tending

a spinning machine, or wrapping parcels under a driving man superintendent, in a store or factory. And, in fact, the money return for the domestic service would be higher.

A vocational bureau for guiding girls into an occupation, whether under private philanthropy or in connection with public schools, if under the control of feminist ideas will hunt for jobs preferably outside of homes and alien to domestic life, but, if under control of humanist ideas, will seek first to fill every procurable opening inside homes or, like nursing, preparatory for domestic life.

Under Humanism the regiments of bright young women engaged on salary in social and philanthropic institutions, would be warned when they were engaged that they would not be retained beyond a few years and must, on no account, regard the employment as a life's career.

The director of one eugenic association which annually engages a few of the most brilliant graduates of the women's colleges says to them: "I will employ you for three years, and no longer, because by the end of that time I expect you will have secured a permanent engagement to become some good man's wife and continue your eugenic work in a more fruitful way."

Teachers' salary schedules would in a similar spirit be revised. In large cities, like New York, the salaries are arranged as if there were a deliberate purpose to present the maximum temptation to spin-

sterhood. For sixteen years and more after starting to teach, the woman's salary is annually increased almost automatically and promotion to the highest positions is the reward reserved to those who eschew motherhood. Humanism would organise school systems on the presumption that it desired every teacher to marry before thirty and approved her return to the service, for ten to fifteen years, after forty-five, when her children were grown up. It would, therefore, make the first appointment of a woman fresh from training school, for a maximum of five to ten years, and would reserve the highest teaching positions available to women for those women who had completed the richest of a woman's experiences, the rearing of a family. Meantime, (as explained more fully later on,) it would subsidise her for the teaching of her own young children at home, to an amount fully equal to the present cost of teaching them in school.

Through thoughtlessness and through blindness to the fatal racial consequences, schools and colleges, philanthropic societies and the best employers of labour are engaged unconsciously in a conspiracy against matrimony. They say in effect to the most competent young women: "If you renounce marriage and continue in this salary-earning work we will raise your earnings periodically and promote you to positions of greater honour and responsibility."

Such conspiracy is treason to society more flagrant

far than any combination in restraint of trade. By breaking up that conspiracy Humanism would reduce the problem of the married woman in industry. This must next be considered.

CHAPTER VI

THE MARRIED WOMAN IN INDUSTRY

SHOULD a woman resign her wage-earning position when she marries? "No! emphatically no!" answers Feminism. "She must preserve her hard-won independence. She can add conjugal love to her life; but never must she allow love to supersede earning. By continuing at lucrative work she can hire experts to do her household duty and, exempt from the drudgery of cooking, cleaning, sewing and serving, she can realise herself in her occupation and swim in the great current of the world's life. Not only should she keep up her vocation after the wedding but she should endeavour to make it legally impossible for any employer to bar her from factory, school or office on account of matrimony."

The legislature of Western Australia has made it a crime punishable with imprisonment for three months or a fine of \$2500 for any employer either to dismiss a work woman or to reduce her in grade when she marries. That is the logical climax of industrial Feminism, of the ideal — "Every woman at work for wages." If the dependence on husband is a disgrace and the earning of her own bread a precious right which every mother should cherish,

then no employer should be permitted to deny her that right.

This doctrine, dinned into the ears of bright, ambitious college girls, deflects their minds from homemaking and often turns the balance against it. But working women by the ten thousand who toil for wages of five to ten dollars a week are not prone to this deception. They look forward to marriage as a release from drudgery. They expect the husband's wages to be handed to them for disbursement, regarding their work in homemaking as their full and sufficient contribution to the joint *ménage*. That their economic service in the home is fully as valuable as in the factory they know without elaborate demonstration, because if they are to pay for suitable help, according to feminist directions, every cent of their slender earnings will go to the "suitable help" who, even then, will do far less for money than they themselves for love.

Such women, the real wage-earners, know from their own bitter experience, as Humanism recognises, how hurtful to health and well-being is the industrial employment of women. To this harmfulness whole libraries of evidence has been given by doctors, factory inspectors, investigators, sociologists and officials of every grade. As to the effect on the worker herself, a British factory inspector says:

"In weaving rooms and other places where women are obliged to stand at their work, varicose veins are more than commonly frequent and, nat-

urally enough, occur more frequently among the married women." ¹

Earlier in life the damage has already appeared. "The witness has lived in twenty factory towns and has observed that young women who work in the factories are many of them ruined in morals and nearly all in health. A rosy-cheeked girl put in a mill will begin to fade in three months." ² A high price, surely, to pay for initiation into industry. A doctor testifies that, "Forty per cent. of married women who have been factory or shop girls come under medical attention for pelvic troubles under thirty years of age." ³ Such penalties are rarely escaped by the women who work as ninety-nine out of every hundred women who seek "economic independence" must work.

Few women workers are so well placed as those who are gracefully styled lady compositors, yet as to them, "Long hours of standing result in injuries to the tissues of the legs and feet, often persisting for years, occasioning much pain and in some cases total disability." ⁴ Naturally such injuries culminate in early death and, "Statistics show that the mortality of working women is higher than that of working men and also higher than that of other women not at work." ⁵

¹ "Fatigue and Efficiency," by Goldmark, p. 122.

² *Ibid.*, p. 132.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 141-2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

Even if she do not marry, the woman cannot escape the penalty of her sex when exposed to the strains of industry. "The unmarried as well as the married woman is subject to the physical limitations of her sex and each suffers alike from those incidents of industrial work most detrimental to the female reproductive systems, such as overstrain from excessive speed and complexity, prolonged standing and the absence of a monthly day of rest." ⁶

Employments that do not require constant standing and are quite "genteel" in character, yet bring their own special harm to women workers. Universally girls are employed as operators at telephone switch-boards. Smartly dressed, intelligent in feature, sifted and trained in special schools, better paid than most girl workers, these telephone operators, with "the voice with a smile that wins," to whose prompt "Number please?" we are all accustomed, are not usually brought to mind when the distresses of female wage-working are considered. Yet a Canadian royal commission aided by twenty-eight physicians reported: ⁷ "In our opinion a day of six working hours . . . is quite long enough for a woman to be engaged in this class of work if a proper regard is to be had for the effect upon her health." But the average hours of work in the United States are eight and one-half per day and, far from a six-hour day, a case of thirty-nine hours

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁷ Senate Document No. 380.

overtime in two weeks added to a regular nine-hour day "is not an exceptional case. Many other girls are working as long hours." Women in industry must sacrifice themselves to the business. The business will not sacrifice itself to them; it will exact the last ounce of strength. "It is safe to say that the breaking point of the operator's health is not far from the breaking point of efficient work," says the report.

So it goes. In England, in Germany, in France, in Canada, in the United States — wherever eyes have been opened to look clearly on the effect of wage-earning on woman's vigour and enjoyment of life — the same dismal tale of sickness and premature death is told. Yet, with increasing frequency girls in offices and stores and social work, the cleaner and lighter occupations, tend to stay at work after marriage, at least until handicapped by the coming of a baby; in which case the woman does double duty as provider and housekeeper. The young couple start with light housekeeping in which John is expected to help Mary by lighting the morning fire, wiping the dishes and sharing in the heavy furniture cleaning. Of this, in his masculine, selfish way, he presently tires. Always the tendency is for more and more of the housework to fall exclusively on the woman. She does it more handily, it seems "natural like" for her to undertake it, the bliss of love's young dream, so vivid during the courtship, when he found his greatest delight in

joining with her in any work that gave a chance for a hand touch and a stolen kiss, begins to fade, and presently the traditional functions of woman in the home are added to her self-retained new function of provider for the home. Theory fails against age-long custom and natural fitness. Her hours at the office are the same as his. Together they may start off in the morning and return in the evening; but before she goes she must get the breakfast and plan the evening meal and when they return there is the meal to be cooked, table to be laid, dishes to be washed and dusting, cleaning and furnishing of rooms to fill the evening. Unless she succeeds in smothering all her feminine instincts she will be more eager to make the rooms into a domestic nest than she was to turn her single bachelor hall-bedroom into an abiding place. So Mary works while John reads the newspaper and smokes. Inevitably she is overloaded. Marriage has brought him a cosy place of his own in which to rest and refresh himself after the day's fatigues; but she has found an additional burden, lightened indeed by love and the creation of a nest of her own — but yet of necessity an additional drain on her vitality, an added pull on her elasticity.

“But,” the feminist will exclaim, “why doesn't she hire a woman to come in while she is away during the day and clean up everything, lay the table for supper, have the lamps lighted and the curtains drawn against the mistress's return and everything

beautifully arranged so that Mary, like John, can read the newspaper and smoke her cigarette the live-long evening through?" For cogent reasons. After Mary has paid out of her very moderate salary for her carfare and her lunches, for the neat shirtwaists and hats in the fashion which her situation demands, for her laundry and other expenses incidental to her work, so little is left as her contribution to the household for food, rent, light, insurance and saving that she does not see how she can give some other woman \$6.00 a week to do her housekeeping for her, even if she can find a trustworthy, capable person who for a dollar a day will not break and waste more than the worth of her services.

No! The feminist substitute for the wife's work in the home — that some other woman shall do it — presupposes an income which the wife rarely earns.

But when the wife earns a salary of a thousand dollars a year and over, should she not prefer to continue her earning and hire a servant to do her housework? "Surely that would be an economy," argues the feminist. "For twenty-five dollars a month and board (that is, forty-five dollars a month gross) she can get a nice, clean, handy, amiable, competent person who will relieve her of all but the highest, the intellectual and artistic, parts of the housekeeping and she will be free to earn her salary — a net gain to the household of around five hundred dollars a year. What folly for a teacher, a secretary, a

social worker, a forewoman, to abandon her career, where she is making good as a human being (to sink down into the insignificance of a homemaking wife.)" ^{wh}

At two places this scheme of life breaks down. First, the capable, handy, amiable, clean, trustworthy substitute is a rarity, hard to find and harder to keep. She also is dissatisfied with domestic work, as eager as the feminist mistress to swing into the rapid current of the world's life and handle more of her own money. By supposition she is fit to be left alone all day long without supervision, to clean and cook and wash and purchase. She is honest and able, far above the grade of the raw immigrant who falls to the hard lot of the majority of mistresses, and who must be trained and watched with a patience and a skill that double her cost. So the wife discovers shortly that her paragon, if she has had the rare luck to find her in the first instance, demands a fast rising wage, too much for her to spare, as the price for staying contentedly in another woman's house, acting as its mistress while enjoying no sense of possession. The harassing servant problem has been added to the wife's burdens by marriage.

Second, the wife cannot escape the cares of supervision and some duties of dusting, decorating, buying and sewing, even if she would; and usually she will prefer to fill some of her spare time with these womanly devices. She cannot behave like a guest in her own house, never making a bed, cooking a dish, arranging a table or placing a bit of bric-a-brac.

She finds that, willy-nilly, she also, while retaining her day's work at her office, has added home duties which make her end of the load that she and husband are carrying the heavier. Her vitality is exhausted, her strength undermined, her interest divided. School superintendents have testified that the married teacher comes more tardily to school and leaves more eagerly on the minute of dismissal than she did before she married.

In the very exceptional cases of women of extraordinary talent who, fitted in industry with the exact work that suits them, are able to earn three thousand dollars a year and more, enough may be allotted to buy the services of the paragon housekeeper and maids to work under her so that the mistress can be spared any drain on her strength when she returns from her lucrative day's work.

But, even then, other difficulties make this system of going in double harness, wife and husband pulling an equal share of the economic load, impracticable as a usual mode of life. Suppose either man or woman, by the common exigencies of their business, must remove to another city. What then becomes of the double-harnessing? Which shall control? Shall he go with her to enable her to establish herself afresh or she break her business connections to stay with him? "Whither thou goest I will go," has been the loving pledge of the wife in the patriarchal family because the necessities of the family compel the father to follow his business op-

portunity wherever it leads. But when loyalty to her career clashes with loyalty to her husband, which shall then conquer?

I knew one lovely young feminist whose hopes came to wreck on just this reef. She was an able and enthusiastic labour agitator, hailing from England, who found congenial and well-paid employment in America. But before entering this sphere she had shown the weakness to fall in love with an Englishman, whom, in the expectation that her career need not be broken, she shortly afterwards married. However, the husband, unable to discover suitable employment in America, went to a good berth in South Africa, explaining that, "I didn't demand that my wife should give up her career but I never had any idea of giving up my own." With this geographical separation what arrangement could be reached? Could two hearts on two separate continents continue to beat as one? Manlike and Englishmanlike, he expected his wife to follow him. At first she was recalcitrant, for she was saturated with feminist theory, but after a few months of dallying her husband offered her the alternative of complete union or a complete rupture of communication. A famine of letters from him brought about a crisis and she finally sacrificed her work to her marriage vows.

To follow the feminist rule of life, a woman preacher must confine her emotions to the men of the township where her church stands. If Cupid smites

her in some distant town she must leave her pulpit to assuage the wound and a new pulpit in her lover's neighbourhood it will be impossible in most cases to find. A teacher may marry another teacher in the same city and join salaries comfortably until one of them finds promotion elsewhere. Then the wrench comes. Even in the same big city, New York, for instance, it is not feasible for him to teach at one end of the city and her at the other end and both to live in the centre; the geographical difficulties are insuperable; the time required for transportation and the double weariness of the travelling make the cost too high.

All these mundane obstacles, however, are of trifling importance compared with the peril of the central assumption of this *ménage à deux*, an assumption most repugnant to Humanism: that there shall be no early fruit of the marriage. Society's prevailing arrangement is based on the opposite expectation. Civil service rules and the rules of boards of education, which require the resignation of a woman employé when she marries, are drafted on the assumption that married couples will have babies and that the first conception will occur, on the average, not many months after marriage. But that assumption is becoming old fashioned and obsolete. As is demonstrated by the agitation against the retirement of women teachers, doctors or civil servants upon marriage and is verified by the West Australian law that forbids any employer to dismiss or demote

a woman upon her marriage, feminists resent the implication that any physiological disability for the full discharge of their business duties will follow upon their marriage. And, in truth, as we have shown in another chapter, the college and professional and business woman knows how to keep any maternal longings under the strictest control and to outwit Dame Nature's devices.

Feminism would supplant instinct by thrift and strike out of the marriage service all reference to the Biblical injunction to "be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth." It challenges society to alter its fundamental assumptions about the consequences of marriage and to base industrial employment for women on the presupposition that maternity, if not entirely avoided, will at least be effectively regulated by the law of economic independence for women. Society has been organised, hitherto, on the humanist assumption that the operation of instinctive impulse was so dependable and its consequences so inevitable that the woman would, shortly after marriage, be incapacitated for strenuous outside activity and should therefore, upon marriage, resign that activity.

Feminism challenges society to revise that common expectation, and to recognise that mating need not mean maternity and to rearrange the rules of employment so as to approve and encourage the feminist in her subordination of maternity to money-making.

Not, however, that all feminists approve of completely sterile marriages. A child is necessary to the woman, argue some, for her complete self-realisation; therefore, she must not permit even her economic independence to sentence her to maternal sterility. But neither must she permit the baby to sentence her to economic dependence. She should not resign her vocation on marriage because marriage implies a baby, since, even with a baby, she will not need to resign her vocation. That brings us to the question of the mother in industry, which must next be considered.

CHAPTER VII

THE MOTHER IN INDUSTRY

FOR the mother who accepts support from her children's father while she is bearing and rearing them, Feminism has neither patience nor respect. She is a "parasite," a "horse-leech's daughter crying, 'Give! Give!'" "This economic dependence of the human female on her mate," it is declared, has "modified her to sex to an excessive degree."¹ Neither the woman who supports herself without having children nor the woman who has children without supporting herself is best aiding the woman's movement, say young feminists, but the woman who both supports herself and has a family.

In our glorious day, when machines do so much and when, as Olive Schreiner has most fortunately discovered, "in modern cities our carpets are beaten, our windows cleaned, and our floors polished by extra domestic and often male labour," it is clear to Feminism that women, even the wives of labourers, who, as everybody knows, have their tenement flats kept spotlessly clean for them, "by machinery or extra-domestic and often male labour," commit a crime against society when they refrain from earning wages and stay at home on the mediæval plea

¹ "Woman and Economics," by Charlotte P. Gilman, p. 38.

that a few babies and an apartment fully occupy their hands and brains.

An awful era of female parasitism threatens civilisation, Olive Schreiner declares. "During the next fifty years so rapid will be the spread of the material conditions of civilisation that the ancient forms of female, domestic, physical labour of even the women of the poorest classes will be little required, their place being taken, not by other females, but by always increasingly perfected labour-saving machinery," so that "it would be entirely possible for the female half of the race, whether as prostitutes, as kept mistresses or as kept wives, to cease from all forms of active toil."²

"Kept wives" are classed with "prostitutes and kept mistresses," for it is self-evidently absurd that "we justify and approve the economic dependence of women upon the sex relation in marriage while we condemn it unsparingly out of marriage."³

How ridiculous that the trifling factor of marriage should make so enormous a difference to our opinion of "the economic dependence of women upon the sex relation"! The Madonna with her children clinging around her knees merits no more reverence, indeed, than the sinning Magdalen, unless she enoble her motherhood by toiling in field or factory for the support of her offspring!!

Not that the curse of parasitism will overtake

² "Woman and Labor," p. 115.

³ "Woman and Economics," p. 97.

woman through her refusing altogether the burden of child bearing. "One of the incomplete emancipations will assuredly be from the thralldom of child bearing, which I do not suppose she will abandon," says another feminist champion. "Increasingly perfected labour-saving machinery" has not yet been devised to save woman's child labour; and we are reassured when we read that "I think that we may safely assume that the majority of women consciously or unconsciously desire to have children, much more so than to practise an art."⁴ Though the feminist advocate is not positive of the continuance of the maternal instinct in human beings (an uncertainty perhaps justified by the few marriages and fewer children among women college graduates), yet it is comforting to know that even the stout feminist will admit that fifty-one out of one hundred women, a "majority" desire to have children even if "unconsciously," so that, not being aware of it, they may direct their lives without regard to it.

But bearing children is no excuse for welcoming "parasitism." The mother should resent the indignity of dependence on husband, for "this economic use of sex is the real cancer at the very root of the sexual relationship." "It is but a step further and a perfectly logical one that leads to prostitution!"⁵ In Egypt, it appears, in the halcyon days of woman rule, "woman's position and liberty

⁴ "Woman and To-morrow," by A. L. George, p. 100.

⁵ "The Truth about Woman," p. 215.

of action was in no way dependent on her power of sex fascination and not even directly dependent on her position as mother, and this really explains the happy working of their domestic relationships.”⁶ So long as a mother is dependent upon her husband for support, claims Feminism, she cannot be a free human being, as exalted in dignity, as elevated in worth as the man, and a bar is placed to “the happy working of their domestic relationships.”

But there is a cleavage of opinion as to the best scheme for dispensing with the husband's support. One section of Feminism smiles approvingly on all proposals for the state endowment of motherhood, the payment by the community to the mother direct of weekly sums sufficient to support her and her children during their time of tutelage, as a public recognition that child bearing is a communal service, not a private luxury, which, being essential to the continuance of the nation, should be equally rewarded with the service of the soldier in the defence of the nation. Mr. H. G. Wells would even abrogate the private family altogether. Socialism is the state family, he contends, and “the old family of the private individual must vanish before it, just as the old waterworks of private enterprise or the old gas company. They are incompatible with it.”

This cure for mother's parasitism, however, is repugnant to those feminists who exult in all woman's

⁶ “Truth about Woman,” p. 216.

industrial activity, because it implies payment for sex functions and "women are not salaried as mothers and it would be unspeakably degrading if they were."⁷ Also and mainly, child bearing and child rearing, to the feminists, is only an episode in woman's life which may be passed through smoothly and lightheartedly without serious interruption of her business and professional duties.

They protest stridently against "the economically unsound, unjust and racially dangerous tendency in many salaried professions to enforce upon woman resignation on marriage." They deplore the fact that some women doctors retire from practice at marriage, and they consider it is "much more desirable from the point of view of medical women as a whole for them to continue their work." This course is practicable and safe, although "while bearing a child such a doctor will need to retire from practice for at least two or three months, probably longer."⁸ For at least two or three months the delight of amputating limbs must be abandoned by the female medico for the mere matter of creating a human being!

And this glad day of mother's emancipation from father's support is fast approaching. The president of Bryn Mawr College predicts composedly that

⁷ "Woman and Economics," p. 17.

⁸ "Women Workers in Seven Professions," edited by Edith J. Morley, p. 162.

“in the immediate future all dowerless women who wish to marry men without inherited fortunes or extraordinary money-making capacity must work for their own and their children’s daily bread.”⁹

This doctrine puts Feminism in close alliance with machine industry, where “the field of employment constantly widens in which wives are expected to earn wages, as in tobacco factories, laundries, cigar-making, the garment trades and the textiles. Industry now counts upon having not only men and girls but married women as well. Girls marry with the knowledge that as wives they will have to work for wages and accept it as the will of God, or the curse of nature, when in their families babies die.”¹⁰

Indeed, though ignorant of feministic teachings, thousands of mothers throughout the civilised world are wage-earning in factory and mill and field and store, utterly unaware how much their self-abnegation has raised their dignity and improved the status of womankind!

On the contrary, with a perversity which perplexes the feminist, the genuine working mother, in the overwhelming proportion of cases, regards her “economic independence” as a curse to herself, to her children and to the community, and is eager to escape it.

Of its deleterious effects on her and her offspring,

⁹ “A New-fashioned Argument for Woman Suffrage,” published by National Woman Suffrage Association.

¹⁰ “Modern Industry,” by Florence Kelly, p. 15.

the evidence is appalling, and to Humanism perfectly convincing.

Dr. George Reid, the county medical officer of Staffordshire, England, made an investigation of the early life history of 4275 infants born in that county in 6 pottery towns in 1908. He found that in the first year, out of every 1000 births, among those whose mothers stayed at home, 146 died, and among those whose mothers were working in factories or were from home during the day 209 died. There was an extra death toll, then, of 63 per thousand due to the mother's "economic independence."

Dr. John Robertson, medical officer of health in Birmingham, England, found in a district inhabited by very poor, unskilled labourers, that among the mothers employed before confinement 52 out of 1000 births were premature, and among mothers not employed before confinement 38 out of 1000 were premature — a direct sacrifice of 14 nascent lives out of every thousand to the Moloch of "economic independence." He testifies further that "a larger percentage of infants of mothers not employed than of those of mothers employed were at the end of twelve months in good health." "In the special area under review there seems to be no doubt about the prejudicial influence of employment of pregnant and nursing mothers in factories, both on their infants and on themselves."

This can cause no astonishment to the informed, for another investigator, Mr. George Cadbury, wit-

nesses that "inspection of the homes of women who have to be at factories all day clearly indicates that the removal of the mother gives rise to many conditions of dirtiness or irregular or bad nourishment of infants which must obviously be prejudicial."

This neglect is inevitably injurious, also, to the father, and Mr. Cadbury's investigations in Birmingham showed that the proportion of sober and steady men was nearly twice as great in families where wives do not work as in homes where wives do work, and the evidence indicated not that the mothers went to work because the fathers drank, but that the fathers drank because of the comfortless homes when the mothers went to work.

Dr. Hamilton writes: "A poorer way of living with the mother at home causes fewer deaths among infants than better living with the mother working out,"¹¹ a statement which was picturesquely verified during the siege of Paris in 1871, when, despite the famine and the misery, the death rate of infants fell 40 per cent. because the mothers could not leave them to go out to work. Lancashire had a similar experience during the cotton famine.

In consequence of the fact that, while there had been a steady decline in the general mortality of Preston, England, during the past thirty years, the infant mortality has shown an increase, a subcommittee was appointed to inquire into the causes (1902), and submitted the conclusion that:

¹¹ *Charities and the Commons*, September, 1908.

“First among these causes is the employment of female labour in mills”;

“In general it may be said that it is the employment of women from girlhood all through married life and during the period of child bearing, the continual stress and strain of the work and hours and the general conditions prevailing in woman’s labour, that is exerting its baleful influence on the individual and on the home.”¹²

“It is singular,” writes Mr. Thomas M. Dolan, “how unanimous all medical officers of health are in assigning the employment of women in factories as a cause of infant mortality.”

Germany adds her weight to the testimony.

In regard to the injurious effect of factory work, the factory inspector of Würtemberg writes: “The children of such mothers — according to the unanimous testimony of nurses, physicians and others who were interrogated on this important subject — are mostly pale and weakly; when these in turn must enter upon factory work immediately upon leaving the school, it is impossible for a sound, sturdy, enduring race to develop.”¹³

Dr. Max Hirsch relates that “a very considerable number of reports indicate as a cause of the excessive mortality of suckling infants, besides insufficient nourishment, the insufficient care given to them, since the mother is prevented by work at the factory from

¹² “Infant Mortality,” by George Newman, M.D., p. 131.

¹³ “Reports of German Factory Inspectors, Berlin, 1905.”

devoting herself sufficiently to her children when they are in good health and even when they are sick." ¹⁴

Dr. George Adler of the University of Freiburg testifies that: "The worst physiological effects of factory work for women were shown by the increased number of still births"—half as many more in the district of Mühlhausen as in the neighbouring country regions.

From America equally full testimony is not obtainable, because vital statistics are not so accurately kept and scientific investigations on this matter have not been so thorough. But in America also "in cities where a large proportion of the women are industrially employed a high rate of infant mortality is almost always found." ¹⁵ Though, in America, the percentage of working women who are married is only 15.5 as against 29.7 in Germany, 41.4 in Austria, and 52.2 in France. ¹⁶

Of an investigation by the Federal Children's Bureau into the infant mortality in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, in 1911, Miss Julia C. Lathrop, the director, writes: "Where mothers were forced to work in order to supplement the husband's income the mortality rate for their babies was 188 as against 117.6 in the families where the mother was not

¹⁴ "Prohibition of Night Work for Women," p. 27.

¹⁵ Mr. Chas. H. Verrill, United States Bureau of Labor, at International Congress on Hygiene, 1912.

¹⁶ Dr. Friederich Zahn of Munich, at International Congress on Hygiene, 1912.

forced to work directly before or after the birth of her child." "It was also found that in the matter of feeding, artificially-fed babies died at an appalling greater rate than breast-fed babies." And when the mother is also a wage earner, artificial feeding is a necessity. Thus the mother's wage earning means death to the baby.

Incontrovertible evidence of like character could be offered, in overwhelming quantity, to prove that, in real life, the results of the struggle for economic independence by women is the black opposite to the forecasts in the golden dreams of Feminism.

Confronted with this mass of evidence of the sacrifice of infants, the mutilation of mothers and the wreck of homes wrought by the industrial employment of mothers, Feminism begins to protest that this hideous outcome, though it accompanies the mother's wage earning, is a consequence, not of her toil, but of her poverty, ignorance and environment.

Doubtless these factors affect the appalling result, as is claimed in the report of the United States Bureau of Labour upon a very limited inquiry into the effects of the employment of mothers in the mills of Fall River. An enlightened mother, well trained and prosperous, whose home was happy and healthy, would keep her baby in health even though she went to the factory herself, better than another mother who, stupid, half starved and wretched, sat dully by the cradle, doping her baby with narcotics. But, all other conditions being the same, of two mothers, she

who suckled her infant at her breast and hourly attended to its every want in her home would, self-evidently, keep burning its fitful flame of life more securely than she who left it daily for ten hours to a nursing bottle and a casual hired attendant.

Misery and ignorance, bad housing and insanitary habits, are all allied with mother's industrial occupation in the destructive battle against the babies and their homes. All are growths from the same evil root — the insufficiency of the father's wages to sustain his home in reasonable comfort. Not the industrial enslavement of mother but the adequate remuneration of father is the remedy to be sought, says Humanism.

Further, the varicose veins, the killing fatigue, the strain on the reproductive organs and the drained vitality that afflict the mother herself are directly caused by her employment, irrespective of her own penury and illiteracy. An intelligent and well-to-do woman will not suffer these ills, because an intelligent and well-to-do woman will not subject herself to the evil conditions. A very brief experience will convince her that, whether or not mother's place is in the home, mother's place is not in the factory.

Driven back by the mass of the facts, Feminism has only one manœuvre left. "We admit," they say, "that as conditions now obtain they are a disgrace to civilisation, a peril to womankind and a menace to the race. But they are injurious also to men. In the interest of both sexes we shall amend

factory acts, improve wages, shorten hours and make all work places sanitary, so that ill health, pain, sterility and infanticide will no longer, in the woman's paradise, be the toll exacted for woman's economic independence."

Although the most revolting consequences of woman's toil in the sweated industries and under the vilest circumstances of overwork and underpay, should be mitigated by legislation and public opinion, Humanism recognises that woman's conditions in industry can never be equalised with man's. Always man can stand in front of the machine for long hours daily without injury to himself or influence on his progeny, and always the effect of the same work on woman's reproductive organs will be torturing to her and murderous to her infants. Always woman's lesser muscular strength and greater natural need for quiet and retirement, especially at certain periods each month, must place her at a disadvantage in comparison with man. Always nature's unremitting, urgent call to woman to obey the racial summons will break up women's ranks, shatter their solidarity in industry and render them less able than men to combine, permanently, for mutual defence. Always the rigour of machine work, which must be done with the regularity and persistence of clock work, will be less suitable for woman than work in the home and by hand, which may be done irregularly as her capacity dictates.

Especially, and above all else, always will the

pains and exhaustions and anxiety of pregnancy and child bearing and baby tending vitally handicap mothers in industry and push them down to the bottom of the industrial pit. To-day, observers find that only the most ill-paid, precarious and arduous tasks are open to those widows and mothers who must labour or starve. They must accept whatever offers that is near enough to their homes to allow them to give some care, scant though it may be, to their children; and the work must be of a sort that can be done without special preparation or skill, and dropped periodically as domestic exigencies dictate. So disagreeable, unhealthy or exhausting tasks at pitifully small wages fall to their lot. The man in their class who is eager for a permanent position, may wander afar after it. He may rise through acquiring skill by practice and through long service; but the women have no such opportunity. The imperative conditions of their life forbid them to rise in industry. Never can they be prosperous, happy, contented and healthy in industry. As well try to suit the northern winter climate to orange trees by burning stoves in the fields as try to adjust the industrial climate to women by enacting factory laws.

With notable inconsistency those who at one time exalt the value of child bearing as giving an equal claim with the soldiers to a share in government, at another time belittle its importance and deny that it justifies immunity from wage labour.

Ladies with a feminist mission write of a possible

withdrawal of the woman for two or three months from professional tasks while she is passing down the valley to the gates of death, there to snatch a fresh life and bring it to earth. They shut their eyes to the exhaustions of pregnancy, to the exacting details of infant care, to the eternal vigilance which is the price of maternity.

Even professional work, the lightest and most alluring open to women, is incompatible with child bearing and child training. To suckle a baby for two and a half hours during the day, and to wake at two and at six during the night to repeat the service, does not make for keen mental efficiency during the following day. Peaceful sleep, between times, is not certain; for the best-regulated baby will have its screaming fits at times and be troubled with teething and minor ills. Feminists plead that their wider experiences will make them fitter mothers and enable them "to be a greater joy and pleasure" to their children. But the well-brought-up child would be in bed by the time the professional mother reaches home. Child rearing is so high and valuable a thing that to put it on a level with ribbon selling or legal pleading is a degradation. Child rearing is the noblest work an intellectual woman can do. A child can be as much an expression of a woman's personality as any scientific discovery or work of art, and it exacts as great devotion as science or art.

How long shall the remitting care of the conscientious mother endure? One year, two years,

three years? Six years? With no woman to help her (and only one household in ten can afford even one servant) how soon will the baby be so far self-caring as to make it safe for mother to desert it daily for ten hours? In these merciful days, when employers are forbidden under penalties to work women more than eight to ten hours a day, Humanism sees that it would not put women on an equality with men to arrange that, so soon as baby leaves them free for a few hours out of the twenty-four, they shall take up other wearing duties. Mother also is entitled to some rest and change. She must not be treated as a criminal sentenced to hard labour. Since, as Feminism admits, she is a human being, she must be worked humanely. So the tyranny of baby, endured gladly for love, must not be supplemented, at the moment it begins to moderate, by the tyranny of the machine or of Mammon. Altogether even one baby is a creative work that absorbs more vital force and utilises more executive skill than a third-rate novel or a pettifogging law practice. It would be cruel to demand that the mother add to that creative task the routine drudgery of office or factory.

A minimum of three babies, and probably four, on the average, to every strong, fertile woman is essential to keep the nation at its present strength and to provide for slow, natural increase, and the woman capable of contributing three children to the nation does not atone for her neglect to reproduce by

making the pile of material goods a trifle higher. To bear and give home training to three children will employ a woman fully and strenuously for fifteen to twenty years. From the first pregnancy until the youngest is fourteen, allowing two years between consecutive births, nearly nineteen strenuous years will pass, a full average working lifetime. If the mother married at twenty-three to twenty-five she will be forty to forty-five when the youngest of her little brood is ready for high school; and in a wise family, in comfortable circumstances, the mother will, for some years longer, be the valued counsellor, friend and guide of her adolescent young.

If she has done her work conscientiously and skilfully, she has displayed stores of patience, tact, knowledge and resourcefulness that few lawyers or business men exhibit. Her own personality has been developed to its utmost capacity, her body has been rigorously trained, her mind kept alert, her character purified. And her contribution to the real wealth of the land has been immeasurably greater than the contribution of a woman doctor or a schoolmarm, a female attorney or a forewoman. She has made the wealth to which all other wealth is subordinate, for which all other wealth is created. For the only ultimate justification of all material things is that they contribute to the maintenance of "healthy, happy, bright-eyed human beings." Without women to create in travail those human beings, the rich store of goods that pours from fac-

tory and shop and is loaded on ship and wharf, would be as fantastic a mockery as the Epicurean feast offered on his last night of life to the condemned murderer in his cell.

CHAPTER VIII

WOMAN'S WORK IN THE AUTUMN OF LIFE

THERE remains for consideration woman's industrial position in the last period of her life. This problem does not concern wage-earning women, those who have never kept a servant, and who have toiled wearily for bare self-support. For them this period is never reached or is pathetically short. Exhausted by the double burden of money earning and child bearing, they die early, for "statistics show that the mortality of working women is higher than that of working men and also higher than that of other women not at work."¹

Those mothers in wage earners' homes whose lot has been lighter and happier, because they have not been driven to support themselves or their children, are yet usually sucked empty of energy by the time the children are off their hands. They crave rest and peace, not fresh labour and strife. The allurements of "economic independence" have no attraction for them. They have no dread of "parasitism." A cosy corner by the fireplace in the house of a married child and a chance to enjoy the prattle and baby tricks of their grandchildren is all they ask. For them but a short span remains before the

¹ "Fatigue and Efficiency," by Goldmark, p. 23.

sun of their life will sink, and neither woman suffrage nor industrial Feminism stirs their interest. They only know, without a flicker of doubt, that the days of their life in the home were crowded full of work and joy, that life without their children, despite all they cost, would have been blank and flat and meaningless, and that now, their life's task ended and their loved ones safely settled, they are ready at any time to obey the last summons and to chant: "Lord, now lettest Thou thy servant depart in peace."

A small proportion of women, less than one in ten, have led easy, quiet lives, with servants always in their homes, with small families to absorb their vitality, with the most expert medical care during every sickness and with doting husbands who have sheltered them from the world's roughest blasts. These women populate women's clubs. They constitute the leisured class of America.

A convention of women's clubs is noticeably grey haired. It is composed in chief part of women of fifty and upwards. They have safely weathered their physiological climax, their children are grown up, their household is well organised and almost automatic, and they overflow with superfluous energy. In the main, their husbands have prospered and servants stand ready to cook and scrub and wash and dust in their houses. They are capable, experienced, energetic, and their obligatory duties do not nearly

exhaust their strength. They reach out for fresh worlds to conquer.

The arguments we have unfolded on previous pages as to women in industry do not fit these robust mothers in the autumn of life. They are not justifying their seat at the banquet of life any longer by child training and not fully by homemaking. How shall they occupy their time?

The proportion of such women in the population increases as civilisation progresses, and the span of life extends. Their presence is a token of improving conditions. As the art of life is better practised they will multiply. So the problem of their lives is a problem of increasing importance.

Such of them as were earlier trained for medicine or teaching may again find openings where their widened outlook on life, their garnered experience, will be valued. Especially in women's colleges should they find a place. No woman should be eligible for president of a woman's college unless, by training several children of her own, she has passed through the enriching career which would qualify her wisely to influence younger women just when they are gazing with eyes of wonder into the land of Romance. If it became the common custom for women who had been trained at the expense of the State as teachers themselves to teach their own children they could readily return to teaching other people's children in the autumn of life.

But industry does not engage grey hairs; industry dismisses grey hairs. So for most retired mothers salaried opportunities will not open. But they can furnish in the national life an altruistic, refining element. In their homes they have created use values, not negotiable in bank or stock exchange, created in love, offered without price. Now they can display the same spirit in a wider field. Service for pay is not the noblest service. America needs a strong corps of voluntary workers whose effort will not be measured by the check they receive at the month's end. The sordidness of industry may be relieved by the spontaneous gifts to the community of its aging matrons.

The ripened woman has full opportunity, if she will but grasp it, to contribute to the nation's welfare. Upon her may well fall and largely does fall the work of church, charitable society, civic association and temperance league. So long as there is a mother overwrought and sorrowing, or a child yearning to be mothered, these released women, pensioners from the home, have a social service at hand. By private visiting and public activity they can put their leisure and their talents to the increase of the common good. Themselves on the retired list of the home army, they can yet volunteer for short time fighting abroad.

For the self-culture of these matrons the universities, in an era of Humanism, would make special provision. They are the real leisured class, who are in

the strategic position for valuing literature, science and art for their own sake. Short courses, such as Wisconsin and other universities already provide, should be adapted to their needs, that, as the forest in autumn glows with its brightest colours, so their autumnal minds may glow afresh in the sunlight of new learning.

None of the ill results of the higher education of adolescent girls can overtake such mature students. They are the finest postgraduates, graduated from the home, prepared to sip at leisure the sweets of study in academic shades. For ten to twenty years they may read and think and converse, they may set the tone of society, create salons in which the art of conversation may be revived, encourage painstaking art, appreciate progressive drama and offer a constituency for the choicest writers. It is their privilege to save American life from the blight of materialism.

CHAPTER IX

WOMAN'S ECONOMIC VALUE IN THE HOME

THAT woman in the home does not earn her salt is the grotesque charge made against her by Feminism, a charge which is the outcome of the widespread delusion that the few, very few women, whose houses are run by servants, comprise the bulk of American womanhood. As to the nine-tenths with no servant, not even a greenhorn immigrant, and as to the larger part of the remaining tenth, those with one untrained, exasperating, unreliable "helper," the charge is ludicrous.

Apart even from woman's supreme contribution, the children of the nation, her economic contribution in the home is as valuable as man's contribution outside. She has no reason to hang her head in shame.

Her contributions fall mainly in two classes, (1) as purchasing agent or consumer, and (2) as creator of use values.

I

As purchasing agent for the home, woman controls most production and deeply influences the national industrial life. The consumer is master of the producer. Only what the consumer approves can the producer continue to produce.

Hitherto, in America, the most skilful and vigor-

ous efforts have been directed to production. Subduing the wilderness, and making a continent habitable, was a huge business and has absorbed the nation's best energy. Making corn grow where before wild grasses waved, establishing mills, shops and cities where the prairie wolf had roamed, linking the oceans together and grid-ironing the States with steel highways — all were essential, stimulating, tremendous tasks, demanding the nation's best strength. Comparatively little attention has been given to the problems of equitable distribution; while to the problems of consumption, of the utilisation in the most efficient way for promoting human well-being of all the stores of goods turned out, has been given almost no scientific consideration.

