

CHAPTER VI.

VIEWS OF LEADING FEMINISTS

WE may further examine these new demands at their fountain-heads, whence they well forth in fuller and more constant streams. Not those who pick out this or that point in a series at their pleasure or according to their taste, but those who consistently and systematically grasp the whole sequence of the things that naturally depend on or give rise to one another, are the typical representatives of a movement. Mrs. Gilman and Mrs. Schreiner are the foremost living leaders in English-speaking lands, outdone by the Scandinavian Ellen Key, who has found a disciple in George Bernard Shaw. Grant Allen, the naturalist, was a forerunner, preceded by Lester F. Ward, who was accompanied by Eliza Burt Gamble. Such historians of the subject as Bachofen, Ellis, and Pearson may be omitted — the first not a friend of feminism, the last a feminist as well as a socialist, and Ellis so far a collector of facts that the feminist conclusions at the end of his book are mostly belied in the body of it.¹ We may begin with Ward as the founder of the prevalent naturalising school of fem-

¹ Thus Ellis objects to "maternity under certain conditions" being "practically counted as a criminal act," *Man and Woman*, 396. Yet he must know that the vast majority of single women cannot rear a child (much less several of them) well under such conditions, and therefore society has a right to object to this becoming a practice. "We are not at liberty to introduce any artificial sexual barriers into social concerns," 397. Here appears the cloven hoof of opposition to constraint. "Artificial" in the sense of contrary to nature and as leading to bad results, no; but "artificial" in the sense of improving upon nature, in accordance with nature ("art is man's nature," said Burke, *Works*, iv. 176), yes. Without some artificial barriers we should be as promiscuous as the cats in our backyards o' nights. Then, like Mill, he desires further experimentation to ascertain "the respective fitness of men and women for any kind of work," and continual experimentation; for he adds that no permanent solution can be obtained, "as the conditions for such experiment are never twice the same." This is dogmatic exaggeration on an important point. "When such experiment is unsuccessful, the minority who have broken natural law alone suffer." This is not true: the whole nation may suffer. "An exaggerated anxiety lest natural law be overthrown, is misplaced. The world is not so insecurely poised." The world is not, but a nation is. This is the error just pointed out at the end of the last chapter. All these things are excrescences upon a very sound and accurate investigation of the differences between the sexes.—Somewhat the same inconsistency between the conclusions and their bases may be found in the work of W. I. Thomas, *Sex and Society*, whose feminism, however, is not so prominent. It appears perhaps most strongly on p. 94, where he says "each class [of women and of negroes] is regaining its freedom because the race is substituting other forms of decision for violence." But for the latter assertion he offers no better reason than his opinion, expressed on p. 314, that "in all our relations there is too much of primitive man's fighting instinct and technique," and his hope that "the participation of woman and the lower races will . . . result in the reconstruction of our habits on more sympathetic and equitable principles." Thus women are to participate because our civilisation is becoming more equitable, and our civilisation will become more equitable because women are to participate!

inists, and after reviewing his disciples, and Ellen Key and hers, and briefly glancing at the recommendations of the physiologist Forel, we may end with the most recent and extreme advocate of the new ideas, Mrs. Gallichan.

The late Lester F. Ward, a naturalist, who turned to sociology, advanced in 1888, in an article on *Our Better Halves* in The Forum of November of that year (pp. 266-75), a theory which he afterward denominated the gynæcocratic,² but which, as he universalised it of all animate nature, he should have named the thelyocentric.³ This is that nature began with the female, "the insignificant male appearing to be an afterthought" for the sole purpose of impregnating the female (like a Prince Consort!); for the male exhibits such superfluousness for any other purpose in certain of what are called "the lowest forms of life," as among the cirripeds or barnacles, in some of which Darwin discovered a female with "two little husbands" packed away in a pocket on her back;⁴ and an account is quoted of a female spider of a certain variety devouring her tiny mate during his very act of impregnating her, and reference is further made to hemp and some other plants, the males in which are by the females crowded out of existence after they have performed their office of fertilisation.⁵ Higher up, after the males have been raised by female sexual selection, the males, among animals, fight amongst themselves for the females, but do not protect them, they protecting themselves and their offspring.⁶ "The females of all wild animals," he asserts, "are more dangerous to encounter than the males, especially when angry,"⁷ thus originating Kipling's *Female of the Species*. In the human species, however, the males have inverted the usual practice, and select the females (for he thinks the female animals select their victorious suitors!⁸), and the ornamentation of the male animals has accordingly been transferred to the female (at least in her clothes!)⁹ As the female among the

² *Pure Sociology*, 297ff.

³ In opposition to a possible arrhenocentric theory, or universalisation (cf. Buffon: "The male is the true model of the species," *Histoire naturelle*, art. du Serin) of the old androcentric theory (the *locus classicus* of which is *I. Cor.* XI. 8-9, cf. *I. Tim.* II. 13; cf. also Aristotle and Schopenhauer, quoted above, pp. 48n. and 31).

⁴ The reference given is to Darwin's letter to Lyell of Sept. 14, 1849. More information on the subject may be obtained from Darwin's *Monograph on Cirripedia*, London, 1854, pp. 23-4, 27-30.

⁵ All these examples are repeated with increasing gusto and enlargement in *Dynamic Sociology*, 2d ed., i. 659-60, *Pure Sociology*, 2d ed., 314-16, 320-1, and a few in *The Psychic Factors of Civilisation*, 2d ed., 87.

⁶ This, too, is repeated in *Dynamic Sociology*, ii. 617, *Pure Sociology*, 330-1. It is, of course, a gross exaggeration.

⁷ Again overstated in *Pure Sociology*, 331: "She alone is dangerous."

⁸ "The female simply looks on [at the males fighting for her] and admires the victorious rival, and selects [!] him to continue the species," *Pure Sociology*, 331.

⁹ Ward was here preceded by an anonymous writer on *The Changing Status of Women* in The Westminster Review, Sept. 1887, p. 826. The new status is expected to restore to women their due weight in sexual selection.

lower species, so still "woman is the race;"¹⁰ and as the human species is at the top, "the grandest fact in nature is woman."¹¹ Yet so plastic does he consider the human female that he maintains that "under the power of this comparatively modern male selection woman may become whatever man shall desire her to be." Accordingly, "the way to civilise the race is to civilise woman," (which apparently must be done by men!¹²), and "the elevation of woman is the only road to the evolution of man."

This little *jeu d'esprit*, originally intended to please the ladies,¹³ might be passed by without comment, but for the fact that it attracted much attention and that its author, pleased at the invention of a novelty, afterward elaborated it with all seriousness and incorporated it in his sociological system. The fullest treatment of it is made in his *Pure Sociology*, where it occupies eighty closely printed pages, and clearly reveals its inherent absurdities. Here Ward starts out again with the assertion that "life begins as female" (p. 313), which is as false as it is old; for it was enunciated over two thousand years ago by Aristotle,¹⁴ and is logical nonsense, since male and female are correlative terms and the one cannot exist without the other, what existed in nature before the appearance of this distinction being neither female nor male. But, holding that all the lowest forms of life, in which no male appears, are females, and projecting this condition into the past, were no doubt it lasted for a long period,¹⁵ he renews the assertion that "the male is therefore, as it were, a mere afterthought of nature."¹⁶ At best he had a right to say that sexual, in distinction from other kinds of, reproduction, as a later development, was an afterthought of Nature. But even this is not tenable. If Nature thinks, we may well accredit her with forethought enough to have planned her later products from the beginning; and if she does not think, nothing can be an afterthought of hers. To vary the words and call the male sex, as he sometimes does, "only an adjunct or incident,"¹⁷ does not improve matters. Especially in

¹⁰ Repeated in *Pure Sociology*, 322, 372; or put in the past tense, 415, *Psychic Factors*, 93, cf. 87: "the female is the organism."

¹¹ Already in 1864 a woman, Eliza W. Farnham, had written: "Woman's organism is more complex and her totality of function larger than those of any other being inhabiting our earth; therefore her position in the scale of life is the most exalted—the sovereign one," *Woman and her Era*, vol. i., ch. i.

¹² Cf. George Meredith's Pilgrim Script: "I expect that Woman will be the last thing civilised by Man," *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*, 1 (1859).

¹³ Cf. *Pure Sociology*, 297, where the history of the theory is given.

¹⁴ *De Animal. Gener.*, IV. iii.

¹⁵ 312, 313, 328, 375.

¹⁶ 314, again 323. In a similar strain Grant Allen wrote of plants: "The leaf is after all the real plant, and the flower is but a sort of afterthought," *The Evolutionist at Large*, ch. iv. Ward is followed by Thomas, who also holds that the development of the human hand and brain is such an "afterthought," *Sex and Society*, 225, 253.

¹⁷ *Psychic Factors*, 87.

an evolutionist is it absurd to belittle anything because it is a late product in the evolution of the cosmos.¹⁸ He now finds in the animal kingdom, and even in the vegetable, many instances, among what he calls "the lowest species," where the male is a "minute and inconspicuous fertiliser," solely devoted to this purpose, and perishing when it is accomplished,—in some species even they are little more than sacs, like testicles, containing spermatozoa; while in plants (besides again referring to hemp and the like) he treats the pistils and stamens as the true individuals, and refers to the fact that the stamens wither after shedding their pollen, whereas the pistils go on developing their ovules (320). This last, of course, is purely fanciful, while as for the former cases (except that of hemp, which, however, is not a low species, and is itself entirely exceptional) their peculiarity is that all of them are specimens of degeneration. Cirripeds, though resembling mollusks, are by their embryology proved to be degenerate crustaceans.¹⁹ It is true that female spiders are not degenerate animals, but the male spiders are, they (like the drones of bees) never having found anything to do but to impregnate their females. So also degenerate are all the males (*e.g.*, those of mosquitoes) which live ephemerally, having lost even the organ for taking in food.²⁰ To speak of these animals as among the lowest forms of life may mislead (and Ward was misled), because it suggests that they are near the beginning of their development, and are among (or like) the ancestry of the human species. They are, instead, at the end of an offspringing branch or twig, and have nothing to do with our line of development, any more than has hemp. Reference to them, therefore, is utterly worthless in the study of human sociology. All parasites are degenerate,²¹ and the males, having still less to do than the females, have generally degenerated more. The cirripeds are not the only example. In the bopyrus (a parasite in prawns and other isopoda) the male is a parasite upon the female, and carried on her abdomen. In a marine worm, the bonella (of the gephyrea) the

18 Ward in his *Psychic Factors*, 61, 89, *cf.* 209, actually imitates here the pre-evolutionist Schopenhauer, who thus belittled intellect, treating it as "merely an accident"; *cf.* also *Pure Sociology*, 476.

19 So E. Ray Lankester, *Degeneration: a Chapter in Darwinism*, republished in *The Advancement of Science*, 29-30. Ward's ignorance, or oversight, of this is shown by his speaking of the female cirriped's development being "normal" and of the male's "enormous" difference from her as "perfectly natural and normal," *Pure Sociology*, 314, 315.