Of this section of the economic life women are mainly in charge because they are the family buying agents. To them are addressed the pages of illustrated and seductive advertising which sustain our many magazines. Upon their discernment, judgment and good sense depends the rational application of most of the masculine productive energies. Should women condemn breakfast foods for their costliness or low nutritive value, then Battle Creek would languish. When women substitute fish for meat on the family menus, the Chicago beef barons are humbled. By an improvement in women's taste some furniture houses are driven into bankruptcy and artistic craftsmen made prosperous. If they affect "Oriental" rugs, Hoboken factories are flush

with orders and Philadelphia carpet mills run on short time. When women wear hobble skirts and skimpy blouses silk houses face ruin.

Woman's preferences, then, potently affect the national output of goods. Her expertness as purchasing agent for the homes of the land touches the national well-being as closely as the expertness of the producers. To do her job properly she must be variously equipped; she must know something of science, of art, of commerce, of history, of law. Consider her duty with respect to the simple essentials, food, clothing and housing:

(a) Food. A good housewife, seeing that she no longer bakes her bread or prepares her own pickles and preserves, must be alert daily to save her clients from adulterated foods and drinks. She must keep abreast of the literature on pure foods, an open eye for the announcement of state departments of food inspection. For her cakes and pies she must purchase flour, not the best advertised and most expensive, but the most nutritious at the price. Her verdict will settle whether the essential elements of the bran shall reach her children's stomach or be sifted and bleached out of the flour to suit the convenience of retailers. She must determine by experiment and by inquiry which canned goods are wholesome, what brands of tongue and ham and chicken are untrustworthy. Of the thousand and one articles that come into her home, she must know the properties and be able to detect the cheaper, un-

wholesome substitutes. She must know the fair market prices, visit the stores personally, compare and estimate, figure and judge. With an amount to spend often too little for her family's full needs, her care and prevision and knowledge must make a dollar furnish a dollar's worth of sustenance, or her charges will not be well nourished. So every dime should be expended as carefully as the business man makes his bigger contracts.

Women higher in the social scale, with more to spend, must show as much zeal and ingenuity in producing more elaborate results, with menus carefully concocted, table service artistically devised and digestion scientifically safeguarded.

(b) Clothing. In clothing herself and children on the average man's earnings the average woman needs as much knowledge, patience, cleverness and experience as her helpmeet. Some knowledge of fabrics, a discerning acquaintance with fashions, foresight to seize bargains, judgment to distinguish the real bargain from the sham and skill to fashion last year's raiment into next month's styles, can all be utilised by the mother in the home. If she buys cotton goods lavishly southern planters rejoice; if she prefer shoddy to wool, honest cloth weavers languish. If she encourage American styles, New York may supplant Paris as the birth-place of fashion; if she be extravagant and love the bizarre in costume, foreign cities may thrive on American follies.

(c) In the selection of a home and its furnishings and in the type of surroundings she prefers, the American woman fixes the mould of our civilisation. If she prefer cramped and huddled apartment or tenement to airy and spacious suburban home, then cities grow ever more monstrous and the national life more hurried and nervous. Her taste tells in house architecture and the colour schemes of living-rooms. Her demand determines whether open plumbing and ample closets, abundant bathrooms and wide windows, shall make domestic life more healthy, clean, comfortable and refined for the average family to-day than it was for the noble two centuries ago.

Few women are able to perform all these multifarious and complicated duties as purchasing agents and choosers for the family with complete efficiency, as few men are competent to farm or manufacture or even operate one machine with complete efficiency. Woman has shared the national indifference to efficient consumption. Only a few moralists have inquired how best to apply income to the purchase of physical and mental development and well-being. Thoreau and Whitman have few imitators. Prodigious production and reckless consumption has been the national plan. French thrift and German household skill are alien to native American traditions.

But the comparative neglect of wise consumption in the past is a poor excuse for abandoning it

altogether in the future by withdrawing woman from the superintendence of consumption, as Feminism proposes, to hurl her also into the fevered struggle for greater production.

II

In the home woman produces use values. In the world man produces exchange values. For exchange values our civilisation has exaggerated respect because it has over-reverence for the dollar standard. But the woman's use values, created and consumed in the home, have a real value as high as if they were exchanged for cash. And for large part of them no cash could pay.

A trained nurse, paid twenty-five dollars a week, appreciates that her labour has an exchange value, and her services are reckoned by statisticians among the national wealth. But the mother who nurses her baby back to health or pulls her husband through an attack of grippe, though she is paid no fee, has created a use value just as promotive of well-being, as much real wealth as the paid nurse. And every day the women in homes are creating use values which, if expressed in money terms like exchange values, would be measured by many millions of dollars. What is the worth of their services in getting ready the nation's children for school, in binding up all their little hurts, in comforting their hearts lacerated with their small but so serious woes, in cooking and serving their dinners and suppers,

in mending and patching their torn garments and in tucking them cosily away to bed. These countless, invaluable, indispensable services are rendered without money and without price, but who shall calculate their worth? What if they be not counted in the statistics of the nation's wealth? What if the census bureau, with grim humour, reckons not the home keeping mother as engaged in a "gainful occupation"?

"Her price is far above rubies
The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her,
Strength and honor are her clothing;
She shall rejoice in time to come."

Feminism decries these unpaid services and would obliterate them. It considers nothing of worth which fetches no price. It would commercialise home life and degrade it to the moral level of factory life. It would set a cash value on the services of wife and mother, and transfer them to hirelings.

While it might conceivably appraise in dollars and cents the coarser, more routine services in the home — the scrubbing and washing and cleaning and cooking — letting these out to peripatetic gangs of workers, how could the finer, tenderer, most estimable use values be figured in any tariff? Something like this would be needed:

To caressing baby	\$.10
To one morning kiss to husband25

To cheering up little Mary15
To lying awake scheming how to send Alice to college	1.00
To radiating affection for one week	2.00
To being patient under a cloud of difficulties	1.75
To loving husband and wayward son when they don't deserve loving	HOW MUCH?

Next a league of mothers, with rules against working overtime for children and fathers, and double piece rates for night work, that baby may properly remunerate mother when it wakes her in fretfulness or pain, would bring this commercialising of home service nearer the feminist ideal of "Nothing rendered for love, a stipulated price for every sacrifice."

Feminism is the acme not only of anarchistic individualism but of gross materialism. It would stifle the home spirit with the mephitic air of petty peddling. It would calculate to a nicety the cash value of a heart pang and measure in dollars the worth of a mother's love.

Some wives, while not anxious to leave their homes in pursuit of a salary, complain pitifully that their inestimable services as mothers and homemakers go unrewarded in money and every cent they need for themselves, for dress, for education, for philanthropy, is grudgingly doled out by the husband, who must be teased, coaxed and wheedled for each dollar. That condition is as grievous as it is rare.

In the overwhelming majority of homes, where the husband earns a weekly wage, the contents of the pay envelope are handed over to the wife, reduced only by a moderate allowance for the man's tobacco and sundries. In the richest homes the wife possesses usually an independent fortune. But, occasionally, especially when the costly home and luxurious wife, in Veblen's phrase, are "expenditures of display," maintained by a newly rich man in high style as a public exhibition of his prosperity, the husband fails to recognise any reason why the wife should not be satisfied to enjoy the luxuries he provides, at a cost beyond her economic value as housekeeper, without demanding from him money of her own to expend. In other instances the wife, unused to handling money or incapable of restraining within bounds her mania for spending, ruins the easy-going husband who allows her a free hand.

No public action, no law, can cure these unfortunate defects.

A marriage is a close partnership, closer than any business partnership, in which the business side is subordinate. In nine cases out of ten affection and common sense dictate an agreement, on matters financial, satisfactory to both partners. They have taken each other "for better or worse, in riches or poverty." They would resent any legal dictation of the proportion of the family income which the wife shall handle, any arrangement which, making the man the woman's formal paymaster, would

necessarily give him a right to define her services. Only a policy of give and take, of mutual forbearance and consideration, can make the marriage successful. If the bride has any misgivings she may reasonably ask for an agreement before going to the altar as to her own allowance as wife; but so complex and changeable are family conditions that usually no agreement will prove for long workable and satisfactory. Rarely on either side will legal compulsion force more than affection will give. However, an agreement will solidify the idea that some reasonable amount should be the wife's own and any man who is slow to appreciate her right may well be educated in that fashion.

But no allowance by the husband will satisfy those feminist leaders who seek complete escape from housekeeping and solemnly avow, in the words of one of them: "It is the greatest source of greatest evil that love and money have been forced together by making women dependent on men." "The men own all the money," avers Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "and, owning all the money, they hold the whip hand over us." The truth of the statement will be promptly recognised by that overwhelming proportion of American men who are working arduously, without respite, that their wives, with the money earned, may be kept under the lash!! So women should cast off the chains of home and go after the dollars in the free outside. It is so much nicer to wheedle or tease an employer

for a job than to ask a husband for the cost of a new hat, so much "freer" to thump a typewriter or stand in pain behind a counter and to beg some brutal or indifferent manager to give you a raise of a dollar a week because "a woman can't live decently on seven dollars" than to share the earnings of the man you love and return in service for him and children the worth of all you consume! Money earned in mill or store is sanctified, forsooth, while money earned in nursery or kitchen, unless somebody else's nursery or kitchen, is accursed. Naturally, a woman usurer who heaps up a fortune in Wall Street that the men may no longer "own all the money" deserves veneration; while the mother of Lincoln who, "dependent on men," merely bore and reared, under heaviest handicap, the saviour of his country, was an example of slavish subordination to be abhorred! Make all women earn their daily bread, anywhere so long as it is not in the home, and woman's emancipation will arrive!

Such purblind confusion of shadow and substance needs only to be indicated to be repudiated. It fascinates mainly that insignificant minority of wives who, too feeble or inexpert to master their job at home and too inexperienced to know the difficulty of wresting a living from the world outside, delude themselves with roseate dreams of how fine it would be to cast off the duties which irk them and to receive a handsome monthly check for pleasant, undefined duties which they have never tried.

Child equal

CHAPTER X

EQUAL PAY FOR MEN AND WOMEN

IT is a cherished doctrine of Feminism that women shall receive equal remuneration with men for filling the same positions. "Equal Pay for Equal Work" or "Pay for Position," this claim has been cleverly baptised. At the annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, in 1914, the following resolution was adopted: "That all women be urged to encourage such industries and institutions as adhere to the principle of 'equal pay for equal work regardless of sex.'"

Both in America and in England the average wages of adult women are but half the average wages of men in private employment; and in public employment, with rare exceptions, women are paid less than men. Feminism laments this inequality and purposes to utilise the votes of women to rectify it. "Women are equal to men," it protests, "and should be paid the same as men for filling the same positions. We mean to abolish sex discriminations in politics, in law, in industry, and one of the first points to be attacked when we get the vote will be this inequality of remuneration."

For the sake of clearness we will consider this programme in its application (a) to manual work-

ers, (b) to brain workers in private employment, and (c) to public employés.

“Equal Pay for Equal Work” assumes that the work can be measured and the pay proportioned to the amount done. In cotton spinning, coal mining, garment making, printing and many other manual occupations, such measurement can be made, and piece rates are set under which the wages received are exactly proportioned to the amount accomplished. When men hold such industries and women threaten to invade them, the men often insist enthusiastically on “Equal Pay for Equal Work.” Not, however, sad to tell, because in their gallantry they wish to see women put on an industrial equality with themselves; but because they realise that if they compel the employer to pay women at the same rate as men only an odd woman here and there will be employed at all.

The American Telegraphers’ Union upholds this principle doggedly, with the consequence that women are not employed as telegraphers, even in those positions which in England are successfully filled by women, and though in the analogous work of telephone operating women have almost a monopoly. Forbidden to engage women at smaller wages, employers are glad to find enough men, ready at the wages offered, to endure the strain and the responsibility and the night work involved in telegraphy.

When the linotype machine was introduced, the typographical union of the compositors in America

was in imminent risk of seeing the well-paid work of straight composing by hand transferred to worse-paid women at the machine. But, by establishing a rule, in co-operation with the employers' association, that the first opportunity to learn to work the linotype machines should be given to printers already competent on skilled sorts of hand work, work which women were not accomplishing, the men reserved the machines for themselves, while still applauding "equal pay for equal work."

In cases where women are engaged in considerable numbers at the same piece-work rates as men, as in the English cotton mills, the output of the woman is less than the output of the man, and the small minority of men usually work on the heavier class of looms. The woman's remuneration is therefore less. Rarely, indeed, do women anywhere work at the same processes as men. Almost always, even when men and women work under the same roof, they work at different processes. When the process demands muscular strength and physical endurance, it is allotted to men; when it demands light-fingered dexterity, nimbleness and routine patience, it is allotted to women.

In steam laundries, where women are in a majority, labour at the machines in the laundry wash-rooms is done by men. In a cotton-thread mill in which one-third of the employés are women, an investigator found that the processes of cleaning, carding, combing, drawing and roving are done by

men. Then women speeders tend the last part, the twisting and winding. Their product is forwarded by boys to the women spinners who, in turn, pass on the half-completed cotton to women spoolers. In the twisting and plying of the cotton, processes succeeding the spooling, men are employed, who, in turn, send on the yarn they produce to the girls in the winding room. Within the one mill there is a complete division of labour between men and women.¹

In a New England cloth finishing factory reported upon by a special investigator, the first process at which women are employed is that of keeping cloth running evenly through a teetering machine. At the calendering machines men are employed. Girls stand at the yarding machines and do most of the succeeding processes of preparation. In one process, the tearing of wide cloth into lengths, the investigator found that the task was severe for the muscles of the hand and forearm, and apt to cause swollen fingers and sprained wrists. Thereupon, the management, unusually humane, transferred the work of tearing to men. The grievance of the girls' strained wrists and swollen fingers could be remedied, not by giving them men's wages, but by setting men at men's wages to do the heavier work. All the remaining operations on sheets and pillow cases were done by men.

In cotton mills, heavy mule spinning is exclu-

¹ "Making Both Ends Meet," by Clark and Wyatt, p. 250.

sively done by men, but lighter ring spinning by women. Temporarily, as in woollen mills, the lowest-grade, immigrant, male labour may work at the same processes as women, because the men will accept the women's rate of pay. But a stratification soon commences and, before long, men and women are working in different rooms at different processes.

In domestic service a Japanese boy is paid more than a Bohemian girl and undertakes jobs more numerous and in greater variety. A butler is a man; a chambermaid a woman. Waiters and waitresses are not paid alike, and a hotel at which waiters and waitresses serve together in the same dining-room would be an anomaly. A man *chef* must be master of more epicurean concoctions than a woman cook and his salary is superior.

Only in odd cases, then, is the cry "Equal Pay for Equal Work" relevant to any situation existing among female wage earners, the millions of privates in the army of women engaged in gainful occupations.

In the lower grades of professional brain workers, the segregation of men and women is not so distinct, though there also it appears. Stenographers and typists are nearly all females; but court stenographers, most expert and highly paid, are usually men. A secretary or a social worker may be man or woman; but when the employing organisation fixes a high salary for the position it usually seeks a man. A charity organisation society or a public

education association may be content with a woman secretary in its early days of struggle and small budgets, but so soon as its funds and its sphere gain high dignity it marks its superior elevation by engaging a man secretary, at a man's salary. Women store clerks are in a majority, but men store clerks, at higher wages, are also employed.

Positions of this order are but roughly classified and have no standard rates. To adjust work to pay on an abstract principle of equality between millions of males and females in these positions is not feasible, because between the individuals in different positions there is no such adjustment. It is impossible to say when increased responsibility, knowledge, and experience and personality warrant a higher salary for the post of social worker or secretary, much less to say that the capacities which a man brings are worth precisely as much as the capacities which a woman brings to the work. Whether in any case the smaller remuneration of the woman is given merely because she is a woman or because the man contributes more valuable qualities to the work, it is impossible to determine. The formula "Equal Pay for Equal Work" is again not relevant to the concrete situation. It is a useless abstraction.

In law, medicine, art, literature and the church, conditions and salaries vary, to the widest extent, according to the standing of the practitioner and the wealth of the client. A Caruso receives thou-

sands of dollars for singing an opera. An inferior singer might be glad to get fifty. They sing the same notes and make equal exertions, but there is no thought of giving them "equal pay for equal work." A lawyer who receives a quarter million dollar fee from a railroad corporation, or a surgeon who is paid fifty thousand dollars for removing a millionaire's appendix, may do less work than a woman attorney who sues the railroad for smashing a trunk, or a woman doctor who pulls a labourer's child through an attack of fever. It may cost a woman preacher more labour to prepare her sermon for a village congregation than an eminent divine to prepare his sermon for the city cathedral, but the dogma, "Equal Pay for Equal Work," is no more useful for fixing the remuneration for such services than an almanac platitude in measuring the distance of a fixed star. Woman's struggle in these spheres is to be retained at any price. Quality of work is the prime requisite. She must win, not by underselling but by superior service.

All through private employment, therefore, the doctrine "Pay for Position" or "Equal Pay for Equal Work" for men and women has the most trifling connection with real life.

But in public employment a different rule prevails. Remuneration is not fixed by economic competition.

Permanent positions in the public service are of two orders: (1) Positions exempt from civil serv-

ice regulations, and (2) positions in the classified service, those under civil service rules.

1. Public positions exempt from civil service conditions are filled by appointment and usually, in part, even where impeccable reformers hold the offices, as a reward for political services. To them "Pay for Position" already applies. If a senator appoints his daughter as his private secretary he is allowed exactly the same salary for her (whether or not he hands it over to her) as he would if he appointed his nephew or his son. A woman commissioner of charities is paid as much as a man commissioner of charities; a woman superintendent of schools as a man superintendent of schools. Discrimination is shown in the proportion of men and women appointed. Probably in this group of positions more women would be discovered to be fit for the jobs if women voted; especially to the lower places in counties and States where civil service rules are not in force and positions go by political favour, a greater number of women, if they had votes, could establish a claim as district workers.

But equality of opportunity for appointment would not ensure equality of service between men and women. When appointment is made as a reward for political activity, the incumbent, whether man or woman, is frequently, alas! unfitted for the post. Though in special cases it would be impossible for any human being to be less competent than the male incumbent of political office, yet, on the

average, the service of women politicians will be still less efficient than the service of men politicians, because, on the average, women are less fitted for industrial work than men, as is shown by their failure in private employment to command the same salaries as men. For the protection of the public interest pay should be proportioned to service, not fixed for one grade of service and paid for a lower grade of service, even if the title of the holder of the office remains the same.

2. Under civil service rules positions are filled by competitive examination, the salary being determined before the examination is held. If the salary schedule makes no mention of sex, women can win the opportunity of receiving equal pay with men for the same position by securing admission to the examination — as they did in New York City when they were threatened with exclusion from competition for superintendents' positions in the employment bureaus.

If the salary schedule, like nature, distinguishes between men and women, as most schedules for school teachers have done, then the women may procure elimination of the sex distinction by legislation or by pressure upon the administrative body concerned, the board of education, or the city government, as did the women teachers of New York City. In that case the outcome will be the composition of two forces: the public official's always sensitive desire to be personally popular; and his fear

of driving the taxpayer to a revolt, which would throw the official himself into the penurious shades of private life. Political conditions, not economic necessity, will control. When the demand is that women, equally with men, shall be admitted to the competitive examinations, the passing of which entitles the competitor to appointment, only the most obvious unfitness of women for the position is likely to lead to the denial of the demand, because the public outcry which a hundred women can make disturbs the equanimity of the legislative authority more than any fear for the inadequate performance of the duties involved. One newspaper article denouncing the legislature for its refusal of "the claim for consideration on the part of the devoted women of the community," will have greater weight than the sure expectation that a woman will not discharge the duties as capably as a man. The legislator who opens the position to women is not the executive officer who is responsible for the efficient discharge of the duties. Once the sex difference is ignored in the requirements for candidates, the appointing power must take the persons at the top of the eligible list, regardless of sex. Thus, the public, the real employer, acting through its agent, the executive official, will be denied the opportunity to choose between a man and a woman, as every private employer chooses.

Sex being eliminated from civil service salary

schedules, on what principles shall the amount of the salary be set?

Numerous factors must be considered — the quality of the person necessary to do the work efficiently, the education and special training required, the prevailing rate of remuneration for similar services in private employment, the state of the public treasury, the probable supply of competent candidates and the cost of living. Democratic governments must offer a living wage, the style of living considered proper being the style prevalent in the social stratum in which it is desired that the successful competitors will move. A college professor is offered more than a street cleaner, partly because he cannot do his work efficiently unless he enjoys more comforts and leisure and can pay for more books, music, travel and the like than are necessary to the full discharge of a street cleaner's duties. Also the persons competent to lecture in colleges are less easily obtained, even in the best-educated community, than persons competent to clean streets.

Both these factors — the supply of competent candidates and the living wage — the doctrine of "Equal Pay for Men and Women" would abrogate.

As is demonstrated by the outstanding fact that men's wages average double women's wages in private employment, the supply of women able and willing to fill industrial positions open to women

is greater than the supply of men. Men willing to be teachers are much rarer than women of the same competence; men typists are not so easily found as women typists of like order of skill. Men cotton spinners willing to accept low wages are not as common as women cotton spinners. Only by ignoring this difference of supply and demand, by shutting eyes to the fact that a man in the open market has a greater scarcity value than a woman, can "Pay for Position" be established.

More important, however, is the principle of the living wage. Democratic governments are besought by reformers and humane taxpayers to be model employers, not to pay the lowest wage for which service can possibly be bought, but generously to set a minimum of a living wage for every occupation. That appeal each year is more and more widely recognised to be well based. One factor that must enter into the determination of remuneration is the need of the employé. Ideally, every employé, manual, mental or artistic, should receive a sufficient reward to keep his powers and skill at their maximum efficiency. Never should health, strength, skill or power of application be reduced through financial inability to live so as to preserve them in full vigour. Never will the nation reach its maximum productivity until every worker is assured of this remuneration for life, every producer kept as studiously efficient as the Japanese keep their soldiers in their wars. A teacher whose salary is

too meagre for her to study, travel and mix with refined people, cannot teach effectively. The street cleaner who cannot afford three nourishing meals a day will push his broom languidly. A clerk in a city office who must live, on his beggarly income, in a dark tenement and sacrifice week-end jaunts into the country, will make errors in his bookkeeping and never devise ways to improve his office routine. Government authorities in the United States are alive to these considerations and usually pay better salaries than private employers.

However, what constitutes a living wage? When sex is considered in framing salary schedules, a man's living wage means a family's living wage and a woman's living wage an individual wage.

The social importance of this factor grows each year as public control of industry increases. Every case of public ownership of an electric power system, a street railway system, a water power plant, or a milk supply, and every legal wage board established, increases the social significance of the principle on which a living wage is determined. Minimum wages for women workers in various callings, now being fixed by law in Massachusetts, Washington, Oregon, Colorado and other States, are uniformly determined by estimating the cost of a decent living for an individual woman.

When sex is eliminated from consideration, shall a woman's living wage also be made a family wage, or a man's wage be reduced below a family wage?

“Make the woman’s wage equal to the man’s,” order the interested associations; “if you must reduce the man’s so much the worse for him; but it is not my concern. Raise the woman’s until it meets the man’s and I shall be content.” These were the orders of the New York women teachers regarding teachers’ salaries — orders which the legislature faithfully executed. Suspicion that the legal minimum wage fixed for women will become in practice the maximum wage for men in the same industry, inspires the American Federation of Labor with distrust of the fast-spreading, minimum wage movement. Whether that suspicion will be justified will depend on the success of Feminism in controlling legislatures and industrial courts. Trade unionism has argued for the family wage as the man’s wage. When it presents to arbitration courts its plea for higher wages to follow the increased cost of living, as it did in the several cases of the railroad engineers and the railroad conductors and brakemen, it consistently argues from the cost of family living. Were its case founded on the cost of living for the individual employé, it would hopelessly crumble. Therein trade unionism is inherently antagonistic to the woman’s demands; for “Equal Pay for Men and Women” cannot conceivably mean a family wage for men and for women throughout industry. In private employment the family wage for men may be abrogated; but a family wage for women is economically

impossible. It is self-evidently absurd to expect that a store clerk, on attaining her majority, will be paid enough to sustain herself, a husband and three children. Equality must mean degradation of men's wages.

Whether, for public employment, the woman's salary will be raised to the man's level or his reduced to approach her level, will depend on the circumstances of each case. In employments, such as teaching, where the women outnumber the men ten or twelve to one, as they did in New York City, the financial cost of making the woman's salary a family salary is so appalling that the most reckless legislators, though themselves not responsible to the taxpayers concerned, cannot face it. In New York City a compromise was made. Under the old salary schedule a woman class teacher was paid a minimum of \$600 a year, rising by annual increments of \$48 to \$1320 in the sixteenth year and continuing to \$1440 for the teacher of the graduating class. Men class teachers began with \$900 a year and rose by annual increments of \$105 to \$2160 in the thirteenth year, and continued up to \$2400 for teaching the graduating class.

Consider, in some detail, the effect of successful feminist agitation in this instance, one of the most conspicuous and far-reaching known, upon men's salaries and men's employment.

Under the "Equal Pay" schedules men and women teachers both were to receive \$720 a year

for three years and then rise by annual increments of \$60 to \$1500 for teaching lower grades and \$1820 for teaching the seventh or eighth grades. The women got a handsome increase of salary, the men a disheartening decrease, applicable, however, only to those accepting appointment subsequent to the enactment of the law.

The law went into effect in 1912 and immediately the disastrous result of this effort to decrease men teachers' salaries appeared. Of 79 men who were offered appointment in March, 55 declined. It was plain that even men who had been through the stiff preparatory training and had weathered the entrance examinations would rather abandon their chosen profession than work for women's pay. Thereupon the legislature modified the "Equal Pay" law by providing that men whose names were on eligible lists when the law was passed should be paid the old salary rates. At once the number of men appointees increased. A year later the legislature let down the bars again and virtually abrogated the equal-pay principle by enacting that men who were preparing for the examinations for the licence to teach at the time the "equal-pay" law was passed should be paid, when appointed, the old schedule rates. Therefore in November, 1914, of 52 men offered appointment only 8 declined. Of the 44 who accepted, 39 will receive the higher schedule rates and some of the remaining 5, by receiving an allowance for outside experience, do not start at the bottom rate.

No reduction was made by law of the salaries of men teachers in high schools. Instead, the generous schedule framed to attract men teachers, running from \$900 a year by increments of \$100 to \$2650 for assistant teachers and \$3150 for first assistants, was finally adopted also for the women teachers. They thus secured, as a reward for their agitation, the market rate for men teachers, a rate considerably above the market rate for women teachers. It was successfully argued that, since the women teachers in high schools only slightly outnumber the men teachers and are few in comparison with the women teachers in grammar schools, the cost of equalising salaries would not be ruinous and could therefore be paid as the price of peace. The one valuable outcome was that the rates fixed, being men's rates, it is still possible to get men teachers.

Thus a bonus above the individual wage was voted as a political gift to the women and the doctrine of a family wage was repudiated, as to the grammar schools, for the men. This repudiation is a betrayal of the family. It concedes the anti-social contention, never admitted by trade union or law, that a man need not support his wife and children, but the mother should work for her own and her offspring's daily bread. It advances a long march towards the subjugation of woman to material production, and her elimination from homemaking, baby bearing and child training. It is betraying the future to gain political ends.

In cases where the female employés are very few, as in controllers' offices, the women may receive the same salaries as men without the reduction of the men's salaries, because the cost to the community is too small to make a struggle politically worth the effort. Their bonus over what they could command in private employment will be far higher than the men's corresponding bonus, but their insignificant numbers will protect them from the logical application of economic principles.

In final outcome, in the first case, where women already being in a large majority, the men are sacrificed to the feminist doctrine and are not paid a full family wage, the men will soon eliminate themselves from the employment. In the latter case, where the men's salaries are not reduced, the appointing officer, responsible for getting the office work done with the maximum efficiency, will struggle constantly against the substitution of women for men, and the number of positions filled by women will remain few.

In Australasia, where the State determines "fair and reasonable" wages for men as well as women, the rule is established that a man's minimum shall be a family wage, while the woman's minimum is an individual wage. Mr. Justice Higgins, president of the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Court of Australia, describing the methods in which that court had fixed wages, says:

"The test of a fair and reasonable standard is

a wage sufficient for the normal needs of the average employé living in a civilised community. The essential needs are food, shelter and clothing. A full and generous allowance for these should be made to the average man who may be assumed to support an average family, consisting of himself, his wife and three dependent children."

But, "a woman is not, like a man, under general obligation for the support of her family." Therefore, "Where women are continually employed in preference to men, another standard should fix the general rate of wages. This should be the cost of living for the individual girl, living away from home with the responsibility of supporting herself. Of course many girls have family responsibilities; but an employer cannot be told to pay a particular employé higher wages because she happens to have parents dependent on her, any more than he can be allowed to pay her less because she has a legacy from her grandparents or because she lodges free with her parents and merely wants some money for dress."²

Plainly there is a blunt antagonism between the doctrine of equal pay for men and women and the doctrine of the minimum wage. If the demand for equal pay be conceded, the legal minimum wage for men must be abandoned; as must also the legal obligation upon the man to support his wife and children — a high price to pay for a doubtful advantage to groups of women.

² *The Survey*, August 1, 1914.

CHAPTER XI

FEMINISM AND FREE LOVE

DOES Feminism lead toward Free Love? Conservative women suffragists resent the imputation that their principles involve approval of changes in the marriage laws or any condonation of laxer sexual relationships. Yet literary exponents of Feminism, more concerned with philosophy than practical politics, declare unequivocally that implicit in feminist doctrine lies the advocacy of radical readjustments of sexual relations. So long as the woman's movement is merely instinctive, a childish revolt, not sustained by any thoughtful reasoning, so long it escapes the vision of its own destiny. But "wherever the conscious striving to elevate, to educate and to secure the rights of woman has been profound, it has been united with the desire to reform the position of women in love and marriage," declares Ellen Key,¹ the acute observer whose eye, from her Swedish eyrie, follows the sweep of the woman's movement the wide world over.

In America "the conscious striving" has not been so "profound" as in Scandinavia and Germany, and "the desire to reform the position of woman in love and marriage" is therefore not so intense and sub-

¹ "Love and Marriage," p. 62.

versive; though in America also, writes Mrs. Coolidge, "the emphasis upon freedom from the moral domination of man, made by the first female insurgents, is now transferred to a readjustment of the marriage relation and the question of economic responsibility." Another exponent exclaims: "The free power of Selection in Love. Yes! That is the true Female Franchise. It must be regained by woman. Existing marriage is a pernicious survival of the patriarchal age."² "Free Power of Selection in Love" or "Freedom in Love" (Ellen Key's phrase), is a euphemism for what simple people call free love. Yet these extreme doctrines, as another American historian of the woman's movement testifies, "have been the logical outgrowth of the self-same faith" held by the "more conservative spirits" in the women's ranks.³

Their logical lineage can be traced through the emphasis made at all stages of Feminism upon freedom as the supreme aim. The key word of Feminism is freedom. It seeks to make each woman the arbitress of her own destiny, to rid her step by step of the restraints which laws and customs impose upon her. "Women are striving for legal, political and sexual independence," explains a woman doctor.⁴

² "The Truth about Woman," by C. Gasquoine Hartley, p. 256.

³ "Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia," by Katharine Anthony, p. 10.

⁴ "Woman, Marriage and Motherhood," by Elizabeth S. Chesser, p. 257.

But woman cannot enjoy freedom — so runs the argument — so long as she accepts economic support from her father or husband. Dependence means subjection. So she must win economic independence before marriage, that is, be free from the domination of her father, and retain it after marriage, that is, be free from the domination of her husband. Her higher education must be directed to prepare her for winning economic independence and she must win the vote mainly that she may use it to aid her in her economic struggle. Accepting the support of her children's father is "being dependent on her sex functions for a means of livelihood" — a revolting slavery.⁵ And "danger lurks for woman and her freedom when, to safeguard her independence, she has no other resources than the seduction of her beauty to gain and to hold the love she is able to inspire. Sex becomes the defensive weapon and one she must use for self-protection if she is to live. It seems to me that this economic use of sex is the real cancer at the very root of the sexual relationship. It is but a step further and a perfectly logical one that leads to prostitution."⁶ To preserve themselves from this fate married women and mothers must jealously guard their self-support through wage earning.

Freedom from her husband's support, we are told,

⁵ "Woman, Marriage and Motherhood," by Elizabeth S. Chesser, p. 257.

⁶ "The Truth about Woman," by C. G. Hartley, p. 215.

would be of little worth, however, did it not enable a woman to grant or withhold conjugal rights at her pleasure, and even to cast off a husband who was no longer congenial. Of all forms of enslavement enforced subjection to marital embraces is one of the most odious. Married women must win and assert "possession of their own bodies." They must be allowed by law and custom to determine whether they will bear one child or none, whether their wedded life shall be virginal or conjugal; none of which is feasible so long as the husband is the breadwinner. They must be free to return to single life whenever the husband insists on entrenching upon their privacy. So economic independence is recognised and advocated as preliminary to sexual independence.

As Mrs. Gallichan says, with respect to the Burmese women, who do most of the business of the country and throng the streets at all hours of the day: "Given such complete economic freedom of woman, and it is self-evident that the sexual relationship will also be free." Not necessarily loose or licentious, but free. "Very striking are the conditions of divorce. The marriage contract can be dissolved freely at the wish of both or even of one of the parties." And, it should be remembered, a large part of women suffragists approve the economic self-support of both single and married women, though usually they do not realise that, "given the complete economic freedom of women

and the sexual relationship will also be free.”⁷ A few not only recognise the outcome but openly announce their intention. One of the founders of the Equality Alliance in New York City, an organisation led by writers, editors and artists, formed mainly to prevent the withdrawal of women teachers from their salary-earning upon marriage or motherhood, announced, in the writer’s hearing, to an applauding audience of feminists: “We mean to be monogamous, but reasonably monogamous; not always monogamous with the same person.”

“In the main,” explains another candid advocate in the *Atlantic Monthly*, “we are opposed to the indissoluble Christian marriage. The present increase in the divorce rate is of course gratifying; but it is not enough. Personally I believe that the ultimate aim of Feminism is the suppression of marriage and the institution of free alliance. It may be that only thus can woman develop her own personality.”⁸

For, the argument proceeds, if divorce and frequent matings are to be common and easy, and if economic support by the husband is repudiated as a disgrace why go through all the fuss and fettering of marriage at all? Why not accept an “affinity” during your pleasure and his good behaviour, assuming, yourself, the responsibility for any offspring, and retaining to the full, without even temporary sacrifice,

⁷ “The Truth about Woman,” p. 157.

⁸ W. L. George, *Atlantic Monthly*, Dec. 1913.

your soul's chief joy,— freedom? Especially where there are not enough men to give every woman a husband why should a woman be debarred from motherhood unless she find a husband? Why should her freedom be so grievously curtailed in the deepest concern of her life? Discussion of "Free Motherhood," as this claim for a child outside of wedlock is styled, is heard among the younger feminists in American cities, but is most open in England and Germany, where the slaughter of the future husbands in the Great War is likely to make it in the future, indeed, a vital issue. In both countries, as one of the rebels asserts, "Very gallant and very young are the rebels of this class for the most part, seeking joy and self-expression, individualistic, assured, capable. To the younger generation of rebels the potential mother crying for the prohibited baby is become the central figure of life's tragedy." ⁹

Another advocate avers: "As indicating the extent of the present sex revolt we see a type of woman arising who believes in a state of society in which man will not figure in the life of woman except as the father of her child." ¹⁰

While these conclusions are startling, the chain of reasoning which leads to them is continuous. All the consequences follow from the fundamental assumption of Feminism that so long as woman's fate is knit up with that of the family she cannot attain

⁹ Candida in *The New Statesman*, June 27, 1914.

¹⁰ W. L. George, *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1913.

proper individual development and that her salvation demands that she disentangle herself from the family relationship. And, if the freedom and self-expression of the woman be exclusively considered, the claim of Feminism must be granted. Surely, if her satisfaction be isolated from all other considerations, each woman is entitled to command over her own body and to escape from an uncongenial husband; she is entitled to free maternity and to an independent economic status. This female Anarchism is impossible simply because woman is an essential part of the social organism. Her freedom and self-expression cannot be exclusively regarded. Her destiny is bound up with the destiny of the child. Woman must sacrifice even part of her freedom for the sake of the race.

At each stage in the desired progress towards sexual independence for her there is an inalienable conflict between woman's freedom and the child's well-being. If, before marriage, she must win economic independence, the result is too often that her strength is exhausted and her maternal powers are deranged. If, after marriage, she continue to earn money that she may be economically independent of her husband, the outcome is again injurious to the next generation. The tale of baby deaths in factory towns, the slaughter of the innocents wherever the mother daily deserts the home, demonstrate the cost to the race of the mother's specious freedom. If the mother be free to part from her husband so soon

as he becomes uncongenial and be free also to accept a new comrade, the child is again the victim. Also "Free Motherhood" is to be repudiated, because the child needs two parents, its training a masculine as well as a feminine hand.

It must be admitted that there is an ideal aspect to the proposal to marry with the understanding that any cooling of affection shall dissolve the bonds. "Love alone consecrates marriage," pleads the ardent young soul. "If Reginald ceases to love me or I to love Reginald, we shall dissolve our marriage." But society, concerned for its own permanence and solicitous for the care of the next generation, cannot permit Reginald and Angela to be the sole judges in their difficulty. Not merely they, but society, not merely the present but the future, must be considered. So divorce can be granted only by legal process upon serious grounds.

In the end woman herself would suffer from the effects of "freedom." Were Feminism's programme to succeed, it would ultimately, despite the seeming temporary advantage, inflict incalculable injury on her.

First. Woman, struggling against man, throughout life, in the industrial world, is robbed of that affectional satisfaction in her work which is her steadiest joy. Normally a woman, to be contented, must be working for some person she loves. With a child or a relative to serve, she can endure prolonged effort without succumbing. She cannot

win satisfaction, as man can, from building up a business, improving a firm's credit, increasing the output, enlarging the nation's exports and the like. Tending a machine, even if it demands less muscular strength, is more wearing to her than tending a baby. The machine exhausts her energy and gives back no joy; the baby replenishes her energy and gives back comfort for effort. As well try to further the satisfaction of a musician by "freeing" him from slavery to piano and violin that he may revel in the din of a boiler factory as to further the satisfaction of woman by "freeing" her from personal service to those she loves that she may revel in impersonal, economic independence.

Second. It would release man from the restraints and obligations to which, through the ages, he has gradually been subjected. Were the wife to become customarily the bread-winner, the husband, set free from drudgery, might return to the hunting and fishing and fighting which engaged his savage ancestor whose squaw fed the household. As man attained a settled life and began to till the soil he took the field work from the woman's shoulders and assumed an ever-increasing share of the responsibility for feeding the family. But, if woman insists on taking back that responsibility, his will be the release and hers the burden.

Third. If, in addition, she should make the marriage tie so loose that either partner could easily slip the noose, she would find that man's fancy roams

more lightly than woman's and she would most often be left deserted. Her affection for the child and, through the child, for the father, is naturally deeper rooted than the husband's. Man, as yet, is but "imperfectly monogamous." But the best protection of mother and child will be secured by enforcing paternal obligation ever more stringently, by demanding from the husband a stricter and stricter fidelity.

Woman, like man, must choose between freedom and duty. Her yearning for freedom is not discreditable. It has been shared by the world's noblest spirits. It is, indeed, say the philosophers, an intimation of immortality. But freedom, pursued after it parts company with duty, leads to destruction. And duty to the child is the supreme duty for woman, since, if she abandon that duty, the race must decline.

CHAPTER XII

THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT AND THE BABY CROP

THE woman's movement is a movement towards progressive national degeneration and ultimate national suicide.

Already the evidence is conclusive that the effects of Feminism upon the inalienable function and immemorial duty of woman — the bearing of children — are so appalling as to threaten the perpetuation of the best parts of the nation.

The one duty to society which women alone can discharge is the bearing of children. In this respect they can never, except at the cost of national extinction, attain identity of powers, and privileges and exemptions with men.¹

The final test of the woman's movement is its effect upon the most essential, exacting and exalted of woman's duties. Ultimately the woman's movement must succeed or fail according as it strengthens or weakens woman's motherhood — her motherhood physical, intellectual and spiritual.

We will examine, then, the available facts that

¹ We may thrust aside as too bizarre and foolish for serious consideration, the experiments aiming at artificial incubation of human infants which Dr. G. Stanley Hall says that a few groups of women have conducted.

illuminate this phase of the woman's movement in America.

Earliest among the manifestations of this movement was the demand for higher education for women, a demand which was speedily met. To-day the college education of women is so abundantly supplied that in 1911-12 72,703 women were in colleges in the United States. College training has become not merely respectable but fashionable. Little trace remains of opposition to college training on the ground that it is unwomanly. In twenty years the number of women at college has more than trebled. This feminine corps of more-or-less intellectuals has increased from 20,874 in 1889-90 to 72,703 in 1911-12, a rate of growth double as fast as the men students' rate of growth.

It is in the circles from which college women come that the woman's movement has been most pronounced, for Feminism as a cult touches the less intellectual levels of society but lightly. All that is involved in the claims of Feminism, the liberation of women by making their lives and work approximate to the lives and work of men, has been attained more by college graduates than by any other set of women. Their lives have been directed consciously according to the gospel of the woman's movement more than the lives of their wage-earning sisters in factories and stores. They have enjoyed that free choice between domestic and business careers, following upon the best training and preparation that society af-

forded, that free choice which Feminism hopes to offer to every woman.

When the higher education of women was in dispute its advocates derided the idea that the motherhood of women could be prejudicially affected in the slightest degree by college education. They argued that maternal instincts were too deep seated and the joys of motherhood were too much desired to be modified by any changes of training or environment.

What are the facts? When they are quoted they are usually challenged. Therefore I have taken them exclusively from the statistical publication of highest repute and unimpeachable integrity, the official journal of the American Statistical Association, verifying and correcting my statements by correspondence with the writers of the articles, none of whom is arguing against Feminism.

First, it is now proven that half the college women graduates do not marry at all. In an article in the *Journal of the American Statistical Association* (June, 1914) has been brought together in scientific fashion all the available marriage statistics of the women graduates of colleges in America. The writer concludes her examination as follows: "The decade of 1890 to 1899 is undoubtedly the most fairly representative (as respects marriage rates). On the one hand, it falls within the epoch which accepted college education for women and looked upon it as thoroughly respectable. On the other hand, the graduates in the latest graduating class (class of

1899) are now at least thirty-five years of age. The marriage record of the decade is therefore fairly complete. The eight colleges graduating more than one hundred students each during the decade (Earlham, Swarthmore, Wilson, Indiana, Vassar, Radcliffe, Wellesley and Bryn Mawr) show fairly uniform marriage rates. The lowest is Bryn Mawr, 41.8 per cent. (294 graduates), and the highest Swarthmore, 58.7 per cent. (148 graduates). It is probable that the marriage rate for this decade is fairly representative of the tendency in the modern women's college world." And, as shown by the figures for this decade: "The proportion of women college graduates who marry is approximately one-half." Possibly a few members of the latest classes included in the calculation might marry after the age of thirty-five or thirty-six; but so few as not to affect the argument.

This conclusion is accepted by women leaders themselves as indisputable. Miss M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr College, says "that 50 per cent. of women college graduates marry and 40 per cent. bear and rear children,"² a gracious concession on their part to nature and to society which should, in her opinion, save them from hostile criticism. To feminists it appears to be a matter of astonishment, a claim on man's gratitude, that one college woman out of two still consents to marry and two out of five actually bear a child.

² *Educational Review*, January, 1908.

To judge whether this marriage rate is less than normal and may be a result of the woman's movement, we must know whether other women in the United States of the same colour and race and nativity marry more or less. Eighty-five per cent. of women college graduates are of native white parentage; so plainly it would be unfair to compare their marriage record with the record of coloured women or of recent immigrants. So we will make a comparison with women of their own colour and race. We do not know, by direct count, the proportion of noncollegiate, white native women, who, given plenty of time, ultimately marry; but only the proportion of them who, when a census is taken, are married women. In 1910 of all the women of native white parentage in the United States who were 15 years of age or over, 69.8 per cent. were married; and of all college graduates of all ages in 1912, 42.2 per cent. were married. But 15 per cent. of college graduates are of foreign or mixed parentage; and, paradoxically enough, the marriage rate among women of foreign or mixed parentage is lower than among women of native white parentage. Making allowance for this infusion among college graduates of a strain of mixed parentage it is shown³ that out of every 100 women of the same colour and nativity, 67 noncollegians, 15 years of age and over, are married and 42.2 collegians. Collegians are all over

³ See article "Education and Fecundity," by Nearing, *Journal of American Statistical Association*, June, 1914.

22. The percentage of noncollegians over 22 who are married would be considerably higher than 67; but, as we do not know the exact figure, we will accept the handicap upon the argument involved in taking the proportion for those 15 years of age and over. Now, 67 is 59 per cent. above 42. So that the chance that a noncollege white American girl will marry is at least 59 per cent. higher than the chance that a college girl will marry. But we know by actual count that of every 100 collegians 50 marry; therefore, of every 100 noncollegians 80 will marry.

Thus far, then, it appears that the woman's movement and college education and all that it brings in its train must share the responsibility for the spinster state of 30 out of every 100 graduates.

Next consider the number of children born to that half of the graduates who, despite their college training and subsequent economic careers, do marry.

First, we notice the disturbing fact that a far larger proportion of the marriages of college graduates are sterile than among the general population. The proportion of infertile marriages among married graduates of the period of 1870-1901, the count being made over ten years after the graduation of the youngest class considered, varies from 20.1 per cent. among the graduates of Rockford to 32.9 per cent. among the graduates of Smith;⁴ whereas

⁴ See Nearing on "Education and Fecundity": *American Statistical Association Quarterly*, June, 1914.

in the native white population outside colleges among women under 45 years of age married 10 to 20 years, a group comparable in all respects, it is 13 per cent. as is proven by Dr. Joseph A. Hill.⁵ So that childless marriages are one and a half to two and a half times as common among those college women who do marry as among married white American women in general. Whether that sad condition is due to causes physiological or psychological will be considered later.

Next, how many children do those college women bear, who do have any at all? We know that the 376 women who graduated from Vassar between 1880 and 1889 had, by 1912, given birth to 348 children and that the 518 women who graduated during the same period from Wellesley had given birth to 427 children, which means less than 1 child per graduate in each case, or for every 100 graduates who married, 167.3 and 166.1 children, respectively. Since the youngest of these women would be over 45 years old when the count was made, it is unlikely that their families will increase. Plainly they have not been recklessly prolific. They have scorned the injunction to increase and multiply.

“Where only those graduates who have been graduated a sufficient number of years to allow for marriage and all probable family increase are considered,” the number of children per family is less than two. That is to say, that women graduates,

⁵ See *American Statistical Association Quarterly*, December, 1913.

married and unmarried being reckoned, bear on an average less than one child — not enough to replace themselves and the husbands of the married half, even if every child survived. The spinster half becomes extinct, unrepresented by any child of their married classmates. Fruitless twigs on the tree of life they die. Remember that 3.7 children to each wife are necessary to maintain a stationary population.⁶

Again, to judge whether the woman's movement has had any influence in producing this race-suicidal result we must consider the fruitlessness of noncollegians in the same sections of the population. Dr. Joseph A. Hill has ascertained that the birth rate of native-born white American women under 45 years of age, married 10 to 20 years, is 2.7 per family, the families of the youngest being incomplete.⁷ Compare this figure with the number 1.67 for the completed families of Vassar and Wellesley graduates, though to do so is to compare completed collegians' families with incomplete noncollegians' families, and therefore to weight the figures against the argument. We find that of every 100 graduates about 50 will marry and they will produce about 84 children, and of every corresponding 100 noncollegians about 80 will marry and they will produce

⁶ "Education and Race Suicide," by Sprague in *Journal of Heredity*, April, 1915.

⁷ See "Comparative Fecundity of Women of Native and Foreign Parentage in the United States," in *American Statistical Association Quarterly*, December, 1900.

more than 216 children — roughly two and a half times the baby crop.⁸

That is the central and stupefying fact. Women college graduates in America bear only two-fifths as many children in proportion to their number as other native white American women.

It is not contended that the whole of this difference of fertility is due to the woman's movement. Other factors operate — social and financial conditions, the desire for luxury, the high standard of living, the inability of their natural mates to marry as young as formerly, the desire to give each child born the highest training society offers. Can the influence of these factors be separated and a residuum, the effect of the woman's movement, be left? Yes.

College men come from the same stratum of society as college women; they are equally affected by the craving for luxury, the business necessity for postponing marriage, the wish to have no more children than they can train most efficiently. A comparison of the marriage and birth rates among college men and college women will enable us to eliminate the influence of the factors common to both and to see whether a college education and the economic independence which accompanies it and the whole

⁸ If the comparison were made with the families of Bryn Mawr graduates married over ten years the proportion of children would be two instead of two and a half times as many for non-collegiate women. But the number of graduates of Bryn Mawr married over ten years, being only 85, is too small to allow a valid comparison.

influence of the woman's movement on the college girl appear to affect the woman as they do not affect the man.

Misleading statistics on this subject have been quoted both by feminists and anti-feminists, misleading because they referred to families which would naturally be increased by births after the time at which the children were counted. A period must be chosen for comparison sufficiently remote to allow for the completion of the families at the time the count is made. Yale and Vassar furnish the needed statistics. The marriage rate of Yale graduates had declined to 66.3 per cent. for the period 1867-86, a period long enough to furnish a basis, and Professor William B. Bailey, the statistician, has calculated from the class records that the average number of children born to the married graduates of these classes when all their families are complete is 2.3.⁹ The graduates of 1870-89 at Vassar and of 1880-89 at Wellesley numbered 1277 and had borne by 1912, when the members of the youngest class would average 45 years of age and their families be complete, a total of 1197 children or 93.7 for each hundred graduates.

So that every hundred Yale graduates produced 152.5 children and every hundred Vassar and Wellesley graduates produced 93.7 children.

All circumstances of social standing, desire for luxury, business necessity and the like being the same,

⁹ *Yale Review*, November, 1908, p. 337.

the only difference between the men and the women being the different effect upon them of all that is connoted by and results from college education, it is plain, then, that the fecundity of the men is 63 per cent. greater than the fecundity of the women — an appalling difference, a capital charge for the woman's movement to answer. Whatever factors account for the slim crops of babies in the men graduates' families are insufficient to account for the still slimmer crops in the women graduates' families. The startling conclusion stands out:

The woman's movement has reduced the fertility of college women by 63 per cent. below the level to which it has been reduced by other causes. No more serious impeachment could be made of any social movement.

The defenders of the higher education of women and of the industrial work of women which follows upon it, confronted by the low fertility of college graduates, attempt to show that the race suicide which glares from the vital statistics of women collegians is equally rife among their cousins, sisters and friends who do not go to college. "We know that no one nowadays," writes Miss M. Carey Thomas, "has more than about two children per marriage — neither college men nor college women, nor the brothers and sisters of college men and women who have not been to college, nor native white American families, nor American immigrant

families in the second generation.”¹⁰ As has been shown above, this statement is not accurate. Native white American women produce more nearly three than two children per marriage, and the human harvest among men collegians is more abundant by fifty-eight children for every hundred graduates than among women collegians — a difference sufficient to determine extinction or survival.

An inquiry into the families of 337 college women and 389 of their sisters, cousins and friends, showed that the college graduates married about two years later in life than their companions who did not go to college and that the average number of living children to each married woman at the time of the inquiry, when the child-bearing period was not passed for all the women, was 1.65 for the collegians and 1.87 for the noncollegians.¹¹ The figure when stated as the average per family, indicates, apparently, but a trifling difference; its significance is not revealed until it is noticed that for every hundred families there are twenty-two more children among the noncollegians than among the collegians, a difference quite palpable when the whole college woman population is considered. It means that the 72,000 in colleges in 1912 will bear 15,840 fewer

¹⁰ *Educational Review*, January, 1908.

¹¹ See article by Mary Roberts Smith, associate professor of sociology in Leland Stanford University, in *American Statistical Association Quarterly*, March-June, 1900.

children than the same number of their stay-at-home companions.

But though comparisons between college women and their noncollege compeers may display the differences due exclusively to college education, they do not discover the total effects of the woman's movement, because that movement embraces other factors than education, and one of them, the economic independence of women, affects also the stay-at-home women of the social strata from which college women are drawn.

"More than half of the college women were engaged in teaching and nearly three quarters in some occupation outside of their own homes before marriage," writes Dr. Mary Roberts Smith, with respect to the graduates she investigated. "Less than one quarter of the noncollege women were engaged in teaching and only slightly more than one-third were engaged in some occupation outside their own homes before marriage. Evidently college education for women results in wage earning. Whatever the cause, the result is a striking degree of economic independence before marriage."

Here we descry the more potent cause of the reduced fertility of women college graduates. A college education results in an after struggle for economic independence with all the train of anti-social consequences — marriage refused or postponed, children discovered to be a fatal hindrance to a career, health marred or ruined, luxurious standards

set up on the income which need support only one and a twist given to the nature away from domestic life. And one-third of the noncollegiate sisters, cousins and friends are swept by the woman's movement into the same vortex. Though their fertility, therefore, be higher than their college companions' fertility, it also is lower than it would be were Feminism not active also in their ranks.

The twenty-two fewer children born to each hundred college graduates' marriages is a measure only of the additional effect which Feminism produces when it can add to its anti-domestic influence among all girls in well-to-do homes the further influence of college education and the wider economic self-support which follows upon college education.

Apologists for the woman's movement, alarmed by these facts, have put forward the defence "that the earlier college women were more professionally inclined, that their marriage rate was abnormally low for this reason, and that with the more varied classes of later years, the marriage rate must have risen." But, unluckily for this defence, there has been a steady decline instead of an increase in the marriage rates, among Wellesley students, for example, from the earliest classes to the later classes.¹²

A part of the celibacy among college graduates is accounted for by the fact that in some families a selection is made among the daughters. "Ger-

¹² See "Wellesley's Birth-rate," by Johnson and Stutzmann, *Journal of Heredity*, June, 1915.

trude is fond of the boys and they gather round her like flies round honey. She will be all right and surely marry. There's no need to put her to college," parents argue. "But Elizabeth cares as little for young men as they seem to care for her. She should be prepared to earn her own living." Thus among college graduates there is a somewhat higher proportion than in the general population of the women less disposed, naturally, at least during adolescence, towards marriage. How far this factor accounts for the high rate of celibacy and sterility among college women nobody can tell.

However, the trend towards sterility is so conspicuous and the selection for college of the less feminine among daughters is, relatively, of so little moment, that the gravest fears for the future are warranted.

Feminism sets for its goal the occupation of all women for money outside their homes both before and after marriage. Judging from the startling facts above revealed it is clear that in the halcyon day when Feminism's goal is reached the troubles of the world will speedily be cured by racial extinction. National problems will be solved by national death. The woman's movement threatens to devote every national energy to making of civilisation a soft bed on which to put mankind to its eternal sleep. It has succeeded in turning one-half of its best-beloved votaresses into spinsters, into making a quarter of

the other half childless and setting a two-baby family standard for the rest.

Discussions of the marriage and the fecundity of college women are usually vitiated by the hypothesis that the effect of the higher education alone is under suspicion. While the statistics indicate that a college training aggravates the disease of Feminism they do not prove anything about the effect of strenuous study upon woman's physiological capacity for child bearing. That married graduates lose by stillbirths or premature births a quarter of the babies they conceive, as Dr. Mary Roberts Smith discovered,¹³ indicates that either the collegiate development of their minds has been at serious cost to their bodies or else that their intelligence is not sufficiently practical to enable them to care for themselves during the most critical months of their lives.

But their aversion to marriage and to child bearing is psychological as much as physiological. As living in a dark and airless tenement makes the victim susceptible to tuberculosis, so the higher education renders women susceptible to the germs of Feminism.

Feminism does not operate so injuriously by mutilating women's bodies as by starving their instincts. Women who have studied hard for a decade, who have lived in college cloisters where no child's laugh

¹³ See quarterly publications of *American Statistical Association*, March-June, 1900.

was ever heard, who have then started on a career, straining every nerve to achieve success, their vitality daily drained in classroom or office, with neither time nor inclination left to fondle a baby or cultivate domesticity; women who have won a salary and position as the guerdon of their pains, find it hard to retire into the privacy of a home or to sacrifice their salary for the joys of motherhood. The joys look pale, the sacrifices are patent. "It is not easy for a self-respecting woman to find a mate with whom she can live on the terms demanded by her self-respect," explains one defender.¹⁴

Why should a five-thousand-dollar woman be a mere cow, they sceptically ask; why should she abandon a yearly trip to Paris as buyer or designer, a growing medical practice, or a high position in a school merely to attain an experience which any dullard immigrant can equally achieve? Or if motherhood's appeal and a husband's wishes are strong enough to make a baby desired, then the interruption to the career, the enforced seclusion and the financial sacrifice all militate against a repetition of the experiment. One baby may be tolerated for the sake of "self-development," for a supreme experience which gives an added flavour to life. But a second time it would be no novelty and a third time it would be an insufferable handicap. So less than two children to each married graduate has become the rule.

¹⁴ "Marriage as a Trade," by Cicely Hamilton, p. 240.

“Tut! tut! Why worry?” is the retort of some feminists to this impeachment. “Already there are too many babies born. Let the college women go childless and devote themselves to the better care and training of the other children of the community. What harm?”

If one baby be as good as another, the child of the Bohemian peasant as valuable as the child of the New England collegian, the infant Georgian piccanniny as desirable as the infant Boston Brahmin, then there is no cause for alarm. America is not threatened immediately, like France, with a diminishing population. By the fecundity of the immigrants in the first generation and by the flowing tide of immigration, the population of the United States mounts millions higher each decade. Quantity we have, enough and to spare. If every creature born of woman is endowed equally with potential powers, powers of mind and body and spirit, which await only a favouring environment for glorious development, then the failure of college women to reproduce themselves is only their own concern. The nation can find its future governors and judges and business leaders, its preachers and poets and philosophers, its writers and thinkers, its superintendents and managers, its bankers and brain workers, among the dull-faced, semi-civilised victims of Europe's oppressions who are now landing at Ellis Island. In that event no social duty, no patriotic obligation, can be laid on those women who have been showered with the

choicest gifts the nation can offer to make any return by assuming the holy cares of motherhood. They are alone the judges of the loss they suffer in their own lives by being childless. If they calculate that a fat salary gives more comfort than a full cradle, their neighbours have nothing to say. Religion may upbraid them for the selfishness of their lives, for thwarting the purposes of the Creator, and for belying the teachings of the Church; their mothers may warn them that nature cannot be mocked with impunity and that an empty lodging is a cold refuge for an aged woman's heart; and doctors may remind them that the full use of the woman's bodily powers is essential to the woman's bodily health. But the statesman and the sociologist must keep silence. Of mere humanity there is abundance. The pullulating swarms in city gutters, the crowded families in negro hovels, offer raw material aplenty for the next generation; and if they be innately as fine material as college women's babies, then there is no fear of national decay.

But biology and history forbid the assumption which leads to this comfortable conclusion. Human beings are not all alike at birth. They differ in quality equally with dogs and horses; one may be a mongrel, another a blue ribbon winner. Nature, as much as nurture, determines what a child shall become. The family strain delimits the child's destiny. The budding science of eugenics is revealing the incalculable worth of breeding for the improve-

ment of mankind. The infertility of the best strains means deterioration of stock.

Worse even than its race suicidal effect is Feminism's selection for sterility of the best women in the land.¹⁵ It provides that, pending its final victory, when all women will be under its sway, the nation shall breed from its worse.

Granting that higher education develops the mind, refines the character and demands superior mental powers the lack of which causes the "weeding out" of a large proportion in grammar school and high school, we must assume that college graduates are the pick of the nation's women. The ideal of America is to continue the rapid extension of opportunities for college training until, as wealth increases and parents come ever more under the sway of American ideas, every girl capable of profiting by a college education shall receive a college education.

But, to-day, a college education brings in its train economic self-support and racial extinction. In proportion as our young girls show superior ability and are able to take a higher education do they cease to bear children. So that the goal of Americanism, a higher education for everybody, united with the programme of Feminism, economic independence for woman, involves the perpetuation of a reduced nation by breeding from the women who are too dull

¹⁵ Further evidence is contained in "The Decadence of the Native American Stock," by Frederick S. Crum, quarterly publication, *American Statistical Association*, September, 1914.

for college. That means breeding from the worse. The ablest and best-trained women are to be enticed, by college education first and by high salaries in business after, to sterility. The mothers of the nation are to be the half educated. When a family rises in mentality and social position so that its daughters can go to Vassar, Wellesley or Bryn Mawr, that family, on the daughter's side, is to die out. We are to establish an Unnatural Selection of the Fittest to die, and the Unfittest to survive.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FADING OF MATERNAL INSTINCT

So self-evident is it that society cannot sanction its own annihilation that Feminism defends the complete avoidance of maternity only by a favoured few, who, it claims, have a gift to render superior to offspring. Frau Meyreder, the German leader, announces that "there can be no reason why women who, for the sake of intellectual interests, choose to forego motherhood, should be covered with reproach. Only an age which no longer possesses a spiritual guidance or ideals would consider the avoidance of maternity as an objection to the intellectual endeavours of certain women."¹ Such women should be supported by "the general mass of women," argues the German feminist leader, because "changes in the social order can be brought about only through such women as have been freed of the limitations of the sex which are in the order of nature, who vary from the prevailing type, and who, through the force of their independence, attain to a new conception of life. Such women, if you choose, are the 'unwomanly' ones — no doubt less useful for man and the elemental sex purpose,

¹ "A Survey of the Woman Problem," p. 55.

and yet indispensable factors of the advancing processes of civilisation." ²

Here are set up the two usual defences of well-to-do women who avoid maternity: 1, Their work in "securing changes in the social order"; and 2, "their intellectual endeavours."

Doubtless the unwomanly women are procuring "changes in the social order." Whether this service compensates for their sterility depends upon the social value of the changes which they procure. What are these changes? What is their effect upon social welfare? Such women form the fighting phalanx in the woman's movement. They are the pioneer advocates of "votes for women," of economic self-support for women and of sexual independence for women. Their efforts are mainly directed towards smoothing the road along which other women may follow their lead and in persuading women in larger numbers to advance after them. Unfortunately for their contention, in proportion as the changes in the social order which they advocate are established, the number of childless women increases. The success of the pioneers but hastens the day of national decay. Their alternative social service but increases the social danger. It is an aggravation, not an extenuation of their offence. These women are in the same position as a man who should claim to compensate society for his own refusal to work for a living by persuading other men

² "A Survey of the Woman Problem," p. 63.

to join him in a strike against work. A hobo cannot justify his hoboism by recruiting an army of hoboes. Rebellion against motherhood is not consecrated by organising a general strike against motherhood.

What are the "intellectual endeavours" which can rightly be considered so much more valuable than child bearing; what occupations are deemed sufficient to excuse a woman for avoiding it? She who avoids motherhood in order to leave herself free for social pleasures, bridge, dancing and the like, is generally condemned.

If she avoids it in order to earn a salary and enjoy independence, she is criticised still by some, though by a smaller number.

If she be highly gifted, a great singer or actress or public entertainer, we more readily excuse her from maternal duties.

For the sake of high intellectual achievements, to a George Eliot, a Rosa Bonheur, or Harriet Martineau, we still more readily grant exemption.

For the sake of public service, patriotism, philanthropy, a Florence Nightingale, a Clara Barton, a Joan of Arc, a Jane Addams, a Susan B. Anthony, a St. Theresa, we not only excuse from maternity but we rejoice that celibacy left them free for service to mankind of a "wider" sort.

Thus it transpires that the higher the type of woman, the more readily we excuse her from motherhood; the more we encourage her to do something

else beside reproduce her kind, the more we applaud her success in other than maternal offices.

Race improvement under such circumstances is a Utopia which ever recedes. When the finer a woman is the more readily we excuse her from perpetuating her good qualities, we are making sure of racial degeneration, using up the human capital and inviting national bankruptcy.³

A woman of splendid gifts or highest character, who eschews matrimony, completely avoids maternity. But the loss of the best elements in the population is due, in large part, also, to the avoidance of maternity, complete or partial, by favoured women in large numbers, women for whom society has done most, women who marry but either deliberately remain childless or restrict their family to one child.

Old-fashioned readers, who regard babies as heaven sent, the natural fruit of marriage, given or denied according to a fate which the parents cannot control, will be aghast at the assumption that, even when married, people accept or renounce

³ The case would be still worse if gifted men, too, were encouraged to embrace celibacy (as they were under the 'disastrously dysgenic influence of monasticism), in order to give their undivided time to "serving humanity in a wider manner." To some extent the rising standards of living are operating to shut off the most highly organised of men, as well as women, from parenthood, but the case is less alarming on the masculine side because success for man encourages his marriage, while for woman success encourages celibacy.

parenthood at their pleasure. That educated persons, men and women, can and do exercise this prerogative is a new and dominant factor in Feminism. No longer is the birth rate controlled by nature, its restriction dependent upon ascetic self-restraint. The Malthusian doctrine that population tends to increase faster than the means of subsistence has been superseded by the Neo-Malthusian doctrine that husband and wife, while continuing to cohabit, can and should regulate the number of the offspring with respect not merely to the means of subsistence but to their own love of luxury. Young girls and engaged couples discuss with amazing frankness, wherever women have been "freed," the precise number of children they will bear and the conditions under which they will consent to bear them. The deliberate prevention of conception, not the physiological incapacity to conceive, is the main cause of infertility.

How widespread is this practice is revealed in the unique and most authoritative Report of the Royal Commission on the Decline of the Birth Rate in New South Wales, where Feminism is more advanced than in America, and the statistics of births are analogous to the American college statistics.

The commission reports:

"We are satisfied that the statistics show

- a. That a decline of birth rate in recent years has characterised all the States of Australia

and New Zealand; also the United Kingdom; also many of the large cities of Europe, the United States, and South America.

- b. That there was in New South Wales a sudden, remarkable fall in birth rate in the year 1889, followed by a continuous and rapid decline, until, in 1902, the total decline had exceeded ten per thousand of population."

The report of the commission further states:

"There is no evidence of any increase of physiological sterility in women in New South Wales," but

"The conclusions which we draw from the evidence on this branch of our subject are inevitable; namely, that there is a diminution in fecundity and fertility in recent years, which is due to:

- a. Deliberate prevention of conception, and destruction of embryonic life;
- b. Pathological causes consequent upon the means used and the practices involved therein."

"Prevention," it was further testified, "is commonly advocated in all classes of society" in New South Wales "except among the very lowest," as the slight evidence available suggests is also the case in England and in the United States. Yet the number of children born on the average to each family in New South Wales when the marriage is con-

tracted before the age of thirty is over three.⁴ But, though the average age at marriage of the women college graduates in America is also less than thirty, the issue of the marriages on the average is less than two. In France, also, the classic example of the perils of excessive family restriction, where the population is stationary, and in some Departments is declining, the fecundity even of the least fecund, the intellectual classes, surpasses the fecundity of American college women. To every hundred families in France among the liberal professions 305 children are born, half as many more as are born to the married women graduates of American colleges.⁵

So that France, the standing warning to the world of the dangers of extreme limitation of families, yet maintains a healthier rate of growth even among those classes who most restrict their families than is maintained by the finest product of American education and American Feminism.

This diseased condition in whole sections of society, this abnegation of the will to live, brings husbands as well as wives under condemnation.

But responsibility for the failure to reproduce must be laid mainly upon the wives, both because

⁴ See Exhibit 34 in Report of Royal Commission on the Decline of the Birth Rate in New South Wales, 1904.

⁵ "The Fertility of Marriages According to Profession and Social Position," by M. Lucien March, Directeur de la Statistique Generale de la France, in the Report of First International Eugenics Congress, London, 1912.

the evidence already cited shows that college men do in fact accept paternity more fully than college women accept maternity, and also because, notably in America, the wife, particularly in educated circles, is treated so justly by the husband that her wishes as to the number of her children usually prevail. Occasional cases can be cited of the refusal of a husband to second a wife's desire for children; but such rare instances are of little weight against the bulk of evidence. It is impossible to credit that college women marry men who shirk paternity, while noncollege women marry men who desire paternity. Much more likely is it that the readiness of the American husband to save his wife the discomfort, pain and seclusion of maternity is partly responsible for her successful avoidance of woman's natural burden. Were he dominating, brutal and impulsive, careless of her desires and indifferent to her pain, as feminists sometimes picture him, she could not escape the fruitage of marriage. Upon a matter so private and delicate direct evidence it is well-nigh impossible to procure; but the evidence given before the Royal Commission in New South Wales, given under responsibility and subject to sifting cross-examination, the evidence of doctors, clergymen and drug dealers, proved that women expressed the desire to avoid maternity and took positive action in accordance with their wishes.

“Would Humanism, then,” it will be asked, “urge women to bear, fatalistically, all the family

physiologically possible?" By no means. Families of six, eight and more exhaust the mother's strength before her time and condemn the young ones to neglect and ill-training. Prudential restraint is advantageous not only to the individual families but to society. Reckless multiplication is a mark of inferior civilisation.

Feeble-minded and degenerate parents, whose progeny would inevitably people our prisons and poorhouses, should, indeed, be safeguarded against parenthood or marrying. The tuberculous and those with any hereditary taint merit warm encomiums for refraining from parenthood. Wives with diseased or vicious husbands whose traits of character or defects of body they shrink from imposing on another generation, are to be deeply pitied, not harshly blamed. Those few who are cursed to sterility as a result of some man's vices may be pardoned any bitterness in their hostility towards men in general.

These exceptional, pathological cases and all whose too numerous offspring are condemned to semi-starvation and brutalised ignorance, should be the first beneficiaries of medical advice and aid.

But it is one of life's large ironies that the knowledge of preventive checks on population which was spread for the purpose of staying the multiplication of the least fit, has been utilised, not by them, but by the most fit, those best able, both in wealth and in brains, to rear fine children. What was

meant for the poor has been seized by the rich. And thus a differential, ill-balanced birth-rate has been established. The well-to-do have not been satisfied to reduce their contribution of children to a desirable, patriotic limit; they are shirking a full half of their fair contribution.

Though official evidence has never been taken in America to prove that the voluntary limitation of family by the same means as are universally practised in New South Wales is the explanation of the suicidally low birth rate in some classes, yet circumstantial and unofficial evidence is abundant. In a book written by a feminist, Lydia K. Commander, much of this evidence is collated. Summing up, she states: "The knowledge of how to control family scarcely existed in America two generations ago. Now it is practically universal. To-day thousands of physicians in this country make a practice of disseminating the knowledge of how to avoid children"; and again: "The physicians who have never advised any woman against child bearing, and explained to her how to avoid it, appear to be few in number." "Many people, however, are not dependent upon physicians for such knowledge. It is widespread, almost universal among intelligent Americans. The vast majority know how to control the size of the family, and do so deliberately."⁶

As to the relative responsibility of men and of

⁶ "The American Idea," pp. 90 to 92.

women assumed in this matter, the same witness testifies: "The strongest opposition to family is, however, coming from women. The control of reproduction is now largely in their hands, and they are unfavourable to maintaining such a birth-rate as will be for the benefit of the nation."

This outcome, repugnant upon first view, is so inevitable that it might have been anticipated. Women are the temples of the race. They live through their children more than do men. Normally man desires a wife for the sake of having the woman; woman desires a husband for the sake of having the child. Man seeks the woman in the wife; woman seeks the child in the husband. Normally woman lives through her children, man lives through his work. But Feminism destroys this distinction. It wants woman also to live through her work, lucrative work pursued through life. Just as man's life in his work has made minor his life in his children, so, in proportion as woman's life is in her work, her life is made minor in her children. She cannot be deeply involved both in children and in outside work. As her pursuits become mannish, so will her preferences. And already the results are in evidence in the decay and extinction of families.

Man's natural desire for the woman is far stronger than woman's desire for the man. He may want no children, but he cannot escape wanting a wife. But when the woman wants no children she is apt to want no husband. Man may be nonpaternal but

the race will endure; but when woman is nonmaternal the race will perish.

Desire for children is not an ineradicable instinct in woman. It can be destroyed; it has been destroyed. Put a woman till she is thirty under the same training and environment as a man; cultivate in her the same ambitions; subject her to the same sort of strain; deprive her of baby companionship; strip her of family life, and the dormant desire for children of her own may never wake or may stir so drowsily that it is stifled by other desires. Precisely as happens with men. But with men nature has avoided the danger of race extinction by implanting a strong sexual craving; with women nature has supplied no such safeguard. The training and environment that narcotise her maternal longings also narcotise her feebler sexual craving. And, consequently, half the college women graduates do not marry, and a quarter of those who do marry are childless. Their desire for maternity has proved too feeble to overcome the obstacles to maternity. In more romantic terms, they have failed to fall in love and to rouse a lover. While the blood ran hot through their youthful veins and their tide of life surged fullest, they were preoccupied with winning degrees and professional standing. They were too wide awake to dream love's sweet dream. Cupid's arrow could not pierce the text book or the ledger that armoured their heart. A lover would have been a distraction favourable neither to college

standing nor professional advancement. A home was less alluring than a business appointment, a baby than an increase in salary. So that the natural period for romance flew by and Dame Nature's chief weapon was blunted. Middle-age calculation set down marriage as a losing gamble and celibacy was idealised as a life of freedom and self-development. Yearnings for an infant to fondle could not overthrow the yearnings for success in a career. A hesitating lover was repulsed because blood and heart were not prepared to give a lover welcome. So was consummated the tragedy of the woman's existence, the extinguishing of the torch of life which had been handed down to her through the generations. So the deterioration of the national stock was hastened; so the worst blight of Feminism afflicted the land.

The cure which Feminism advocates for the diseased birth rate is to make such social arrangements that women may have work without foregoing motherhood; that is, to combine outside pursuits with maternal activity. This is a quack remedy which would only aggravate the disease. It attempts to restore health by another dose of the poison. As feminists themselves are compelled to admit, "it is significant that simultaneously with the decline of marriage and child bearing, the number of wage-earning women has steadily increased. The business woman seems not to be prolific. Rarely can a woman manage a business career and a large family at once. When she does so the fam-

ily is a terrible handicap. Even a few children seriously disturb a business or professional career.”⁷

Analogous evidence is offered by numerous women: “A doctor who has been practising for a number of years largely among working women said: ‘Women simply cannot have many children and work away from home. They can manage one or two, but not more. They find they must either neglect the children or the business, and whichever they slight they are apt to be dissatisfied. The usual way is to leave the family out.’

“A woman dentist, with one little girl, said: ‘I can’t have more children because I’m so busy with my profession, and I cannot get a competent person to care for the baby. I should have to give it much of my time and let my practice run down. It is out of the question.’

“A business woman with two children said: ‘I am fortunate in having my mother live with me, for I can trust the children in her hands. In other circumstances I should not have been at liberty to have children.’

“A doctor, with twenty years’ practice and much interested in sociology, said: ‘The wage-earning woman fails to have children because she cannot make motherhood and industry co-existent.’

“Another physician said: ‘Women in all ranks of life are leaving housework for the industrial world and the family is disappearing in consequence.

⁷ “The American Idea,” pp. 193 and 194, by L. K. Commander.

When a woman loves her profession she will work at it and will not have children when they interfere with it.' " 8

Concerning France, M. Henri Bordeaux writes: "The daywork of women has been the death of the home." 9

Humanism recognises that it is impossible in nature for a woman at the same time to bear and rear children and to drain her strength in an outside occupation. Either child or business must suffer. Sensitive women with a natural love for their children abandon the business; tough-minded women, wedded indissolubly to their money-making, let the children suffer. Unfortunate mothers, compelled by poverty to continue at work, know that their children are neglected, and heart break at home is added to physical exhaustion at work. Society cannot adopt the feminist rule and attempt to adjust child bearing to industry except by adopting the feminist psychology and admitting that children are less important than material production. If the children are to come first, then the mother must care for them. Especially in the first five years they cannot be reared by factory methods. They must be hand trained. Attempts to liberate the mother for business by putting a dozen or two of babies under one nurse, mean the destruction of the babies. Even the single, hired, nurse girl is a rank failure, from the baby's

8 "The American Idea," by L. K. Commander, pp. 194-195.

9 *Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1915.

point of view. That child is best guarded in the most critical stage of its life journey, whose mother, scorning money making and social pleasures alike, with a sufficient income earned by the husband for reasonable comfort and freedom from anxiety, herself spends with her child the greater part of each day.

Humanism says that life must not be mutilated to fit industry. Industry must be adjusted to fit life. The woman who begrudges her own children a few years of her undivided attention, perhaps cannot be suppressed, but she need not be admired. Her example is pernicious, her ethics immoral, her selfishness destructive to the nation. Fortunately nature decrees an effective remedy against her permanent influence. She becomes extinct. She is superseded by the other type of woman "whose children rise up and call her blessed."

To the humanist suggestion that motherhood is the happiest, highest and most socially valuable of all careers for women, it is often retorted that it is useless to advocate marriage for all women because there are so many more women than men that millions are spinsters by natural necessity. Unhappily for Great Britain her reckless policy, pursued through centuries, of sending her sons to possess the distant parts of the empire has left her with more than a million and a half of these "superfluous" women.

But in this matter, as in so many others, a special

Providence seems to have cared for America. In the United States among the adult population, twenty-one years of age and over, there are 110 males to every 100 females. The total excess of adult males, according to the census reports of 1910, is 2,443,397. So the men suffer the grievance. The men have the excuse for celibacy, for becoming the army of the dissatisfied, while each adult woman has the chance of one husband and a fraction of a husband over.

True, this excess of men doomed by fate to bachelorhood is not evenly distributed among all classes and in all districts. But among the native whites of native parentage, the blue-blooded families, the natural aristocracy of birth, the classes in which move the women college graduates half of whom remain single, there is a greater proportion of men to women, 105.8 men to 100 women, than among those of foreign or mixed parentage, or than among the negroes. The natural opportunity for the high-grade white woman to marry one of her own kind actually exceeds the natural opportunity of the negroess.¹⁰

*¹⁰ Males to 100 Females
21 years of age and
over (1910)*

United States—total	110.0
Native white of native parentage	105.8
Native white of foreign or mixed parentage.....	98.5
Foreign born whites	132.7
Negroes	101.3

Again, in some States there is a slight dearth of marriageable men, though nowhere so marked a dearth as there is in several States of marriageable women. In Massachusetts there are only 95 adult men to each 100 adult women. But to redress the balance the superfluous women have but to travel by trolley across the border into Vermont, Maine or Connecticut, where the men outnumber the women in a like proportion. While taking the States of New England together there is a slight preponderance of women, a few miles away in the State of New York there is an equal preponderance of men.

In the Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coast States, the men would indeed be in a parlous condition were transportation to other States whence wives can be won by peaceful methods not so easy. In Nevada and Wyoming men outnumber women more than two to one, and in Arizona, Montana, Idaho, Washington and Oregon by more than three to two. Such unnatural discrepancies led in ancient times to adventures like the rape of the Sabine women; to-day they cause nothing more sensational than trips East in search of a sweetheart.¹¹

¹¹ *Males to 100*
Females 21
and over.

Males to 100
Females
all ages.

98.8	New England	99.3
105.6	Middle Atlantic	103.3
109.2	Great North Central	106.0
116.2	West North Central	109.9
102.1	South Atlantic	101.2

In the distribution of population, then, there is no explanation of the maldistribution of the birth rate. It is by preference, not by natural necessity, that the most highly educated women eschew matrimony. If custom and current opinion approved the woman exhibiting as much enterprise in moving across the country to find a location favourable to matrimony as a man shows in seeking a location favourable to business, she would never need to travel far to place herself where women are at a premium. Men, not women, are "superfluous."