20 In the ephemeridæ both the sexes are ephemeral, but of course only in the imago state, as in all the other instances. In no animal is its whole existence confined to a day.

21 Grant Allen remarks very *à propos*: "Parasites, whether animal or vegetable, always end by becoming mere reproductive sacs, mechanisms for the simple elaboration of eggs or seeds," *The Evolutionist at Large*, ch. xiii. On the degeneracy of parasites see E. S. Talbot's *Degeneracy*, 12-13.

male is only a hundredth the size of the female, and lives in her oviduct.²² In still more extreme cases, like the cestodes or tapeworms, the male disappears from existence, the species being hermaphrodite. In the cirripedia themselves, many are hermaphrodite, and Darwin therefore called the remaining males merely "complemental." Almost anything imaginable can be found in the range of natural history. Ward and his followers never cite the not infrequent cases of lower animals in which the males are larger than the females. They overlook such opposite cases as the bitharzia parasite, in which "the male carries the female about with him in a 'gynæcophoric canal,' formed of folds of the skin";²³ also an amphipod crustacean, of which the male, twice the size of a female, carries her about between his legs; also certain beetles in India, of which the male, after combat with others, carries off the female triumphantly on his back²⁴—whether in a position of dignity or indignity, it is hardly possible to tell.

Still, it is true, there are species in which the male has degenerated into inconspicuousness, performing no other function than that of fertilising the female. But the ridiculousness of Ward's theory is, that he treats what happens at the end of certain lines of one-sided and abnormal development as the normal condition in the beginning! "The male element," he says, "began as a simple fertiliser,"²⁵ and "for a long period," about which he offers not a word of proof, it remained and "still" is "throughout many of the lower orders of beings" (rather, has become in certain degenerate beings) only such (314, *cf.* 322); and in comparison with the female was (and as he conceives it "still" to be among the spiders) very diminutive in size, and frail, and ephemeral (375, *cf.* 328). This last he carries to such an extreme as to speak of "the primordial fertilising agent" as a "miniature speck of existence."²⁶ This, of course, is true, still, throughout even all the higher animals (and plants), of the male spermatozoon (or pollen) compared with the female ovum (or ovule), as Ward himself adduces (324). He actually confounds the male and female animals, in the primitive state, with their own sperms

²² Cunningham, *Sexual Dimorphism*, 278-80, 307.

²³ Geddes and Thomson, *Evolution of Sex*, ch. VI. § 3.

²⁴ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, 271, 254-5.

²⁵ 322. So in *Psychic Factors*: "The earliest form of distinct bisexuality consisted of a fertile individual [the female] supplemented by an accessory fertilising agent or adjunct," 86. Here and on the next page is a summary of the doctrine.

²⁶ 326. Already in 1875 Antoinette Brown Blackwell, drawing from the same source, had written: "The male of the cirriped, without a mouth or nutritive organs, is a mere speck in comparison with the larger organism of the female," *The Sexes throughout Nature*, 52. This may have been a hint to Ward, as also p. 144. But Mrs. Blackwell did not generalise it.

and germs!²⁷ And then again it is only the male animal which is thus confounded with its own sperm,²⁸ while the female animal is treated as a fully formed organism, already developed or evolved.²⁹ The female animal (or vegetable) he treats as the "main trunk" (314), "descending unchanged from the asexual, or presexual, condition," to which the male is added as a miniature "organ" or "organism," at first attached to her, and when detached (*cf.* 323, 373), "wholly unlike the primary [the female] one," the change being "wholly in the male," "the female remaining unchanged."³⁰

For all this there is not a particle of evidence. It is pure imagination on Ward's part, obtained by hasty induction from what has been observed in certain low forms of life, the degeneracy of which he has overlooked. But he holds it; and he of course knows that in the higher species the males are not only like the females, but in many cases are superior to them. This shows that the males have changed more than the females. Hence Ward's acceptance of Brooks's theory, which he quotes (322, *cf.* 309), that the male is the variable and the female the conservative sex. The fact is, all that is true in Ward's theory was already expressed by Brooks.³¹ Yet of course the female had to develop and change first, in order to differentiate into specific trunks, distinguished from the original amoebic form in which all life began. Her variation at that time, however, preceded the appearance of the male, and cannot be compared with his subsequent variation. When the inferior male appeared on the scene and was detached from her (like Eve from Adam, reversed), then — so Ward must hold, though he neglects to state it³² — she went on developing

²⁷ Thus he speaks of his having shown us "the birth of the male being, long subsequent to that of the true organism [the female], in the form of a minute sperm-plasm, to supplement the much older germ-plasm," 328.

²⁸ At first the male had the "character of a formless mass of sperm cells," 375.

²⁹ This "miniature organism [the male] . . . was at first parasitic upon the primary organism [the female], then complementary [remember Darwin's term, confined to the cirripeds] to it and carried about in a sac provided for the purpose [on the female]. Its simplest form was [itself] a sac filled with spermatozoa. . . . This fertilising organ or miniature sperm sac was the primitive form of what subsequently developed into the male sex," 373-4.

³⁰ 322, 373. Further: "The female is the balance wheel of the whole machinery. As the primal, ancestral trunk, she stands unchanged," 325, *cf.* 322 *bot.*; "the female sex being the organism proper, which remained practically unchanged," 374.

³¹ Brooks: "The male element is the originating and the female the perpetuating factor; the ovum is conservative, the male cell progressive. Heredity, or adherence to type, is brought about by the ovum; variation and adaptation, through the male element; and the ovum is the essential, the male cell the secondary factor in heredity," *The Law of Heredity* 84-5. Ward himself falls back upon this, and belies his whole theory in the following passage: In the higher animals "the branch" is twofold, representable as double, "consisting of two approximate or contiguous complementary trunks, an active, positive, and progressive male trunk, representing biological variation and adaptation, and a passive, negative, and conservative female trunk, representing heredity." *Psychic Factors*, 208, *cf.* 179-80.

³² We must assume that when he says the female trunk remained unchanged, he means merely that it remained so during the process of projecting and ejecting the male, although, again, how it could remain unchanged while performing such a remarkable change, we cannot understand so readily as Ward thought he did.

into higher and higher species, but the male developed faster, as is proved by the fact that he finally overtook and passed her. For this "anomalous" proceeding an explanation is demanded.³³ Why did the male so behave? His ability to do so was dependent upon his having the more variable nature. But the fact of his doing so must have another cause. For this Ward returns to the female, and finds it in Darwin's doctrine of sexual selection, which he carries far beyond Darwin's intent. The "biological imperative," he says, is for the male to fecundate whatever comes to hand, but for the female it is to discriminate.³⁴ There are many more males than females in the lower orders of life (325 — and in the higher many more spermatozoa than ova!), and this provides room for the discrimination, since among them "there are always differences" (325). From the beginning the female was "ashamed of her puny and diminutive suitors," and always chose "the largest and finest specimens among them" (327). Her "preferences," also, were "likely" to be for "a form similar" to her own (374). The larger size and more similar form being inherited, the males under this feminine influence gradually grew and "slowly rose in form and volume" (328), "approaching the stature and form of the female,"³⁵ till at last "from a shapeless sac" they have come to assume "a definite form agreeing in general characteristics with that of the original organism [the female]" (374), "actually reaching, in a few instances, the status of the original specific trunk [the female]" (326). Thus it is "this selection of the best examples and rejection of the inferior ones" that has "caused the male to rise in the scale and resemble more and more the primary organism, or female"; and as the female further selected "other qualities than those" she herself "possessed," the male rose even higher (375). "There is," Ward has the face to assert, "no other reason why the male should in the least resemble the female" (374). The female he therefore actually treats as the "creator" of the male (328) — at first in the form of a tiny sperm sac in no respect resembling herself, and then through her continual selection "raising" him (326) and "creating" him further (360), "evolving" him and "carrying him up to giddy heights" (334), "lifting" him "from nothing to his present estate" (331), till at last she "literally creates the male in" her "own image."³⁶ But for her, all males, "including man" (360), would still be nothing but testi-

³³ 323, *Psychic Factors*, 87-8.

³⁴ *Pure Sociology*, 325, cf. 302-4, 324, 359, also 323.

³⁵ 375; similarly 323, 322.

³⁶ 374. Through her action there was "assimilation" of his form to hers, 335.

cles containing spermatozoa!³⁷ or not even that much, but absolutely "nothing"! God's creation did not stop when these male sperm sacs were made, it stopped when he made the female, and then the female's creation of the male began, differing from God's only in being slow. And when the female's creation of the male stopped, as finally in the case of man, man, Ward must say, and does say, "could develop no further" (370), although this is directly contrary to other statements of his, as, for instance, the statement that "battles among the males," that is, their own activity, "further developed" their size and strength (375) beyond that of their creator!³⁸ Also their addiction to the chase, for which women were less fit, he cites as (another) cause of their acquiring superiority of physical strength.³⁹

Yet why, if the female could develop without the male's aid, the male could not develop without the female's aid (especially if the male were the more variable, and since various methods for the operation have been pointed to), Ward does not tell us. He overlooks the development, or evolution, of the female altogether: in fact, his words at times seem to imply that all the present species were created as such without any males, that then, after a long wait, minikin males were detached from the females (who were the trunk of the species), and under the influence of the female selection developed, or evolved, to become like the respective females of their species.⁴⁰ Of course this is too ludicrous for him to have maintained. But what his real view was, it might have been difficult for himself to describe.⁴¹ At all events he drove sexual selection into the ground. Darwin used natural selection to account for the development or evolution of both the males and females of all species, mostly along parallel lines, with some differences due to their different behaviour, such as the greater strength of the males in some species, which is explained, *inter alia*, by their greater addiction to the chase and to war-

³⁷ Thus he speaks of "the development of a male organism out of this formless sperm sac, or testicle," 374,—of an organism out of an organ!

³⁸ Cf. 336, also *Dynamic Sociology*, i. 613.

³⁹ *Pure Sociology*, 352, following Lippert.

⁴⁰ "The female sex, which existed from the beginning, continues unchanged; but the male sex, which did not exist at the beginning, makes its appearance at a certain stage, and has a certain history and development," 314.