<i>Males to 100 Females 21 and over.</i>		<i>Males to 100 Females all ages.</i>
102.9	Great South Central	101.9
113.8	West South Central	107.2
148.6	Mountain	127.9
144.9	Pacific	129.5
104.4	Maine	103.2
101.0	New Hampshire	100.9
106.2	Vermont	105.3
95.1	Massachusetts	96.7
98.5	Rhode Island	99.3
103.7	Connecticut	102.3
102.9	New York	101.2
105.2	Pennsylvania	105.9

CHAPTER XIV

HUMANIST EDUCATION FOR WOMEN

THE failure of women's colleges, from the humanist point of view, has been due largely to their aping of men's colleges. Humanism would recognise the equal right of women with men to an education adapted to their natures and to their minds. It would aim to transform education for girls and women so that it would not starve the feminine instincts, exhaust the physical vitality or direct the mind and heart away from homemaking to the desert of money-making. What changes are necessary?

The curriculum should be adapted from the grammar school onward to the girl's psychology, to her physical life and to her natural career. Already a small beginning has been made by the teaching of cooking and housecraft in grammar schools, in a few schools (for instance, in New York City), model flats in which housekeeping in all its parts may be practised, being part of the equipment. Every girl who completes the grammar school course should be familiar with the rudiments of mothercraft and homemaking and every high school should offer a full course in domestic science and art or Home Economics and in caring for the baby. Surely to adolescent girls these are more suitable and profit-

able than botany and geometry or typewriting and stenography.

Even common subjects should not be taught to girls in the identical mode as to boys. In 1914 the Board of Superintendents of the City of New York, having awakened to the fact that a girl's mind, in order of development and mode of action is not a duplicate of a boy's mind, approved special courses of study in history, chemistry, physics, etc., for girls in high schools. To make her follow the same intellectual path, step for step, as her brother, is to do her the same injustice as to set a boy with a musical gift to study painting or a born draughtsman to follow medicine. Girls do not attain as high a standard as boys in the study of geometry and physics; they do excellent work in language study and in the arts. Boys will make sacrifices to indulge in athletic sports; girls will readily relinquish athletic sports. "Male and female created he them," different in tastes and mentality, each as good as the other, each capable of great achievement, each requiring a training suited to their special faculties.

In colleges the differentiation of studies Humanism would make more marked. Here the young woman is nearing the period of Romance, a period which does not mean to her the same as it means to the young man. Falling in love to him suggests harder work at business, a closer application to money-making; for, pending the feminist millennium, it implies maintaining wife and children. So it

spurs him to keener preparation for a career, to closer application to the bread-and-butter studies. But to the young woman it suggests naturally the holier cares of maternity, the creation of a home, the escape from the dusty strife of store or factory or office.

So Humanism, in arranging college studies for women, instead of copying the studies that have been evolved for men, would start afresh to discover what science, what art, what literature will best prepare the woman adequately to meet all the probable experiences of her later life. Humanism would not anticipate that any but unfortunate women will be required to earn a livelihood outside of the home after marriage. It would safeguard the interests of the majority, who should become wives and mothers, by first supplying their needs. It would adapt the academic studies to young women, frankly admitting, for instance, that the fondness and aptitude of young men for stiff mathematical problems, is not a good reason for loading the course in physics for young women with mathematical problems.

Humanism would recognise that abounding vitality, amiability and cheerfulness are more valuable assets to a normal woman than stores of learning on abstruse topics. It would deny a diploma to any girl sickly at graduation, as a law school would deny a diploma to a student unable to speak or write grammatically. Health to the woman is as essential

to the happy discharge of her primary social obligation, the bearing of children, as correct speech to the discharge of the lawyer's primary obligation, the skilful practice of law. A sickly man may make a good lawyer; a sickly woman cannot make a good mother.

Humanism would recognise the superiority of home teaching by a capable mother for young children over teaching by factory methods, wholesale, in public schools. It would therefore equip the college student with that modicum of psychology and pedagogy needful to enable her to give her future offspring in early years the home tuition which only the richest families now offer through private governesses.

Humanism would encourage the schools of household craft and mothercraft beginning to appear in connection with women's colleges. The technique of baby care, of homemaking, of household budgets and the like is a more appropriate acquisition for a woman than ancient history and Greek roots — unless it be expected that she shall earn a livelihood by lecturing on those subjects.

Above all, Humanism would make the atmosphere of women's colleges favourable to matrimony. Semiconventual institutions it would discountenance. Separation from young men during the critical years when the young woman's being glows with romantic warmth is as abhorrent to nature as it would be to plant in one county the trees of a species which car-

ries the male pollen-bearing flowers and the trees that carry the female seed-bearing flowers in another county.

Not that study of the same subjects side by side is essential to mutual understanding and sympathy, nor that co-educational colleges have proven much more favourable to marriage than exclusively female colleges. Inconclusive statistics of Illinois University, for example, show a like tendency on the part of the women graduates to celibacy and sterility as Vassar and Wellesley. One investigation showed that nearly 50 per cent. of co-educational women married before the age of 30, and 40 per cent. of the women from separate colleges. Even co-educational colleges may be anti-domestic, though they may more readily than conventual colleges be made humanist.

It is dangerous to womanhood and to the nation to assume that even those who are selected for college because they display no early eagerness for romance are natural spinsters whose maternal instincts, being already weak, should be starved, and whose femininity, being less than normal, should be still further suppressed. A youth who is not naturally manly is not committed by wise parents to a girls' school that his virility may be still further reduced. Rather he is thrown among rougher young men, placed under manly tuition, encouraged to play football and baseball, laughed at by the girls themselves for his lady-like ways and sternly required to

put on manliness. Why should a young woman who analogously is not fully feminine be placed, on the contrary, under conditions to starve her slight female instincts?

Their evil outcome will be corrected only in proportion as the tone of the colleges is modified and the trend given to the students' minds and natures is changed from a money-making to a homemaking career. That change involves more than setting women students to study the technique of baby care or to investigate why jelly jells and how household budgets should be kept — admirable as all that may be. It involves also a habit of thought among the faculty, a temper of mind displayed in the evening entertainments, the casual utterances and the indirect guidance. It would make impossible such a monstrous regulation as the rule at Wellesley that no young men are allowed to call on a student during her one free day, Sunday.

One professor's home, with young children, happy, cheerful, well-managed, to which a group of the young women have easy, hospitable welcome, will be more excellent for them than formal hours in classroom or laboratory. A sour domestic *ménage* should be as prejudicial to a teacher's career as slovenly work and ways: voluntary childlessness an offence as grievous as drunkenness; a bevy of healthy children, with whom the girls can gather round the family table, as high a recommendation as a German doctorate. As at Princeton each man

has a tutor to guide him in matters intellectual, so at a girl's college each student should have a mother on the campus to guide her in matters womanly. A corps of such mothers, each required to qualify as a successful home queen, each learned in matters of the heart as a man tutor in matters of the head, each bathing her student charges in a home atmosphere and guiding their reading in poetry, in romance, in *belles lettres*, would ensure among them a more healthy disposition towards life, a more natural bias towards marriage and homemaking.

The success of a woman's college should in part be measured by the proportion of its graduates who marry happily. A high proportion of homes is more to be desired than a high proportion of post-graduate theses. In college year books should be recorded in place of honour the children born to women graduates — more conspicuously than the salaried places they have won or the academic distinctions gained. And re-unions for mother-graduates, a maternity day to celebrate their noble success as creators, and even the conferring of the honorary degree of Doctor of Maternity, would give fitter inspiration to the girl students than receptions to spectacled spinsters or degrees conferred on childless literatae.

Under such conditions college life for women may be extended without threatening the continuance of the best strains in the race, the diffusion of prosperity and the resultant higher education of all girls may be welcomed without fear that the fatal out-

come will be the accelerated disappearance of homes and children.

These safe conditions will be attained in proportion as

1. Parents send their daughters to institutions, conducted by matronly women to prepare, avowedly, for home life and motherhood, frankly recognising that, while no training is too good for that noble and exacting career, yet no training for women is defensible which tends to incapacitate for that career, and

2. State and private benefactors insist that women's colleges shall be humanised by the substitution of mature matrons for spinsters among the faculty, by the reform of the curriculum, especially by the teaching of domestic science in the broadest sense of the term, and by the humanising of the general regulations.

Discrimination in the distribution of funds should be made in favour of the more soundly organised institutions.

CHAPTER XV

WOMAN'S DEEPEST WRONGS AND THE HUMANIST REMEDY

IN this book it has been argued that, for the perpetuation of the nation and the elevation of the species, it is essential that woman's chief service to society shall be rendered in the home through motherhood, and that her own highest development and happiness will only thus be secured. Most men and women accept this view. But society, while rendering lip homage to woman as mother, maintains conditions, carelessly, cruelly, disastrously, which leave millions of women to perform their highest functions under the heaviest handicaps. A nation which should send an army to the front untrained, unarmed, with Red Cross service ridiculously inefficient, and with officers too cowardly to lead their troops, would deserve the disasters which inevitably would befall. Yet these are the hideous conditions under which the mothers of the nation are set to defend the nation against extermination.

Women suffer many wrongs, real, bitter, deep-seated; wrongs which Humanism deplures; wrongs, some of which Feminism cannot see, some of which it aggravates. Feminism sees in woman's subjection to maternity a wrong, especially as maternity handi-

caps woman for money-earning work. Through total or partial evasion of maternity and the pursuit of wages, Feminism seeks for woman a new freedom. But maternity cannot be evaded by most women and, consequently, Feminism actually adds to the burdens of motherhood, the burdens of wage-earning. In the name of liberty it doubles the bondage. Humanism welcomes maternity; but would make the conditions for maternity as painless, as care-free, as happy, as is humanly possible. And for the cares and obligation of motherhood it would exempt woman from the burden of wage-earning. Humanism recognises also that every able-bodied woman with unspoiled instincts has a right to marriage and to healthy, safeguarded motherhood. This right is a natural right as much as the right to breathe and to walk. In the words of Dr. G. Stanley Hall: "The more we know of the contents of the young woman's mind, the more clearly we see that everything conscious and unconscious in it points to maternity as the true goal of the way of life. Even if she does not realise it, her whole nature demands first of all children to love, who depend on her for care, and, perhaps a little less, a man whom she heartily respects and trusts, to strengthen and perhaps protect her in discharging this function. This alone can complete her being, and without it her sphere, however she shape it, is but a hemisphere. Nothing can ever quite take its place; without it they are never completely

happy, and every other satisfaction is a little vicarious." ¹

Yet society leaves marriage and motherhood mainly to chance. Nothing is organised, nothing foreseen, nothing scientifically provided. Nature is left to control the mating of human beings, almost unaided by human reason, as she controls the mating of monkeys.

Consider in order the stages of marriage, child bearing and child rearing. Nominally civilised peoples approve monogamy; nominally they expect each woman to take a husband; nominally they abhor prostitution. Yet England has recklessly drained the home country of its young manhood for the sake of empire until, even before the Great War, a million and a half of adult women were left without any possibility, under monogamy, of marriage. And nations destroy the flower of their manhood in hideous wars without recognition of the wrong they are perpetrating on the women just reaching maturity. We hear the laments of the widows and orphans desolated by the carnage of devilish warfare; equally heartbreaking to the most sensitive ears are the sobs of the maidens, stifled in private after peace is declared, because, the youth of the land being buried in the trenches, no lover can ever seek their hand.

Less dramatic is the wrong put upon woman in America by the common attitude towards her right

¹ "Adolescence," p. 610.

to marry. Industries which summon women from afar to crowd a city with females are officially encouraged, with sublime disregard of the penalty of spinsterhood imposed on many of the women as a result of the unnatural dearth of men. In the Western States men are encouraged to penetrate the frontiers of production, leaving their women and children far in the rear, to suffer the same unholy deprivation of home life during long times of peace as soldiers endure through short times of war. So long as the production of material wealth is stimulated nobody stops to protest against the destruction of real wealth, of human well being. In whole States men outnumber women more than two to one, and nobody complains, though prostitution becomes as inevitable as bread riots in a starving city. Bonuses are offered to induce industries to establish themselves, and flaming advertisements beguile male settlers, without a thought being given to the consequences of making a she-town in the East or a he-state in the West.

Under the influence of Feminism the mother in well-to-do circles is being laughed and shamed out of performing her instinctive and essential business of helping her daughters to find a husband. The match-making mamma is the butt of ridicule and ignorant jest. This is as sensible as it would be for a country in war time to make the recruiting sergeant a target for satire. If the development of a better type of mankind be more admirable than the

development of fatter pigs or faster horses, then the anxiety of the human mother to settle her daughter in life with a suitable mate is more admirable than the cleverest selection by the stock breeder. Feminists rail at the education which gives the little girls dolls to play with and fosters the young woman's natural instinct, with ribbons and frills and furbelows, to make herself attractive. As well deride the vaunting prowess of the bull moose, the proud preening of his tail by the peacock, or the eager display of a man's skill and strength for the prize conferred by the queen of beauty.

Colleges try to take their girl students' minds off lovmaking and courtship. Their spinster presidents would scorn to organise spring reunions of graduates, where youth and maiden might meet in feast and jollity, for days together, in greenwood shades and college cloisters, encouraged in a modern, innocent festival of Venus to follow nature's promptings and seek a mate.

Among the unfavoured classes nature with less restraint has her way. Popular newspapers and magazines are full of advice for the lovelorn, and they never weary of letters and articles on love, courtship and marriage. So long as a man or a woman is only half educated and mildly prosperous, society offers no discouragement to their marriage. It is as if there were a conspiracy to promote the multiplication of the least fit. Pulpits in fashionable quarters are as silent about the injunction to be fruit-

ful and multiply as they are laudatory of the virtue of worldly prosperity. While a few denounce the search for a husband with a title and promote the demand for a husband with healthy mind and body, none would condemn the total renunciation of a husband.

But the grievance of well-to-do women as to society's tacit discountenancing of marriage fades into nothingness compared with the bitter grievance of the working woman in society's indifference to her wrongs as mother. Most frightful, cruel, abandoned, is the common carelessness over the terrible wastage of infant life, a wastage continuous, unchecked, appalling, as inhuman as the wastage of adult life on the stricken battlefield. Women endure the pains and exhaustions of pregnancy; they pass through the fiery torments of bringing a child into the world; they offer to the nation the supreme gift of a fresh young life; and the nation with callous unconcern makes light of their suffering, despises their offering, and permits the life to be snuffed out more lightheartedly than it permits a horse barn to be burned. Against the destruction of a dwelling by fire it organises brigades of fire fighters armed with every appliance, no matter how expensive, to maintain eternal vigilance against the slightest outbreak. Against the loss of the fruits of man's material labours it insures and organises and struggles unweariedly; against the loss of the fruits of woman's vital labours it makes no insurance, it organises

the feeblest resistance, it neither watches nor guards.

It permits pregnant women to be driven by poverty to toil in factory and workshop, although doctors assure it that the most likely consequence will be premature or still birth or else a life so enfeebled that it will never reach maturity. While the wounded soldier is tended by skilled physicians in well-equipped hospitals, the wounded mother at the moment of her greatest need is tended in the big cities four times out of ten by unskilled midwives in cramped and unclean quarters. The mothers are often left in helplessness and suffering, handicapped by every condition of anxiety, penury and squalor, to protect the feeble, flickering flame of life without the aid of any modern medical appliances, with less helpful care than was enjoyed by the Indian squaw in her tepee.

The results are staggering. In Chicago, typical of modern cities, a special inquiry among the poorer classes showed that out of each thousand pregnancies the frightful proportion of 388 of the incipient lives never reach one year of age among the Slavs; among the Germans, 360 are lost; among the Irish, 345; among the Italians, 317; and among the Jews, 284.² Such figures demonstrate that the community's professed reverence for motherhood is Pecksniffian hypocrisy. Wherever one life out of three which

² See paper by Dr. Alice Hamilton at Conference on the Prevention of Infant Mortality, New Haven, 1909.

the mother has borne in pain and sorrow is permitted in sheer ignorance and callousness to be lost, society is convicted of irreverence for maternity. Such a death rate is as potent a proof of national stupidity and inhumanity as the decimation of military ranks by disease in unclean concentration camps.

Happily the destruction of infant life in the country at large is less than these frightful losses amongst the poorer classes in big cities. But everywhere the loss is disgraceful. In general, of every thousand conceptions about 160 never attain one year of age.³ With adequate care, even without the highest advantages which wealth can procure, the death tribute has been reduced in special cases as low as 36. Among the rich it has reached as low as 20 and under.

While throughout the civilised world the general death rate in the last generation has been heavily reduced by improvements in medicine, sanitation and hygiene, the infant death rate has declined but slightly. Woman's greatest wrong has not reached the conscience of the nations. Probably as a wrong to woman it would have gone unheeded still longer but for the alarm in military countries over the declining birth rate. So long as women, helpless in the hands of Fate, bore in silent suffering a superfluity of babies, the inhuman forces of plague, pesti-

³ See "Statistical Study of Infant Mortality," by E. B. Phelps. Quarterly publications of *American Statistical Association*, September, 1908.

lence and famine were left to winnow out the physically unfit, and a good supply of food for powder satisfied the rulers. But the rapid dissemination of the knowledge of the means for limiting families is changing the aspect of affairs. It is a cruel paradox that life is valued only when life is limited. In America the fecundity of the immigrants in the first generation maintains an increase of population, but, unless the wanton destruction of infant life be checked, America also within a generation, as education spreads and standards of life are raised, must face in every section of society the same problem of a declining population which already it faces among its most favoured classes. What can be done?

*type
and die
over* The humanist programme for women starts with the education of the girl in high school in sex matters, to warn her of the shoals and rocks she must avoid when she leaves the sheltered harbour of home to start her voyage on the sea of life. It includes a course in the care of infants, with the encouragement of the mother to use her daughters in helping her to wash and tend and feed her younger brothers and sisters. Humanism, while demanding, in opposition to Feminism, that wives and mothers shall not be driven by poverty or encouraged in caprice to work outside the home, would make communal changes vast and varied to insure that every mother in the home shall be free from anxiety, and able in health and joy to discharge her supreme duty.

Even to unmarried mothers, while lamenting their sinful and painful condition, it would offer sympathetic help in recognition of the value of the life they were, without legal sanction, creating. It would provide a refuge for the last months of pregnancy, with suitable occupation, under medical supervision, and the offer of secrecy that the shame of exposure might not be made the price for humane care. A maternity hospital for the time of confinement, followed by a refuge for convalescence until the baby is safe, and until nursing at the mother's breast has awakened in her maternal love and social consciousness, all hallowed by the personal influence of women of high character, would add means of redemption for the mother to the salvation of her child.

A home must be found for the mother later, best of all with her child, if she accepts the task voluntarily, and without the child if she insists upon secrecy and the abandonment of the infant.

To make this humane provision, private charity, public relief, and, ultimately, sickness and maternity insurance, must be requisitioned.

For married mothers the factors in a true humanist policy include:

1. Obligatory repose, insured by law, as a protection against overstrain and exhaustion for a long period both before and after confinement. Medical opinion demands a much longer period of repose than does statute law as yet in any country. Dr.

Goler, mindful of the inertia of public opinion, recommends compulsory rest for the mother from industrial employment for nine months before and twelve months after confinement. Jevons says that the woman should be kept out of the factory until her youngest child is three years of age. As fast as the appreciation of the mother's service deepens the time of her exemption from industrial work must be lengthened.⁴

Ignorance is a fruitful cause of involuntary infanticide. Therefore, visiting nurses, missionaries of health, ladies instructed by physicians, drilled for the service and kept under medical control, should be organised in every township, as they are in some districts in New York City, to give free aid and advice both before and after confinement. Physicians must give help in abnormal cases, before confinement, preferably in the homes, occasionally at dispensaries, and during confinement the most expert medical aid must be available to every mother. How effective as a life-saver is prompt medical aid at the period of confinement is shown by the fact that the baby deaths in the first week are fewer in urban than in rural districts, though the purer air and cleaner surroundings in the country make the death rate lower from that time forward. After a birth, consulting dispensaries, an improvement upon

⁴ For further details of this programme see "Proceedings of Conferences on Prevention of Infant Mortality," under the auspices of the American Academy of Medicine. New Haven 1909 and 1914.

the "Consultation de Nourrissons" of France, where the physician examines and weighs the babes, instructs the mothers and prescribes diets, must be established universally. After the period of breast feeding, which it is now known can be and should be enforced in almost every case, if there be a proper appreciation of its importance, the diet for some time will be chiefly milk. Therefore the provision of pure milk, sterilised when necessary, under municipal and state inspection and control, with rigorous prosecution for any criminal neglect and abundant stations in crowded quarters for cheap distribution, are all essential to a decent national regard for motherhood.

All these appliances for a minimum of civilisation will cost money, lots of money. But what expenditures more remunerative, more humane, more reproductive, could be devised? At first funds must be liberally furnished by private charity and by public relief and later by maternity and sickness insurance. But insurance, which should gradually displace charity, means regular payments before the period of disablement and the accumulation of funds to be liberally disbursed in the time of the woman's stress. This implies the financial ability of the prospective father to make the payments, for Humanism demands the exemption of wives and mothers from service in competitive industries. This involves the raising of wages of fathers, and brings Humanism into alliance with all those social reforms that would

make a more generous distribution of the national wealth amongst the manual workers.

When a wage labourer is wronged some woman is injured. The labour question is also the woman question. If a workman is maimed or killed on a railway, some woman is left penniless to mourn. If a factory shuts down, the workmen's wives must pinch and starve, their children cry for bread. When the workmen's wages are raised the women live more easily. When overlong hours of daily labour are reduced, the wives enjoy, in part, the respite. Improvement of the man's lot involves improvement of the woman's lot. So labour reforms are included in a humanist programme for women, though Humanism does not advocate the active participation of wives and mothers in fighting for such reforms with the ballot any more than it includes admitting all workmen's wives to their trade unions to help in fighting for reforms by collective bargaining.

It is vain to plead for the maintenance of the home, and the sustenance of wife and children by the husband, unless the healthy, thrifty and industrious husband be paid, regularly, enough to discharge his obligations. Faced with the fact that the wages of 60 per cent. of the adult men in the United States are less than \$600 a year, Feminism would arrange that the woman shall shoulder half the burden of maintaining herself and her children, while Humanism would arrange that the man shall be paid

enough to release the woman for her more essential services.

Even then the death of the husband, with painful frequency, leaves his widow, with young children, and without resources. With cruel harshness and short-sightedness society then usually requires the mother, in order barely to keep her children alive, to leave them daily without her care or guidance, while she toils outside at low-paid labour, for a paltry wage.

Some of the appeals of charitable organisations illustrate the prevailing blindness to the supreme value of a mother's service to society. Here is one:

"A widow nearly blind, with two sick children. The mother earns \$5 a week in a brush factory. The Society desires money to pay the rent, and looks to the mother to go out to work and to provide for all the other needs of the family."⁵

What insufferable pretence is our profession of reverence for motherhood when we compel a half-blind mother to grope her way to her labour in a brush factory and allow her children to go ill-fed, neglected, robbed of their most precious right and best defence, a mother's care, even when their sad case has come under the notice of a society supposed

⁵ These examples are taken from an address on "Mothers' Pensions," by Robert W. Heberd, Secretary of the State Board of Charities of New York at the National Conference on the Education of Backward, Truant, Delinquent and Dependent Children, held at Buffalo, N. Y., August 28, 1913.

to be equipped specially to help the deserving indigent.

Another case: "A mother with four children dependent on her, the father having gone insane. The mother earns \$6 a week in a factory; one child earns \$1.50 a week acting as nursemaid after school hours and 'even little Mamie,' " the appeal states, "helps by earning fifty cents a week washing dishes. The Society desires to raise approximately \$4 a week additional for food."

Four children and an insane husband!! What a tragedy! Even with the aid of "little Mamie," who is put to console herself for her mother's absence at the factory by "washing dishes" after school, to earn fifty cents a week, there is not enough bread on the table, and a kindly-disposed society wants to contribute \$4 a week. Better than nothing! But how can four children be washed and brushed and guided, how can their lodging be made into a home, with mother toiling every day in a factory? Surely the richest city in the world is rich enough to give the mother a chance to spend on her four children the essential love and care and solicitude which will make them full human beings, ready to fit into a refined civilisation! Who can reckon how much, in later years, it will cost them and the city to have deprived them of their mother for the sake of \$6 a week?

Another case: "A widow with three small children and expecting another. The youngest child delicate and a care and expense. The Society seeks

to raise \$90 for rent and food for six months. The woman 'will be helped to find suitable employment as soon as she can undertake it.' "

Was ever more Satanic irony? "A widow with three small children and expecting another" "will be helped to find suitable employment." Heaven and love have combined to send four small children to sit in that mother's lap and cluster at her knees. In the name of Humanity and common sense what suitable employment for her is there on the earth or above the earth to compare with the loving and tending of her own little brood? Yet, in New York City, in the twentieth century, a society of well-meaning philanthropists is so purblind, so stupefied by the notion that working for wages gives independence and working for her own children at home is of inferior importance that it actually proposes, publicly, in an appeal to the charitable-minded, as an inducement to their generosity, to "find suitable employment" for her in a brush factory, or scrubbing floors in offices, or doing washing, so soon as, the worst exhaustions of bringing a new life into the world being over, she recovers some physical strength and "can undertake it." ⁶

Humanism would provide that no widow with a child under school age should be working for wages

⁶ From January, 1916, counties in New York State are empowered to grant widowed mothers relief in their homes to enable them to care for their children instead of placing them in institutions. A number of counties including New York County, will grant such relief in approved cases.

outside the home. Recognising that no other work the mother can do would increase the real wealth of the nation comparably to her work with her own young ones, it would generously furnish the widow with adequate family maintenance, holding her, in return, to a high standard of child care and home cleanliness.

Among the more favoured classes, whenever the income of the man is sufficient to sustain decent family life, Humanism would discourage the woman from neglecting her service in the home for the sake of salaried service outside that will add luxury to comfort.

Society rightly saddles the man with the legal obligation to support wife and children. Consequently it should insist, as it does in Australia, that his minimum wage shall be enough to keep a family.

But, correlatively, society can justly insist that the woman shall not shirk her supreme contribution and leave her children, even on the plea that she can earn high wages outside. No mother is too good to be wasted on her own children. Women cannot both eat their cake and have it. Society cannot enforce the man's duty to support his home and the employer's duty to pay him enough to support his home, and at the same time encourage or allow mothers to desert the home. The national policy, directed to the development of ever better grades of citizen, must not be undermined by the wilfulness of the nonmaternal types of women, who, for their

selfish enjoyment and development, would throw over the rule necessary for the protection of other women, and would subordinate their children to their profession.

A home for every woman, the humanist ideal, is, alas! still far from realisation, though America is nearer to it than any European country. It is a mockery to offer a woman a hovel or a two-roomed, dingy tenement, and ask her, on ten dollars a week, to create a home. None but a dauntless heroine could overcome such a handicap and hallow the narrow quarters with home's angel spirit. To leave the fecund immigrant mothers to wrestle, single-handed, uninstructed and half starved, with a "desolating flood of babies" is a cruel travesty of the worship of home.

At its best home is the dearest spot on earth. But sickness, penury, hunger, squalor, will wreck the strongest home and rot the foundations of society. Woman is the guardian of home, the mother the brooding spirit who hovers over the cradle of the most precious virtues. But not until the thousand blasting influences in our civilisation which menace the home have been destroyed, and not until every woman is enabled to create a home, and every child born may be welcomed without endangering the economic security of the home, can Humanism be content; for its motto is —

"HOMES FOR WOMEN."

BOOK II

A WOMAN'S POINT OF VIEW

By

PRESTONIA MANN MARTIN

(Mrs. John Martin)

Author of "Is Mankind Advancing?"

CHAPTER I

FEMINISM AND THE FAMILY

WHEN the cave woman sat nursing her infant in a cave, and the cave man went forth to strangle wild beasts with his hands at risk of his life, the first stirrings of gratitude in her savage breast, prompting her to make the cave warm against his return and cook the food according to his liking, mark the beginning of the home.

Upon the reciprocal need of these three beings — the woman's need of food and protection, the man's need of rest, refreshment and comfort, the child's need of nourishment and care — the family was formed. If these three had not thus naturally needed each other they would not have united to form the family organism.

Among animals families are formed only when they are necessary. Even the maternal instinct does not develop except where it is needed. The mother fish has none; she deposits her eggs and swims away without further concern. The mother bird cares for her young only as long as they need her, when she promptly pushes them out of the nest. Among horses, dogs and others, mothers, lavishly fond to-day, are not on speaking terms with their offspring to-morrow. When the need is gone parental ten-

derness and sympathy also vanish. Even the mother drives her young away and knows them no more. The conjugal pair measure their faithfulness to each other, likewise, by their mutual need and by the necessities of their progeny. Where their young have a prolonged period of infancy, so helpless that the assistance of both parents is required, the parents stick together until the purpose is fulfilled.

The family came into being because of the prolonged period of helplessness of the human infant.

The chick picks its way out of its shell and starts at once on its travels; the colt, the calf, stand in a short time on their own wobbly legs; puppies and kittens, as soon as their eyes are open, begin to lead an active existence. By contrast with the young of animals the human infant exhibits an extraordinary degree of prolonged helplessness. By reason of its need its mother found herself bound closely to its side and because she must, for a long time, lead its soft, sheltered life with it she too became tender, soft and dependent. Unlike the mother cat, which goes off hunting a few hours after her accouchement, the human mother must look to her child's father for food. This has made her the subject of contemptuous criticism on the part of feminist writers, who scornfully point out that woman is the only animal who fails to provide for herself and her young.

Woman's economic dependence does not, however, put her upon a plane lower than the cat and the dog, since it springs solely from the helplessness of her offspring, for which she is not to blame and over which she has no control. It would, no doubt, be more agreeable to her if she could rise from her bed and go off hunting in the fresh morning air, like that model feminist—the mother cat. But like every mother in the animal kingdom, from top to bottom, she is bound to minister to her young as long as the young need her.

The human mother loves deeply in response to the deep needs of her offspring. Remove those needs in the child or take the child away so that she no longer beholds and responds to its needs—and her affection declines.

In the finny world it is of no consequence that the female has no affection for her young, because she will continue to produce young anyway. Whether she cares for them and enjoys them or not makes no difference, next year's brood will be just as large. In the human species, however, the case is different. Unless women love children, some day there will be no more children born, and the love of women for children is kept alive only by loving contact, only when they keep close to each other, touch, look in each other's eyes, kiss and embrace again and again with thrills of happiness which nourish and enrich the emotional life of each. It is a necessary condition for the survival of our race that the love of

children shall be kept alive in woman's breast. This was not true in the past, when woman was forced to take a husband in order to have some one to protect and support her and, having taken a husband, was obliged to bear children whether she wished to do so or not. Motherhood is by way of becoming free; child bearing a voluntary sacrificial service. And this is as it should be, provided always that, in the process of setting woman "free," we do not end by destroying in her the desire for motherhood, through depriving her of those compensating joys which, alone, can purchase her invaluable services.

Not long ago there was in New York City offered for adoption, privately, a brown-eyed baby girl eighteen months old, a perfectly healthy, well-born, rosy, dimpled, merry, delicious little person. At the same time there was a rich woman, childless and lonely, who had experienced a great longing to feel an awakening in herself of the maternal raptures which she had heard described. Her requirements were, however, exacting; she demanded nothing less than a perfect baby. But since perfect babies are seldom produced in our noneugenic era, she had had to wait in vain for many years. By good luck she heard of the prize baby and she hastened to secure it for her own. Joyfully she purchased a complete baby outfit, delightedly she set apart one whole floor of her mansion for baby's use. Then, having engaged a trained nurse to take entire charge of the little one, she sat down to watch the coveted maternal

emotions rise in her bosom. Needless to say they did not rise, and after an interval of anxious waiting she returned the little woman to her first protectors.

It was not long, however, before another childless woman, hearing of the case, applied for the baby. Although this woman's preparations were otherwise less elaborate, she, too, engaged a nurse, with the result that after a week or so of trial she too came to feel that having a baby about upset things too much and provided no pleasures which at all compensated for the care and trouble involved. Before giving up, however, this woman, suspecting what was lacking, told her husband that, in order to test the matter, she would get the nurse out of the way and take all the care of the baby for one whole day, one whole, long day. It happened to be a warm day, sunny, soft and balmy. Foster mother and baby spent it on a broad open piazza overlooking the sea. When night fell and the mother laid the little dimpled darling, rosy and fresh from her bath, in her soft nest in the open air, the miracle had happened. "Anybody who attempts to separate me from that baby," said she to her husband, "will have to do so over my dead body."

"And only this morning you were about to return her — give her up!" exclaimed husband in amazement.

"I didn't know her then," replied his wife in

ecstasy. "I had never tended her, never held her and washed her and kissed her dimples, and seen her clap her paddies, or played with her or heard her laugh, or wiped away her tears. She wasn't mine; now she is."

The woman who is poor and overburdened with domestic cares sometimes thinks, "Oh, if I were rich I should like a lot of children. They're no trouble when you can hire plenty of servants to take care of them. Then you can have all of the pleasure with none of the work or worry." Little she realises that because the rich shirk the work and worry they also are denied the pleasure. It is not merely avoidance of pain and danger which prompts wealthy wives to forego motherhood; it is because their children mean so little to them when they do come.

Feminism, by engaging the mother in daily occupation for wages outside the home, would make universal that separation between mother and child which, unhappily, is common among the frivolous rich.

Feminism sees in the disruption of the family only the liberation of woman, and a rise in her status from being "a mere female" to the state of becoming "a human being." One feminist writer exultingly describes the change as it affects women's occupations. According to her view, any work which is done outside of the home for pay instead of inside of the home for love, is ennobling.

For example, sewing on buttons for your chil-

dren is the old-time slavery; but running a button machine in a factory is "the new freedom for women"!

Writing letters to your son is woman's drudgery; but writing letters for an employer in an office is emancipation. Wrapping up parcels for your mother is drudgery; but wrapping up parcels in a coop in a department store is the evolution of industry! Making change with your grocer in your own kitchen is woman's old-time drudgery; but making change all day in a cage in a restaurant is the new independence for woman!

Scrubbing your own doorstep and being paid for it in gratitude by your own husband is domestic drudgery; but scrubbing an office or a barroom floor and being paid for it in cash by somebody else's husband is "the new freedom for women"!

The feminist millennium contemplates the complete individualising of society, even at the expense of the family.

"The home is the enemy of woman," exclaims Mr. W. L. George. "Home is the girl's prison and the woman's workhouse," writes Mr. George Bernard Shaw.

"Woman's fear (sphere) is the home," says a facetious feminist.

"So far as many women are concerned, the home can be done without," says Cicely Hamilton.¹

The most popular of American feminists, Miss

¹ "Marriage as a Trade," p. 246.

Jane Addams, writing in the *Independent*, exclaims fervently: "The unenfranchised woman of to-day stands outside of the real life of the world. Never before has so large an area of human life found civic expression."

Think what this means! The woman who may not vote, says this noted leader of women, is outside of "the real life of the world." That is to say: political life is real life; business is real life; public office is real life. Almost anything is real life that goes on outside of the home. Never before, we are to infer, has so small an area of human life found domestic expression; never has the home meant so little. The real life of the world is man's world; woman's life is not real life; home life is not real life. Homemaking women are not really living.

If this view be correct, then it is, of course, cruel, as Miss Addams implies, to continue to confine women within a moribund institution, to tie woman to a corpse, to shut her in a house of death, where there is nothing left save the wraiths of departed industries, lost interests, decayed hopes, vanished affections.

If such feminist teachings be true, then women will seek more and more to escape from the home into "the real life of the world." If they be true, then the family is doomed and, in due course of time, will pass into the number of things outworn and forgotten.

The unity of the family is threefold: it has economic unity when the father is the bread-winner, it has political unity when the father represents it at the polls, it has sex unity when he is its only male parent.

The family is being attacked on all these three sides. Woman's entrance into independent industry is disrupting its economic unity; woman suffrage attacks its political unity, denying that the family's political interests are one, and demanding that each member of the family shall vote separately and individually. Finally extreme Feminism demands woman's liberation from "sex domination," and establish her right to choose the father (or, it may be, the fathers) of her children.

The integrating factor of the family is the husband-father in his threefold capacity of bread-winner, political representative and only authorised male parent. Feminism undermines his position on all three sides. It is a gradual process of putting father out of business. His last state will be forlorn enough; relieved from all responsibilities, he will wander through life wifeless, childless, objectless, with nothing to do but stake out his own grub, pay his taxes, and lay in a supply of cigars and pocket money. At last his position will become like that of the drone in the bee-hive when the industries of the hive shall have passed mainly into the hands of industrious, self-supporting, spinster workers.

In his final stage, preserved for one purpose only, he will lead a subordinate and somewhat surreptitious existence, sneaking in and out of the back door when sent for, like a guilty plumber.

CHAPTER II

THE PASSING OF THE FAMILY

I ONE day found myself seated at luncheon next to a noted economist and a woman social worker. To the conversation, which chanced to be upon the minimum wage, my contribution was the remark that I felt little interest in a minimum wage for women, since I hoped for the day when women would be paid no wages at all. My companions gasped.

“Would you have women dependent for support upon men?”

“Assuredly,” I replied.

“Why?”

“Because it is better for men, and better for the child and therefore it must be better, in the end, for women.”

“What do you mean by ‘in the end’?”

“I mean for the race. You realise, perhaps that woman’s entrance into industry carries with it the abandonment of the home?”

“Of course,” assented my companions, promptly and cheerfully.

“Do you both accept that outcome?”

“Perfectly. The home is an obstacle to progress. We shall get on faster when it no longer impedes our way.” This from the woman.

“Whether we accept it or not — the home is vanishing.” Thus the economist.

“And with the home do you understand the passing of the family? and do you welcome that too?”

“Certainly,” said the woman. “The family cannot continue to exist under a free order of society. The family is based upon woman’s subjection. When once she is free the family will dissolve.”

These two persons, a man and a woman, addressed by chance at a gathering of intelligent, public-spirited New Yorkers, both highly educated, both devoted students and teachers of “social uplift,” look forward, calmly and unquestioningly, to the approach of a complete abandonment of the family. They contemplate without a misgiving a social change of vast importance and accept it as an essential step in social evolution.

“The break-up of the family is necessary,” said a socialist to me, “in order that capitalism may do its perfect work and production be increased to the point of providing enough for all. Then with an equitable distribution there will be leisure for all.”

“When that time has arrived, will the family be restored?” I asked.

“Never again,” was his reply; “it was a defensive alliance, necessary to a certain stage of economic development. But once abandoned, and the individual set free, it will never be resumed. It will have disappeared forever.” I mention this incident

to show how serenely the passing of the family is assented to also in other quarters.

A prominent feminist, referring to the custom of women to give up their professions when they marry, writes: "The tendency of woman still is to revert to the instinctive function. But in days to come when we have developed the individual, when THE HOME HAS BEEN SWEEPED AWAY AND THE FAMILY DESTROYED, I do not believe that this factor will operate so powerfully."¹

As indicating how bold the voice of Feminism is becoming, let us contrast an early with a modern feminist.

Sixty years ago Horace Greeley wrote, "It is said that it is woman's business to obey the husband, keep his home tidy, and nourish and train his children. But what if a woman rejoins: 'Very true; but suppose I choose not to have a husband or am not chosen for a wife. I must somehow earn my living; why should I not be at liberty to earn it in any honest and useful calling?' The legislator is at this struck dumb!"