⁴¹ Especially is this difficult because of his speaking on p. 319 of a "law that the longer a type has lived, the wider is the separation of the sexes," since his whole theory seems to be that they were widely separated in the beginning and that the longer the types live, the more time the male has for becoming like the female, and therefore the more closely he may resemble her, cf. 328. But perhaps this refers to what happens *after* the male has overtaken the female; for then the male goes on, in one set of Ward's statements, to surpass her and to depart from her: cf. 369, where he says that in the human species "the difference between the sexes has been widening during the past ages and is greater in civilised than in savage peoples."

fare; ⁴² and he used sexual selection by the female to account for those differences which could not, in his opinion, otherwise be accounted for. But Ward uses natural selection, at times, not at all, or only in the case of the females (for if he used it of the males, would it not be enough in most cases?); and sexual selection by the female (under which he includes the battling of the males!) he uses to account for the resemblances of the males with their respective females, where no such explanation is needed. Darwin used sexual selection with the moderation befitting a scientist; and if he devoted to it a large portion of his work, this was not because of its great importance, but because of the great difficulty in proving it. Ward universalised it, notwithstanding that the continued existence of under-sized male spiders, and of males of a similar sort in several other species, shows that the females do not always prefer and select and elevate and create males equal and similar to themselves — a fact for which Ward cannot account, except by saying that “there are of course exceptions” to his rule (328). This fact, indeed, which disproves his theory, is used as its very base, being treated as an occasional survival from, and proof of, the primitive condition of universal female superiority, although not one word is offered to prove that it is a survival and not a case of degeneracy.

Yet Ward has also another rule, likewise with exceptions, but with exceptions for which explanations are offered, among them this very explanation by means of sexual selection. For Ward once refers to the fact that “as the male fertiliser [*i.e.*, simply the male] is a product of reproduction by the organism [the female], it naturally inherits the general qualities of the organism” — *i.e.*, of his mother! (374). What more, then, is needed? The very second male would resemble the female in all but his distinctive masculine characters, or at least the males would come thus to resemble their mothers through this law of heredity alone; or still more quickly would they come to resemble their sisters, since by this same law their sisters also inherit from their fathers! ⁴³ Now then, if the males in some species are inferior to their females, *this* needs to be accounted for by something stronger than

⁴² Also by their combats for the females. This is sexual selection, and was so treated by Darwin; but it is not sexual selection *by the female*, and never was so treated by Darwin.

⁴³ Thus he speaks of two facts, “that the offspring inherits its qualities from both parents alike,” and “that when only one parent has acquired such [*i.e.*, acquired!] qualities, the offspring will only inherit half of them,” *Dynamic Sociology*, ii. 615; and this he calls a “universal law of nature,” i. 612, as also in *Pure Sociology*, 326. Then, from the very first, the sons would inherit half of the greatness of their mothers, and the daughters would inherit half of the diminutiveness of their fathers, and the two sexes would immediately be more or less equal in size!

the law of heredity, which is not absolute (as by a theory of degeneration through easy feeding, etc.), precisely as their superiority in other species needs to be accounted for (by Darwin's theory of sexual selection on the female's part, or by Wallace's theory of the natural selection of smaller and less obtrusive females, or by Brooks's theory of the inherent greater variability of the male, etc., etc.), or as their other differences need to be accounted for (as by Geddes's and Thomson's theory of female anabolism and male katabolism). Ward, however, starts by positing an "enormous" difference between the males and the females of the same species as the primary fact, for which explanation is not needed; and then explains their present close resemblance in most species by means of the theory which Darwin used to explain their differences! As he has no evidence for his alleged primary fact, except the present existence of comparatively very few specimens of male inferiority, all of which are sufficiently accounted for by degeneration, and as there is thousandfold more evidence for the inheritance of many qualities from both the father and the mother, which sufficiently accounts for the resemblances between the sexes, the utter preposterousness of Ward's theory is apparent.

This idea of sexual selection *by the females* makes a strong appeal to the feminists; and it may be said that Darwin was the originator of modern feminism, and Ward is his prophet. Whatever superiority man may now have, he owes it to woman! Woman is his creator! Therefore woman is really his superior;⁴⁴ for the creature cannot be superior to its creator.⁴⁵ Accordingly Ward always treats the original condition as that of female superiority over the male; which he calls "the long prevailing gynæcarchy (or gynæcocracy) of the animal world,"⁴⁶ though he means its "thelyarchy" or "thelyocracy." The female, even woman at the beginning of her career, was "the ruling sex" (337), although he points to nothing as indicating this but her selection of her mates (her dictation of who should be fathers), and her guardianship of her young (353—her "mother-rule," 340, or "matriarchy," 339). These were matters to which the male showed indifference, and therefore left to the female—the former innately, and the latter because of his ignorance of his connection with the young. But Ward takes the former as indicating that the female governed "the life of the horde" (370); and the latter he without proof extended to the assertions that she "meted out justice to the men" (347), and

⁴⁴ Cf. the implication against Compton in *Dynamic Sociology*, i. 131.

⁴⁵ We shall presently see this stated by Eliza B. Gamble.

⁴⁶ *Pure Sociology*, 328, 336.

that she "held the rein, and held the male aspirants to a strict accountability" (335) — without saying for what.⁴⁷ This original "superiority" of the female sex in general, and even in the human species, he everywhere treats as the "perfectly natural condition";⁴⁸ while he cannot allude to the existing male superiority in the human species without characterising it as "abnormal" (322), or "at least extra-normal,"⁴⁹ ultra-normal, and supra-normal" (334), or treating it merely as "apparent" (296) and "so-called," and therefore denying it altogether as a mere "phenomenon," bearing "the stamp of spuriousness and sham"—"a sort of make-believe, play, or sport of nature of an airy unsubstantial character" (331). He hardly even admits sex-equality as anywhere obtaining, referring to it only as "partial" (326), and speaking of "something like sex equality" (327). Yet he will tolerate "the usual expression of 'male superiority,'" if confined to certain acquired secondary sexual qualities such as superior ornamentation in birds and superior strength of body and intellect in men, which, he does not fail to add, the males owe to the females.⁵⁰ This limited male superiority, however, he treats as an "over-development,"⁵¹ because the amount of ornamentation or of strength possessed by the female is the "normal" amount belonging to the species, and the male's extra amount is due simply to "his greater power of variability" (322), and is a mere "male efflorescence" produced by the female's æsthetic taste—"certainly not male supremacy" (331)—and, where it exists, "unintended" by Nature.⁵² As he started out with the notion that the male sex in general is an "afterthought" of Nature, so now he concludes that male superiority, where it exists, was never

⁴⁷ The first statement was, in fact, that woman originally was "in this most vital respect"—of choosing and rejecting her mates—"the ruling sex." But there is no sense in saying that the choosing sex is the ruling sex unless this sex rules; which is the implication, and is elsewhere explicitly expressed. ("As the female sex had thus far always exercised supremacy in the most vital matters [why the plural?], it might be supposed that woman would prove the dominant sex in primitive hordes," 338. "Throughout the animal world below man, in all the serious and essential affairs of life, the female is still supreme," 331.) This is an underhand method of establishing what cannot be otherwise established. "Female rule" is used without any reservation on p. 336.

⁴⁸ 315, 323, cf. 364; or he talks simply of "female superiority," 317. "The female is really the favourite and inherently superior sex," and in the human species not "naturally inferior," *Dynamic Sociology*, ii. 616.

⁴⁹ *Psychic Factors*, 88.

⁵⁰ 330. He somehow seems to think there is something disparaging in saying of any male superiority that it is "simply a secondary sexual character," as in *Dynamic Sociology*, ii. 617, cf. i. 613, 649; *Psychic Factors*, 89, 150; *Pure Sociology*, 335-6, 493. For him, female superiority in strength, etc., was a *primary* sexual character, because it had priority in time, according to his unproved theory. He thus uses "primary" and "secondary," with reference to sexual differences, in a novel manner.

⁵¹ 331, 375, cf. 320. As Ward says that in our race the male is "over-developed," we shall find one of his disciples, Mrs. Gilman, supplementing this by maintaining that woman is "over-sexed."

⁵² 334. Again: "It cannot in any sense be said to have been 'intended' by Nature," *Dynamic Sociology*, ii. 617.

"intended" by Nature, and so is not even a reality. Yet to this unreality he allows an important effect; for he agrees with Darwin that this advance of the male beyond the female has re-acted on the female, and through the partial inheritance by her of his qualities helped to raise her also (331-2), the creature thus helping to re-create its creator!

Still, Ward recognises that this much of "male superiority" was evolved in our ancestors before they became human, and so already existed in the earliest specimens of our race (332-4, 338, 375-6); only then it was not so great as it has since become, woman then being "nearly equal in strength to man,"⁵³ and they retained in their own hands the selection of their mates.⁵⁴ This was the "matriarchate" which Bachofen and McLennan discovered from its remnants in archæology and among savages (338-9), and which was "probably" a "very long stage in the history of man and society" (340). It lasted as long as men did not know that they were fathers, and it was "the only condition possible" during the continuance of that ignorance (344, *cf.* 340), as men were then indifferent to offspring they did not know to be theirs. When it was learnt that the children are "a joint product of the man and the woman,"—whereupon the male's long indifference ceased,—then "it is easy to see the important results that would naturally follow" (344). It "literally reversed the whole social system" (341), "producing a profound social revolution" (376); for it substituted androcracy for the preceding gynæocracy. "Paternity implied power over the child,"—first of all implying interest in the child;—and "equal authority with the mother led to a comparison of physical strength between the sexes": "in discovering his paternity and accompanying authority, man also discovered his power, which at that stage meant simply physical strength [*cf.* 336]. He began to learn the economic value of woman and to exert his superior power in the direction of exacting not only favours but services from her" (345). Hence the subjection of women; for men now fought among themselves not only for women's momentary favours, but for permanent possession of the women themselves (351), and then, to obviate this turbulence, they bought and sold the women, and instituted marriage, which recognises the ownership of women just as agrarian laws recognise the ownership of land.⁵⁵ Enslaving women (351, 352, 376), they stole away from them the right of sexual selection—that "ægis and palladium of the female sex" (336), and, alone among

⁵³ 370, although on p. 338 the statement is that the human males then "were considerably larger and stronger than the females"!

⁵⁴ 337, 338, 370, 376.

⁵⁵ *Dynamic Sociology*, i. 617, 618, 630, 637, *cf.* 649; also *cf.* *Pure Sociology*, 355, 376.

all the animals, began to exercise it themselves, thereby bringing about "a complete revolution in all the sexual relations,"⁵⁶ and "subverting nature's method, in which the mother is the queen."⁵⁷ For man's selection is different from woman's. Woman's (the female's in general) was of the larger and stronger and more intelligent males. But men choose smaller and weaker women, and in place of intelligence prefer beauty of form.⁵⁸ In this last respect they have produced some improvement in women (and reflexly in men themselves, *cf.* 364), in some female secondary characters; which, however, on the whole, have the same "unreality, artificiality, and spuriousness," that male secondary sexual characters have (363) — a mere "female efflorescence" (364). Thus Ward returns to Darwin's use of sexual selection for the explanation of differences between the sexes, but now it is sexual selection by the male, and in the human species only. And all the superiority of man over woman, even the greater size of his brain, Ward holds to be amply accounted for by man's treatment of woman,⁵⁹ wherefore he holds that their present differences cannot be taken "as a criterion of their true relative merits,"⁶⁰ here agreeing with the pre-evolutionist Mill,⁶¹ notwithstanding he admits the labours of gestation are "at the expense, to some extent, of the intellectual, as they certainly are of the physical, strength of women," and their weak physical condition in that period has done "much to give the advantage to the males."⁶² But man's superiority is due, not to his advance (for we have seen Ward assert that the male could not improve without the female's sexual selection, which in our species has been withdrawn), but to woman's degeneration in all but æsthetic qualities under man's sexual selection and abuse.⁶³ It is a pity Ward did not make use of this idea of degeneration earlier, to account for the male inferiority where he found it in low species. He even tells us that if among us the process were to continue long enough, women might ultimately be reduced to the position of parasites and become "complemental females corresponding to Darwin's complemental males in the cirripeds" (363). This of course is an absurdity, since such midgets of women could not bear full-sized male children. Great relative inferiority in size of the female is possible only where there is an intervening larval stage; and therefore it could never exist in any viviparous ani-

⁵⁶ *Dynamic Sociology*, i. 615.