In Greeley's time home life was still considered desirable for women, and a feminist of that day asked only that woman be allowed to do what she had to do, namely, work for a living outside of the home when it was necessary. He did not describe this action as marking an advance, a liberation, but

¹ W. L. George. In the *Atlantic Monthly*, Jan., 1916.

only as the outcome of a stern necessity. So fast have things been moving that the ultra-feminist of to-day no longer believes domestic life desirable. Many would urge woman to leave home, whether she has to earn her living or not. Mr. W. L. George² writes: "Woman's work in the home is sterile and humiliating. It steals her individuality, originality, spontaneity, opportunity for self-expression and self-development. It makes her stupid and limited, either harsh or sentimental; deprives her of beauty and grace, divorces her from social function and unfits her to be man's equal companion."

By way of contrast compare this picture of the woman at home with the statement of another feminist writer of sixty years ago:

"It is often supposed that literary women must of necessity neglect their domestic concerns of life. But some of the most devoted mothers the world has ever known, and whose homes were the abode of every domestic virtue, have been women whose minds were highly cultured and were active in philanthropic efforts for the welfare of the race."

This writer is not urging that women should earn their living outside of the home (though he would probably also have advocated that), he is merely mildly protesting that a woman *may* be cultivated and intelligent and yet not neglect her home. It is indeed a far cry from this quaint gentleman to Mr. George, who believes that it is *only* by neglect-

² "Woman and To-morrow," Appleton & Co.

ing her home that woman can prove herself cultured and intelligent!

What would the old-fashioned gentleman above quoted say, could he read to-day Mr. George's unequivocal declaration that the woman who stays in the home is a fool, a stupid, limited, sterile, ugly, awkward, boorish creature—"unfit to be man's equal companion"? Mr. George, you see, is in the van of the procession, he is within sight of the goal. And what is the goal? The goal clearly is a future society composed of independent individuals, a society freed from that stuffy, deadening, sterilising, petrifying institution known to us as the family.

By way of goading women to seek independence, some feminist writers picture man as a gruesome tyrant. In her book, "A Man-Made World," Mrs. Gilman draws up a long indictment.

Man has arranged things in this world solely to please himself, she says. Woman, not man, is the "race type" (whatever that may mean), and the writer is indignant that man—"a mere variant"—should be so presuming! For example, he makes a practice of selecting a mate with regard to characteristics that please him—(as though that were a proper criterion!)—and it is clearly for his own vile purposes that he wishes young girls to remain innocent. Woman is confined to the home, it is said, in order that she may not develop "humanly." (It is only outside activities which are

really "human.") Within the family, is despotism; outside is democracy. (It is understood, of course, that in the "outside" there are no bosses, magnates, monopolists or any form of tyranny; while in the home there is never of course fraternity and a rule of equality!) In the family woman has no influence, but lives in subjection to man rule. (All Americans will recognise this picture at once.)

Women confined in the home are ugly, in this philosopher's view. It is only when they are free (to work in factories, mills, offices) that their beauty blooms! The air in those places is so much purer than the fetid atmosphere of the home! Women are blamed for being fond of dress but it is man who forces woman to decorate herself. If free, she would not stoop to such frivolity!

Prostitution is also solely man's work; woman never willingly is unchaste! When women are bad it is man's doing; if they are good the credit is their own. Men have caused the degradation of literature by requiring that 90 per cent. of all fiction shall be love stories. Women have higher tastes. The andro-centric culture perverts even childhood, for men have foisted dolls upon little girls and monstrously encouraged them to "play mother"! None but sinister motives can be behind such a course!

We are told further that it is a basic feminine impulse to construct, but it is a basic masculine impulse to destroy. (This lack of constructive power

in man explains why they have never built cathedrals and bridges and canals and railways and cities and philosophies and arts and sciences!) Man degrades all the arts: the theatre, for instance, has fallen to his level! (Matinées show how much more elevated is the taste of women!) Man has established the double standard of morality, and it is he who condemns woman for sexual sin. (Women never condemn other women for delinquencies of that sort!)

Man, it is said, has manufactured the religions and foisted them upon woman (Mrs. Eddy nevertheless and notwithstanding), and the Devil is his invention! Women would never have thought of such a thing (nor would they have taken any hand in witch-baiting or any such matter!). It is the male mind, also, we learn, which is responsible for having garbled Christianity into a selfish scheme for saving man's own soul!

War is entirely man's doing, it need hardly be explained. He fights to please himself (never to defend his hearth and home, his women and children). If woman had her way there would be no strife. She would not even consent to his protecting her against the attacks of enemies, barbarians, burglars, villains. Man has turned politics into warfare; women would make it into a love feast! Even football will be ladylike when women take charge of it!

On the whole, it appears men are either useless

or malevolent. Some day, when the uselessness of men is fully realised, then the woman's uprising will come, the drones will be slain, their corpses swept from the hive — woman will come to her own! The feminist millennium will have arrived!

While it is the tendency of the teaching of one branch of the feminist doctrine to alienate the affections of women from man, another note is directed at separating mother and child. Mr. Zeublin, for example, declares that "women see too much of their children; it is bad for their nerves." Therefore they should, he thinks, leave their children with a nurse — it not being bad for the nurse's nerves — and themselves go out and be a mother to the municipality!

The love between mother and child, as that of men and women for each other, can be kept alive only by propinquity. It is useless to deny this fact or to rebel against it; thus are we made. If we look at the Sistine Madonna holding her baby in her arms her attitude suggests infinite closeness. It is not probable that the Virgin could afford a governess or even a nurse, perhaps not even a teacher. She and her darling lived and learned and grew together.

To-day society disapproves such intimacy, partly because many undoubtedly do find it "wearing," and partly, perhaps, because intimacy between mothers and their children is not commercially profitable to the armies of women teachers who have to make

a living by interfering with it. Thousands of nurses and teachers who are turned loose annually upon society must have some one to nurse and to teach. Thus they wedge themselves between mother and child (thereby often setting the mother free to go out in her turn and wedge herself somewhere else), and thus the industrialisation of woman forms a two-edged sword, cutting both ways against the family.

It is part of the feminist philosophy that even the young child is better off in the hands of an expert outside of the family than under its mother's care within the family. If this be true then the final abandonment of the family is only a question of time. For it was chiefly for the benefit of the child that the family was organised.

Among other forces inimical to the family we must also reckon efforts intended to minimise the differences between the sexes, and make men and women as nearly as possible alike; for the family thrives upon unlikeness in the sexes and the consequent need they feel for each other, not merely sexual but social, practical and spiritual. It is their differences and unlikenesses which make them attractive to each other; it is their differences which make them useful to each other.

The extraordinary increase in the demand for divorce is an indication of conjugal instability. The latest census returns report in the United States a slight increase in the marriage rate, but, unhappily,

it is accompanied by a continually falling birth rate. It would appear, therefore, that while more marriages are being formed an increasing proportion of them are feministic marriages, that is, marriages in which both members intend to pursue their vocations outside of the home and between whom there is an understanding that children shall not be allowed to interfere with this plan. These unions, although legalised, are scarcely more than liaisons, hardly deserving the name of marriage; nor is a partnership of two persons entered into for mere pleasure to themselves and devoid of any relationship or contemplated service to the race entitled to be called a family.

So far has the family influence already declined that conscientious educators are becoming alarmed at the absence in so many young persons of the special qualities which nothing but home influence can develop in them. "Our young people lack character, responsibility, depth. It is due, I think, to the shallowness of their home life. We cannot complain that their home influences are bad, nor yet are they good. There are simply no influences at all of any kind. The parents are absent from home most of the time and home-made children are becoming rare."

I have read recently an account written by a highly successful professional woman of her mode of life. Her domestic affairs are disposed of, she informs us, in fifteen minutes over the telephone

and the remainder of her day is spent at her office, from which she returns in the evening in time to be given a rub-down and put to bed. She concludes her account by saying: "I am often asked whether my business makes me any less to my family. Of course not. I am the life and inspiration of my family — all the more so from my wider experience and broader outlook."

Now given a woman who can be all that to her family when she is asleep, the question naturally arises — would it be safe at all to have her around the house when she was conscious?

In cities, the multiplication of hotels, where children are not admitted, points to the passing of the family. The occasional child seen in a hotel is an object of curiosity and is regarded as a nuisance or else is petted to death. The general feeling that the child is out of place in it measures the distance between the hotel and the home — a household from which children and pets are excluded, the inmates of which do no work, forms the mummified atmosphere in which human joys and sorrows, birth, sickness, death, are out of place. Hotel dwellers seem hung between heaven and earth, in a state of suspended animation; scarcely dead — nor yet, in any human way, alive.

Sickness in a hotel is regarded by the other boarders as a personal affront. They dread sounds from the sickroom, and ask to have their rooms changed. The landlord is in terror lest they leave. In case

of death the body is hustled away as fast as possible. Concealment is practised concerning the room, lest the next guest learn of its gruesome associations. Hotel life is dehumanised. Yet hotel life is in various forms an increasing habit.

In labouring families both parents often go out to work, the grand parents are in an institution, the children are at school or kindergarten, the baby is in a day nursery, and even the old-maid aunt (the home's last prop) has now gone out in search of economic independence.³

In the old-time family parents endeavoured to keep close to their children and form them according to a cherished ideal, because they expected to live with their children and die with them and go to heaven with them. Thus they handed down their religious and moral convictions, not only because they thoroughly believed in them themselves, but also because they hoped, by giving to their descendants the same spiritual passports, that the whole family would finally reach the same celestial goal. Present customs look for a scattering of the family to the ends of the earth in this mortal sphere, and a very dubious reunion hereafter.

A striking illustration of the subtle influence of

³ Mr. Frederic Harrison tells us that there are places in Spain where among the working classes family life has already almost disappeared. "The women are nearly as rough, coarse and unhandy as the men. They know quite as little of household comfort, of health, of children — of the grace and sweetness of a woman's life."

family tradition upon morals is found in the records of illegitimacy, a social ill which varies from country to country and can be accounted for neither by irreligion, nor by different religions, by city life nor country life, nor by race. "For the real cause one must look to a certain heredity influence," writes Dr. Leffingwell, English Registrar of Births, in his report of 1904. The chastity of Irish girls, for example, is due, it appears, not to any cause that can be discovered except to the whispered warnings handed down from mother to daughter in bedtime confidences generation after generation, monitions which take a deeper hold upon the maiden's character than any extraneous influence.

The decline of the family is proceeding fastest at the two extremes of society. It is favoured by city life and factory labour (both of which are on the rapid increase), and it is checked chiefly by the farming class, because it is still in farm houses that the family best retains its old-time character. Here its earlier conditions prevail, the father working outside as breadwinner — yet never far removed from his flock — the mother within as homemaker, the children as companions to their parents.

When the family has gone, society, consisting practically of bachelors, spinsters and orphans, will present some curious features. It may be more prosperous than now; for all energies will be devoted to wealth production. Unfortunates will be herded in institutions; the successful world will con-

sist of independent, self-sustaining, self-sufficing individuals, the exertions of each centring upon himself. In many of its aspects it might seem to be a successful society, except for one small matter — the child! “The weak point in Feminism is the care of the baby,” reluctantly admits one feminist. Let us picture the life of a typical child in a family-less society.

He makes his appearance in a maternity hospital and is given his mother's name. No questions are asked concerning his father; since that matter is understood to be solely his mother's affair. The mother receives few visits from her mother, sisters or women friends; since they are all very busy earning their living at their various professions. After office hours a gentleman comes to see her, who is evidently on very friendly terms with her and the infant, and who may be supposed to be its father by any one curious enough to be concerned with matters of so exclusively personal a nature. The mother is eager to get well and return to her work. The gentleman begs her to take time to recover her strength. She, however, deplures the loss of salary entailed in this interruption. He offers his assistance but it is indignantly refused. To accept it savours of economic dependence, of woman's old-time subjection. As a free woman she claims the right to support herself and her child. If the burden be beyond her strength she will accept help from the State, but not from him. The new status of

woman has lifted her far above "sex slavery." She has given herself freely and will accept no pay. Pay for the child is pay for her. If she took it now, she might be tempted to do so in future; then she might seek to please him for the sake of the pay and then the old enslavement of woman would recommence. No, it must not be.

The man bows to her decision and goes his way. It is evident that their relations can be only those of equals and comrades. When she gets well, therefore, they will resume their companionship.

Meantime, baby is removed to a nursery, for nursing is inconvenient to a professional woman. In the nursery it is given scientific care, unless the nurses happen to forget, or have their attention otherwise diverted, and there it leads a sterilised existence in the company of other orphaned infants.

Upon its mother's recovery it is taken to her apartment, where it is either brought up by a succession of hired women fetched from an employment agency, each of whom damages the child in one way or another unknown to its mother, or it is deposited in the common nursery of a feminist flat, with slightly better results as to care and worse results as to wear and tear on its nerves.

Meantime, mother returns to her work and resumes her friendship with the father of her child. But when his business interests call him to another city her business requires her to remain where she is, and, since there is no bond of mutual obligation

between them and no unity stronger than that of an agreeable friendship, they easily part company. Their bond has been what feminists describe as purely spiritual, but this is a world of temporal as well as spiritual things and the bond is too tenuous to stand any great strain.

The orphaned boy, pining under neglect, divides his life between a huge school factory and his mother's apartment. There he sees her for a short while on the evenings when she stays at home from meetings, theatres, and other matters to rest her worn nerves or doze on the sofa. The boy is strenuously educated by the State for high economic efficiency, and, as soon as he is ready, he starts upon his career in pursuit of wealth, wealth in which his mother is, of course, to have no share, as will neither his wife, nor his daughters. It will be all his — and the State's. Thus life goes on.

Now let us pause to ask what the father got out of this affair. A pleasant friendship, gratification of sex appetite, no responsibility or care; on the other hand, no sense of dignity and worth as the head of a family, no moral satisfaction in duties undertaken and well fulfilled; no compensation for the struggle of existence in the love and gratitude of a devoted family.

What has the woman got out of it? Also an agreeable friendship lasting a few years, and — freedom! Yes, freedom from "sex domination."

Not freedom from toil and struggle, but freedom from — man as husband! But what has she got out of motherhood? The pains and discomforts of parturition, brief joys of possession — little companionship, little attachment, little gratitude, little appreciation, little intimacy, little love, little comfort. Has she been repaid? Hardly. Would she repeat the experience if she had her life to live over again? Possibly, but not probably. Will she advise other women that motherhood is worth while? Probably not. Will she be likely under such social conditions to bear more than one or two children? No. Can the race survive on so impoverished a scale of reproduction? It cannot.

“But there is no danger of any such state of affairs as is here depicted ever coming to pass,” I hear the reader exclaim. “Free love in various forms has always been advocated by certain hare-brained individuals, but the great mass of mankind are untouched by its vagaries, and the instinct for home and parenthood and the family may be trusted to stave off any such outcome.”

It is undoubtedly true that theories of a different order of society as regards marriage have been discussed in every age from Plato down, but in our day these changes are not merely under discussion, they are *in actual operation*. Moreover, it is not merely the idle speculations of dreamers which are here to be considered but the enormous power of great eco-

conomic forces with which Feminism allies itself which are shattering and regrouping society according to their own laws and tendencies.

The family-making impulse with which man has become endowed by the pressure of experiences through the ages would be strong enough to withstand any amount of argumentation; indeed it has in the past rejected very alluring promises of social happiness and has clung persistently to the family. The impulse would remain undiminished if the circumstances which evoked it continued. But circumstances are changing; many influences which hitherto have tended to strengthen and confirm the family impulse in each successive generation of men and women are now operating to weaken and disrupt it.

But if changing circumstances demand the abolition of the family, why resist them? it may be asked. Perhaps children can be better raised by the State than by their mothers. Why oppose it?

Because even although collective child raising could be made more scientific, better standardised and more successful, yet under such an order the mother herself would not receive adequate compensations for the pains and dangers of child-birth. The State might be pleased with the result of its experiments and even the child might do well; but the mother would get nothing out of it. She would not care to bear children. Why should she?

The vital objection, then, to abolishing the family

lies in the fact that in doing so we shall finally abolish the human race altogether.

The family rests upon the needs of its members for one another and the services they reciprocally perform to satisfy those needs. When they no longer need one another, then there will be no reason for the continuance of the family. When the woman has no longer any need for the man as breadwinner and protector; when he has no further use for her as homemaker; when the child has no more any need for either of them as nurse, guide, teacher, friend, but finds all its needs supplied by hired persons outside, then the bonds of affection will weaken from disuse. If ever machinery, either social or mechanical, shall be invented to perform the services which the members of the family have for so long performed for one another — then the disintegration of the family is imminent. Every organisation perishes when its parts no longer serve one another. Then dissolution sets in. And while mating may continue indefinitely, since nature has sex appetite in hand, the family as an institution, when it has outlived its usefulness, will cease to exist.

CHAPTER III

SELLING THE RACE

“There is found among women an increasing disinclination for maternity, which deprives mankind of many superior mothers. Woman’s commercial work for self-support in all classes increases her sterility.”—*Ellen Key*.

I WENT the other day to see a classmate of mine whom I had not seen for years. She is a librarian, and I found her standing before a card catalogue, picking over cards and writing little figures in pencil in the upper right hand corner. This is what she had been doing for the most part during the past fifteen years or so — picking over cards, and writing little figures, in pencil, in the upper right hand corner.

I realised, of course, as I contemplated her rich and varied experience that this was the “broad life,” that this was “a career,” that she had (in the language of Feminism) “ceased to be a mere female and become a human being.” By way of conversation I asked how she felt about woman suffrage. With an ineffable smile she replied, “I don’t talk much about suffrage; I live it.”

Now, what did she mean? Being a college graduate she must have meant *something*. How can

one "live" woman suffrage? Upon further inquiry I saw that to her, as to so many women, woman suffrage means much more than the vote; it means complete independence of man and the family. It means self-support and celibacy. It means to earn your own living and remain single. It means Feminism.

But I am asked: "What are women in needy circumstances to do? They must live; and is it not far better for a woman to retain her self-respect and support herself than to go husband hunting or to marry for a living?"

"It certainly is," I reply.

"Well, then, what do you object to?"

"What I objected to in this case, was that ineffable smile! It was the smile, not of one who has tried to make the best of a bad situation, but the smile of one who believes she has triumphed. It was the smile of a woman who thinks she has had a lucky escape in turning her back on home and husband and family; who thinks that her celibacy proves her to have risen superior to man and all his works."

That smile, that ineffable smile, as it appears on the faces of the best women, is doing as much harm to the human race as any frown that ever darkened the human countenance, for it means that women, deprived of the real woman's life, can yet hypnotically convince themselves and one another that they are happy.

My friend's conduct was honourable; her smile was horrible.

And if you run your eye over our vast country and observe the thousands and increasing thousands of its best women smiling in that way and for that cause; smiling because they are single and independent and prosperous; smiling because they are homeless and childless; smiling because they are helping to ruin the future of our country and our race — you may well shudder and say, "The nation whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make mad."

The superior woman's likelihood of marrying is rapidly declining, while the average woman's chances of remaining single have doubled in the last generation. Moreover, if a woman does marry, the chances are one in ten that she will be divorced in ten years. In Washington State the chance is one in six. Her mother's chance of divorce was one in thirty-four. The director of the census calls this the threefold velocity of divorce. As time goes on it is more and more the incompetent woman who can't get her living any other way who marries. If it continues, in a few generations only occasional women of infirm intellect will marry at all — and they will stay married only long enough to establish a claim for alimony! The best women will remain single, will be earning high salaries as they become scarcer and scarcer, and the ineffable smile will stretch in a continuous line from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

We may note this difference in woman's relation to labour and that of man. When a fine young man "makes good" it is a matter for public congratulation, not only because it shows that he has fulfilled the expectations held of him and justified the efforts expended upon him, but because it means that he will probably marry sooner and better (having a wider range of choice) and so his valuable qualities will be transmitted to posterity.

A young woman's success means exactly the reverse. The more rapid her advancement, the more likely she is to remain single. Every rise in salary inclines her to postpone marriage, or as youth's impulses fade, to omit it altogether.

And so we have this interesting paradox, that the stronger, more efficient, healthy, high spirited and altogether admirable a young woman is, the less likely it is that she will hand on those qualities to the future. We have so bedevilled this matter that society pays high salaries to superior women, enticing more and more of them from reproduction. It deliberately selects large numbers of the best of each generation and sets them apart for sterility. You can't run society on that principle. You couldn't run a chicken farm on that principle. Suppose you picked out your best hens and paid them large salaries to remain single, or sent them to college, or put them in feather factories, to manufacture feathers for other hens to wear!

I knew a fine woman who struggled twenty years

to bring herself to the point of giving up her salary and marrying an excellent young man. In the end the salary won and she gave up the excellent young man.

Think what that means to humanity! It had taken our race millions of years to produce a woman of her grade. But now her line is to be brought to an end. That spark, lighted in the immemorial past, handed on century after century, from generation to generation, with infinite care and pains, amid infinite hardships and dangers, is now to be extinguished — never to be lighted again — gone forever, snuffed out — by a salary!

When society pays a high salary to a man, it makes a profitable investment. When it pays a high salary to a woman, it has to mortgage its future to meet the indebtedness. Man's worldly success is a benefit to the race. The same success in woman is tainted. Nature applauds man for his material achievements and frowns on woman for doing the same thing. This is because our old mother is not interested in any sort of success for woman — save one!

We all know women to-day in token of whose continued celibacy the flag on the city hall should fly at half-mast. The reason is simple. If the example continues to spread, that flag will come down some day altogether.

And yet you may explore the consciousness of these same women from end to end, in every nook

and cranny, and find no trace of any suspicion on their part that they have any responsibility to their Maker, to their country, to their race or to themselves in this matter whatever.

And this, not that they lack moral feeling, but that the subject has become so tangled up that its underlying principles are totally obscured.

As war wreaks injury to race standards by destroying the bravest and strongest of a nation's men, so commercialism is depleting the race by rendering large numbers of the ablest and most enterprising women sterile. Moreover, this sort of war is continuous.

The commercialisation of women is carried on with apparently no recognition that the consequences are not those which accompany the buying and selling of the labour of men. The inexorable law that woman is not able to detach her labour power from her sex power and sell one without affecting the other, seems to be completely disguised even from women themselves.

I knew of a charming professional woman who, owing to the exigencies of her career, was in the habit of depositing her husband in one State and her baby in another, although she always made a point, it was said, of calling upon one or the other of them whenever she was passing through. In this way she found no difficulty, she declared, in following her profession without neglecting her family in the least. Her successful demonstration of femi-

nist principles was marred by only one disadvantage, namely, that although she was fond of children, yet, while she was making so much money, the luxury of a larger family would have to be indefinitely postponed.

Let us look clearly at this fact without blinking!

The managers who engage this charming person, and we who pay for the privilege of admiring her, are buying something more than her labour power (which is all that we buy when we employ a man). We are buying AND SHE IS SELLING, along with her talents and her labour — the lives of the unborn!

Most of the famous women opera singers and actresses buy their celebrity with the price of motherhood as part payment. But no such price has to be paid by the noted tenors who warble for our amusement; nor is a similar racial deprivation included in the price of our ticket to the performance of the famous actor or acrobat.

The sale of the race by the women of the working classes includes both the denial of motherhood and the still more tragic slaughter of the innocents which the early death of their babes provides. It has been repeatedly shown that in mill towns, where women are employed, the rate of infant mortality is double that of those of the homekeeping women on the outlying farms. It is evident, in such cases, that the pay envelope, when handed to a mill woman, has bought something more than her labour. In Lancashire, when our Civil War closed the cotton

mills, the women employed there were obliged to stay at home and become once more — in feminist parlance — “mere women.” The mothers, having nothing better to do, filled in their time by taking care of their children. Whereupon the rate of infant mortality dropped one-half. When the factories reopened, however, and the women went back to work, their babies immediately resumed their habit of dying off. Were not their lives sold along with their mothers’ labour power? Did not the mill-owners buy, in addition to the mothers’ work, the bodies of her young?

When a woman sells her labour (and this is not the case with a man), her sex power is often checked, thwarted, weakened, damaged; sometimes it is destroyed altogether. When a woman sells her work she sells herself — that is the law. Her labour power and her sex power cannot be separated and sold apart. It is perfectly clear, when you come to think of it, that when you buy a man’s labour power, you buy a man’s labour power and nothing more. But when you buy a woman’s labour power you buy along with it a part of the race. **AND THE RACE SHOULD NOT BE FOR SALE.**

Every one sees this truth clearly when it concerns the prostitute. This unfortunate creature is despised and abhorred because she publicly sells for money a private service which should be sacred to race preservation. But it is not seen that the millions of women who are selling their labour power

in the most approved manner, acclaimed by feminism, are nevertheless being prevented by a price from the due exercise of their normal mother power.

The degraded prostitute is of infinitely lower worth to the world than the woman college president, the social worker, the famous public official. But if both were brought before Dame Nature's judgment seat the sterility of the latter might call down to a still greater degree her righteous wrath for more was expected of the gifted ones and therefore their defection has by so much more jeopardised our future. The barrenness of the harlot is a merciful dispensation; but had Nancy Hanks or Mary Washington been bribed to sterility by a college presidency, or an actress' celebrity, or the halo of a settlement worker, or the sanctity of an abbess, or the glory of a municipal commissioner — thereby depriving us of our two greatest men, a wrong would have been done to our race which we could not have repaired, nor Nature, perhaps, have forgiven.

CHAPTER IV

TWO SORTS OF HEROINES

THE early anti-feminists who made doleful predictions concerning the higher education of women have long since been silenced; their predictions and denunciations drowned in derisive laughter. Colleges for women have multiplied, women highly and ever more highly educated no longer excite comment, and the sex appears to have demonstrated that it can study the same subjects and pass the same examinations as men. As to the price woman has to pay for so doing, opinions differ. Many a woman comes from college a broken wreck, and many a one comes away with a frozen heart and a chilled brain, while many another comes as a conquering heroine, healthy, blooming (though learned), buoyant, triumphant.

Thus, if we judge singly by individuals, the effect of higher education for women, like other incidents of life, is sometimes good and sometimes bad. But there is no such uncertainty as regards its effect upon the race. Here it is certain that the advancement of our species has no more subtle and insidious enemy than the higher education of women as it is, at the present time, generally arranged. Statistically it has been shown that they do not even

physically reproduce themselves, and hence in them the race tends to die off continually at the top. The future is sacrificed that the present may be more diversified, agreeable and cultured.

It is sometimes said that though the class of cultured women produce few offspring, yet these few, being of superior quality, will prove the leaders of the next generation. Alas! Most of them are far from robust; they in turn tend to die out rapidly, so that, far from continuing to be the leaders of the future, they are more likely in a few generations no longer to exist!

Moreover, it is doubtful whether the educating of a mother improves in the least the mentality of her offspring. The most learned of women transmits (according to latest biological belief) only the ability she was born with—her native, inborn, mother wit, and no more. Whether this be developed or not is of no consequence to the next generation. Indeed, there are some reasons to believe that a suppressed talent is more surely transmitted than if it be fully expressed, for the very process of developing it in itself sometimes proves in women exhausting to the whole organism, and the power to transmit it is therefore impaired. If conserved, it may be handed on intact.

This fact was strikingly exemplified in the career of the immortal Elizabeth Tuttle, prolific mother of giants, the most remarkable woman America has produced. Beside the feats of her colossal

motherhood the puny accomplishments of the women who "do things" are as sounding brass and tinkling cymbal.

The details of her life are painfully scant. (The present writer confesses to a keener curiosity regarding her career than that concerning any other character, alive or dead.) We are given a snapshot glimpse of her as she walked the streets of Hartford, Connecticut, some 150 years ago, a tall, dark-eyed, commanding woman, her tall, distinguished-looking husband at her side, the two forming so handsome a couple that every one turned to look at them. This is the brief description we have of her: "A woman of strong will, extreme intellectual vigour and a mental grasp akin to rapacity."

These qualities mark a woman who, were she living to-day, would, almost inevitably, be sucked into a career. She would be a college president, or a founder of settlements, or a clergyman, or perhaps police commissioner or commissioner of charities and corrections; instead of which she passed her time in sheer enjoyment, no doubt, of her "intellectual vigour and mental grasp akin to rapacity," and for the rest in the exercise of her mighty reproductive instinct — the latter with certain culpable irregularities, as it would appear, since after she had been married for twenty-four years to the correct Mr. Edwards, he divorced her upon such a charge. In his second wife he chose a mediocre lady, who faithfully transmitted her mediocrity to a consid-

erable progeny;—but the five children who had been presented to him by the colossal Elizabeth have covered him and his native land with glory. It has been surmised that the history of the United States would have been different had Elizabeth not lived, for her blood, carrying with it her force unspent and her brightness undimmed by any exhausting efforts on her part to “realise herself,” gave to her country an army of great men and women. Her progeny and descendants, including Jonathan Edwards, America’s greatest philosopher, included also college presidents, doctors, judges, clergymen, statesmen, authors, leaders in every walk of life, including also two presidents of the United States, Grover Cleveland and U. S. Grant.

To the feminist mind Elizabeth Tuttle led the narrowest of lives, the domestic life, but the generations who follow her could spare more easily many women who, while winning distinction for themselves, have lost it for the race.

In similar fashion the feminist would have assured Nancy Hanks, when she was sweeping the earthen floor and washing the pewter dishes and shaking up the bed of leaves on which slept a little boy, later to be favourably known as Abraham Lincoln, that she was wasting her life, and would have urged her to seek “freedom.” The Nancy Hanks of to-day has sought and found freedom. She is buyer in a department store at five thousand dollars a year. She is the confidential secretary to a

Wall Street broker; she is the editor of a trade magazine, she is drummer for a commission house, she is a female lobbyist at Washington, she is an operator in real estate or wheat, she is the wielder of a surgeon's knife in a dissecting room. Some day, if all goes well, she may be a policeman!

But meantime the supply of Abraham Lincolns is curiously scant.

Besides its lists of spinster heroines who have won renown solely by "doing things" on their own account outside of the family, Feminism has a sort of duplex heroine who combines both careers, that of mother and wage earner. The stories of their deeds of valour have a military flavour, combining daring with secrecy. There is the story of the woman government employé who smuggled her infant into the Capitol itself, nursing it surreptitiously in its hidden nook in the moments she was supposed to be absent from the room for other purposes. A high school woman teacher in a New York school bears and rears two children unknown to the world, save, as we may suppose, her husband and with the connivance of her principal, who arranges with her to conceal her pregnancy behind a high desk. The young mistress of a fashionable New York dress-making establishment, carrying on a profitable business, has her baby trundled daily up and down before her shop in its carriage, at which Madame, over the shoulders of her customers, peers, now and then, through the window for a precious glimpse of baby

awake; for when mother returns from her work at night the baby is always asleep. "Leaving baby in the morning is the hardest work I do all day," she says, "but I hope by working now to give baby more advantages when she is grown up." ("More advantages" than having had a mother!) Like the juggler balancing two plates on two sticks, this type of feminist keep a baby and a business revolving at the same time, to the admiration of all beholders.

The heroines of Feminism may be simplex — spinsters celebrated for achievements other than domestic; or duplex — wives famous for hyphenated prowess as mother-teachers, mother-singers, mother-circus performers, mother-this or mother-that. Of the latter it appears that their renown rests not upon special merit in either performance, but in the acrobatic feat of being two things at once, and calls forth a wonder such as that evoked by persons who ride two horses or write with their toes, or hang by their teeth or do other wholly unnatural and unnecessary things.

The heroines of the family, unlike those of Feminism, are not women famous for being something other than mothers, or being something else plus being mothers, but are venerated just as great mothers.

The heroines of anti-feminism are those figures who stand back in the shadowy doorways of life, in quiet grandeur, in maternal reticence, unnoticed and

obscure, behind the great men of all time: The mother of Socrates, the mother of Aristides, the mother of Pericles, the mother of Homer, the mother of Shakespeare, the mother of Isaac Newton, the mother of Washington, the mother of Lincoln. We know nothing of these women except their greatness, but of that we know with absolute certainty, for it is revealed in their sons. As the Greeks raised an altar to the unknown God, so a future generation with its bias toward eugenics may build a temple to the unknown Mothers of Great Men, fair and noble figures, loving and suffering, invisible in their proud and patient silence, seeking no other reward than that of their hopes fulfilled.

CHAPTER V

NOTHING TO DO IN THE HOME

“THERE is nothing left in the home for women to do,” is a commonplace of Feminism.

How far is this true? Is it true of all women, or only of some women? Of what women is it true? Surely millions of homes still exist, and vast amounts of work have to be done in them — by somebody! Only one in ten contains a servant. In the other nine the work is still done by the wives and mothers. If ever I need any reassurance on this point I have but to run down across the lawn to my coachman’s cottage, where a typical working-class mother is engaged in the never-ending task of caring for husband and four children. As far as I can observe there are no indications that she is suffering from the lack of occupation.

It is true that the character of woman’s toil in the home has been somewhat altered by modern methods of industry. Her drudgery is somewhat lessened; but, although she uses a carpet sweeper in place of a broom, the room has still to be swept. The amount of leisure secured to her by labour-saving devices is not so great as it is often assumed to be. Moreover, as far as leisure is actually attained, it is almost immediately absorbed by a rise

in the standards of living. Time saved by the washing machine is forthwith expended upon a more plentiful supply of clean clothes. Running water in the house saves drawing water from a well, but leads to the installing of the sink and bathtub which have to be kept clean.

In the isolated farmhouse of a hard-working family I was shown, last summer, a well-equipped bathroom, and was told, with pretty pride, by the house mother that her children were given a bath every night. In her native home there had been no such conveniences for bathing, but there was also very little bathing — which evened things. Women welcome labour savers in the home, but the time gained by the use of them is not, by any means, stagnant. It is rapidly absorbed into new refinements of living. The house mother knits stockings for her family no more; but her mending basket is, on the other hand, always overflowing. She weaves towels no longer, but she uses many more towels. She has not now to draw the water to wash her dishes; but she has many more dishes to wash. It is a far cry from eating off of bare boards, up to the luxury of table cloths and napkins; while it is perhaps a still greater leap from clean napkins every day to a fresh one every meal, said to be the final goal to which many a woman, baffled, yet hopeful, aspires.

I have before me a set of cooking recipes which go all over the country into the hands of "the peo-

ple." I note especially the menu of what is said to be an ideal Christmas dinner. It is much lighter than the old-fashioned feasts and most of its ingredients will be bought ready to use; yet its very lightness demands time and thought which the heavy repast of a coarser age could scarcely exceed. From the trussing and stuffing of the goose the day before, through the details of a complicated salad, a shrimp cocktail, an ephemeral dessert, the house mother of to-day is called upon, if she is to reach the ideal here set forth, to make quite as many motions as her Puritan grandmother expended upon the similar celebration as it was prescribed in her day.

Not long ago a woman invited thirty of her neighbours in one afternoon, for a cup of tea. Simple enough; only a handful of people, only a cup of tea. But I noted the process in detail. Of about twenty articles required for the function everything except the hot water and the mayonnaise was brought to the house ready prepared. Yet it took the hostess, deft as she was, four hours with one assistant to prepare and set forth "this cup of tea"! It is the finishing touch that takes time. The bread must be cut just so thin, spread just so even, with butter just so soft. The lettuce must be washed above suspicion, drained, selected, wiped and chopped. The mayonnaise alone took half an hour in the making. The lemons must be sliced, the sugar dominoes disposed, every piece of silver must shine, all the glass must gleam, immaculate linen

must be spread, delicate doylies, lace tray cloth, fine serviettes properly disposed. The tea must be made every few minutes to be fresh and fragrant for each comer. The *petits fours*, the bonbons duly disposed; lastly flowers must be procured, sprinkled, picked over, vased and picturesquely placed. All these processes and details, though not hard work, take deftness and time.

Are they worth while? Are any of the refinements of civilisation worth while? We must acknowledge that the elaboration of the final details of living mark the development of society from primitive to cultured conditions, and in the last analysis the only value of machinery is to take over the coarser forms of labour in order that there may be time gained for more delicate and elegant operations. Thus woman finds that as her hands are emptied of primitive labour they are filled at once with occupations inspired by the desire (however trivially it may express itself) for more grace and beauty and health and elegance in her personal life.

The wife of one of my farmer neighbours, to save work for herself, bought the outfit for her expected baby from a Chicago mail-order house. But when baby had arrived she proceeded to apply to the care of the infant a multitude of advanced ideas (brought home with her, along with the baby, from the hospital) which reduced her husband to a state of mind bordering upon consternation.

“Why,” said he, “it uses up her hul time, jes’

takin' care o' that little mite. What would my mother 'a' done? They was nine of us, an' only one nurse, my mother, an' she wuz a little woman an' she had all the work besides, an' the milk an' butter, an' scourin' pans an' washing, an' meals to git for the hul of us, an' the hired man in hayin'.

"How wuz it done? Well, it wan't done; we jes' got along somehow, that's all."

It is not to be denied that modern machinery has relieved woman of some forms of drudgery and it is to be noted that along with this relief goes a loss not always recognised. It has also robbed her of many innocent handicrafts to lose which has seriously affected her happiness. The woman of the future may insist upon restoring some of them. Already many women look back with envy to the age of spinning and knitting, the making of wonderful bedquilts, priceless laces and immortal samplers. Even the plying of the harmless domestic needle, except for incessant mending, is becoming supererogatory. I well remember my mother's chagrin at having to abandon the fine needlework which was her pride. And I recall another dear old lady who took her last stand upon crocheted table mats, which she, breathing defiance at modern machinery, refused to abandon.

It is difficult for men to realise what a hardship it is to women to lose the little crafts which have kept their fingers busy, their nerves calm, their thoughts cheerful. What a sense of cosy comfort, of being

useful and busy and of some use in the world, two handfuls of knitting will bestow upon a woman! Was it not pitiful to see the famished eagerness with which they seized upon the excuse to knit mufflers for the soldiers, and was it not cruel how, in many cases, their work was snatched out of their hands again by meddlesome and unfeeling economists, who insisted that it should be left to the unemployed? "And are we not also the unemployed?" they might have asked.

It was related of my grandmother that her hands, except when holding her Bible, were never still. In old age, being overtaken with palsy, she found herself obliged, one day, to discontinue her knitting forever. Rolling up her work she laid it aside for the last time and meekly folded her tired hands on her lap, while a tear of silent mourning coursed slowly down her aged cheek. It was the first tear which her son, a grown man, had ever seen gather in her brave and faithful eyes. No grief had ever shaken her as did this giving up of a little, useful, innocent craft which for so long had cheered and comforted her.

Women chained to lonely farmhouses cling tenaciously to the old handicrafts, and it is here that the process of transmuting leisure gained by machinery into the embellishments of life may be best observed. Freed energy, applied to the home, causes the parlour to blossom and put forth "art." The rag carpet, the bedquilts, sofa pillows, tidies, make their

appearance, followed by the organ or piano. Very touching often are these first fruits of the spirit. The homely parlour becomes a temple, dedicated to the cherishing of such things believed to be beautiful or precious as their owners' poor means afford.

I have often stood in these household shrines with tears in my eyes, so pathetic are these faint longings for beauty. I am quite unable to understand the ridicule so often cast upon them. The crude drawings of the cave man are regarded with reverence; but no sympathy is accorded to the efforts, almost as crude but quite as sincere, of the hard-working woman. Yet she, too, has here been considering life playfully, as something to be enjoyed and embellished. Here she has gathered together what expresses for her brightness, mystery, her reverence for her ancestors, her tenderest memories, her most valued souvenirs; in a word, the "highest" that she knows. I am, myself, rather addicted to interior decoration, and my own grey drawing-room represents the last cry of the French decorators. But I know a little village parlour, a pandemonium of colour from floor to ceiling, with a carpet upon which are strewn all the flowers and fruits of the earth, with every nook and corner aglow with impossible birds and blossoms, and crowded with gay, silly trifling knick-knacks, which to me, considering what it means to its owner, is a bower of enchantment.

The working-class woman cannot get very far, nor very often, from home. She must spend her leisure

in the same spot where she has performed her labour. The needle which she has used in hemming dishcloths in leisure she may employ in "fancy work" (if it be only the piecing of "crazy quilts"). Humble as her deeds may be, she is following the method of the handicrafts, which took their rise in home work shops and out of which all great arts have arisen. The elemental conditions of great art have always been that leisure must be spent where one has lived and worked. Work tools are converted into play tools and thus work and play are blended into one. The carpenter becomes a wood-carver in his free hours, the draughtsman an artist.