⁵⁷ *Pure Sociology*, 353.

⁵⁸ 363, 372, 376-7, 396, 399.

⁵⁹ 371-2, *Dynamic Sociology*, ii. 616.

⁶⁰ *Dynamic Sociology*, i. 646, *cf.* 653, ii. 616; *Applied Sociology*, 232.

⁶¹ Above, p. 50.

⁶² *Dynamic Sociology*, i. 646, 649.

⁶³ *Ib.*, i. 646, *Pure Sociology*, 370, 372, 377.

mal. But Ward's statement of this absurdity ought to have opened his eyes to the fact that the small size of the male cirripeds can be accounted for by such a process of degeneration as is here imagined for the future human female.

If, then, the greater degeneration of the male cirripeds beyond the female cirripeds proves the natural superiority of the female among the cirripeds (and who can doubt it?), the greater degeneration (if it exists) of woman (or rather man's greater advance) can equally prove the natural superiority (in some respects) of man. The use of denunciatory terms is unscientific. If men *are* in any way superior to women, nothing can be gained by denouncing the fact as "unnatural." If it is a product of evolution, it cannot be otherwise than natural. Ward himself seems to make this admission at times — at least that the patriarchate was "the natural sequence of the process that had begun" in the discovery of paternity (345). If the discovery of paternity were a mistake, Ward would be justified. As he believes it to be a true discovery, it is difficult to see how he can find fault with the conduct of the beings who made the use of it to which it "naturally" led. The fault should lie with the animals that have not made the discovery and that consequently act with disregard of it, being imperfect through ignorance. Again bordering upon making this admission, Ward adds: man's dominion over woman "is one of the few instances where nature seems to have overshot its mark."⁶⁴ The idea is again of nature having some unnatural "afterthought," and doing something unnaturally which it or she had not "intended." And at the bottom of this is an idea that what Nature does first, is more peculiarly her action, and what she does last, she may have done waywardly or under some unforeseen duress. But this is absurd, especially (to repeat) in the mouth of an evolutionist. What comes later in evolution, is just as natural as what went before. Nor is the less common in nature any less natural than the common. It cannot be seriously maintained that what naturally holds in many species ought naturally to hold in some other species, and that it is unnatural if it does not. What goes on among bees, for instance, or among ants, is not unnatural because it is unique. And so there may be thelyocracy in most species, if you like, and arrhenocracy in a few, or even in only one, and there be as natural as the other. And in some species the one state may naturally exist at one stage of its development, and the other at another: in the human species androcracy may naturally follow gynæocracy (if the latter ever existed). What is, is, and its nature is not changed by something else being otherwise, or by

⁶⁴ *Dynamic Sociology*, i. 648.

itself (or its predecessors) having at a previous period been different. Ward proves no universal thelyocracy at present, or always, existing. At best, even if the beginning of his theory were correct, he would not at the end have proved anything else than that arrhenocracy in the human species, or androcracy, is a natural product of nature. As the beginning of his theory was not proved, he *a fortiori* offers us nothing to disprove that androcracy is a natural product of evolution. Nor need we be frightened at our unique position in animate nature, as the one and only species in which the male has dominion over the female. We, as Ward himself has pointed out, are the only animals who know what we are doing; so that it is only natural we should act differently from all the rest, which do not know what they are doing. Moreover, we are the sole species that has produced civilisation; wherefore it is only natural that the disposition of things in our civilised species should be different from the disposition of things in all other animals. But if, for the sake of distinctness, what is common to all animals (being produced genetically) be called "natural" and what is peculiar to mankind (being made over by our intelligence) be called "artificial," then we need not be impressed by any one who makes this distinction, as Ward does,⁶⁵ telling us that what now exists in our midst is "unnatural." Least of all need we be impressed by this from Ward, who further holds that "the artificial is infinitely superior to the natural,"⁶⁶ and that "all civilisation is artificial,"⁶⁷ as also is "all true progress."⁶⁸ As, also, he knows that art rests on science (*ib.*, i. 59), or knowledge, we may wonder at his objecting to marriage, which rests on the scientific discovery made by man alone that man is the father as woman is the mother of children.

Yet Ward does object to marriage as a part of man's domination over woman. All his gynæocratic theory converges upon showing up the meanness of man in his domineering behaviour. Man owes his superiority over woman to woman herself, and yet he uses it to subjugate "the innocent authoress of this gift!"⁶⁹ The creature has turned against his creator! The idolatrous savage has whipped his god! Or the two sexes are treated like two races, each with separate sets of ancestors; and the complaint is much like that of the modern Poles, whose ancestors once saved the Austrians from destruction, but who themselves are now held (some of them) in subjection by the descendants of those Aus-

⁶⁵ *Dynamic Sociology*, ii. 103, 105, *Pure Sociology*, 17, 465-6, *Psychic Factors*, 135.

⁶⁶ *Psychic Factors*, 286, similarly 200 and p. viii.; *Dynamic Sociology*, i. 71, ii. 203; *Pure Sociology*, 511; *Applied Sociology*, 11.

⁶⁷ *Dynamic Sociology*, ii. 538; similarly 302, *cf.* 205.

⁶⁸ *Ib.*, i. 662, *cf.* 71.

⁶⁹ *Pure Sociology*, 360, *cf.* 349, 351, 376.

trians. Ward, however, allows that men have thus acted in ignorance of what they were doing — of the great sin of ingratitude they were committing, — until he informed them of it. He admits that men (in their ignorance) could not have acted otherwise: they are not to blame — and least of all present men, who suffer from it as much, he says, as women do.⁷⁰ But he implies that unless men now make a change, they will be to blame — those of them who, having been enlightened by him, do not follow his advice. For our whole social system, because produced under the “unnatural” androcentric system, is wrong. “Under the régime of gynæcocracy,” he tells us, “there could be no proper family” (351); and “the primitive family was an unnatural androcentric excrescence upon society.”⁷¹ Marriage he treats as mere pairing, “as applicable to any other animal as to man,”⁷² and prostitution, which “becomes natural and harmless in proportion as it is more fully tolerated and recognised,” is one “form” of it.⁷³ Our human marriage, distinguished as “formal marriage,”⁷⁴ in all its various kinds, consists in “the proprietorship of the husband in the wife.”⁷⁵ Hence Ward looks upon it as essentially a selfish male institution; for he forgets altogether about the children, who are its primary object, but whom he rarely mentions.⁷⁶ Man has, according to Ward, “shaped all the facts relating to the sexes pretty much after his own mind.”⁷⁷ He has imposed upon woman inequality of dress, inequality of duties, inequality of education, and inequality of rights. All these things must be changed: women must dress like men, act like men, be educated like men, and have the same rights as men (*ib.*, 642–55). Even “modesty,” a purely human quality, has “outlived much of its usefulness,” and “this mass of absurdities and irrationalities” is now “a serious obstacle

⁷⁰ *Dynamic Sociology*, i. 656–7.

⁷¹ 353. Yet he here compares early polygamy with “a harem of seals on a rookery under the dominion of an old bull.” This seems to admit patriarchy even among some animals, and hence its naturalness! But he tones down the admission by denying tyrannical treatment of the females by the male seal; “for, although we are told that the bull does sometimes gently [!] bite his refractory cows, he never abuses or injures them,” the so-called “brutal” treatment of females being reserved for men, 347. Apparently only “brutal” is the female maltreatment of the male, as in the case of spiders, where the male “often sacrifices his life and perishes at his post,” 323, naturally! as women sometimes do — unnaturally.

⁷² *Dynamic Sociology*, i. 617–18.

⁷³ *Pure Sociology*, 357–8. In *Dynamic Sociology*, it is treated as a form of the kind of marriage known as polyandry, i. 622–4, 628–9.

⁷⁴ *Dynamic Sociology*, i. 617. Ward was one of those who cannot see any proper difference in the relationship between a man and a woman the day before and the day after their wedding, *Pure Sociology*, 397.

⁷⁵ *Pure Sociology*, 356, cf. *Dynamic Sociology*, i. 633.

⁷⁶ He does once, in this connection, allude to them, in *Dynamic Sociology*, i. 604. Elsewhere he objects to exaggerated instruction of filial piety, *ib.*, ii. 443–4. In *Applied Sociology*, 324, “the diminished birth-rate” is treated as “no cause for alarm,” it being “the surest possible mark of increasing intelligence,” whereby mankind “emancipate themselves from the tyranny of the biologic law.”

⁷⁷ *Dynamic Sociology*, i. 616.

to the progress of rational development" (*ib.*, 639). Here, however, Ward makes a distinction. Primitive men made the women do all the work. Modern men, at least in theory, do all the work themselves, and "support" the women (*ib.*, ii 618). This last does not execute itself successfully, and cannot, and must be abandoned. But we must not go back to the primitive human state, when men compelled the women to work for them. We must go back to a still earlier stage, that of all animals, among whom "the labour of procuring subsistence is performed for the most part by each individual for itself, the male and the female doing an equal share of the labour of life." Thus "the true progress of society must naturally complete the cycle of changes, and again make both sexes producers, as in the animal and presocial stages."⁷⁸ It is strange for us now at the end to find that at the beginning, among the lower animals, equality was the rule! It is still stranger to find this modelling upon the lower animals recommended by an admirer of artificiality, and especially by one who a few pages further on objurgates the admirers of nature and asserts that "it is positively shameful for scientific men to go back to brute creation for standards of human excellence and models of social institutions" (*ib.*, 662-3). But in a false theory we cannot expect consistency. However this be, it is Ward's recommendation. In the future the sexes must be free and equal.⁷⁹ Therefore they must both support themselves and do all other things alike. And differently (as conceived by him) from animals and from our own progenitors, both the human sexes must in the future be selectors of each other: there must be "amphiclexis," the beginning of which he finds in romantic love,⁸⁰ in place of both the earlier "gyneclexis" and the later and present "androclexis" (361); and consequently gynæocracy is not to be revived and to oust the prevailing androcacy, but both are to give way to a compound and hermaphroditic "gynandrocratic" stage, in which "both man and woman shall be free to rule themselves," of course "on a higher plane" (373), though it is, really, the plane of the lower animals.