Under modern conditions, on the contrary, the worker escapes from his tools and flies their very presence the moment he is free. His tools which, in many trades, do not even belong to him, are to him symbols of his bondage, not instruments of his deliverance. His leisure is solaced with idleness, gossip, tobacco, the newspaper, the saloon, the corner store, the "movies"—by anything, rather than by his craft. Under such circumstances the pursuit of art is left to a handful of highly educated persons, who do nothing else, and who suck their inspiration not from work and life but mainly from criticising one another. Their art is therefore an artificial product, having no root in the soil of human labour and experience.

Women in the home are almost the only class who still maintain the normal relation to labour, in that

they own their tools and in that they must remain near their workshop. They are thus in position to transmute their daily toil into a craft and finally into art. There is no limit to woman's possible expansion in her sphere. Not a department of her province but needs vast improvements. Consider cooking. A distinguished scientist at a recent convention stated that if he had his choice he would spend the next ten years of his life experimenting in a kitchen, so convinced was he that he could serve mankind better in no other way. The bad feeding of children is responsible for many tribulations and even crimes of after life. Morbid conditions then set up result later in all sorts of misbehaviour, from bad manners to murder. The cravings then engendered develop into various forms of dipsomania and drugging, from the perpetual guzzling of tea and coffee, the smoking of tobacco and the imbibing of beer, up to the madness of inebriation. Professor Bailey of Yale declares that the sum of three billions of dollars spent annually upon these sedatives and stimulants is "worse than wasted." It may perhaps be doubted, therefore, whether that woman has mastered her job in whose family the craving for these things exists. The time has not yet come when woman's especial work in the world has been so perfectly done that she must needs take up man's work.

If a carpenter whose hours of labour have been reduced sells his labour power so saved to some other

trade, obviously he has gained nothing. Similarly, if the woman who has been relieved of household drudgery sells herself to commercial drudgery then nothing whatever for humanity has been gained. Only those persons can mistake this for progress in whose minds lies always the fundamental assumption that the object of human existence is to make money. The effect of labour-saving machinery for women should be not that they shall leave the home for another form of drudgery but that, remaining in the home, they shall use their liberated energies in higher achievements there.

Woman need not depart from her own province to find abundant means of self-development, or new achievements. A higher race is waiting to be bred. It should be fed upon better food, clothed more beautifully, intellectually nourished more abundantly. It must be more tenderly and at the same time more specifically and more strictly educated. In its early years it must be morally moulded in the hollow of woman's hand. An enriched family life will give scope for every talent. Woman may paint the pictures of her home, embroider its coverlets, bind its books, sing its jubilees, make its furniture, carve its statues, write its love carols, compose its cradle songs and intone its funeral dirges. Her sphere within the despised "four walls" of a house is as wide as the universe.

CHAPTER VI

THE PROPER EDUCATION OF WOMEN

UPON an occasion when we visited a woman's college in a New England town we determined to omit the usual tour of buildings, halls, chapels, and all the rest of it, and considering the college rather as being a sort of large orchard, confine our attention to inspecting its fruit. In other words, we looked at the girls! not the buildings, nor the libraries, nor the laboratories, nor the gymnasiums, nor the dormitories, nor the professors, nor the classrooms, nor the recitations; just the girls. In the course of our inspection we spent several hours walking the campus over and over, and traversing the streets that radiated from the college. We passed scores and scores of girls walking in groups, chattering or hurrying to recitations. They wore light jackets but no hats; and many carried a book or two. In brief glances we noted as minutely as we could the details of their appearance. The results were not reassuring.

Although they were neatly and appropriately dressed, there were very few figures which one could admire for grace or affluence. Most of the girls were undersized; many were unsymmetrical and as a whole rather weedy. Their manner of walking

lacked every element of distinction. The dressing of their hair was usually neat and simple, but the hair itself lacked gloss and suppleness. Generally it looked dry, lustreless and brittle, though occasionally abundant. The most disappointing feature about them was their complexions. Nowhere did we see a face glowing with the fresh bloom which, as well as the clear, sparkling eye, we have a right to expect to see in a young girl even as freshness in a rose.

The college would be, of course, in no wise held responsible for their shortcomings of figure, form, anatomy, gait, etc. Our race is not bred for beauty. But the state of the skin and brightness of eye is an indication of general physical well-being which the college should be responsible for. If we found the roses in our garden as spotty, dull, wrinkly and fleshy as these girls — we should change gardeners. Of eighty-three girls whose young visages I carefully scrutinised not one showed the bloom of youth — there was not a rosy cheek or a sparkling eye among them.

Was this condition due to higher education, to close air, to long hours of study, to improper food, to sedentary occupation, to the lack of home life, to the lack of stimulus to the affections, the lack of pets, of lovers? Was it due to diverting the blood supply from the reproductive organs to the brain? Something clearly was wrong. These girls were not blooming as girls should. But one could not be cer-

tain whether higher education or other conditions were responsible.

Not long afterward I had the opportunity to make some similar observations upon a large body of young women of a different class, who were not engaged in study, to whom the doors of the institutions of higher learning were forever closed. The results of my observations in this case were even more disheartening.

I had landed in New York at an early hour, and made my way to the shopping district, only to find the shops not yet open. For an hour I stood in the doorway of one of these, watching, in fascinated curiosity, thousands upon thousands of working girls walking in endless procession to their work. How did they compare with the college girls?

In general they were considerably smaller, more stunted, more weedy. There were many foreign faces among them, many Hebrews. It was a jumble of races and nations, only in part of the American type. The faces were duller than the college girls' faces, less intelligent, less disciplined, less alert. There were many bloated, puffy cheeks and startlingly bleary eyes. Occasionally a face of extraordinary, striking beauty — generally in that case painted and powdered. But whatever the effect sought for, and whatever the type of beauty, it was never that of wholesomeness and health. That bloom and sweetness, that glowing fragrance, which we expect from youth, its glistening white of the eye,

the merry sparkle, the soft suppleness of line, the buoyant elastic tread, the general air of vigour and well-being throughout the whole body where there is no inert matter, no tumidity, no flaccid degeneration — all of this was wanting in this heavy-footed, dull-eyed army filing listlessly to its daily grind.

If the object of life is merely to produce commodities, or make inventions, or amass learning, one wonders why women were created at all. If life has for its goal the achievements properly belonging to men, it is a pity that the world cannot be given over to men entirely and women retire to the invisible and unknown.

But if she is to live, what is to be done with her? What goal should we keep in view regarding her? The schoolmen used to describe excellence as "plentitude of being" — a fine horse is one abounding in horse quality (in the apt slang of the day he is "some horse"). Everything is most excellent of its kind as it meets the particular purpose for which it exists. We say of a fine man, "he is a good deal of a man."

The proper education of woman may perhaps be sought through the application of this principle. The virtues common to both sexes we yet demand in larger measure from one sex than the other. This difference in what we expect springs from our rooted conviction that each sex has a special function to perform which it can do better than the other, and we therefore are led particularly to admire in each the

“plenitude of being” in the qualities which best fit it for its function.

In woman we value qualities which we have come to call womanly, and these qualities have reference less to doing or knowing than to her being. A man's success is measurable largely, almost entirely, by yard sticks and quart pots and avoirdupois and ledger accounts. He knows so and so; he can do this and that. He has written this book, made this discovery, invented this thing, accomplished that, passed laws, organised parties, founded institutions, built railroads — above all “made” money. He is always expressible in terms of quantity — generally in terms of dollars and cents.

Great womanliness cannot be measured in this way. It consists in the latent possession of certain qualities which may or may not become active. It is enough that they are there. Their very existence is a force, and every one who comes in contact with the person knows that these virtues are latent.

In a little four-room flat in a cheap New York apartment house there lived for thirty years a woman whose every thought and feeling was cast in a colossal mould. In the outside world her only son enjoyed a nation-wide fame for the things he “did,” but every one who knew them both knew perfectly well that his doings were feebleness compared with what his mother *was*. His affluence and success never drew her from her humble quarters, partly because she preferred retirement and obscurity and

partly because in the midst of surroundings mean, bare, meagre, she was more conscious perhaps of the stores of power and self-sufficiency imbedded in her intrepid soul.

She "did" nothing, beyond the slight finger work of home interests, the needle and the pen her only instruments — she knew little beyond the wisdom of reflection and experience — but she *was* the spirit of woman incarnate. No college, no business, no "career," no "new life," no emancipation, no enfranchisement, will ever be able to turn out finer specimens of womanhood; and without these, living and dying quite alone, she went to the full limit of the woman and touched all that a woman can be.

Whenever I turn over in my mind the vexed questions concerning the education of women, I find myself asking first what sort of a woman we want to produce, and immediately the image of that astounding personality comes to my mind, and I say humbly — "This is the goal." "What are the means of reaching it?" It is true that in her case much of her power was inherited from a noble ancestry, but the qualities of womanliness in her had been developed in the process of leading the woman's life — as devoted daughter, sister, wife, mother and friend. In all these relations her sympathy was penetrating, her loyalty unswerving. She had a passion for beauty — in art, in music, in literature, and feasted her soul daily upon these things. It was no effort for her to keep her mind above gossip and

scandal and depression and pettiness, because these things did not in the least interest her. Yet she was so little sentimental that she possessed stores of righteous indignation against ignoble conduct, sometimes carrying dismay to wrong-doers.

She had unlimited funds of humour and gaiety, and took delight in social intercourse. She revered traditions when they were noble and guided her judgments by precepts handed down to her. Yet she had streaks of strong radicalism and welcomed proposals for a better order of society. Generosity to new ideas and loyalty to old ones sometimes waged war in her mind, but sympathy usually turned the balance.

She had an absorbing love for nature and got more delight from a glimpse from her window of a patch of stars between tenement roofs than many people derive from all out-of-doors. She was intensely partisan, idealising her friends with incorrigible persistence, taking their part against their enemies more eagerly than they did themselves. None of her friends, she believed, ever were sufficiently appreciated or got their deserts. But when my mother used to turn the tables on her and expatiate upon her hidden and secluded merits she was much touched at such proofs of groundless devotion, which in the end she refused to disturb "because" she said "after all, it is so good to be over-estimated."

As I pass her qualities in review, fortitude, sympathy, cheerfulness, proud self-reliance, capacity for

enjoying little things, love of home, devotion to friends, loyalty, playfulness, enthusiasm for the good, reverence for beauty, gentleness, humour, refinement, simplicity, contentment, absence of ambition, vanity or restlessness — and realise that these are qualities which neither the higher education or the higher business or politics nor any of the new activities promote, nor are they qualities which count in those places — I realise that they are the product of a totally different set of influences, and just as they are the qualities which produce a home and promote family happiness, they also are the qualities which were produced by the home and by family happiness.

I conclude that the best education for a woman consists in being the daughter of a noble home-keeping mother, and living as a little girl at that mother's side, doing what she does, reading with her, sewing, cleaning, playing, exercising with her. Later, with a few — a very few — other little girls, learning to play together under the supervision of a teacher. Still later specialising on some womanly vocation, i.e., one that does not compete with men; one that is calculated to bring gaiety, joy, order, peace, or homeliness into the world. In short, she is to receive an education of the family by the family for the family, that the family may not perish from the earth.

CHAPTER VII

EUGENICS AND WOMAN

EUGENICS is the name given to what, it is hoped, may some day be a science of "being well born," a science by means of which a higher race may be produced and man shall achieve his most stupendous conquest — that of lifting himself above himself.

Greater care and skill in mating, seconded by greater skill in child rearing, are the methods of eugenics and in the attainment of its goals woman will play the leading part. Her selective ability, although largely instinctive, is superior to man's. She is, for instance, usually repelled by a sick man, whereas the propensity of men to choose sickly wives is notorious and deplorable. In the illegitimate miscegenation of whites with blacks it is almost invariably the man who commits this eugenic sin. The woman is more tenacious of her position upon a higher racial level and is unwilling to degrade her offspring. She feels more acutely the eugenic consequences of mating: her eugenic sense, both as to purity of race and superiority among individuals within the race, is stronger.

As Burbank has bred many excellencies into his plants and flowers and the great animal breeders

have created new and wonderful strains of horses, sheep and cattle, while plant growers have added untold sums to the national wealth by improving wheat and corn, it seems not too much to expect that some day the way will be clear to an improvement even more valuable in the human species. Humanism, which places the welfare of the race above the temporary advantage of the individual, will regard eugenics as its handmaid.

Because we do not as yet fully understand the laws of heredity, and because we have not the courage to apply such knowledge as we have, eugenics appears to be to-day hardly practicable; but mankind must find, some day, a way to start on the eugenic quest — a real search for the Holy Grail. Already mankind is beginning to realise how only partially all its other hopes for progress, without better beings, can prosper. The European War has done much to hasten this awakening. It has revealed, with appalling clearness, how frail were the props upon which society leaned. Christianity, socialism, science, philosophy, ethics, high finance, industrialism, commerce, means of communication, identity of religion, education, prudence, justice — the whole fabric of civilisation, in twenty-four hours, shuddered as from an earthquake.

So must it be with all our devices, our strategies, our schemes and struggles to achieve human advance unless at the same time we give more attention to the production of a more highly organised, more

reasonable race of men. At present, neglecting this principle, the world puts excessive and disproportionate reliance for progress upon the improvement of environment. While the farmer knows well that good seed is quite as potent as good soil in securing for him better crops, in human improvement we aim exclusively at bettering conditions, and because no care at all is taken to improve the quality of our race, colossal efforts have to be continually exerted to patch up inferior material into a semblance of reason and virtue. Every fresh disclosure of human shortcomings only serves to redouble the demand for more schools, more churches, libraries, hospitals; more comforts, more charity, amusements, playgrounds, free baths, dance halls, clubs; more police, more preaching, more government, more votes, more laws (especially more laws)—more efforts of every kind to “do something” which means always to improve conditions. Thus we put forth vast effort to reduce the volume of smoke but none to put out the fire.

In our eagerness to elaborate education we forget that a more intelligent crop of children would do better with less education. We build more churches and preach more desperately, oblivious that a sounder race would of its own free will live virtuously. We pour out streams of charity, much of which is but watering a swamp, forgetful that a sturdier race would know how to help itself. We struggle earnestly to mitigate the effects of social

inequalities (which we maintain) and to soften the cruelty of the strong toward the weak. We forget how unnecessary this would be were the weak replaced by persons who would not *permit* us to oppress them. We compassionately multiply hospitals and insane asylums, oblivious that a sound and robust race would turn these mournful dungeons into pleasure halls and gymnasia, and laugh our charity to scorn. We pile laws upon laws, exaggerate the importance of legislation, demand that everybody (even women, and perhaps children) shall participate in politics — forgetting that a more sensible race would burn the law books, reduce law codes to a few rules, entrust voting to a representative handful of just and sturdy men and turn its own thoughts to the higher reaches of creative endeavour.

It is beginning to appear that the evils of the world can by no other means be cured than by summoning from the loins of humanity its hidden treasure — a nobler race. The lesson we never learn is not to expect of poor humanity more than it is at present capable of. We seem unable to renounce the hope that somehow men can be talked or preached into being better than they are — or at least into acting as though they were better. But every now and then the veneer cracks. At the outburst of the European War the principles of Christianity and socialism broke down utterly and both became the laughing-stock of unbelievers everywhere. The manner in which they burst showed

them to be bubbles, or dreams; very far, as yet, from possessing any binding validity in our consciousness.

Who shall say, however, that this must always be the case? When the War Age and the Industrial Age and the Age of Unrealisable Aspirations shall all have been tried out and found wanting, then must not the Eugenic Age come, if for no other reason than because no other resource will be left us?

When it comes, the Eugenic Age will be the true Woman's Age, because its province is always hers and in it she will come to her own. That it has been long delayed is due largely to her failure to assert herself, to make herself count for all she is worth. All her following after man into his world is wholly off the track, and means an indefinite postponement of her final arrival.

Eugenics is essentially and profoundly the coming Woman's Movement because she is the temple of the race, the guardian of the life force, the priestess of posterity. By all her normal predilections woman is adapted to the culture of eugenics. She bestows her chief interest normally upon questions regarding marriage, births, matings, family histories, romances, love affairs, traditions, the consideration of physical appearance, vigour, defects, beauty of person and of character, ugliness, health, disease, fertility, virtues, vices. All of such matters are of the closest concern to the healthy, unspoiled woman. The reason for it is very naturally to be found in

the fact that these matters are closely bound up with her happiness, but biology hints at a still deeper reason.

The female reproductive cell, in those simple forms of life so far specially explored, contains an extra chromosome (so called because it takes on colour when dyed). This is a matter of probable importance if, as is supposed, these chromosomes are the vessels of sex energy. At the very inception of her life the female appears thus to be more heavily weighted as to sex than is the male. This may perhaps offer a physical explanation of the indubitable fact that, throughout her career, woman stands closer to sex than man — that is, she is more deeply involved in it, is in all her being more generally suffused by it.

Modern life, which is driving or luring vast numbers of women away from the strictly womanly existence into exhausting industries, is tending to benumb the vitality of the extra chromosome. In many women that vital atom would appear to be either already dead or else in a state of suspended animation. Dr. Saleeby suggests, for example, that the power of nursing their infants is being lost by many modern women. In England already only one mother in eight nurses her infant. The failure of lactation may or may not accompany a decline in reproductive power, but at least it indicates that the highest of all mammals may one day (what a day

of triumph for Feminism) cease to be a mammal. To some feminists the change brings woman from a condition of being "oversexed" down to a normal level, but in the view of other observers the condition of being oversexed is the normal for the human female and anything under it is subnormal.

To say that woman is more heavily "weighted" with sex than man may sound fanciful, but it aptly suggests that curiously high specific gravity with which even a delicate woman who is saturated with femininity seems to be spiritually invested, and which may be due to the premonitions of pregnancy that haunt even her virgin years. Great bodily activity, a sign of vigour in a man, is always suspicious in a woman. A still man is generally a sick man, while the stillest women are the happiest. Restlessness in man often marks unused energy — in woman more often it accompanies excitement. For this reason smoking tobacco, admissible in men, is a distasteful sight in women. We dislike a woman who has lost her womanly calm and resorts to artificial narcotics to help regain what is expected to be her normal poise. It is like seeing a man resort to brandy to bolster up the manly courage which we expect him to command without artificial assistance.

The instinct for quietude was early demonstrated by woman. Primitive woman, say the anthropologists, showed herself averse to aggressive pursuits. She was devotedly industrious and ingeniously founded the crafts, but if there was killing to do or

something strenuous to be accomplished, she left it to man's superior strength and greater pugnacity. To this day, woman does violence to herself when she becomes aggressive in imitation of man, and notoriously outdoes him in unscrupulousness whenever she competes with him in the exercise of qualities not natural to her. Thus, in sexual aberrations, her cure is as much more difficult than his as her fall has been greater.

Pride in motherhood is to be the lever that will move the world toward eugenics; for in order to produce the great man — the hero, saint, sage, seer, artist, scientist, inventor, statesman — it is first necessary to produce a great baby (and to accomplish this every woman whose extra chromosome is in working order, is eager). In the precious person of the Great Baby the future smiles. The ordinary baby who has everything to do for himself (literally his own way to make), finds the odds are too heavy; the common span of life is far too short for him to accomplish much. But the well-born baby has already been carried far on his way before his birth. His ancestors strove for his same goal and their victories are already in his blood. His battle is half won from the start. Hence the poise and harmony of the well bred.

Why should not this, the highest gift of the gods, be some day the patrimony of all instead of being the endowment of only the lucky few? How can we, indeed, continue to prate of democracy and of

equality so long as this fundamental and essential equality of being well born is denied to most and so long as efforts to secure it for all are not begun, nor considered, nor scarcely dreamed of!

CHAPTER VIII

THE FAMILY AND THE SERVANT

LET us define the "servant" as a person who performs, in a family, menial, personal services for no other motive than for wages.

The servant, properly speaking, is a function of the family. A waitress in a restaurant, is not, for example, properly a servant.

The governess, although she resides in the family and works for hire, is yet not a servant because her service is not menial.

A maiden sister or aunt who resides in the family, who performs constantly menial, personal services, is not a servant, because she does not work for hire. All of the conditions of the definition must be present before we have the servant.

The social ancestor of the servant, the serf or the family slave, the handmaid or the bondwoman, was essentially a member of the family, sharing its good or ill-fortune. The modern servant is no longer "one of the family." Among other reasons may be mentioned the fact that the average stay of the average servant in a place is said to be now only two weeks!

It is inevitable that the servant and the family mutually jar; they belong to two different orders of

society. The servant belongs to the commercial order; serving is her business, and the principle of business is to get as much and give as little as you can. In the family, mutual service is freely given. Towards the servant the house mother must, however, also apply commercial principles and get as much as she can for her money. Thus the commercial principle is introduced into the family — the spot of all the world which should remain uncontaminated by it.

Therefore the healthy family instinctively resents the servant as an alien and perplexing influence. She interrupts family intercourse, disturbs family confidence, robs the family of privacy. When she departs a family will sometimes break into antics of glee and mirth which continue until it is again cowed by the arrival of her successor. One husband told the writer that the happiest days of his wedded life had been the periods of a week or two which his wife always insisted on taking to set her house in order between the departure of one servant and the arrival of the next.

The servant comes between the members of the family, performing services which they should perform for one another in order to strengthen the bonds of affection between them. Many a divorce might be traced to a wedge cunningly driven in between husband and wife by a malicious servant. Many a married couple looks back regretfully to the lost intimacy of their early married days, when they

“waited on” each other, before servants came between them. It has often been observed that illness which rallied the members of a family to minister to a suffering loved one, brought them closer together, and revealed the love they had been in danger of losing sight of. The family wishes to be all in all to its members, but here in the midst of them appears a stranger who, although sharing their roof, would not give them a cup of water unless paid for it. Nor would they, on their part, tolerate her society for an hour did she not perform continually menial services for them.

Between the house mother and the servant there is ground for eternal friction. The mother is devoted to the upkeep of her family, the health and growth of her children, the happiness and welfare of her dear ones. The service seems to her so precious, so valuable; she would sacrifice her life to do it well; she does it freely, without money and without price! “All I ask in this life,” said such a mother to the writer, “is to see my husband and children well and happy.”

But now another woman has come into the home. She performs the same services for the same dear man, the same wonderful children. Only they are not dear or wonderful to her; she cares not a pin for them. She has come for money and she stays for money. To the house mother she is strangely inappreciative and lacking in sensibility; the mercenariness of her gets onto one’s nerves. And if, through

her careless indifference, anything happens (baby left out in the rain, or dropped) or in any way the family health be endangered — the mother's rage knows no bounds. "Take her out of my house; she is a fiend, a heartless fiend; she has no sympathy with our troubles," begged a sick mother tearfully of her physician, referring to an antipathetic servant.

The servant difficulty bears hardest upon mothers. In the first place, households with children are avoided by servants. Many servants, especially those of quiet and orderly disposition, will take only situations in families where there are no children. Beside their noise and disorderliness, the impertinences which children commit toward servants, unchecked in many cases by indulgent parents, are resented by self-respecting servants. Cooks are often especially irritable toward the interruptions and importunities of children and their youthful propensity for "gettin' into everything." A new cook's first battle sometimes turns upon the vexed point as to whether the children are to "keep out of the kitchen"—or not. An anxious mother, in an employment agency, trying to explain away the existence of her offspring, or at least extenuate her offence, is one of the most pathetic figures in contemporary society. "I—I—have only three," she stammers, "and they are very nice children, so quiet, they never cry, no trouble at all—" she murmurs with a sinking heart, while she meets the cold, steely glitter in the servant's eye which says as plain as

words: "You needn't be givin' me that. Them lies is old."

The relationship between servant and child is essentially unsound and is instinctively felt to be such by each of them. The institution is one devised by grown-ups for their own personal convenience and it often arouses in its hapless victims mutually vindictive passions. A child who is being dragged, kicking and screaming, away from its parents (who wish, for the moment, to be rid of it) by a servant who would like to be permanently rid of it — is a pitiful object both for its misery and for its impotence. It is only equalled in unpleasantness by the servant herself, also miserable and impotent, when she gets the child alone and can give vent to her feelings untrammelled. The upbringing of the human young demands endless patience which is provided normally in parents by their love for their offspring and by their hope of receiving one day abundant recompense for their efforts when the child shall emerge into power and maturity. Neither of these motives is of any help to the servant. She has no hope of future recompense nor has she present love; she has nothing but her need of twenty dollars a month, board and lodging. But the need of twenty dollars a month is not of sufficient power and richness in the catalogue of human springs of action to provide the copious outflow of love and patience which children require.

Women of experience have told me that the in-

fluence of servants on their children had been almost invariably bad. Either the servant indulges it or bullies it or neglects it — with equal disadvantage. To enter into a conspiracy to defeat the will of the parents is not uncommon. “Don’t tell mother; what she don’t know won’t hurt her,” is the motto of such cabals. Habits of deception toward her mother were inculcated by a series of servants in the mind of a little girl whose mother was deaf. A visitor once heard the child, with a smile, which totally misled her unhappy parent, cursing her mother in round terms to her face, while the mother, unknowing, smiled contentedly back.

For the sake of peace most parents are glad when servants succeed, as some do, in winning the affection of their little tyrants. But even this amiable ability may work ill, as was shown in a case known to the writer. “Before you engage me as governess,” said a charming young woman to her prospective employers, “I must tell you that there is one serious drawback about me; the children in my charge become very fond of me. I have recently lost two excellent positions because of it.”

“Be quite easy on that score in our home,” they replied; “the more our children love you the better pleased we shall be.”

“Very well,” she replied, “but please don’t say later that I did not give you fair warning.”

“Go ahead, don’t mind us, do your worst,” laughed the fond father gleefully. Yet within six

months these parents were obliged to dismiss the charming governess because the children had become so infatuated with her that they could not be separated from her except by force, and would have nothing to do with their parents, whose society, in comparison, had become tiresome to them. This is an extreme case, but in the mind of a sensitive mother there is seldom absent a misgiving, when the strange woman steps in between her and her darling, a misgiving that she may in some way damage the child, or else — equally to be feared — in the child's heart supplant its mother.

Aside from her effect upon children, the situation of the servant in the family is often that of an irritating foreign body, and a wild longing to expel them wholly from her home sometimes besets women in whom the fire of domesticity burns pure. "The relation is a hateful one, and nothing can cure it," said one such woman to me one day.

Most women are afraid to discuss the question freely. They are ashamed to say how many times they have changed cooks, for if the neighbourhood and the servant world and the employment agencies get wind of it — her difficulties will increase; she will be called "hard" and only the "tough" members of the trade will venture into her service. So she thinks it wiser to keep still about her troubles. Then suddenly she has a run of luck. She gets "a nice girl" — who stays. All the reason which led "the others" to depart leave *her* untouched. All

the reasons which led to the dismissal of her predecessors seem absent in her. It seems too good to be true; yet month after month glides away and "she" is still there! Self-confidence begins to ooze slowly back in the bosom of her employer. Like a wet hen after a shower, she shakes herself and prepares to hold up her head once more. Presently she begins to look pityingly upon other evidently less capable and amiable mistresses. A few months later she will be saying confidently, "I never have any trouble with servants whatever. They are devoted to me. My present maid will do anything for me. I couldn't drive her away with a club. After all, it is only a question of *careful selection*. One must know how to pick them out!" Yet in her heart she knows that next week she may be trudging about from one office to another, heavy at heart and humbled to the dust. Then it will be no more a question of "picking out carefully" with her; she is prepared to take anything she can get.

In most cases the relationship between mistress and maid is one of veiled conflict which both would be glad to end in a moment if they could, and, within a year or two at most, their compact is joyfully dissolved by mutual consent. Then one seeks a new mistress and the other a new maid in pleased anticipation of a new situation wherein, during a brief interval before hostilities are again renewed, a pretence of mutual good-will may be kept up. Exceptions appear where the servant, by long stay or

unusual congeniality, has really become "one of the family." Exceptions, too, occur in the case of young maids, fresh from their own family circle, who have not yet lost the capacity for daughterly feeling and who are thus able to inspire a motherly regard in their mistress. A cessation of hostilities sometimes occurs too, between aged serving women and their aged mistresses, both too old to fight any longer and desirous of peace at any price. There is also the incompetent mistress who lies down at the outset, suffers servants to ride over her and "gets along" famously. There is again a small number of shrewd housekeepers, with a faculty for selecting and controlling servants, who are able to monopolise the best in the market.

As the demand for servants increases (through the growth of the wealthy class) and the supply diminishes (through the opening of other occupations to women), the situation is bound to become worse, and means of escape are already being sought by many persons who find their chains more galling in proportion as their dependence upon servants becomes more confirmed. Some flee to hotels for refuge, but that method offers no real escape from servants. On the contrary, the refugee finds these unfortunate beings there in still greater numbers. They stand about and meet one everywhere. They possess keys to one's room and pry into one's drawers; they hang over one at table, their palms outstretched, metaphorically, in perpetual solicitation.

It is said that servants, despite this humiliating position, prefer hotel to private service as being more regular and less subject to personal whims. Nevertheless I cannot remember to have noted on the pale, sad faces of hotel servants any the less that fixed look of weary endurance which marks the servant class.

The evils associated with the servant problem are sometimes attributed to the iniquities of servants and sometimes to the natural depravity of mistresses. Mistresses are enjoined to take their maids to their hearts; to put a pretty picture in their room, to keep the fashion magazines or the latest novel on the kitchen table, while dainty gifts, such as opera glasses, silk umbrellas, or corner lots are often recommended as valuable. It is said that if we allude to servants as "lady helpers"—all may yet be well! One even hears that a rocking chair in the pantry will heal all wounds and smooth the path of difficulty. As for the servant, her proper course is clear; she should "make her employer's interests her own." Let her but ponder well this great and simple maxim!

"I will arise at four A. M.," she should say to herself, "and surprise my mistress by stoking the furnace that she may dispense with a man. If the family are ill I will nurse them and save the cost of a nurse. The more company the family have and the more work the company make, the better I shall be pleased, for all those things show that the missus

and I have many friends and are prosperous. Also, I will lower my wages, since it is clearly for her interest that I should do so, and what she saves on my wages she may spend on more furniture for me to dust. This, too, I shall welcome, seeing that our interests are one."

The mark of domestic success being the servant who "stays," to this end we bend our most earnest efforts. The finer person she is, the harder we try, in our humble way, to find favour in her sight, so that she will stay, and stay. Moreover, the more faithful and able she is — and therefore the more desirable that she should go away from us at once, without a moment's delay, and marry, and raise a family like herself, the more determined we are that she shall remain a virgin consecrated to our service.

"I never have any trouble with servants because I treat my maids so well," said a proud matron to me once. "My Katy has been with me seven years. She was engaged to be married when she came, but I headed her off by raising her wages every year and giving her silk waists and vacation and theatre tickets and everything I could think of. She has become my friend; my home is her home."

"And what of her young man?"

"Oh, he grew tired of waiting and married another girl — a poor, sickly thing, not half so fine a woman as Katy."

Now this amiable mistress is obviously an enemy of the human race. The better she treats her Katies

the worse it will be for posterity. "Treat them well and there will be an end of the servant problem," said she. Alas! that is not the end of the problem; it is only the beginning.

Her boast was a common one. A staying servant is universally regarded in somewhat the same light as the Iron Cross or a V. C., to be won for valour, conferring distinction upon a mistress and shedding a reflected glory upon the entire family. Even Ruskin, one remembers, wrote most complacently of an aged serving-woman of his mother's whose entire life, from girlhood to old age, was consumed in ministering unremittingly to their creature comforts. In my own family I have often heard the story of a woman servant who never left the village, and scarcely left the house of the doctor whom she served, and who, after sixty-four years of continuous service, devised in her last will and testament the entire sum of her saving to her employer! Since I never remember to have heard this story told with any other sentiment than that of the utmost pride and satisfaction, I must conclude that most of us are more interested in getting ourselves well served than we are in seeing that the rare qualities, such as this faithful woman undoubtedly possessed, shall continue to appear in our race. Yet we complain that such qualities are becoming rare!

The two persons most directly concerned in solving the servant problem are the mistress and the

maid; but their respective views of how it is to be solved are diametrically opposite. The mistress, in most cases, would solve it by having provided for her, somehow, a plentiful supply of trained servants at low wages. The servant's solution, in so far as she has any, is, as far as she can, to abolish servants altogether by choosing some other calling, and her solution at present seems the more likely to be realised. Indeed, unless some radical, social change shall intervene, the mistress' solution has little prospect of success. The close of the war will see a rush of surplus women from Europe into the wage-earning classes and some of them will undoubtedly enter service. But the psychological factors now at work which lead women to prefer almost any other occupation to domestic service will continue in force and the main stream of women-workers will flow, perhaps in increasing volume, toward workshop, office and factory, avoiding the home. Perversity? False pride? Well, perhaps; nevertheless there is the fact! Despite the higher wages paid in domestic service, an increasing number of women, forced to seek their own livelihood, will face almost starvation rather than serve other women in their homes.

The shop offers free evenings and Sundays, definite hours, the single, specified task, the bustle and companionship of other workers, the hope of adventure, the supposedly better matrimonial outlook in a position where she can see and be seen.

These are among the reasons commonly adduced for this persistent tendency. But no explanation which leaves out of account the peculiar and mysterious stigma which attaches to the calling of servant, suffices. The stigma is more drastic in America than in Europe, because in the old world people are still bound by the limitations of their class and no disgrace attaches to fulfilling a destiny which you cannot escape. But in the free air of America none are supposed to follow a calling or remain in a position which does not suit them. Hence, American girls in only rare instances will enter domestic service and for the upkeep of homes America is almost wholly dependent upon the daughters of foreign countries.

The stigma attaching to the servant's calling is not due to the unpleasantness of her tasks, since the trained nurse performs services quite as disagreeable. It is not because housework is hard; since many forms of labour outside, in factories and slaughter houses and mines, is harder. It is not because it is unskilled, since the finer departments of housework demand considerable skill. It is not because the servant "lives out" and has no home of her own, since the governess and the trained nurse are similarly placed, without loss of prestige. It is not because the servant is unorganised; since the stigma began its pursuit of her before trade unions were heard of. It is not because she is "bossed," since the condition of being bossed, criticised and

found fault with is the lot of all who work under others and the chance of being fired is the correlative of being hired. It is not because the servant is ill paid or ill-treated, since, despite continuously rising pay and more considerate treatment, the stigma continues to follow her.

It is true that the very rich are able to overcome the stigma by paying exorbitant wages, and therefore, there is, for the rich, properly no servant problem. They can have whatever they choose to pay for and they will pay for anything they want. Whether they choose imported lackeys, or oriental coolies, or mechanical automatons, or trained monkeys, need not concern us. Their problem is their own and they are quite able to solve it. What the interests of humanity demand are not that the idle and luxurious may be provided with the means of being more idle and more luxurious, but that women in the home who are engaged in performing valuable services, which are beyond their unaided strength to perform, shall be furnished the necessary assistance.

The upkeep of happy and fruitful homes is an invaluable service and if, as it may appear, it is one which makes too many exactions upon one woman, then it is extremely desirable that, in a well-organised society, help shall be provided her. Under present conditions, many homes are falling to pieces because the mothers in charge of them are themselves ill-trained, and because of this, together with

the fact that their task is beyond their strength, cannot fulfil their function properly. Help is needed to maintain these homes, but it is not forthcoming because in some there are not the means to pay for help, and in others, where the means are present, the help cannot be had. In a nutshell this is the servant problem: how to make available good help for those families who need it, and should have it.

The solutions of the servant problem now offered are mainly three: first, abolish servants altogether; second, kind treatment, higher wages and the like, with a view of attracting larger numbers to the calling; third, replacing servants by trained workers who live at home.

To persons of refinement the first solution is especially attractive and many ingenious efforts are being made by desperate women to establish a self-respecting independence of servants. Sometimes the family moves into smaller quarters; flats and delicatessen stores, the janitor, the telephone, the dumb waiter, the steam-heated apartment, the free hot water, reduce housework to the capacity of a single pair of hands. More luxurious families adopt labour-saving machinery and hired cleaners; they also enlist the co-operation of the members of the family and so forth. One hears of a thirty-five thousand dollar country house in the Catskills, constructed throughout with the view of eliminat-

ing the necessity of servants, and there is no doubt that if an inventor of self-cleaning, self-running domiciles for human beings should appear a fortune awaits him. More immediately available are, however, the estimable efforts of some intelligent women to perfect and set forth new methods of "scientific housekeeping" whereby woman, though bound, may yet be free. It is to be achieved by the exercise of "system," "planning," "measured movements," "records" and the like. There is very much that is admirable in these teachings; and, if women were more widely trained in really scientific housekeeping, there would be many more happy homes and more light-hearted women. The matter is not, however, as easy as it appears in the fluent books upon the subject. The aim is to apply to the home the efficiency methods which have accomplished so much in office and factory; the theory considers the home as a factory. But the home is not a factory and methods which are very rigid and exact cannot well be applied to it, or, if they were so applied, might endanger its most precious characteristics. The home is not a favourable field for the application of efficiency methods, because it is precisely the place to which men turn to escape from too much efficiency. The trouble with all machinery, no matter how perfect, is that the whole is dependent upon the smooth working of all the parts, and a home which has so far lost its nor-

mal flexibility that any little irregularity will throw out the entire day's schedule, shatter the household equanimity and reduce the house mother to desperation, has lost as much as it has gained by scientific management. Moreover, to replace servants by elaborate electric machinery, beside being beyond the reach of most women to install, is beyond the ability of more to operate. A dinner of ten covers, such as Mrs. Pattison describes herself as cooking and serving, alone and unaided, while still preserving all the nonchalance of a care-free, chef-served hostess, requires a truly Napoleonic grasp of intellect, united to an Edisonian grasp of electric machinery.

The most beneficial feature of the effort to dispense with servants is that it leads to a simplification of existence and the attempt to strip life of some of its superfluous burdens — a lesson we cannot learn too soon nor too often. But, however certain persons may dally with the idea that the ideal solution of the servant question is to get rid of servants, that is not the ideal commonly held. The general intention in the mind of most families is to secure a servant as soon as they can afford one. Thousands of women, who congratulate themselves in after life, as does the author of "The Long Day," that no matter how hard they were pushed, out of work and starving, in their girlhood, they still never sank so low as to accept domestic service — still the moment they have climbed the ladder to

a competence hasten to find some other girl willing to "sink so low" as to serve THEM.

The "servant," strictly speaking, is bound in time to be abolished, indeed is now engaged in abolishing herself. Before many decades she is likely to survive only in the families of millionaires, and the maintenance of servants will be the unmistakable evidence of vast opulence. They will be very rare and precious, very well-trained and very expensive. In the families of the masses of the people there will be no servants, the girls and women previously so employed having all passed into the office, the workshop, the store, the factory. Such a state of things, sure to be hailed as progress by feminists, because it deals another blow at the family, and secures economic independence for more women, is not to be welcomed by humanists.

In our view the family is the corner-stone of society, and measures which render it more sure, not those which join with the forces that threaten it, are to be advocated. The family needs not less help but more; and while we willingly see the institution of servantry depart to keep company with those of slavery and vassalage which preceded it, still we recognise that the upkeep of the nation's families is too important a work to be left to fall into neglect, and, since where there are children or aged people or invalids it cannot be properly done by one woman alone, there should be some means of providing her with help, according to her needs.

We consent to the abolition of servants; but we insist that some form of domestic helpers must still be available.

The favourite solution of the problem now current is that of establishing professional houseworkers to come to one's house by the day or by the hour and vanish as does the plumber or the gas man when their work is done. Although this plan has been hopefully discussed for the past twenty years it seems no nearer realisation. The highly trained college graduate, who, we were told, would appear at one's door every morning, do up the work as by magic and vanish as a fairy at fall of day, is a being who exists, as far as I know, only in the pages of lady sociologists, who periodically produce books about her. Yet every one favours this solution; all hope for it; most people seem confidently to anticipate it.

In some of the larger cities, it is true, the custom is already common for negro women to work in this way. They have no objection to being out late and the plantation tradition, under which the darkies retired to their own quarters at nightfall to sleep with their own people, still lingers. The practice is not, however, favoured by young white girls. If they are to live at home and work out they much prefer shop or factory, which closes promptly at six, so that they can count exactly upon their homecoming.

As for the highly trained, graduated, home-eco-

nomics demonstrator, who was once promised us, she has never appeared in the flesh, her energies having been invariably enlisted, it seems, not in running our homes for us as she has been instructed so efficiently how to do, but in teaching others how — to teach! It is true that for a special occasion expert caterers can always be had at the command of a long purse, but these awesome creatures are quite out of reach for performing the prosaic grind of daily household tasks.

The chief obstacle to converting housework into a day's work task is that the life of the home, instead of shutting down at six P.M., as outside work does, intensifies at precisely that hour. All the scattered members of the family come wandering hungrily home, and any person who must serve at this office has her evening spoiled, a fact which weighs heavily in the competition which goes on between the home and the factory for the young girl's work. The only class of young girls to whom this is not a disadvantage is the homeless immigrant. To her, a sheltered spot in a strange land where she can both live and work is highly desirable, for to go home after work means to her only to creep into a desolate room somewhere, empty and cold and bearing no resemblance to a home in any way. Therefore it is the raw immigrant girl, alone, who flocks plentifully into domestic service and more and more it is she, raw, stupid, and untaught, who is the overburdened housemother's only prop and hope.

The remedy of *kind treatment* which it was hoped would call more and better women into the service is only partially successful, as we see when we remember that, in spite of it, the tide flows increasingly into the shops. Thus all of the remedies commonly proposed offer little promise of relief.

And yet not only is it not desirable, in the interests of the nation's homes, that they should be poorly manned and equipped by the abandonment of helpers; but it is necessary that many more families than are now receiving help should receive it. Thousands of the nation's mothers, engaged in a most important work, are sadly overburdened. They should be given all the help necessary to their task.

At the same time there are constantly arising troops of young daughters, whose work is not needed in their own families, and who should enter upon a period of self-support previous to marriage. The most desirable arrangement imaginable would be that they should be able to support themselves, while at the same time perfecting themselves in a calling which will assist them in their ultimate service as homemakers. No other work is so well suited for this double purpose as domestic service. How then can we remove the stigma which now attaches to that service, and open it freely to future homemakers? How can we make it compete successfully against its dangerous rivals — the workshop, office and factory? If we can do so it will be better for the girls, it will be better for the homes, it will be

better for the mothers, it will be better for the nation and better for the race.

How shall we deflect the tide of young working girls away from shops and into homes? How shall we bring them into the service of the nation's mothers? How shall we adapt them to the requirements of housemothers and adapt housemothers to their requirements so that they will like each other and work harmoniously together? We wish to utilise a large fund of unused motherliness on the part of capable women, and, on the other hand, a fund of wasted daughterliness of good young girls, now lost in the grind of business. These girls and these women should be brought together in *quasi*-family groups to occupy toward each other the relationship, partly of teacher and pupil, partly of mother and daughter. All families containing young children need help and this should be rendered by the nation's unattached women — the young maids, spinsters, elderly women. In the coming struggle for supremacy among nations that race has a better chance to prevail which utilises to best advantage the energies of its women — young and old. When this is understood, young women may pledge themselves to the service of the home as young men now rush to the colours. This kind of preparedness is very necessary, and universal conscription, by which all young girls who do not fall below the standard should be required to serve their time in household service, would be eminently desirable.

The writer offers the following suggestions looking toward a possible solution of the domestic problem. The plan keeps consistently in view the benefits to the race which, in our judgment, are bound up with the continued maintenance of the family; and it advocates a deliberate policy of domestication as against the commercialisation of young women. The foundation for such a scheme must be laid in educating girls for the home rather than for the market-place. Up to the age of twelve, a girl should be given the usual rudiments of general education; i.e., they should be taught to read and write and spell and to speak pure English (far more attention being given to this matter than is now the custom). In addition, they are naturally given an idea of the geography of their own country, and, more generally, of the rest of the earth, together with an outline of history. But at twelve years of age their education should take a definite turn, and, during the next four to six years, it should move steadily in the direction of the domestic arts. With these as a solid foundation should be combined abundant physical exercise, especially dancing, and the cultivation of the love of beauty through art, music, literature and the like.

After the age of sixteen or eighteen those girls — and they are very few — who have demonstrated a real and genuine thirst for abstract knowledge could return to the pursuit of “book learning” and pass on to the upper reaches of “higher education.”

The average girl, however, pursues further the line of domestication. This she may do by perfecting her knowledge of some of the domestic arts or else, if it is necessary for her to become, as soon as possible, self-supporting, she enters at once into a period of apprenticeship as a co-operative houseworker in a selected home.

In the first instance she may become an expert cook or milliner, or dancer or singer, developing these activities purely as personal accomplishments, to enhance her personal value in the home, not, as yet, with a view of selling them in the market-place. In the second instance the girl passes into a home where she will be given the opportunity to put in practice the knowledge of the domestic arts in which she has been trained. Here we approach the domestic help problem from a new angle.

This public school girl enters family service not as a servant but as a co-operative worker. Her status in the family is that of the apprentice who used to enter his master's family for a twofold purpose — to perfect himself in his craft under the eye of a master, and at the same time to render assistance to his master while so engaged. Some one has recently written of the college that "the college will never really GET the undergraduate until it transforms itself into a sort of intellectual workshop in which young men can serve an apprenticeship under the masters of their day." The same may be said of the home. It will not secure the high-souled, dis-

interested service of maidens, which for its own good and theirs, it should command, until their relation to their work is so transformed that it comes to be regarded by them as a period of apprenticeship to a higher vocation. The status of such an apprentice is no more that of the servant, than the status of a patriotic soldier resembles that of a hired mercenary.

The entrance of the girl into a refined home as apprentice causes no jar to the family because she has been specially trained for it, having received the teaching and the discipline to make her not only an efficient house worker, but an agreeable home companion. Not only does she know how to cook and sew and clean and make beds and set a table, and understand how to take care of a baby and the elements of sick nursing, but she has been drilled in the use of pure English and clear enunciation; she has been trained in dainty care of her person, from the taking of a daily bath to the properly dressed hair and polished nails; she has been made to experience the benefits of fresh air, exercise, plain food, plenty of sleep, both in their effects upon her complexion and her temper as well as her general health. She has been made to understand that an obligation which society entails upon her is to keep herself in blooming condition. She has been fitted in every way to take her place, modestly, but with dignity, as an "apprentice daughter" in the household of a woman of refinement.

She does not enter her vocation for the money there is in it, any more than does the soldier or the Red Cross nurse. Her wage is nominal; probably about the size of an allowance which a mother might give her daughter to buy her clothes and little pleasures. The goal of the apprentice-daughter is not to accumulate wages but to accumulate useful experience, and to perfect herself in all the accomplishments which she hopes to use, herself, as wife and mother, when she comes to preside over her own home, and in turn to be mother and guide to other apprentices.

That marriage is her aim and goal should be frankly recognised by her and by society. She should believe that it is not honest ever to deny this or to conceal it. She should never be ashamed of it or permit any one to make her ashamed of it. As every one knows what her aim is, no hindrances are to be put in her way; on the contrary every facility, within propriety, must be provided to enable her to realise her woman's destiny. To join hands with a worthy mate and with him raise a fine family seems to her more suitable as a life motive than to secure by haggard efforts a big salary under barren spinsterhood.

The ornamental side of her nature has not been neglected, for she is to be not only a houseworker but a homemate and comrade. Her mind has been stored with games and fairy tales, folk songs, poetry and romance. Some day she is to be the life of the

nursery. She can sing a merry song, join in a college glee and dance like a fairy. She can sketch, she can swim, she can walk; she knows birds, and trees and flowers. She can make her own dresses and trim her own hats and has been taught the charm of simplicity and cleanliness. She can embroider and knit all sorts; she can keep accounts; she has been taught order and system, how to economise and manage; how to buy, and how NOT to buy.

Her position in the household resembles that of a young physician serving as interne in a hospital. She aims to perfect herself in her calling by continual practice under the direction and criticism of experts. The glory of the goal illumines the novitiate like that of the nun. There is no stigma following such a career, no matter how menial the task performed, any more than there is with regard to the nun or the nurse or the medical student serving his time as an interne.

If it is necessary to the success of such a scheme that the apprentice shall have been trained, it is no less essential that the mother-matron shall have been fitted for her function. Only matrons who had themselves been thoroughly trained in the principle and practice of domestic art would be eligible to receive the services of the apprentice-daughters.

Both matrons and daughters should be members of an organisation — called the Guild or Co-operative Homemakers, or something of the sort — which should be under the auspices of the state edu-

cational system. It would establish in connection with the public schools a placing bureau. (There is already a placing secretary attached to the vocational schools of New York City.) The finest young girls graduating from the public schools after from four to six years of training in the domestic arts would be placed in selected families whose matrons had themselves passed the required tests and examinations.

The standards of household management vary from house to house; but there is no reason, when the subject is better understood, why households should not be standardised and classified according to the standard adopted. Roughly speaking, households might be graded in three grades. The first grade might follow the standard maintained by the best hotels and the households of millionaires. Among its items are perfect order and cleanliness from garret to cellar; bed linen changed each morning, table linen at each meal; "made dishes" exclusively, served; all window sills cleaned daily, clothing brushed, shoes blacked, beds opened, baths drawn, tubs polished, glass and silver always like new, and so forth. The second grade falls considerably short of this concert pitch while not falling below the health line. A third grade might represent a still further slackening from the highest standard.

A household interne should have experience of all the grades and be able to discriminate between them.

The higher the standard set in any establishment the larger the number of internes necessary to maintain the standard, and the larger the opportunity to make acquaintance and friendship among co-workers. In order to gain variety of experience it would be desirable that young internes should not remain more than two or three years in one place. After they have learned what one household has to teach, then, provided they have not yet met their future husband, they should move on in search of pastures new, domestic and matrimonial. In these various positions a young woman would secure not only varied practical experience but could learn much of proper family relations — how best to secure family harmony and sweeten family intercourse. A wise little girl, who kept her eyes open and her mind awake, might thus arrive at some very shrewd conclusions as to what kind of a man NOT to marry, and what kind of a wife NOT to be.

As for the guild matrons, not only would they have to have won certificates of proficiency before they would be entitled to the services of the Guild of Internes, but the households of the guild matrons would be subject to periodical inspection by expert officers of the Guild, in order to determine whether the standard adopted by the household were being maintained and whether either the matron or the apprentice-daughters were falling behind and needed "jacking up." This feature of the scheme is rendered necessary by the incorrigible human propen-

sity to slump; but far from being regarded as an intrusion, it would, I believe, be earnestly welcomed by matrons who take their functions seriously. This is especially the case if the inspection covers, as it should, health and hygiene and the general family conditions. There is scarcely a family in any class but would benefit by periodical visits and inspection of its conditions by experts.

To belong to the Guild of Matrons would be an honour to any woman and more to be desired — except for money-making purposes — than a college degree. Aside from its practical advantage it would enable a superior woman to practise a species of maternity extension, by exercising motherly helpfulness over a wider area than that covered by her immediate family. Her position would be that of head mistress in a school, or head nurse in a nurses' training school, or head physician in a hospital. Although she may have little work to do, and little actual teaching, her duties of inspection, planning, criticising and directing are unremitting. She is the conductor of the household orchestra; she must understand all the instruments, even if she do not play them, and upon her devolve leadership, example and responsibility. She and her apprentice-daughters have an object in common — the perfecting of the American home and the future improvement of the American nation. The matron is not to lose sight of the fact that her charges are not there to minister to her indolence, but to prepare

themselves, under her guidance, for *their own careers* as wives and mothers, and they must be consistently assisted to attain this end.

Let us picture to ourselves a typical case. Mrs. A. is a woman of forty; her family consists of her husband and herself with their four children and her husband's mother. Mrs. A. is a finely disciplined character, kindly and capable, an excellent housekeeper, an admirable wife and mother. She has for years been struggling hopelessly with the servant problem. Her own standards have been continuously rising as she gained knowledge and experience and came to see how things ought to be done. But her task grew harder instead of easier as she was forced to depend upon a constantly deteriorating class of domestics.

Mrs. A. has passed her examinations and is a member of the Guild. After consultation she has decided that the third grade standard of housekeeping is all that she can at present maintain, so far have things fallen behind under the ruinous régime she has been struggling under. To maintain this standard, given the size of her house and the family requirement, four internes will be needed. Accordingly one day there are brought to Mrs. A.'s house to take the place of the two stupid, ignorant, slatternly, pilfering, lazy, deceitful, quarrelsome incompetents whom the family finances have hitherto placed in successive pairs at her disposal — four bright, healthy, dainty, rosy, merry girls, fresh

from the public schools where they have been following, from four to six years, thorough courses in the most approved methods of advanced housekeeping. They are neat, orderly, handy, quick, cheerful, and tickled to death with their new surroundings, their chance to work together, the prospect of practising what they have learned, and the opening up of the woman's period in their career. As they have been trained to system and despatch, to have a place for everything and to keep everything in its place; as they are young and lively, and as there are twice as many hands now as formerly, the household tasks are accomplished in far less time. Therefore their actual working hours are shortened and time is set free for the upkeep of their health and personal attractiveness. They are also required to spend a certain time each day in reading and in cultivating any little craft or accomplishment — such as embroidery, knitting, singing, dancing, which they may have begun at school. At the guild headquarters they will receive instruction in continuation classes so that they will not be allowed to suppose that their education in any respect has come to an end. To the Guild, moreover, both matron and apprentice will make regular reports, stating any cause of complaint or dissatisfaction.

At the guild hall there would be a dancing and music room with a little stage for dramatic performances. Here would centre the social life of

the band of apprentice-daughters of the town. Chaperoned by one of the league matrons they would meet to dance, play games, sing, prattle, give little plays, hold fairs, and "bees," and singing classes and otherwise amuse themselves as young girls should. Here, too, they would meet their brothers and parents, and friends and lovers, and here, for the most part, would ripen the friendships leading to their own marriage. Out of four apprentices, two could be free in the evening to visit their homes, or the guild hall or rest, as they pleased. In connection with the Guild a fund might be raised to buy wedding presents for apprentices and christening gifts for the first baby. Sick benefits and insurance would probably follow.

Some of Mrs. A.'s apprentice-daughters will remain under her roof until they marry. Some will stay only a year or two and then journey to another town in search of fresh adventures and new experiences, just as the old guild members used to do in their wander-years. Those who, after a sufficient time has passed, abandon the idea of marriage altogether would finally separate themselves from the band of apprentice-daughters and could then fit themselves for commercial pursuits. Only when their prime service to humanity seems unlikely ever to be fulfilled will society willingly consent to their giving themselves over to the getting and saving of money. Some of them will find employment in teaching in the public and guild schools, while for

others vocational schools will be maintained by the State to fit them for commercial life.

Under such a scheme Mrs. A., as we have seen, is able to enjoy the neat and cheerful service of four young trained workers for the same outlay which formerly procured her two poor ones. In similar fashion households supporting one might then have two and households which now have none might then have one. But large numbers of working-class women, who sorely need help, would still be without it. How are we to meet that difficulty? The only answer is that, should the time ever come when the improvement of the human race, through its more careful breeding and rearing in the home, should seem to be the most important work into which any society can enter — then we might hope that a gathering spirit of service (even now evident in the volunteer soldier, the nurse, the army surgeon, the sister of charity) might extend to this service of the race, in the home — a cause no less worthy.

Every family requires at some period outside help. The lowest Italian household must have the service of the midwife occasionally. In nearly every country district some ignorant but foot-free old woman answers the call to help wash the baby or help lay out the corpse. In this age-long custom lies the key to the woman question and incidentally to the servant question. *Women must help each other.* Their toil must be utilised, not to the

increasing of the national bank account, not to the enriching of capitalist employers, not to increasing their own expenditure of display, but for the benefit of the race, in the service of women and children.

CHAPTER IX

THE MORAL USES OF HUSBANDS

IT is a curious fact that when man and woman are drawn together by affection they tend to develop in each other opposite qualities — the man becoming more manly and the woman more womanly. But when they approach each other on a business basis, occupying a neutral zone, then they tend to become more alike, equally hard and determined. They enter a competitive struggle in which there is an effort to ignore differences of sex, but in which nevertheless the fact of sex serves but to embitter the struggle.

In their normal relations the special service which woman performs toward man is to *tame* him. The service he performs for her is to *steady* her.

If it were not for woman's taming powers, we should lapse into savagery; if it were not for man's steadying power, society would approach Bedlam. It is true that a man engaged in correcting his wife presents a most odious appearance. He is looked upon as a cad, and in general he feels himself to be one. Therefore men have withdrawn, more and more, from corrective functions. But just as almost all men are only half-tamed savages, so almost all women are potentially hysterics; and just as it is

true that the disciplined savage makes the strongest man, so the controlled hysteric gives the strongest, richest woman nature.

The effect of each sex when they are normally related is to strengthen the sex characteristics in each and then mutually to help each other to control them.

Certainly in America nothing could be worse for woman than the course pursued by many men, who neglect their womenkind in order to be free to follow their own pursuit of wealth, and when it is secured use the wealth in indulging and enervating their womenkind. The nerve-chaos which results in their women they meet with more indulgence, more freedom — withholding the steadying hand which alone can save them from themselves.

I remember questioning my father, a physician, on one occasion when he had been called to treat a woman in hysterics. What had he done for her?

With the grave, stern, half-sad expression which he sometimes wore, he answered, "I made her stop."

I used sometimes to compare my lot exultingly with that of other little girls and their extravagances. "We've got a man in our family who can make us stop." Although we did not need the strong hand, it was always there and we knew it could be counted upon should need arise. What soul-turmoil is more distressing than that of the woman who cannot make herself stop, and cannot make her father or husband make her stop.

Of our men it can too often be said that materially they have done too much for their women, but spiritually too little. Too often a man's conjugal ideal is to work himself to death for a woman, and at the same time neglect her. She tires then of her half-celibate life.

Dentists tell us that teeth lacking some chemical element will crumble. Women who turn against the woman-life are women who are crumbling. Some special element has been left out of their composition, an ingredient which only man's will can supply and which his neglect robs her of. In giving a woman freedom man forgets that freedom has not the same meaning for her as for him, nor has she the same use for it. What he meant to be freedom is often neglect on his part.

The moral uses of a husband and man's chief service to woman, is that of a railway track in relation to a train of cars, namely, to make smooth its way, lift it over valleys, carry it through mountains, spare it all unnecessary exertion, and yet not fail to determine its direction. Man's moral duty to woman is to prevent her destroying herself by jumping her track.

Man should understand better than she does (his being the longer and keener vision as hers is the nearer and tenderer) what her real destination is, and lay her tracks toward it.

If this is tyranny, then the steel bars which guide precious loads in safety across a continent — are

tyrants. The despot who guides us to our true goal and makes smooth our way thither is the sort of despot we all need. Tyranny of that sort is indistinguishable from service; it is the highest service. "Our chief need," said Emerson, "is some one who can make us do what we can"—and he might have added, who will not let us try to do what we cannot.

All about us are women who have jumped the track, who have lost sight of their destination and are reaching out for other occupations than those in which they truly move forward.

Feminism directs its bitterest attacks upon women who are economically dependent upon their husbands, even though the relation be a happy one and mutually satisfactory to the parties concerned.

Among the amenities commonly practised by feminists in this connection may be mentioned a habit of alluding to married women who are supported by their husbands as "parasites." This figure is questionable. The example of a parasite which at once occurs to us is the flea, a creature which leads a luxuriant existence and derives a comfortable living from sucking the blood of the reluctant and infuriated dog.

There are several points of dissimilarity between this predatory insect and a wife. The first superficial difference which we may note is the fact that the man upon whose life blood his wife, if she is "a parasite," is supposed to subsist, very earnestly,

in his courtship days, besought her to become his parasite, and in some cases moved heaven and earth to persuade her to accept the position. Dogs don't do that with fleas.

Again there are ways which women have of making their hosts comfortable, if it be no more than warming their slippers or tying their cravat or meeting them at the door with a smile. What flea has ever been known to do this?

Moreover, man shows an unwillingness to part with his wife, will fight the interloper who seeks to deprive him of her. But what dog is there who will not willingly part with his flea?

A man takes pride in his wife, likes to walk out with her and introduce her to his friends. But no dog takes any pride in his flea, prefers not to walk out with her or to introduce her to anybody, unless it should be some one who would agree to take her off his — back.

Again, woman soothes, sympathises with and encourages her man, while the flea exerts quite the contrary effect upon the dog. It is true that both women and fleas have the property of stimulating to action their respective supporters, but while the man is generally spurred to valuable productive labour by his wife, the dog's activities and exertions in relation to the flea are wholly unproductive.

Finally, no dog puts on mourning crêpe or dies of a broken heart when his flea is called to a better world, as sometimes happens to a man when his

wife is taken. All of which facts seem to indicate that in return for her support, woman, unlike the flea, gives something to man (aside from mothering his children) which he, unlike the animal, is willing to accept as an equivalent return for the nourishment he gives to her.

Considering all these circumstances, there would appear to be a certain inappropriateness in the term "parasite" as applied to a homekeeping woman. We feel sure that our feminist friends will not fail to perceive this when once their attention has been called to it.

CHAPTER X

SOME IMPRESSIONS FROM ELLEN KEY

ELLEN KEY's eclecticism, though praiseworthy, is bewildering. Evolution, it seems, has required woman to leave home and make a man of herself; but evolution requires no less that she shall eventually go back home again where she belongs. She must vote, of course, in order to prove that she is man's equal; but the vote is not of much consequence and there is nothing special for her to do with it. Woman should be faithful and constant; yet she should be allowed to take mates on approval and change at pleasure.

Despite her contrarities the Swedish sybil is a wise, old, modern woman who has received many women's confidences. Women are her pets; but her love tends to dotage and, like a fond grandmother, she wishes, regardless of consequences, to gratify her darling's every wish.

It is undeniable that many of her pets have been having a pretty hard time in the past, especially in those countries which Ellen Key knows best. Tyrannical parents, a narrow, sour, home life, involuntary celibacy, an emptiness of existence, embittered by a sense of neglect — these formed a load of sorrow heaped upon many women in Europe dur-

ing the last century. In part they are the entail upon women of military nations who have the habit of draining off their best male blood, periodically, in cruel wars; in part they were due to the wide pre-occupation of men in the game of wealth-getting, never so absorbing before. In all the turmoil woman seemed somehow to get left and few forlorn beings have existed than the old maid of fifty years ago. Miss Key's tears over this unhappy creature are well bestowed. Clearly something needed to be done for her. Either work or the insane asylum. Work came. She took it awkwardly but with pathetic gratitude. Ellen Key is too wise to see the change wholly as a "liberation," but she does regard it as a useful substitute for the real thing; better than nothing; better than madness!

For the rest, Ellen Key has fallen under the modern curse and read too many books. Worse yet — she has believed them! Her eclectic mind leads her to see "good" in everything, with the result that a vast number of goods have been frightfully jumbled together in one well-meaning mind. We wish common factors could be cancelled, divided by the greatest common divisor or subjected to some other operation of mathematical house cleaning, and we be presented with a simplified net result.

From the present disarray of her ideas it happens, however, that persons holding the most contradictory views on the woman question all look con-

fidently to Ellen Key's books for support; and Ellen never fails them. To feminists she is a tower of strength; to anti-feminists a seer and a prophetess.

By way of illustration let us take a few passages from "Love and Marriage."

"Woman has gained her highest qualities in the home"—(applause from anti-suffragists),

—"but she must now exercise this character on public matters"—(applause from suffragists).

"She must enter man's sphere"—(cries of joy from feminists),

—"but without becoming less womanly. The differences in the sexes are of priceless value"—(similar cries from antis).

"However, both sexes should follow the same occupations in order that their differences shall be minimised"—(demonstration by feminists).

"Unless women maintain their different characteristics when they enter politics"—(voice from antis—"which they won't, their votes will only double the poll without altering results." Vociferous assent from antis).

"Not until governments embody motherliness as well as fatherliness will they provide for the needs of all their children"—(wild enthusiasm of suffragists; cries of "tommy rot" from antis).

"State care of children would wither parental affection"—(assent from conservatives).

"The line of life is freedom for love's selection, under conditions favourable to the race; limitation of

procreation, but not of love, under conditions unfavourable to the race"—(consternation of conservatives; cheers from radicals and free lovers).

"Humanity is approaching the parting of the ways. Either woman must devote herself to motherhood and the home while man either personally by outside labour or through state pensions provides for her maintenance — or —" (breathless suspense) "or women must be trained to enter into a relentless competition against men" (cries of "hear, hear" from suffragists). "In which case they will lose more and more the capacity as well as the desire for motherhood and the State will have to undertake the breeding as well as the rearing of children" —(horrified suspense of both parties).

"If we are to retain the old order of things and the home is not to become a mere place for eating and sleeping, then woman must be won back to the home"—(applause from the antis).

"Woman's desire for freedom as a human being provides for her a tragic conflict. Her soul is bound to the tops of two trees. Her struggles will one day surpass in fanaticism any war of religion or of race. She cannot do two things at once. What is personal in her home life cannot be left to another. But care of her family may interfere with her book, her picture, her lecture"—(voice of feminist: "Freedom above all!").

"When talented women decide for their career it is doubtful whether the race would not have gained

more had they been mothers"—(loud applause from anti-feminists. A voice from the gallery, "Oh, hang the race! Votes for women!").

"The women of the world produce annually perhaps a hundred thousand novels and works of art which might better have been boys and girls"—(feminist voice: "Bosh!").

"A return to the old ideal of womanliness is unthinkable"—(applause from feminists).

"Woman must be inspired in a new way, but inspired for her old task"—("Hear, hear" from antis).

"Woman needed to prove her title to the same rights as man. In a century these rights have been practically ceded"—(cheers from feminists).

—"but taken by themselves these privileges merely reduce woman to the level of a competitive struggle with man"—(loud applause from anti-feminists).

"Feminists have pressed forward woman's right to work; but they have overlooked the effects of her work"—(renewed applause from antis).

"Woman's competing with man in industry has occasioned the growth of ill-feeling between the sexes. Women feel themselves cheapened and underestimated. Men resent being thrust aside"—(chuckles from feminists).

"Man no longer finds in woman rest after his worries. She meets him with her worries. She has to overwork. She loses her elasticity. Love

requires peace. It cannot subsist upon the remnant of our time.—The delight in labour is being lost. The numbers increase to whom work means ill-health, anxiety, lethargy. It destroys the treasures of life. It makes women, like men, unscrupulous, restless, empty, hard.” . . . “Even women are coming to see that neither the right to work, nor education, nor citizenship, can compensate for trampled possibilities of happiness”—(“True!” from anti-feminists).

“Women are right who wish economic independence, who will not confine their gifts to the home, who wish to live their own lives”—(loud applause from feminists).

—“but what if it means exemption from motherhood?”—(“Ha! ha!” from antis).

“They declare that making money, studying, writing, taking part in politics, is a higher existence than the mere passive function of bearing children”—(feminist voice “Hear, hear”).

“But motherhood is not only passive. It contains, as nothing else does, the possibility of putting the whole personality into activity.” “The women who wish to lead their own lives are not entitled to equal respect with those who find their highest life through their children”—(applause from antis).

“In politics women would at first be reactionary; but even then their direct influence would be less

dangerous than their indirect, irresponsible influence is now"—(loud applause from suffragists).

"Education weakens woman by detracting from her qualities without giving her those of man"—(assent from antis).

"But we hope that she will attain power before she has lost her special characteristics, and so will bring about new conditions"—(applause from suffragists).

"If that hope fails then woman's entrance into public life will not change it for a thousand years"—("No, indeed!" from antis).

"Opponents to woman suffrage declare that woman should put her whole strength into the rearing of men. If she produces great men they will reform society and realise her ideals, whereas if she endeavours to do so herself she will only lose her ideals in party strife"—(murmurs of joy from antis).

—"but this does not correspond to reality"—(voice from suffragists: "Of course not!" Voice from antis: "Why not?").

CHAPTER XI

VOTES FOR WOMEN

OF all the forms of Feminism, the movement known as "votes for women" is the most innocuous; indeed its relative unimportance in the scheme of the universe has never been adequately described. That women take it so seriously might be regarded as one of the drollest manifestations of lack of humour were it not obvious that their importunities rest upon a childish delusion, quite solemnly held, regarding the value of the ballot. Their absurd indignation at being excluded from it is only comprehensible when we realise the degree of exaggerated envy and veneration which they attach to the privilege from which they are being excluded.

"But the question of suffrage is so simple," protested a suffragist to me. "It is only justice; simple justice. It is *unfair* to exclude women from the privilege of the ballot."

Why is it unfair? Is it unfair to deprive them of the privilege of wearing trousers, or serving on juries, or bearing arms, or dying in the trenches?

Is it unfair to deprive a person of something they don't want? Is it unfair or unjust to exclude a

woman from a privilege which is a privilege only in some one else's judgment, not in hers?

In most families the custom obtains that while the woman orders most things, the man of the house orders the coal. Coal seems to belong to the outside world, along with lumber and bricks and earth and the like. Moreover, the man often tends the furnace; stoking is his job. Somebody has to order the coal; coal is in his province; he is the suitable person; therefore he does it. The custom has arisen spontaneously, no laws to that effect having been enacted, and seems, as far as one can observe, to work satisfactorily to all concerned. One never hears that it is a matter of "simple justice" that the woman should order the coal, or at least HALF of the coal! One does not hear her imploring to be allowed to share this privilege with her man. If he dies then she must take his place and order the coal; but she does not seem to feel that her privileges have been thereby extended, or her status in society raised — neither she nor does any one else. Indeed, she is rather commiserated than congratulated, as one having to assume an extra burden.

Voting at political elections is a part of the ordinary, humdrum routine of life. It is to carrying on government, what ordering coal is to a household. Somebody has got to vote because, unfortunately, we have to have a government, just as, in our climate, we have to burn fires, and therefore have to order fuel. But there is nothing joyous, nothing

exhilarating, nothing elevating about either act, nothing that confers an atom of weight or a spark of glory upon those who perform it.

Men themselves, now that the first access of democratic fever is somewhat spent, are coming to attach less and less value to the ballot. In some countries compulsory voting laws have become necessary, and they are being proposed as a last resort in getting out the vote — even in our own great democracy. Moreover, interest in politics, as evidenced by voting, is declining fastest among the men of those States in which women vote. As the vote cheapens, men's eyes are being opened to its real character as merely a rather burdensome duty. Whereupon, in true man fashion, just as they have turned over the churches and largely the schools to the care of women — they are falling into the habit already of leaving politics to them. In California, for every woman who went to the polls upon the first woman suffrage election, some man stayed at home. They have already inaugurated the policy of "leaving it to the women." They seem to have said to themselves what the Irish trooper said to his horse, when the animal got its hoof into the stirrup: "Now, then, if ye're goin' to get on, Oi'm goin' to get off."

The glamour with which women continue to invest the ballot, long after men are ceasing to do so, is due to the echoes of a political superstition which was at its height among men some fifty years

ago. The tide reached flood at the close of our Civil War, when the vote was extended to the negro. Since then it has been steadily receding and women suffragists are about a half-century, intellectually, behind the procession. The psychology of the movement is, as might be expected, a thing of shreds and patches, a droll medley of childish delusions, irrelevancies, sophistries and general poppycock — a thing to be good-naturedly favoured or good-naturedly opposed, according to one's bias, but never to be taken too seriously.

A lady suffragist once epitomised to me its logical aspects in the following syllogism:—

Major premise: Men have made a mess of politics.

Minor premise: Women are men's equals.

Conclusion: Therefore they should be permitted to make a mess of politics.

The bewildering variety of opinion among women, pro and con, might be summarised as follows:

SUFFRAGISTS

The vote is a boon and a privilege. Therefore I want it.

ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS

The vote is a burden and a nuisance. Therefore I do not want it.

SUFFRAGISTS

Whether you want it or not, you should be made to take it.

ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS

Whether we want it or not is our own affair. You have no right to force it upon us.

SUFFRAGISTS

It is your duty; duty needs to be enforced; you should not be permitted to evade it.

ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS

We reserve the right to determine what is our duty ourselves. Besides, you have declared that the vote is a privilege. If that is correct why do you talk of forcing it upon us? People don't need to have privileges thrust upon them.

SUFFRAGISTS

But you don't seem to understand that it *is* a privilege.

ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS

We have a right to our own opinion on that subject. If we are intelligent enough to vote, as you maintain, we are intelligent enough to refuse it if we see fit.

SUFFRAGISTS

Men think voting is a privilege; that is why they keep it to themselves and shut us out.

ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS

On the contrary they know it is a burden and therefore they are willing to relieve us of it.

SUFFRAGISTS

We denounce men.

ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS

We praise and thank men.

SOME OTHER SUFFRAGISTS

We do not denounce men; we are sorry for them; their political burdens are greater than they can bear. We wish to help them.

ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS

We think men are quite capable of standing under their duty without our assistance.

SUFFRAGISTS

An anti-suffragist man is a tyrant.

ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS

We don't like to state in public what we think of the male suffragist!

SUFFRAGISTS

Men can never save society without our help; their politics are corrupt and incompetent.

ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS

The remedy for political ills is better men. Men are what women in the home have made them. There is where reform should begin.

SUFFRAGISTS

Politics is a human concern.

ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS

Politics is a man's game.

There is scarcely less variety of opinion among men who are for, or against, and the forming of opinions upon personal experience is a weakness not confined to the fair sex. There is the man, for example, who says: "My mother and my wife are the equals of any man. When I think that an Italian labourer can vote while *they* may not, my blood boils." He omits to mention that the Italian labourer's wife's and mother's votes would probably offset any advantage which would accrue intellectually to the nation from the votes of *his* cultivated woman folk. At the other extreme is the man convinced that women are inferior and unfit mentally to exercise the franchise. This species is rare. There is the helpless man who cries to woman to come help him out of his political difficulties. One of these declared at a suffrage meeting: "I want my wife at my side when I walk to the polling booth to vote." A spirited young woman present exclaimed afterward to her friends: "A man like that would want his wife to walk at his side when he goes to the dentist to have a tooth filled! If I were married to a man who wanted me to walk by his side when he went to the polling booth, I should say to him, kindly but firmly: 'Now, see here, Percival, if you are ill I will sit by your side and do all I can for you. But so long as you are able-

bodied and quite capable of walking to the polling booth by yourself, if it is only two blocks away and perfectly safe in broad daylight, if you behave like a lady — you'll have to put your ticket in the chop-box without wifey's help, Percival.' ”

Opposite to Percival is the man who confides to his men friends his opinion: “ Politics is a dirty job, do the best we can. Don't let's drag women into it.” Then there are the indulgent men of both types. “ If women want the vote, I'd give it to them. I'd give the dear things anything they ask for.” And the other: “ Women don't want the vote. I won't see it forced upon them against their will. They have burdens enough to bear now.” Again: “ Women are our equals and should enjoy equal privileges.” And its opposite: “ Women are our superiors and should not be worried with vulgar matters like politics.”

A chorus of men and women may be heard faintly reiterating: “ The vote is a privilege and should be extended to all.” “ The vote is a burden and should be restricted to those best able to bear it.”

Chorus (dying away in the distance)

. . . a privilege!

. . . a nuisance!

. . . it is!

. . . it isn't!

. . . I want it!

. . . I don't want it!

Some half a century behind the times the woman suffrage movement to-day is full of certain quaint anachronisms. With the single exception of the supposed use that working women could make of the vote to raise their wages (quite illusory, since men have not voted themselves into higher wages), the movement is naïvely irrelevant to the real needs of the day. At a time, for example, when the electorate is becoming already so enormous that the mechanical counting of votes is difficult and the expense of elections quite beyond their value to the country, it proposes to double the number of votes. Common sense calls for simplification of governmental machinery; but women suffragists call for more confusion and complexity. At a time when all indications point to the decay of the family they would transfer still more human energy from it to the State. At a time when the home needs renovating from garret to cellar, they call upon women to undertake "municipal housekeeping." At a time when woman's personal influence, as guardian and teacher and nurse to her children, as guide, philosopher and friend to her husband, as benefactor to her friends, to strangers and to the poor at her gates, is urgently called for, woman suffrage demands that she be given the vote in order to have "something to do." At a time when society is al-

ready too masculine in its ideals and pursuits it would have woman add her presence to masculine ideals and pursuits and thus upset still more the normal balance. When she needs above all things to assert HERSELF and to count for all she is worth, it would cheapen her by throwing her into the welter of public affairs. At a time when, by long efforts, a generous legal provision has been made for her, favouring her above man before the law — it demands for her a political equality which is likely to annul these special privileges and, indeed, in suffrage States, has already done so. At a time when men are allowing their sense of political responsibility to slacken and take every excuse to avoid political and jury obligations, it is paving the way to further laxness by making it possible for them to “leave it to the women.” At a time when compulsory voting laws are being called for to force men to vote at all, women are being told that the vote is a precious possession, which they should make every sacrifice to obtain. At a time when the immigration problem and the assimilation of foreign influences are becoming increasingly difficult, it would add the immigrant woman to the immigrant man, as a voter, and double the size of the ignorant and venal vote. At a time when the family has received a damaging blow by the wholesale exodus of women into industry, it proposes to add one more attraction and occupation to engage them still further in outside matters. At a time when the ranks of fallen girls is

augmented by the many who have lost the protection of home, it proposes to throw them still more into association with men in politics and expose them to further temptation. At a time when social justice demands, through collectivism, a wider distribution of wealth, it proposes to inject into public affairs the individualistic anti-collectivist influence of women (wholly valuable in the family). At a time when it is difficult for any man to clear himself of the suspicion of self-seeking in politics, and when therefore it is peculiarly desirable that there shall be a body of citizens who shall be, like Cæsar's wife, "above suspicion," and thus able to push reforms in a whole-hearted and disinterested manner, it proposes to rob society of this invaluable asset and reduce both sexes to the same level of always suspected self-interest.

At a time when half the world is at war and the truth is made plain that the government of all nations rests upon force, and that no law is worth a scrap of paper more than the force of the gun behind it, woman suffragists propose that women shall encumber government with special laws, which they themselves could not enforce, and which men must, therefore, be prepared to die for if necessary. The male voter is committed to the task of backing up his vote with his fist or his gun in case it can be enforced in no other way. A woman's vote has no guaranty behind it and therefore she can never be a citizen in the same sense that a man is a citizen.

(At most she can only become a sort of left-handed or morganic citizen — never quite legitimately wedded to the State.) She can vote only by courtesy as a sort of honorary citizen, a citizen emeritus, not an active, sustaining member of the body politic. As boys playing "soldier," with sticks for guns, the woman voter carries a gun that won't go off. She casts her ballot when and where men suffer her to do so. She can neither secure the ballot nor hold it without his consent. She may rail at this as much as she likes; but such is the case, and nobody is to blame for it except Nature, which made her the weaker.

It is true that not every man could enforce his vote; the cripple could not. But, after all, disabled men are a handful; while disabled women (physically) are the whole sex. Moreover, the man's disability may be temporary and he may one day recover his strength. But womanhood is an infirmity from which women rarely, if ever, wholly recover.

Many women think that they want to vote because they do not quite know what voting is about. They don't realise that its object is to make laws. And laws, as every woman knows, are a nuisance. Who wants to be always making laws, always trying to rule and repress and regulate other people's affairs? What pleasure can there be in perpetually worrying your fellow-beings with more laws; have they not troubles enough already! Women have no affinity with laws; they lack the aptitude either to

make laws or to obey them. In a world of women there would be few laws made, and fewer still enforced. It is woman's way to get along somehow, from hour to hour, compromising with each difficulty as it arises. And there is much to be said for this method.