This, perhaps the most remarkable theory in the philosophy of history ever invented by a sane man, has probably by no one been accepted in its entirety. Rather, certain parts of it, as advanced in the first brief exposition in *The Forum*, where its absurdities were not revealed, have been unquestioningly accepted by the fem-

⁷⁸ *Ib.*, i. 652, cf. 661. This, apparently, is "the normal condition," from which our society has made a "wide departure," 655.

⁷⁹ "The freedom of woman will be the ennoblement of man. The equality of the sexes will be the regeneration of humanity. Civilisation demands this revolution," *ib.*, 657.

⁸⁰ *Pure Sociology*, 396, 401-2, 406. The modernness of this love he claims as a discovery of his own, 392, ignoring Finck's first work (though noticing his second!) and also Pearson's *Ethic of Freethought* (p. 401).

inists — such as the primacy and superiority and all-inclusiveness of the female sex, her creatorship of the male through her sexual selection, the unnaturalness and ingratitude of the latter's present dominancy in the human species, and its unnatural uniqueness here.⁸¹ But it happened that almost contemporaneously with Ward, and perhaps independently, Eliza Burt Gamble evolved a somewhat similar theory, differing rather in placing female supremacy at the end instead of at the beginning of the cosmic process.

Miss Gamble published her book, *The Evolution of Woman*, in New York in 1893,^{81a} but says in the Preface that so early as the year 1886 [prior to any of Ward's publications on this subject] she became impressed with the belief that the theory of evolution furnishes much evidence going to show that "the female among all the orders of life, man included, represents a higher stage of development than the male" (pp. v.-vi.). She never mentions Ward, who returns the compliment by never mentioning her, although it is unlikely they should have been ignorant of each other's works. Instead, she takes Darwin, Geddes and Thomson, Wallace, and others, for her "guides," as she calls them; but treats them peculiarly. For whatever they say which she can utilize in her theory, she takes for gospel truth; but whatever disagrees with her theory, she sets down to "prejudice." She accepts the doctrine of the greater variability of man, but deduces from it that man does not represent a higher development, but the contrary, because of greater reversion to lower types (37-9, 42). She harps much on "the imperfections of man's organisation" (177), such as his greater liability to colour-blindness (46-9), and on woman's "finer and more complex organisation, comparatively free from imperfections" (68, cf. 66), such as her "greater powers of endurance, keener insight" (66), and other "higher faculties" (77, 80) — her "finer intuition" (67-8) and her "finer sensibilities";⁸² and especially does she contrast her altruism with his ego-

⁸¹ Thus, for instance, Frances Swiney in an article on *The Evolution of the Male* in *The Westminster Review*, March and April, 1905, follows Ward in asserting that "life begins as female," 276, that "there is sex differentiation, but only one sex, the female," 278, and that woman "is and remains the human race," 454.—Perhaps independently (at least he makes no mention of Ward) Th. H. Montgomery, in an article on *The Morphological Superiority of the Female Sex*, in the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1904, vol. 43, pp. 365-80, reached the conclusion that "the female is clearly the superior, from the standpoint of morphological advancement, in the invertebrates and the lower vertebrates, and still superior, but in a less degree, in the higher vertebrates," because he "was inclined to judge the greater embryological advancement of the reproductive organs to be a condition of more morphological importance than greater bodily size."

^{81a} A second edition, with the title *The Sexes in Science and History*, has been published recently, too late to be used here.

⁸² 76. Woman's "finer" sensibility is a greater insensibility to pain, and this and her greater power of endurance under hardships are characteristics — Miss Gamble does not seem to know — of lower races and of lower organisms.

ism,⁸³ wherefore she claims that also sociology provides evidence "that the female organisation is superior to that of the male" (87). The female in general, because doing most of the procreative function, possesses the more highly specialised organisation and "represents the higher stage of development."⁸⁴ Even "the progressive principle is confided to the female organisation" (170) through her selection of the males. Because of sexual selection, as "proved" by Darwin, the female is "the primary cause of the very characters through which man's superiority over woman has been gained; . . . and as the creature may not surpass its creator in excellence, it is difficult to understand the process by which man through sexual selection has become superior to woman" (29). The difficulty, which should have led her to doubt the process, is enhanced for her by the belief that all the male's secondary sexual characters are developed by the female's sexual selection of them — such as his courage, energy, altruism (whatever of it he has), etc.; all which she further believes to be still dependent on the will or desire of the female (65, *cf.* 62). Rather she concludes that her "guides" show "that the female is the primary unit of creation, and that the male functions are simply supplementary or complementary" (31) — in mankind the same as in cirripeds! Man's peculiar reversal of this relationship needs itself to be reversed. A beginning is *again* being made; for now as in Greece under Pericles and the later philosophers altruistic principles are once more coming to the fore, along with *hetairism* (349). The dawn of "the intellectual and moral age" is breaking (68). Women have been debased by marriage (171), than which no slavery is more degrading (174), they being reduced thereby to "sexual slaves" (264); and if civilisation has advanced, it has been "in spite of it" (176). "In the present intense struggle for freedom and equality, an attempt *to return* to the earlier and more natural principles of justice and liberty, and so *to advance*," must be made (75). "Wives and mothers must be absolutely free, and wholly independent of the opposite sex for the means of support" (171). This is the great complaint, that women are supported. The demand is, that they shall support themselves; for only then can they be free in marriage. But how they are to support themselves, this authoress does not tell. She seems to think it sufficient if men but permit them to do so. Yet of course permitting them to do so, with her as with the rest of the feminists, means helping them to do so — without acknowledgment.

⁸³ 12-13, 57-62, 74, 92, 107-8, 121, 131, 135, 167-8, 175, 209, 271, 332, 342, 348.
⁸⁴ 11, *cf.* 35. So already, as we have seen, Mrs. Farnham.

Upon the publication of Ward's article in *The Forum*, Grant Allen saw the absurdity of the inferences from the natural history relied on, and wrote an answer, *Woman's Place in Nature*, which was published in the same magazine for May, 1889 (pp. 258-63). Here, for a moment running into the other extreme, he maintained that "in man the males are the race," the females being "merely the sex told off to recruit and reproduce it." "There are women, to be sure," he admits "who inherit much of male faculty, and some of these prefer to follow male avocations; but in so doing they for the most part unsex themselves; they fail to perform satisfactorily their maternal functions." He followed this up in *The Fortnightly Review* of the next October in an article of *Plain Words on the Woman Question*, in which he protested that as "we [men] hold it a slight not to be borne that any one should impugn our essential manhood," so "women ought equally to glory in their femininity." Yet only four years afterward, in 1893, Grant Allen wrote a novel, *The Woman Who Did*, in which he went back on these views, and denounced human marriage as an "assertion of man's supremacy over woman."⁸⁵ In this romance, however, the heroine was not allowed to unsex herself; but she gloried in her feminine duty of motherhood, and, in fact, the want of success of her maternal functioning, under present conditions, is the theme of the fiction — or satire, if it be such. Claiming equality with men, she was willing to sacrifice herself in behalf of her sisters by making way, like Winkelried, for liberty.⁸⁶ She would not subject herself to slavery to man in marriage, and yet, recognising the function of maternity to be "the best privilege of her sex" (p. 165), she would enter into "a free union on philosophical and ethical principles" (91, for she was "one of the intellectual type" of women, 139) with the man of her choice. To such a reformer of the world, whose soul at her death would "cease to exist for ever" (269), and whose God was a "dumb, blind Caprice, governing the universe" (157, 193), it was shameful to live with a man a moment longer than she loved him (53), or to expect other conduct of him toward herself, since each should "embrace and follow every instinct of pure love," which is "the voice" of that dumb God! and "never strive" for the other's sake "to deny any love, to strangle any impulse," that panted for birth in them.⁸⁷ She was resolved, therefore, to be independent and to

⁸⁵ P. 53, of the Tauchnitz edition.

⁸⁶ Forel also recommends such pioneering, which he admits "would require much courage," *The Sexual Question*, 525.

⁸⁷ 206, cf. 74. The author, in this connection, treats marriage as a "monopoly" of a woman by a man, 207, 211-12, cf. 80. This is an entire misuse of the term. "Monopoly" is possession of all, or most, of the individuals of a class or kind. To own, or to have sole use of, a single article is not to monopolise it. Only a polygamous Sultan may be said to monopolise the women of his domain.

support herself; for "if women are to be free, they must first of all be independent," since "it is the dependence of women that has allowed men to make laws for them, socially and ethically";⁸⁸ and she would continue thus to do after her marriage-replacing union, living on by herself, receiving visits from her lover, who should likewise live by himself, each and every one in his or her own house, without a servant (83-4). Such wastefulness is curious in a socialist, although such had been the doctrine and the practice of one of the earliest, Godwin, who and his wife, Mary Wollstonecraft, for a time kept separate domiciles, cohabitation having been one of his pet aversions and therefore contrary to his principles.⁸⁹ Yet each is to be the other's (77, *cf.* 82), the children to belong to both, and their support to be shared equally (91). But how, in general, the male mate, thus separated from his female friend, was to know that the children he had to share in supporting were begotten by him, is not stated; although in this case, of course, the woman was "stainless," and her union with a man was, like Tobias's with his wife, not for lust, but for companionship and procreation.⁹⁰ Still, the union for this purpose, like Bebel's account of unions for gratification, is treated as purely a private affair.⁹¹ When, however, the child was about to arrive, the woman had to cease her work, and her male companion had to step in, take charge, and support her.⁹² We learn now that the woman's self-support was only a temporary subservience to present conditions, since as yet "no other way existed for women to be free except the wasteful way of each earning her own livelihood." As "an intermediate condition," before reaching the final stage, "it might perhaps happen that the women of certain classes would for the most part be made independent at maturity each by her father," such "a first step" being "the endowment of the daughter." But "in the end, no doubt, complete independence would be secured for each woman by the civilised state, or, in other

⁸⁸ 19. Marriage and its annexes are "man-made institutions," 165, *cf.* 58, 84, 220.

⁸⁹ Separate living is, of course, one of the innumerable customs found among primitive peoples. Thus a South Malabar husband and wife do not live together, but the husband visits his wife at her family home. So also among the Syntongs in Assam, and among some early Arabs: *cf.* Samson and his wife at Timnah. Instead of advancing, our reformers always go backward.

⁹⁰ *Tebit*, VIII. 7.

⁹¹ It was proposed simply that they "should be friends like any others — very dear, dear friends, with the only kind of friendship that nature makes possible between men and women," 48. "Here was a personal matter of the utmost privacy; a matter which concerned nobody on earth save herself and Alan; a matter on which it was the grossest impertinence for any one else to make any inquiry or hold any opinion. They two chose to be friends; and there, so far as the rest of the world was concerned, the whole thing ended. What took place between them was wholly a subject for their own consideration," 87. For Bebel see above, ii. 43.