The good woman who has been wheedled into joining the suffrage sisterhood is fascinated by the notion that with a vote she could reform society. She would clean the streets with her vote — as though it were a broom! (The streets of Paris and of Berlin are clean and not a woman's vote has made them so.) She would abolish saloons. (They have been abolished in numerous States where she does not vote.) She would banish vice. (Denver continues a hotbed of vice, uneffected by twenty years of women's voting.) She would prohibit child-labour. (Which no woman's State has done.) She would protect women in factories. (Which is best done in the older States, where she does not vote.)

Nevertheless she persists in thinking that with a vote she could go forth and slay every dragon, like Don Quixote with his lance. I have talked with women who seemed to be under the impression that a polling booth is a place with a row of little boxes, like nests in a hen house, and you drop a ballot in this box if you want clean streets, and in that if you want pure milk and fresh vegetables, and in this box if you want the price of butter to go down, and in that if you don't want your husband to stay out.

so late nights, and in this if you want more subway trains — anything you want! Voting is just like writing a letter to Santa Claus.

One woman, whom I interrogated before an election a few years ago, as to her precise objects in wishing to vote, said that with a vote she meant to bring in economy, justice and efficiency in government. She intended, she said, to vote for the Good, the Beautiful, and the True. "Now, see here," I protested, "you *can't* vote for the Good, the Beautiful and the True. They're not printed on the ballot papers. What you *have* to vote for is just William H. Taft, or William R. Hearst, or William J. Bryan or some other William — it's *Williams* you have to vote for — not the Good, the Beautiful and the True!"

Suffragists assure us that their very presence in man's savage and barbarous world would soften and civilise it. Yet women have entered business by the thousands; have they altered business by their influence? They have entered journalism in shoals; have they effected any change in newspaper methods? Is the press any the less vulgar, less sensational, less prying, less unscrupulous, for her presence in the editorial office? The press is susceptible to pressure, but it must come from the box office, from the advertiser, from the reader. Woman in the home, as reader, as buyer, as wife of an advertiser can affect journalism; as employé of the press she has no influence. Neither business, nor journal-

ism, nor politics becomes more moral, more refined, more honest, more humane because of her participation in them. She is the subordinate when she enters man's world, and takes on more colour than she imparts. Her presence in man's world does not turn it womanward. She is out of her element there. She has no purchase on the situation. She cannot lift man's world a hair's-breadth above HIS level because it is *his* world. He made it; he controls it; he understands it — at least better than she does. She can influence his world best by staying out of it and creating a world of her own, very different from his, the influence of which he will nevertheless not escape.

Feminists seem to be under a curious snob-obsession which leads them to suppose that man moves on a higher social plane, and that they must strain every nerve to climb into his set. Why not let him do the straining to climb into our set?

They would have women copy man, imitate him, duplicate him. Always woman is to follow him, follow him, follow him. Follow him into workshop, office and factory; follow him down into mines and up in balloons; follow him to Arctic snows and tropic jungles, to the bed of the ocean and to the summits of the tall mountains. We are urged to follow him into halls of learning and struggle with him brain to brain; to follow him to his sports and recreations — to his base ball games which we cannot understand, to his prize fights which we detest.

Follow him to the market place, the race track, the cockpit. Follow him to the polling booth, to the saloon; follow him into battle and into the insane wars which he is not well-bred enough to avoid — only follow him!

The perfect presentment of this aberration may be seen any fine day on our country roads in that strange apparition — the tandem motorcycle. On the front seat sits the man, with fixed look and haggard face, begrimed and begoggled, while behind him clings his wretched mate, similarly begrimed and begoggled and deliriously uncomely. Upon her stony and desperate visage is plainly written the legend: "Where he goes — I go. He shall not escape me."

Far be it from the present writer to doubt that the man enjoys the adventure with its elements of power and danger congenial to the masculine mind. But I cannot believe that the woman lives who can honestly enjoy the position of his companion, helpless, paralysed, blinded, hanging on like a monkey to a circus horse, afraid to stay on and afraid to let go! The extraordinary thing about it is that somebody has made her believe that this is freedom!

The woman who insists upon being herself does not experience the slightest desire to do things merely because men do them; neither to smoke, nor chew, nor vote, nor fight. Often she has occasion to ask herself: "What is man, that we are mindful of him?"

As intelligent reformers have already discovered, the directest method of securing a reform, in our country, is not by voting at all (that is the slowest, most cumbersome and most uncertain of methods), but by direct appeal to the legislative committees of men, whom perhaps your opponents have elected. The methods of these legislative committees are an institution peculiar to America; and they render the exercise of the ballot in this country, by women reformers, entirely superfluous. Not a few women have secured, without a vote, simply by appealing to these legislative committees persistently, more reforms than has many a man with a vote. The exceptional woman, with a taste for politics (never forget that she is a rare bird) is provided, by our system, the means for the full exercise of her political talents. Women who are burning to be useful may be reminded that there are, in New York City alone, over eight thousand civic and philanthropic organisations, all shouting for helpers; and they never ask whether one has a vote or not. Yet one meets women who seem to be positively yearning to take part in "municipal housekeeping"—whether they have made much of a success of their home housekeeping or not. The latter is so sordid! And, of course, there is nothing sordid in hiring street cleaners and garbage collectors or in superintending city dumps! Any work is inspiring if only it is not done at home! They would like to give the "feminine touch" to city management, be a sister

to the bureau of taxes, an aunt to the dock or the fire departments, a mother-in-law to the board of aldermen.

A taste for politics is in general a wholly artificial one in women. A few years ago I received visits, at short intervals apart, from three women, all friends of my girlhood, all of whom had married and settled in suffrage States. I eagerly questioned them regarding the part which voting played in their lives. The first replied that she had never voted in her life and never intended to do so. The second confessed, somewhat apologetically, to having voted "only once." It was to oblige her husband, she explained, who wanted a friend of his elected to an office and therefore asked her to help. "I didn't know the man," she said, "and knew nothing about the case, but of course I couldn't refuse Fred. So I motored about town all day, picking up men, arguing with them, begging them, driving them to the polls and so on. Never again! Once was enough; no more for mine! Politics is a man's game; I take no interest in it whatever." The third of my friends gave a somewhat different answer. She was a Quakeress, and takes life seriously. "Yes, I always vote at every election," she replied. "I consider it my duty to do so. But I never go to the polls without an inward feeling of indignation and resentment. I realise that I have not enough knowledge of the matter to vote intelligently. I say to myself, 'This is a man's job; men ought to attend

to it themselves, and not impose it upon us.' ” Here was a piece of first-hand evidence.

The Quakeress had put her finger upon the fatal weakness in the voting of women. Men, rather than measures, are the subject-matter of elections. If principles and policies were to be voted upon women might read up on civics and take courses in political economy. But when it is merely a question of deciding whether Fritz Schmidt or Tim. O'Brien will make a better coroner and the lady voter does not know these gentlemen, or anything about them, her decision is all in the air. Men can inform themselves about other men by the time-honoured institution of — hobnobbing. But women cannot hobnob with candidates in saloons, or hotel lobbies, or on street corners. They cannot hobnob with men at all. To vote intelligently under our system and in our times, it is necessary to hobnob — and women cannot hobnob. Their men folk would object, and the women folk of the hobnobbees would object, even if women liked hobnobbing — which they don't.¹

¹ How their inability to hobnob disqualifies women from usefulness as voters was illustrated by an incident which occurred in Chicago, as announced in the press on Feb. 25, 1915. “Nine hundred women of a Chicago district voted yesterday for a coloured barber to be alderman of their district without wishing or meaning to do so.” The coloured barber happened to bear a name which resembled the name of another man whom some of the women had voted for the year before. Not being up in political gossip — through not hobnobbing — they knew nothing of the substitution.

Even if custom and their men's approval favoured hobnobbing, women are by temperament disinclined for it. They are as a sex not gregarious in the degree that men are gregarious. Women never quite understand the spirit which leads men to congregate in clubs, saloons, smoking-rooms and the like, for the solid comfort they seem to take in the society of other men. This is noticeable on shipboard, where, within a few hours after sailing, the man will leave his wife in order to scrape acquaintance with half the men in the cabin; while his wife reclines alone in her steamer chair, never dreaming of seeking the society of other women, and often makes the passage without exchanging a word with any woman except the stewardess.

After the schoolgirl period is passed women have no strong craving for the society of their own sex outside their family circle. The woman's club is quite unlike the man's club; its members assemble once a fortnight or so to listen to the reading of a "paper." But the "paper" safely read, and duly applauded, they immediately go away again, unless forcibly detained by afternoon tea. But men do not have to be drawn to their clubs by "papers," nor held there by — tea! It is true that women enjoy pageants, assemblages and functions where both sexes are on parade, but they do not seem to be beset, as men are, by the perpetual longing to hold sweet converse with their own sex. Women tire one another, and, when weary, instead of separating,

as men do, they are prone to stay on and politely scrap, indulging in their well-known pastime of exchanging feline amenities. ("How charming you are looking. I hardly knew you!") Society women give way under the strain of associating too much with other women and become nervously impaired. The average woman, in a sense not true of the average man, needs plenty of solitude, quiet and sleep and is apt to suffer — as children do — mentally, morally and physically when deprived of it.

A psychological difference in the sexes may explain, in part, this varying degree of gregariousness. When a group of men engage in conversation their minds may be observed to jog along side by side, hour after hour, in the same general direction on the same general topic. But women's minds seem to move rather in curves and circles (the Euclidian definition of a curve, one remembers, is a line which changes its direction at every point), following lines more beautiful, perhaps, but more irregular and more disconcerting. And thus it arises that when one woman's mind comes in contact with other women's minds, all equally erratic in their orbits, there results a certain mutual bewilderment. The straight-away course of the male mind's gait might seem to be less fatiguing; but it imposes a strain of another sort, which becomes no less irksome before long.

Woman's endurance is spiritual rather than men-

tal. Her true strength is being rather than doing — or thinking.

Feminism is eager to alter this, her fundamental characteristic, and to enlist her activities in spheres in which she is less at home and less efficient. Woman suffrage is especially insistent that she approach world problems from the outside rather than from within. Said a suffrage lecturer, "Every influence for good which a mother may exert over her boy is far outweighed by the evil influences of the street he must pass through."

Therefore the lecturer gave us to understand that the mother need not hope to teach little Willie to let drink alone, but, armed with the vote, she is to attempt rather to regulate saloons! Little Willie is not to be taught to let cards and dice alone, but his mother is to vote for raids on gambling houses! Little Willie is not to be taught to walk unscathed through streets lined with prostitutes; but his mother is to vote down the social evil, segregating its votaries, fining or imprisoning them, putting them in stockades — anything to get them out of little Willie's way!

All of which doctrine blinds itself to the eternal truth that the place for little Willie's mother to begin her reforms, and the place for little Willie's mother to continue her reforms, is in the heart and soul of little Willie HIMSELF. And she is not to forget that those saloons and gambling houses and

dens of infamy are there because other women, like her, have not done *their* work well.

The most plausible argument for woman suffrage, to an age which has taken the idea of democracy as its shibboleth, is that democracy is not complete so long as all citizens, female as well as male, do not take part in government. "Government," so runs the argument, "should rest upon the will of ALL, not upon the will of only a part of its citizens." And this argument continues to be reiterated, despite the fact that government never does rest upon the whole but always upon a portion (the majority) of its citizens' wills.

"But at least the will of all must be EXPRESSED, if we are to have a complete democracy," it is protested. Yes, democracy does aim to ascertain and conform to the general public desires in the action of its government. But that desire may be expressed in many ways, directly, or indirectly, in person or by representatives. A democracy might decree to have all its citizens, men, women and children, march to the polls once a week to register its will on every trivial matter of public administration. Or it might elect to pick out a dozen men and leave all voting and all administration to them. In either case — we might have democracy. Democracy consists in the people arranging matters to suit their own best convenience. We might have a democracy where only men voted, or one in which only women voted, or even one in which only children voted, or

one which embraced all three. The only value in democracy is that it is a device for allowing the people to govern themselves by whatever machinery they choose.²

The "will of the people" is not, as a matter of fact, a composite photograph of every opinion held by each and every individual in the community, to attain which it would not do to leave out a single line or a single opinion. It is merely the general sense of the community, which can be expressed, for all practical purposes, in any way that happens to be convenient.

Extending the ballot to more persons does not therefore necessarily mean more democracy. It is true that if some classes are admitted, while others are excluded, there might be danger that the families included might tax away the property, and vote away the liberty, of the families excluded, unless they were carefully watched. Therefore it has been found advisable to admit all economic classes, by allowing the representation of all families; and the balance is ob-

² Were we to accept suffragist reasoning, there are strong grounds for admitting children to the franchise. Children are "people"; they are "individuals"; they are "human beings"; they are good; they are moral; they would lend innocence and purity to politics. No one understands their needs as well as they themselves. They should have a voice in the making of the laws which they must obey. Many of them are wage-earners; they should be free to determine their own conditions of wages and labour. The vote would be a weapon and a protection. They would enjoy greater respect if they were enfranchised. The broader the base upon which democracy stands the firmer it is — and so forth.

tained when all families are admitted. Political equilibrium has been established—the object of democracy. All families being represented through their male members, you might go on and admit the women as well as the men. You would have more voters but no more democracy. Admitting children would bring the same result; more voters but no more democracy. Multiplying both sides of an equation does not alter it.

Woman suffrage propaganda flourishes because it is the only remedy now being publicly offered as a cure for women's discontent. Because it does not comprehend the nature of her disease and refuses to admit what really ails her, therefore it is a quack remedy, and will make her rather worse than better if she adopt it. It only tends to increase the force of that pressure which is driving her away from the home and which, when her trouble is correctly diagnosed, is itself the underlying cause of her distress.

Nevertheless we who are opposed to votes for women, for reasons which seem to us wholly adequate, have most of us taken with regret the position of standing in the way of the gratification of their wishes—no matter how childish they seem to us—as expressed by so many women. There is no disguising the fact that it is our opposition alone, not that of our good-natured American men folk, which has prevented and will prevent suffrage from being given to women. Most mothers have found it ex-

pedient, however, when a child cries long and earnestly for something which, after all, cannot do it a *great deal* of harm, to grant its request. It seems the only way, for the moment to stop its crying, and the only way for it to learn how mistaken its desires were and how worthless their object. Therefore the writer would feel inclined to yield to the importunities of suffragists, who certainly have wailed piteously and kept up an unconscionable racket, for some sixty years or more — a long crying spell for a child of any age — were it not for the fact that to grant their plea means to work an even greater injustice upon other — and in her judgment — wiser, women who do not desire to vote.

If, however, a means could be found whereby the women who are clamouring for the ballot could be granted the satisfaction of their whim, without a corresponding burden being laid through moral (and probably, later, legal) compulsion upon their unwilling sisters, I should myself be glad to welcome such an arrangement.

A proposal which I am about to describe seems to me to meet these requirements. I have submitted it casually to three men, active in public life, all lawyers. The first shied hard at it; the other two received the suggestion cordially, declaring it a feasible and practical solution of a much-vexed question.

The proposal is as follows: Any State which shall hereafter extend the franchise to its women shall accompany the act by an amendment providing

that any woman who chooses may, legally, and without moral delinquency, delegate her vote to some male voter of her free choice — giving him two votes instead of one. For example: A girl upon reaching voting age might go with her father before a judge and swear out an affidavit empowering her father to vote for her. His appointment might be for a certain period of years, or to last indefinitely, as she chose, or the proxy might be revokable by her at any time. A certificate would be issued to her father which he would record and preserve like a deed or a bond or any other legal document. This certificate he would present upon registering as a voter previous to an election, and he would be assigned the responsibility for casting two ballots instead of one.

Fraud might occur, as it does in every other legal transaction yet devised, but, as in other cases, it could be guarded against. Some women would undoubtedly sell their proxies; but some women would and undoubtedly do sell their votes. On the other hand, their notorious admiration for fine men might lead them to heap proxies upon men of high character, thus augmenting the power of the latter — which would be all to the good.

A woman's vote could in no case be delegated to another woman, nor could men be permitted to transfer their vote to a woman under any circumstances. Both of these acts would tend to foster the danger of "petticoat government," which is pre-

cisely the order of things which women who object to voting would wish to avoid, and to escape which would be the main inducement which would lead many women to renounce their vote for themselves. They would prefer, as most women prefer and most men prefer, to live under a masculine government, because they have greater confidence in its stability as well as its efficiency. The transference of one man's vote to another would of course also be prohibited. There could be no general exchange of proxies. Nothing but the transfer of women's votes to men would be permitted, and that only for the purpose of relieving women of a burden not of their own choosing, imposed without their consent and, in the case of the majority, against their will.

Such a compromise should satisfy both parties. It would enable the woman who desires to vote at first hand for her political representative to do so; while it would permit those women who are differently minded to remain more in the background and to choose for themselves, not a political representative at first hand, but, a representative at second hand to choose such representatives. In one sense all women would vote, some by electing representatives, and others at one more remove by electing electors, one method being only a little more indirect and a little farther removed from the political arena than the other, and therefore by so much the better suited to the tastes and capacities and preferences of a majority of women. They would

vote privately, instead of publicly, and by this means could choose a representative intelligently from among the men they knew well, not unintelligently from among men of whom they knew nothing.

Such a measure recommends itself as being a golden mean between depriving all women of the ballot or, on the other hand, of burdening all women with the ballot. Personally the writer stands ready to withdraw opposition to *Votes for Women* in each case where the imposition of the franchise upon women shall be accompanied by an amendment as above described which would leave women free — free to vote in person and equally free to delegate their vote to a representative voter of their own choosing. Injustice, of which both sides now complain, would then be dispelled; while the only object of holding elections at all — namely, to ascertain the drift of public opinion on political questions — would be adequately served.

This proposed system of Proxy or Optional Votes for Women, beside being politically practicable, has the advantage that it would put an end to the long and bitterly fought factional fight among women. Let us have peace.

CHAPTER XII

FEMINISM AND HER MASTER

A DIALOGUE

[*Read before the League for Political Education in New York in March, 1914*]

[*The chief character in the dialogue is a giant named COMMERCIALISM. We behold him looking through a magnifying glass into the roof of a cottage in which a woman is engaged in housework and the care of children. After watching her carefully for some time, the giant retires to his palace, seats himself upon his throne, summons his minion NECESSITY, whom he thus addresses:*]

COMMERCIALISM

I have again been watching woman at work in her home. As I told you, it is sheer economic waste for her to be spending her energies upon her family. She should be brought out of the home and put commercially at work. Have you obeyed my orders and summoned her?

NECESSITY

Sire, the woman refuses to leave her family.

COMMERCIALISM

Did you remind her that she is a slave in the home?

NECESSITY

I did, Sire. But she said that being a slave to her family was no worse than being a slave to you.

COMMERCIALISM

Did you offer her wages?

NECESSITY

I did, Sire, but she said that she had a sufficiency and was content.

COMMERCIALISM

She must be got out of the home.

NECESSITY

I dare not use force, Sire. I have to remember *habeas corpus* and Magna Charta, etc.

COMMERCIALISM

But offer her economic independence, extras, money of her own, etc.

NECESSITY

She says that she has her work to do at home.

COMMERCIALISM

Then take her work away from her. Take away her spinning and weaving, and knitting and baking,

and brewing and needlework. They shall all be commercialised. That makes business for me.

NECESSITY

Sire, she says that even then she still has to prepare the food for the family.

COMMERCIALISM

Oh! well — Use some ingenuity. Put a delicatessen store on the corner near her home.

NECESSITY

But, Sire, she says that she must teach her children.

COMMERCIALISM

Build schools for them — that's easily managed.

NECESSITY

But, Sire, she says that she must train the little children herself.

COMMERCIALISM

Start some kindergartens. Take all the children off her hands.

NECESSITY

But the baby, Sire.

COMMERCIALISM

Day nurseries, *crèches*, that's the thing. Get her out of the home. I must have more workers, more income, more wealth, more profits. Get her out of

the home. Bring the women into industry. Commercialise them.

NECESSITY

Sire, they are coming out of the home by the thousands.

COMMERCIALISM

Thousands! I want a million — I must have cheaper labour.

NECESSITY

But, Sire, they persist in preferring homework with its change of occupation. Long hours at one thing are hard for them.

COMMERCIALISM

Well, if it's necessary in order to get them, make things a little easier. Get some laws passed shortening their hours of labour. Give them seats in shops, some rest rooms, and things like that. Do what is necessary, of course; only get them out of the home. That's the thing — get them out.

NECESSITY

They are coming, Sire — look at them! You asked for a million; there are two millions,— and still they come.

COMMERCIALISM

They shall come faster. Put on more pressure. See how I am driving. I have set them to competing with men, lowering men's wages so that men can-

not support families, and driving men altogether out of some vocations. I am spending millions in advertising in order to stimulate woman's wants, to get them to craving more and more things, so that they will come out and earn wages in order to get them. I am doing my part; you do yours. Get them out of the home.

NECESSITY

Alas, Sire, I do my best,—but many are still reluctant. Some of them say conditions in industry are too hard, and some of them are making bold to suggest —

COMMERCIALISM

What?

NECESSITY

They are venturing to ask for something which they are being told in some quarters will better their conditions. I hardly dare mention it —

COMMERCIALISM

Speak out! What is it?

NECESSITY

Sire, they are asking for the vote.

COMMERCIALISM

Oh, ho! Is that all? Why, that's all right. Why not give it to them. What harm will it do?

NECESSITY

But, Sire, I thought —

COMMERCIALISM

You thought nothing. You can't see an inch beyond your nose. Their asking for the vote is a good sign. It shows that they are restless and discontented; don't know exactly what they want, and are grasping at any straw. What harm can they do with the vote? Haven't the men had it for a century or more? And has it ever bothered me a jot? Haven't I grown to my present gigantic dimensions during the very period that they have had it? Haven't I made the workers work as hard? It has never put a pebble in my way.

NECESSITY

True, Sire.

COMMERCIALISM

Give them all the votes they want. They are good playthings. Voting takes very little time away from work, and anything which diverts their attention from the home is to the good. Get them to competing with men in politics as they do now in industry. It's all to the good.

NECESSITY

Sire, you have the vision of a god. I had not seen that far.

COMMERCIALISM

I have the vision of a god when it comes to seeing where my interests lie. My real enemy is the home — those little fortresses dotted all over the land; those little spots where competition is checked and co-operation reigns; where the family snuggles down in safety, and men, women and children waste on one another energies which I might turn to profit. The home must be shattered, opened up, so that I can get the meat out of the nut. Chase them all out — men, women, and children too.

NECESSITY

Sire, it shall be done. Eight million women and hundreds of thousands of children are now at your disposal.

COMMERCIALISM

Good! Getting the children was a great idea. In cotton and many industries their little fingers are better than adults' and they are cheaper.

NECESSITY

Sire, when the older children are at work there's no one left in the homes but the babies and the old people. Shall I let them remain?

COMMERCIALISM

No; put the aged in institutions,—that's the cheapest way to dispose of them; and the babies in

day-nurseries, as I said. Get them all out. An empty home, that is what I am after. I'll get there finally, but it's slow work, and your incompetence is maddening. Here are millions of women still remaining in the home. Why don't you get hold of them somehow?

NECESSITY

I am helpless, Sire. Their husbands are still able to support them.

COMMERCIALISM

There must be some way to get them out; use your imagination.

NECESSITY

I have done my best, Sire.

COMMERCIALISM

Why not try calling them names? Tell them they are parasites.

NECESSITY

I have tried that.

COMMERCIALISM

Tell them the home is a harem. Tell them women at present are stunted; they are in a state of arrested development. Tell them that marriage is legalised prostitution. Tell them —

NECESSITY

Sire, you forget,—I have but one weapon, Necessity, and these sheltered women are beyond the reach of that; I cannot dislodge them.

COMMERCIALISM

Then I shall have to find some one who can. The home must be turned inside out; everything and everybody in it shall be commercialised. Art, religion, education, love, friendship, the family,—then at last I shall be monarch of the globe.

NECESSITY

Sire, I can do no more. You need a cleverer servant than I, one who knows how to delude and cajole women.

COMMERCIALISM

That's it, fool, you've hit it! I need some one with enthusiasm, resources,—some one who can coax women out of the home who don't need to go; make them think the home is a prison and glory lies outside of it. Who can do this service for me?

NECESSITY

Sire, I know the very person. Her name is Feminism; she can do all that you ask. I will summon her.

[*Enter. FEMINISM, an engaging, up-to-date person.*]

Sire, I have a long time admired you and your wonderful achievements. In what way can I assist you?

COMMERCIALISM

I need your help, Feminism, in fulfilling my design. The object of life is the accumulation of wealth and everything should bend to this end; but despite my utmost efforts large amounts of human energy are still running to waste in other channels. The most extravagant of all institutions is the home. In this practical age it is an anachronism. Think of hundreds of cook stoves where one communal stove would do. Think of separate firesides when one bonfire of colossal range might answer the purpose. Think of single nurseries instead of common dormitories. All this is waste. In the family men, women and children squander time, strength and thought on one another. The family is outworn, cumbersome — an obstacle in the road of progress.

FEMINISM

I am of the same opinion, Sire, not so much because it is wasteful, as you think, but because it is narrowing; but we agree that it must go.

COMMERCIALISM

Very good! We are agreed. Now to work. Where shall we begin?

FEMINISM

The place to begin is with the father,— the husband, once rightly called the house-band, who bands the home together. He must be dispensed with. He shall no longer support the family.

COMMERCIALISM

I have already arranged for that. In millions of cases he is no longer able to do so.

FEMINISM

And then when he has ceased to be the bread winner he is no longer competent to represent the family politically. Women must vote.

COMMERCIALISM

I have already consented to that. I don't mind. Get on. The special task I want of you is to work on the minds of independent women. Sow the seeds of discontent. Talk of bonds and fetters and so on. Get them out of the home for anything— even higher education is better than nothing. It defers marriage at least. What is your chief doctrine?

FEMINISM

I preach equality of the sexes.

FEMINISM

COMMERCIALISM

Nothing could be better,—and you include sex equality, I hope?

FEMINISM

Yes, Sire, but that goes more slowly. Most women are conservative on that subject. They usually embrace Suffrage first, and later declare for economic independence. They say each woman must vote and support herself, but there they stop.

COMMERCIALISM

Keep it up, nevertheless, you'll bring them around. Free love won't do of course; our people won't stand for it—it is revolting. All you have to do is to preach—independence, independence, independence,—and keep it up. You'll get them in time.

FEMINISM

I am very hopeful too, Sire. I use the same set of arguments in all three stages: I say woman is an individual, therefore she should vote; woman is an individual, therefore she should be self-supporting; woman is an individual, therefore she should be free from sex domination. In this way, when a woman has once been brought to accept suffrage she can be led on gently from step to step, you understand.

COMMERCIALISM

Perfectly. Now, one more matter. No deception has ever been successfully foisted upon humanity for any length of time without the help of a fine-sounding watchword. Where would War have been if it had not been for its watchwords "Self defence," "National honour" and "Patriotism"? Where would Asceticism have been without "Purity"? Where would I, Commercialism, be without my watchword "Prosperity"? I presume you have a watchword too, have you not?

FEMINISM

I have indeed, Sire. My watchword is "Freedom." I do all my work in its name.

COMMERCIALISM

Good, excellent! Harp continually upon freedom.

FEMINISM

That is my practice, Sire. I never cease calling upon women to be free; I never cease reminding them of their enslavement in the family, of the tyranny of fathers and husbands, of the drudgery of housework, the wearisomeness of children, the monotony of home life. I urge them to submit no longer to the degradation of being mere females. I tell them — Sire, I tell them — that they are — human beings!

FEMINISM

COMMERCIALISM

Good idea! And I presume it strikes them as novel?

FEMINISM

Always, Sire. The idea intoxicates them. It strikes them as something wonderful, and beautiful and new.

COMMERCIALISM

It is a great idea!

FEMINISM

But of course I make it plain that they can't be human beings in the home. They must work outside, sell their labour, commercialise themselves if they wish to become truly human beings.

COMMERCIALISM

That's the stuff! I see you know your business.

FEMINISM

I never lose sight of my main object, Sire, which is to wean women from the home. I assure them that all their services to the family can be better performed by experts. I urge them to turn all their functions over to paid outsiders.

COMMERCIALISM

Admirable! That makes more openings for women and more business for me. Keep it up!

FEMINISM

I tell them to hire specialists to minister to every want. Servants for housework, teachers for their children, seamstresses for home sewing, entertainers to amuse the family. I know one woman who hires a professional grandmother to come to see her children every day and bring them cookies. I tell them that this is the age of specialists, and that home making too should be turned over to hired experts. This will set the wife and mother free to become a specialist in something herself, and that will take her out.

COMMERCIALISM

Good! But what do you do with the incurably domestic women who stick in the home like maggots in a cheese?

FEMINISM

To that sort of women, Sire, I talk municipal housekeeping. She likes that. I tell her the city is just a part of her home. I begin with street cleaning and milk. I tell her that she is directly concerned with the milk supply, because her baby drinks milk. Later on I shall tell her that she is directly concerned with the tobacco supply, because her husband smokes tobacco, and with the coal supply, because the family burns coal. Thus I plan to lead her gently on. By the same token I shall one day suggest that she ought to inspect slaughter-

FEMINISM

houses, and canneries, and ash dumps, and that it is her duty to supervise commerce and agriculture, and arbitrate labour disputes, preside over courts, and concern herself with regulating the entire industrial, financial and judicial systems of the country. I shall show her conclusively that there is no place to stop, that everything touches the home. But of course that comes later: for the present I begin with milk, and street cleaning; they sound so harmless, and so nearby.

COMMERCIALISM

Capital! That's the way to work it.

FEMINISM

But I may tell you confidentially, Sire, a short time ago I had a great scare.

COMMERCIALISM

How so?

FEMINISM

You see, this drawing mothers out of the home as we are doing, works havoc sometimes in the family. People are beginning to say that the degeneration of the race is largely due to it, and are tracing the increase in feeble-mindedness, insanity, prostitution, vice, and corruption, to the lack of home training and neglect of children. If this idea grows we shall have trouble.

COMMERCIALISM

How did you meet the situation?

FEMINISM

I had an ingenious idea. I announced that it is precisely because of the evils in society that women are needed in politics and legislatures, etc.

COMMERCIALISM

Did they swallow that?

FEMINISM

Lapped it up like water. By that means I am coaxing hundreds of women out of the home on the plea of reforming the world, who would not leave it for any other purpose.

COMMERCIALISM

That comes near to being genius!

FEMINISM

Thank you, Sire! I think, too, that the idea has a great future. It's this way. When all working class women shall have left home to earn a living, then (as their families become demoralised and society begins to suffer), the leisure class women will have to go too in order to reform the evils which the other women's leaving home has caused. In this way I am smoking out some of the most cantankerously domestic women who ever darned

socks. Take Mrs. John Martin, e.g., even she has to leave the home once a year or so now to try to undo some of the harm which other women's not staying at home has brought about. Do you get the idea?

COMMERCIALISM

Perfectly. But now tell me, what is your object in all this? Myself I understand; I want to empty the home for my own purposes — to increase production. The more people there are at work the larger my returns. That's simple. But I don't understand exactly what you are after.

FEMINISM

[*confidentially*]

I will tell you. My object is to get woman to revenge herself on man for his age long domination. I want to teach her how to do without him, and put him out of business. When he is no longer useful, he will have no more power. Then woman can assert her supremacy and take the reins of government in her own hands. I want to show her how to put man down where he belongs,— reduce him to subservience. I want to enthrone woman — I want to feminise the world!

COMMERCIALISM

Humph! I don't follow you there. My aim is to commercialise the world. I don't propose to

hand it over to you. Man is a good friend of mine; he has made me what I am. I should hate to see him go under. It was with his consent that I have been calling women out of the home. But I don't think he foresaw that anything of this kind was likely to happen. I don't believe he thought that you were likely to come along; and what's more, I think when he really finds out what you are up to he will take measures to put a stop to it.

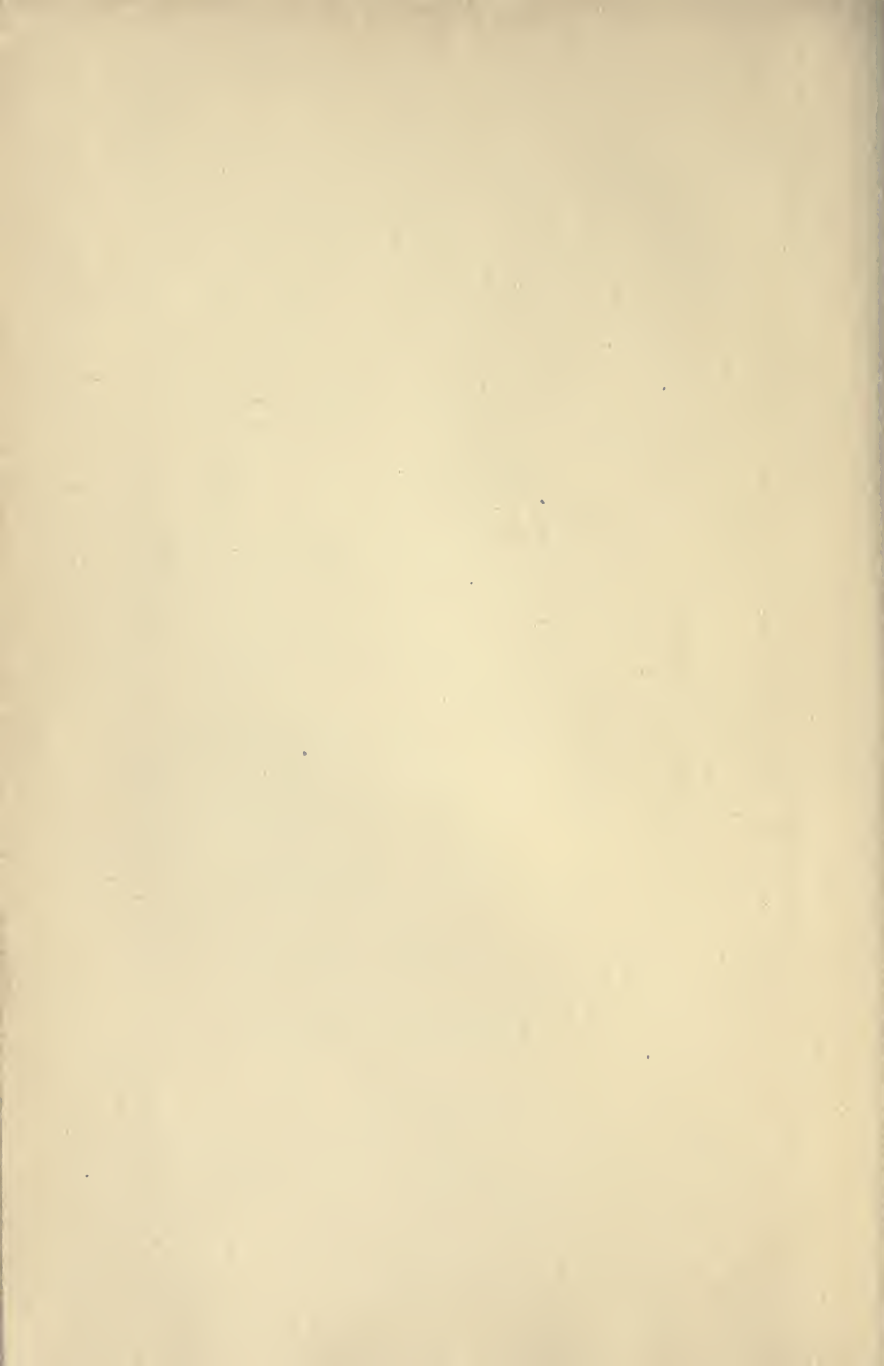
FEMINISM

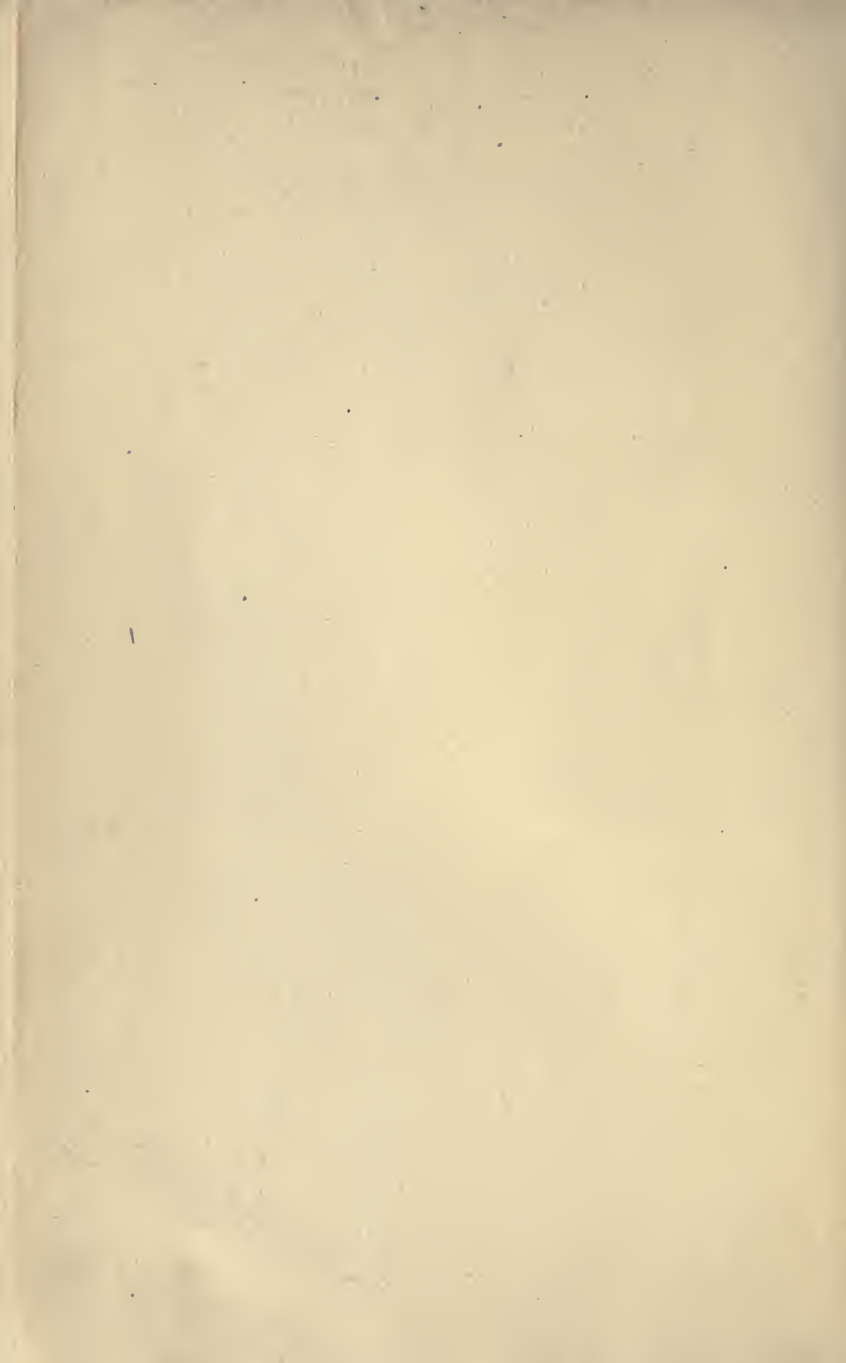
[*with blazing eyes*]

A stop to it! Let him try, let him try! That will mean a declaration of war, sex war! Very well; I am gathering my forces for that now. Let men attempt to oppose us. Let them come on,—we shall be ready for them.

[*FEMINISM clenches her little fist, and shakes it fiercely into empty space. A sound is heard without; steps approach. FEMINISM looks up expectant and defiant. Enter MAN. And with the entrance of MAN our curtain falls.*]

THE END





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