⁹² The author here admits a "prime antithesis — the male, active and aggressive; the female, sedentary, and passive, and receptive," 98-9. Yet the whole plot of his story disregards this prime antithesis!

words, by the whole body of men who do the hard work of the world, and who would collectively guarantee every necessary and luxury to every woman of the community equally. In that way alone could perfect liberty of choice and action be secured for women; and she [the heroine] held it just that women should so be provided for, because the mothers of the community fulfil in the state as important and necessary a function as the men themselves do. It would be well, too, that the mothers should be free to perform that function without pre-occupation of any sort. So a free world would order things" (88-90). A world free to women, yes, but hardly so to men, who would have to support the women, and yet would have no more say in the matter than those whom they supported. The impracticability of the whole scheme thus comes out at the end, since, after all, the women are to be supported by the men, "who do the hard work of the world," and their dependence would again put into the hands of men the power, which they would rightly grasp, of "making laws for them, socially and ethically."⁹³ The doorway has been enlarged by the dependence of one woman on one man being replaced by the dependence of all women on all men; and with this irrelevant difference, we come out where in we went.⁹⁴

Mrs. Gilman, in her work on *Women and Economics*,⁹⁵ is more abstruse and theoretical. She, too, has a *penchant* for natural history, and seems to look upon other animals as our superiors, perhaps impressed by their greater numbers; for she often takes them for models, although to the rest of us the more we differ from brutes, the greater would seem to be our progress in evolution. In human physiology we have already noticed her error in denying sexual difference to the brains of men and

⁹³ But the feminists have no idea of reciprocity. Emerence M. Lemonche (Virginia Leblück), who cannot see "by what right man assumes his authority over woman," says "Nature has given to man greater physical strength in order that he shall make use of it . . . to protect the companion [woman] which [sic] she has destined for him," but requires no other return but the service (which we shall see Mrs. Gilman saying woman has already performed) of using her high moral sentiments and virtue "to raise man to her level"; *The New Era Woman's Era*, 8.

⁹⁴ Yet to a socialist this is an essential difference, on account of the new altruism of the strong and of men to share power with the weak and with women. So Pearson, while he would leave the childless women to support themselves, would have the child-bearing women independent of father or husband (of the individual) and to be supported by (and be dependent on) the state, *Ethic of Freethought*, 418, 428-9, *Chances of Death*, i. 242, 244, 251. But he expects that "the hard work of the world" will not necessarily "be left to the men" alone, ii. 50, apparently the childless women taking part in it, but the child-bearing women being exempted, 251, and insured by the state against motherhood, 252-3, although the former are not likely to be many, 239; wherefore the main support of the (independent!) child-bearing women will fall upon men. So again Charles Zueblin would get "economic independence" for married women by having the state require that "upon marriage, and subsequently on the birth of each child, the father" should "take out an insurance policy [and pay the premiums] providing annuities for wife and children," *The Effect on Women of Economic Independence*, American Journal of Sociology, March, 1909.

⁹⁵ Boston, 1898, 5th ed., 1911.

women, and generally in unduly minimising sex-differentiation in our species.⁹⁶ That error, not entertained by Ward, she has almost succeeded in making the starting point of contemporary feminism. There are two great subjects of her discourse — the sex-relation and the economic relation, so intimately connected that she frequently compounds them into one “sexuo-economic” relation, since ours is “the only animal species in which the sex-relation is also an economic relation” (p. 5). Our economic relation is different from that among animals, and therefore, in her opinion, wrong. For among animals, with few exceptions, and then only at certain periods, the female is independent of the male, but in the human species the female is dependent on the male (5-6, 18, 22, 95). Woman is reduced to the state of a domestic animal, like the horse, as in both cases there is no relation between the work they do and the support they receive (7, 12-13, *cf.* 118). Here Mrs. Gilman seems to overlook that horses receive only the minimum, but women often the maximum, of what men can give them, and that no horse at the head of a stable or barn has ever yet been seen. Mothers, she complains, work hard enough to provide themselves with an independent living, and yet they get only a dependent living (21); in which she cheats herself and would cheat her readers with a couple of words, since by “independent” she here means wage-earning and by “dependent living” donational support, notwithstanding that these terms might just as well be inverted, and yet, as used, the terms are intended to recommend the former way of getting a living, although ninety-nine women out of a hundred get a better living the latter way than they could any other. Now, further, this “abnormal” economic relation in the human species has produced another difference, likewise abnormal, between us and other animals, in the sexual relation (33, 39). Among animals the similar occupations of the sexes have kept them alike, with differences little more than the primary and those secondary ones which are directly necessary for mating, although she notices cases in which the male and the female are so divergent that naturalists have taken them for different species (41); but in our species the dependence of women has exaggerated the sex-distinction, since the female’s aim is not only to get a mate, but to get a livelihood (37-9), wherefore she is “over-sexed,” like milch cows, whose over-sexedness has likewise been produced by man for economic uses;^{96a} and the distinc-

⁹⁶ Above, p. 42.

^{96a} 43-4. — Here Vance Thompson has gone her one better, saying that man has shut woman up in a coop, gorged and fattened her, and made her into a Strasbourg goose — “all female” or “all sex,” as that fowl is “all liver.” *Woman*, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 31, 32, 38, 109, 114, 126, 144, 150, 157, 161, 191. He, too, follows Ward in maintaining that “biologically she [woman] is the race,” 24, although he rejects Ward’s theory of the male being an “afterthought,” 11.

tion has been carried to an excessive degree, disadvantageous to the race (32, 33, 37), though no proof is offered of this except the effeteness of certain upper-class ladies and oriental odalesques (*cf.* 45-6). To the rest of us the true sequence would seem to be that among the lower animals, where the sexes engage in the same occupations, they do so because they are alike; and so far as in mankind their occupations have become different (a secondary, if not a tertiary, sexual difference), it is because their primary sexual natures have become different (through the prolongation of gestation and lactation and the development of the menses). But Mrs. Gilman furthermore — and in this, too, following Ward⁹⁷ finds a reversal of what is said to be very common among animals, that among animals the female selects and the male is decked out in ornamental colours and tail-feathers, for attractive purposes, while with us the female is over-adorned and the male does the selecting; all which is treated as “peculiar” and “strange.”⁹⁸ That this reversal of ornamentation should itself be reversed, Mrs. Gilman does not go so far as to recommend; but she wishes the “selective power” to be restored to women, expecting all sorts of benefits therefrom.⁹⁹ There is little basis for anything here. Among animals, when two lions fight and the lioness goes off with the victor, she is hardly the selector: she could perforce do nothing else. The cows in a herd of ruminants have nothing to do with choosing the bull, who is determined in the combats between the males. When a partridge drums and several females answer the call, it is he who picks out the ones in the lot he likes best. Nor does the queen bee select the drone that flies highest and alone overtakes her.¹ We need not bother ourselves, therefore, about the reversal of sex-selection. Men by courting and women by consenting (or their parents courting or consenting for them) select, within the circles open to them, those who on various accounts they admire most among those who most admire them. Economic motives naturally

⁹⁷ She refers to his Forum article, “in which,” she says, “was clearly shown the biological supremacy of the female sex,” 171.

⁹⁸ 54-5, 95; 140. Also Rosa Mayreder considers the evolution of woman into “a type of the beautiful” to be “a subversion of the natural order of things,” *A Survey of the Woman Problem*, 126.

⁹⁹ 92. One reason is peculiar. “Men,” she says, “who are not equal to good fatherhood under such conditions, will have no chance to become fathers, and will die with general pity instead of living with general condemnation,” 186. The new conditions are that the father must contribute half to the support of the children and not at all to the support of the mother: he must merely be equal to her in earning capacity. As the test is to be much less severe than it is under present conditions, it would seem that fatherhood would only be eased under the new.

¹ Mrs. Gilman knows all this: see 110-11. Yet the “competition” of the males in combat or in other activities, there spoken of, is very different from the competition “in ornament” spoken of on p. 55. Darwin, of course, used female sexual selection only where he had reason to suppose it was exerted.

come into play in an economic age; and these can be eliminated, while the economic régime continues, only by reducing all incomes to a level and abolishing all classes, by doing which the gain, as we have seen, would be small compared with the harm done by such socialism. But Mrs. Gilman is a socialist, and has no fear. According to her, the economic difference has been carried furthest by man (8, 74), and the sex-distinction has gone furthest in woman (43). As a creature of sex, woman is superior, because in our species "the female has been left to be female and nothing else";² but man is more human, since he alone can engage in all "human" work, which Mrs. Gilman considers to be all work, except child-bearing; wherefore much of it has come to be wrongly considered "masculine," though it is just as much feminine.³ The two differentiations served their purpose in their day. The sex-difference demanding care of the children first produced love and altruism in the female, and made her superior to the male.⁴ But then her economic dependence on the male produced altruism also in him, and raised him again to her level (124-30, 131-5). This work is now done, and the differences are no longer needed (122, 136); wherefore the human species should abolish them and return to "the healthful equality of pre-human creatures" (72), growing "natural again" (306), especially the women becoming more human, by engaging in all "human" activities.⁵ This, in fact, is being done: the woman's movement has set in" (122), along with "the labour movement" (138). The process begins with the economic relation, by "the restoration of economic freedom to the female" (173). This is possible because the economic difference was not natural, or due to any "lack of faculty" in women or "inherent disability of sex" (9), young women having "the same energies and ambition" as young men (71), the same desire "to have a career of their own, at least for a while"! (152); but it is due to the selfishness of men, who have kept women back (cf. 262), not allowing them to do what themselves did.⁶ Now that

² 53. So Mrs. Jacobi had written of men being "accustomed to think of women as having sex, and nothing else," *"Common Sense" applied to Woman Suffrage*, 99.

³ 51. "There is nothing a he-bear can do as a bear which Mrs. Bear cannot do as well or better. In human society alone he can do anything and she nothing": report of a lecture in The New York Times, Feb. 26, 1914. For the error see above. P. 20.

⁴ Cf. Pearson: "That the past subjection of woman has tended largely to expand man's selfish instincts, I cannot deny; but may it not be that this very subjection has in itself so chastened woman, so trained her to think rather of others than of herself, that after all it may have acted more as a blessing than a curse to the world," *Ethic of Freethought*, 378.

⁵ Cf. Mrs. Jacobi, *op. cit.*, 100.

⁶ Man enslaved the female, 60; restricted her range, 64; forbade specialisation, 67; smothered her desire to expand, 70; denied her free productive expression, 117, 118, and "the enlarged activities which have developed intelligence" in him, 195. "Most human attributes," indeed, "were allowed to men and forbidden to women," 51, only "the same old channels" being still allowed to women as to their "primitive ancestors," 120.

men are no longer selfish, they will allow women to come forward: all activities, crafts, and trades, "all growth in science, discovery, government, religion," will be opened to women, as "should be" (62); and "a few generations will set them abreast of the age."⁷ The excess of the sexual difference will cease with the economic. And then woman, raised to man's level on the economic line, after having drawn him up to her level on the sexual, will bear no grudge for her long but temporary subjection, possessing full knowledge of its "sociological necessity" (129, *cf.* 134-7).

Here we have a woman-made philosophy of history — perhaps the first (for Eliza W. Farnham's is not worth considering), — and it is interesting. It is mainly inductive, going from the past trend of alleged events to the future. Mrs. Gilman admits that the primitive ages in which men and women roamed the woods in comparative equality and independence, after a little progress up from utter brutishness into mere savagery or barbarism, formed an almost stationary period of incalculable duration; that the progress which rose into civilisation, began when men subjected women, as she conceives it; and that civilisation has been made by men. Women, indeed, started the industries, for the sake of their children (126), but men perfected them. Her explanation is that women liked work and therefore remained content with it, but men disliked work and therefore invented labour-saving improvements (132); adding that men needed the spur of their passion for women, with consequent willingness to work for them and through them for their children: love, she quotes, makes the world go round, or, as she amends, has made men go round the world (133). The explanation is curious when we remember that the labour-disliking members of the species are represented as keeping the labour-liking members from labouring at the most productive jobs, notwithstanding that, according to Mrs. Gilman, women might just as well have laboured at them all along; wherein she really makes out the male members to be not so much selfish as stupid. However this be, why should there be a change now? Have men reached the end of their inventions? or become less stupid as well as less selfish? or have women changed their nature and begun to dislike work? Mrs. Gilman says "we know that it is time to change, principally because we are changing" (137). Then, recovering from this ineptitude, she says "the period of women's economic dependence is drawing to a close, because its racial usefulness is wearing out" (137-8). She thus attributes the need of a change to the process having gone too far: the dif-

⁷ 134; *cf.* above, p. 53, and for its error see pp. 27-8

ferentiation of the sexes has become excessive, wherefore it must be exchanged for another relation, of equality and independence, or the race will end. Other civilisations, she notes, have thus come to an end, through not adapting themselves; but ours, she opines, will not, but will go on much further, because it will make the change (140-4). "The time has come," she repeats, "when it is better for the world that women be economically independent, and therefore they are becoming so" (316). Yet she has said that such times arrived before, and women did not become so; then what guarantee is there that at present the movement of change, though entered upon, will be carried through? As a fact, such movements of change were commenced in the past and proceeded certain lengths, and only stopped because the civilisations went backward. Now, if the differentiation of the sexes, larger in the human species than in other animals, and necessary for lifting mankind into its position of superiority over other animals, has at times become excessive and consequently injurious, the correction would seem to be to lessen that excess and bring it back to a useful degree, not to abolish the difference altogether, which would bring mankind back to the condition of the other animals. Mrs. Gilman confuses us. She treats all the human differentiation of the sexes, so different from their status in other animals, as peculiar, abnormal, and excessive, merely in comparison with other animals, in spite of its serviceability in lifting the human species above other animals; and then again she finds an excessive, because injurious, amount of it in comparing mankind at one time and in one place with mankind at other times or in other places. This last excess is the only one that, according to her own principles, would need to be corrected, since it alone has done harm; whereas the other, which has raised mankind above the brutes, has done good, and therefore would seem to call for preservation.

There is another wider basis of induction, employed by Mrs. Gilman, which leads to the same conclusion. She notes that among the lowest animals, such as "rotifers, insects, and crustaceans," but illustrated most familiarly to us by the spiders and bees, the female is superior to the male, the males among them being much worse and more ignominiously treated (she also quotes the cirriped and spider stories) than human females have ever been (130-1, 134-5). Against this brutal treatment of the poor males by their superior females she makes no protest, probably because it is "natural." By the way, if the females of these species formed a commonwealth, would Mrs. Gilman and other naturalising suffragists maintain that they ought to admit the males, because of their being cirripedian or arachnidan beings, to

equality in the vote? Then come the higher animals, especially the birds and mammalia, among which the two sexes, she alleges, are equal and treat each other as such. In general, she says, "the female has been dominant for the main duration of life on earth. She has been easily equal [to the male] always up to our own race."⁸ Lastly in the upward sequence comes the human species, in which, after it left the condition of brutes living in hordes, the male became, and still is, superior to the female.⁹ What, then, is to produce a reversal of this progression, and bring back equality of the sexes? or could this be done without reducing the race to the primitive condition, destroying civilisation? This is the necessary inference at least if men are to give up their higher industries and sink back to the level of women; but not so, it may be said, if women are to show the same capacity for work and to level themselves up to men. The latter is Mrs. Gilman's claim, wherefore she speaks of the new relation between men and women as "a higher relation" than the old sexuo-economic one (142). The restrictions being taken off, women are to fly up like a released spring (*cf.* 317). This might happen if the restrictions were merely man-made and recently imposed, and women really, underneath a thin veneer of disuse, had the same capacity as men. That the subjection of women is only recent, is sometimes implied by Mrs. Gilman, as when she speaks of the women in the early German tribes within two thousand years, and even of our immediate ancestors in colonial days within two hundred years, as "comparatively free" and "in comparative equality" (46, 147); although her whole philosophy is that it began in primeval ages. Its root, the mother's care of her offspring, is said to date back, among our progenitors, perhaps to "the later reptiles";¹⁰ and in our species man's enslaving and feeding of the female is carried back to "the earliest beginnings" (64) in prehistoric times (60), since which, though "all astray," they have "laboured up together" through "slow and awful ages."¹¹ Not a word is offered in proof that Nature has not created the occasion for the economic relation peculiar to the human species,—perhaps, if she be providential, for the very benefit which Mrs. Gilman points out as produced thereby.¹² All that Mrs. Gilman does is to laugh at

⁸ 135; *cf.* Ward's Forum article, 171.

⁹ The falsity of her explanation of this we have already seen, above, pp. 51, 52.

¹⁰ 175. The later reptiles would seem to be those now living!

¹¹ See the poem, p. iv.

¹² "This," the slavery of women throughout the past ages, "was nature's plan for preserving and humanising and civilising the [human] race," says a follower, Gertrude S. Martin, in an article on *The Education of Women and Sex Equality*, in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Nov., 1914, p. 45. Nature may, of course, discard at one time what has been serviceable at another. But we need proof when a biological change is supposed. The enslavement of one race by another

the position (for she calls it "amusing") that "the function of maternity unfits a woman for economic production" (17). Of course nobody has said this thus absolutely, but only that that function does at certain times unfit her, and in general lessens her capacity, compared with man's, for economic production, especially of the strenuous nerve-racking kind required by modern methods.¹³ Mrs. Gilman would only kick against the pricks, if she should deny this. Therefore she says nothing further on the subject, except occasionally referring to the arduous labours of women in the past in those restricted spheres which some of them are now trying to leave.

Nor is Mrs. Gilman's statement about the excessiveness of the differentiation between men and women either accurate or borne out by facts. She treats all women since the dawn of history as parasitic, because dependent (62, *cf.* 118), notwithstanding that in spite of their "dependence" they are "overworked" (169-70); and yet in proof of such extreme parasitism, treated as general (141), she can cite only the cases of idle daughters and wives among the rich (170), among whom male parasites may also be found. The term "dependent" is used, as already hinted, in two senses—the literal of being supported by another without any work of one's own, and a metaphorical, of not receiving wages or a fixed price for the work one does or the articles one produces; and the disrepute properly attaching to the former is falsely cast over the latter. Parasitism is undoubtedly on the increase, due to expanding wealth; and it is increasing more among women, due to the growing kindness of men for women. And this growing kindness is indicative of exactly the opposite of an excessive differentiation going on between the sexes, indicating instead a *rapprochement*, which is taking place now as it took place in other civilisations when they reached their climax. Mrs. Gilman very curiously refers to the Persian civilisation, which was older than the Greek, as having a more "highly differentiated sexuality," and yet speaks of the Persian men as having "womanly feebleness" (72-3). The Greeks under Alexander did, in fact, liken the Persian men to women.¹⁴ Yet precisely this movement of assimilation, which has led other civilisations into decline, is what Mrs. Gilman is recommending for us. This movement in our day has already been followed by a falling off of the birth-rate among those peoples and classes who have carried it furthest.

is no longer useful, and civilised peoples have given it up. Still, nature has not yet made the negroes equal to the whites.

¹³ Wherefore all sorts of laws are enacted, often at the behest of women, to regulate the labour of *women and children* (note the connection), different from the case of men.

¹⁴ Quintus Curtius, III. 25. Even earlier: see Xenophon, *Hellenica*, III. iv. 19.

Yet Mrs. Gilman has the face to say it is the economic dependence of women on men (which has existed since civilisation began) that "is the steadily acting cause of a pathological maternity and a decreasing birth-rate."¹⁵ In detail she notes such factors as the excessive delicacy of some women produced by idleness, which renders child-bearing dangerous — the detraction from the charms of society-women caused by child-bearing, wherefore it is avoided¹⁶ — the increasing weight of care upon men, which leads them to defer marriage and to dread the burden of children, especially in cities;¹⁷ all which are developments of advanced civilisation, but are no more essential to the economic relation between men and women than were the earlier conditions when the women worked hard at home, were strong, and bore children easily, who were a help rather than a burden to their parents. "The more freely the human mother mingles in the natural industries of a human creature," says Mrs. Gilman, "as in the case of the savage woman, the peasant woman, the working-woman everywhere who is not overworked, the more rightly she fulfils these functions" (182). Her examples are good, but they are all the industries of "dependent" women under the direction and care of fathers or husbands, and not the "independent" or wage-earning labours now recommended. She cites the goodness of women's work clearly marked off from man's work, as a reason why women's work should no longer be distinguished from man's work! To some recent fads and fancies, found only in certain circles in very small parts of the world (compared with the whole), she attaches quite undue importance. The objection of some women to asking for money, and the custom of some fathers and husbands [in parts of our country] giving their daughters and wives "a definite allowance, a separate bank account, something which they can play is all their own," is cited as exhibiting "the spirit of personal independence [save the mark!] in women to-day," and as "sure proof that a change has come" (152). Further proof is found in the "new women of to-day," the "Gibson girls" for instance, who are declared far superior to "the Evelinas and Arabellas of the last century" (148-9), although it was those women "of earlier times" who reared large families and permitted civilised races to expand and to colonise distant regions, while our gorgeously developed athletic women are almost like

¹⁵ 169. Here she is followed by Mrs. Hale, who makes the strange statement that feminism "points to the utter stagnation that has overtaken every civilisation that has so limited [to child-bearing and household labours] the activities of women, whether the Greek or Roman, Oriental or Mohammedan," *What Women Want*, 166, as if those civilisations did not advance when they did so, and decline when they no longer did so!

¹⁶ "It takes a year, a whole year, out of life," Mrs. Wharton represents her heroine as lachrimosely lamenting, in *The Custom of the Country*, 184.

¹⁷ 45-6, 169, 192-3; 92-3, 169.

American beauty roses in their barrenness. But this is no matter. The idea of "the scientific dictator, in all sobriety" prescribing "that the average married pair should have four children merely to preserve our present population," she smilingly scoffs at, finding in it no meaning except that two of the children are supposed to perish (160). She forgets that allowance must be made for those who do not marry as well as for some unavoidable deaths and deficiencies. *A fortiori* the idea that, to outstrip the uncivilised, the civilised peoples need to do more than merely keep up their present numbers, receives no attention. Americans apparently are to leave the peopling of this hemisphere to foreigners; and if England wishes to fill up South Africa with white people, she must leave the job to the Boers — or to Germans!

There is still to notice Mrs. Gilman's account of the future. We have seen that the sexuo-economic relation is to be replaced by a "higher" one, which is, first of all, the economic independence of women. Women are to be dependent on their parents only as men are, but they are to be independent of their husbands either by their inheritance or by their own efforts. They are to support themselves by earning wages or by conducting business on their own account. They will, however, Mrs. Gilman believes, "naturally choose those professions which are compatible with motherhood" (245-6). The only reason given for this sweeping statement is, that "if women did choose professions unsuited to maternity, Nature would quietly extinguish them by her unvarying process" (246); which, as we have already noted, is true on the stage of the world at large, but might be calamitous to a nation that carried the experiment too far. And Mrs. Gilman quietly ignores the fact that if there are professions which women cannot engage in without coming to an end, women are not economically equal to men, and that the inequality with men depends on the number of such professions, into which she does not inquire; for if they are many, it is nonsense to talk, in the way she does, of "the workshops of mankind" being woman's sphere as well as man's" (313). All the same, as "economically free agents," independent of their husbands, they are expected to do "half duty in providing" for their children (186). Perhaps this is meant only in a general way, and, too, on the supposition that women turn out capable of winning or "making" just, or nearly, as much money as men. For if a woman who earns little marries a man who earns much, and if men generally do earn more, it would not seem just to demand an equal contribution from her for the support of her and his children. Under social-

ism, of course, this difficulty would not occur, since the incomes of husband and wife would be the same without regard to what they really earned. But without unduly putting her socialism forward, Mrs. Gilman describes the future households as conducted on the same scientific principles as industries now are, being enlarged and systematized. Cooking, for instance, is no more a family function than weaving or spinning, and like them will be banished from the home, and be conducted on a large scale, either on the ground floor of immense apartment houses, or in a central building in the midst of cottages.¹⁸ All housework will be specialised, other women being set free to do other work, thus increasing the productive power of the world (245); for, she says elsewhere, "a house does not need a wife any more than it does a husband."¹⁹ So, too, the upbringing of babies and the education of children — this will be done collectively, socially, by specialists, with great gain, since some women are capable of bringing forth fine children, but not of educating them properly, which can be better done by other women (283), whose work, like other original labour, is a higher function, being collective, social, human, while child-bearing is merely an individual, personal, animal function (74, 194, 183, cf. 105). "Even kittens may be mothers," says Mrs. Gilman.²⁰ Women, as human beings, it is implied, have wider functions.²¹ All this is but extending the principle of large public schools to the care of infants (286), ousting the mother, and giving her an opportunity to do something else. But whether men and women will desire to have children

¹⁸ 240-2, 207. Similarly Lily Braun, *Die Frauenfrage*, 196-8. So Bebel, above, ii. 41. Mrs. Gallichan points out the prior existence of such abodes among the Pueblo and Creek Indians in America — primitive peoples living under mother-right; and thinks it noteworthy that it is women who are now again desiring such a way of living: *The Condition of Women in Primitive Society*, 143. She overlooks that the idea was originated by male socialists.

¹⁹ *The Home*, New York, 1903, p. 101.

²⁰ In a lecture, reported in the papers, February, 1914. Cf. Weininger: "Mother love is an instinctive and natural impulse, and animals possess it in a degree as high as that of human beings," *Sex and Character*, 226,—higher, he might have said, than some women, the very ones Mrs. Gilman is extolling. And yet, of course, true maternal affection no animal mother has as the human mother has (or can have, and ought to have). "Before all other things in life," wrote an anonymous author on *Modern Women* in the London Saturday Review (p. 303 of the New York reprint, 1868), "maternity demands unselfishness in women; and this is just the one virtue of which women have least at the present time." Accordingly the tendency among feminists is to rank maternal love (which ever gives, and asks "nothing in return") below marital love (which is reciprocal)—of "two pure souls fused into one by an impassioned love": see a quotation in Mrs. Johnson's *Woman and the Republic*, 312. In which they were preceded by the communist Noyes, who got it from the Bible, because maternity came only after the fall: repeated in his *History of American Socialisms*, 633. Also Mill, or his wife, spoke derogatively of maternity as an "animal function," *Dissertations*, iii. 109.

²¹ It is of these women with wider functions, "to be found in certain classes to-day," that Saleeby says, when they become "imitation mothers (no longer mammalia)" — or half mothers, as Favorinus implied (see above, i. 110n.), who is here quoted by Saleeby,—they "should be ashamed to look a tabby-cat in the face," *Parenthood and Race Culture*, 313-14.

that are then to be reared at their expense by others, is not questioned; or if the expense is to be borne by the state, whether they may not overdo the thing, or perhaps (by preventive measures) entirely abandon it, is likewise left out of view. Mrs. Gilman does not share the "absurd" fear that then will be needed "either bribe or punishment to force women to true marriage with independence" (91), because to say otherwise is to belie the praise "we adoringly sing to the power of love" (300), and she has made plain to herself that a "lasting monogamous sex-union *can* exist without bribe and purchase" (115). That there will be sex-unions, monogamous at a time, we may of course be pretty sure; but how "true" and "lasting" they will be, is another matter. Love will be "pure," she tells us, because purified of the economic motive (300, 304); but whether it will be purified of the sensual motive (or does "pure" marriage mean marriage without children?), is the main question, and to prove this her argument seems to run as follows: "The immediately acting cause of sex-attraction," she recognises, "is sex-distinction. The more widely the sexes are differentiated, the more forcibly they are attracted to each other" (31). Here she agrees with the apostle of romantic love, Mr. Finck; who, however, on that account desires the distinction to be increased in order that the attraction may be increased.²² But Mrs. Gilman wishes the opposite. The distinction is to be decreased, and then the attraction will be decreased. Love will then give way to friendship, which, she says, is a "higher force, in the sense of belonging to a later race-development" (305) — a statement with which Mr. Finck would not agree, as he holds that romantic love is the latest development.²³ Thus the new sex-relation is to be friendship, which is rather an "inter-human love" than an "inter-sexual" (142): woman is to "stand beside man as the comrade of his soul."²⁴ If the scheme were to be fully carried out, and if it could be, we might expect some such result. Men and women would be companions with one another,

²² *Primitive Love and Personal Beauty*, 175-6, 290. The opposite he calls the "political virago movement," 175-6, 542. Similarly in *Primitive Love and Love Stories*: "Men and women fall in love with what is unlike, not with what is like them," 66.

²³ Not altogether correctly. When he invented his theory, he was ignorant of the late Greek erotic literature. Romantic love is a late development toward the culminating period of civilisation, and in its decline, accompanying the refinement of luxury. It existed in the last periods of the Greco-Roman civilisation, though it may perhaps reach a higher pitch in ours. The same mistake is made by Emil Lucka in his *Eros*, English translation, New York, 1915. His highest love, supposed to be only recently evolved, is nothing but the unproductive love which precedes and attends the down-grade of civilization.

²⁴ 237. So Mary Wollstonecraft had written: "We [women] shall then [when admitted by men into "rational fellowship, instead of slavish obedience"] love them with true affection," *Vindication*, ch. IX. end. This is better than talking about "purity." Mary Wollstonecraft also expected that women would then tend their own children.

as men are with men, and women with women. They would, according to the supposition, differ from each other so little²⁵ as to awaken little desire in them, except possibly only at a season of rut, as among some of the aboriginal tribes of America, India, and Australia,²⁶ and as was likely in the primitive mother-age;²⁷ or would produce children only from a sense of duty, or under state compulsion, like the socialised people of Paraguay, where the married couples had to be waked half an hour before the rising time. Among such creatures free love would produce no more disturbance than it does among animals; and marriage, being nothing but the comradeship of friends, of no earthly concern to anybody else, would need no ceremony, no law, no contract, no anything. But we know that this scheme cannot be carried through, because, as Mr. Finck says, of "the constant elimination of the masculine women."²⁸ Yet there are some few men and women already suited for it, and perhaps a hundred thousandth part of the female portion of the human species, "in the most advanced races" (140), those nearest to decline, have something of the sort in mind. If, then, any nation's institutions were made over, or abandoned, and accommodated to this minute minority, while other women are, and will continue to be, sexually different from men and therefore objects to them of sexual attraction (and also of sexual repulsion), and consequently the great majority of mankind are unsuited to such freedom of intercourse (of pairing and also of parting), there would soon be such irregularities and disorders as would ultimately ruin that nation, causing women meanwhile to be the greatest sufferers.

Mrs. Schreiner in her book on *Woman and Labour* (London, 1911) likewise shows fondness for naturalising. She finds her model especially among birds, asserting that in certain of their species (all of which abandon their young as soon as fledged) "sex has attained its highest æsthetic, and one might almost say intellectual, development on earth, a point of development to which no human race has yet reached, and which represents the realisation of the highest sexual ideal which haunts humanity" (5, cf. 193). Here she is merely expanding upon the naturalist Brehm, who had written that "real genuine marriage can be

25 "If the viragoes had their way," says Finck, "men and women would in course of time revert to the condition of the lowest savages, differing only in their organs of generation," *Primitive Love and Love Stories*, 66.

26 Cf. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 28-30.

27 So Pearson, *Chances of Death*, ii. 104-5. He refers especially to the survival of it in the Walpurgisnacht orgies and May-day licentiousness, 21, 25ff. Cf. the reviling of a character in Ben Johnson's *Epicoene, or the Silent Woman*, act. IV., sc. i.: "You sons of noise and tumult, begot on an ill May-day." Cf. above, p. 88n.

28 *Romantic Love and Personal Beauty*, 191, cf. 253.

found only among birds.”²⁹ She has also much more about the male in some low forms of animals doing work in rearing the young which we consider “inherent” in the female, and about “the female form exceeding the male in size and strength and often in predatory instinct in the great majority of species on the earth” (4, *cf.* 76n., 192); all which is intended to prepare us for a new mixing of the sexes in our species, but wherein she overlooks the concomitant difference that in these animals the female spends little energy in developing the eggs and none, or no more than the male, in rearing the young, while in the human species the female does spend much energy in these occupations, from which the male is free. She is attracted, furthermore, especially to the study of parasitic animals and plants, as she takes them for the prototypes of what would be the case with women but for the protest made against such a condition by the present feminist movement; of which more will be said in the next chapter. She even goes beyond Mrs. Gilman, who wishes women to become *human* again, for she wishes them to be *virile*.³⁰ Both these feminists think the world is wrong and has been wrong; but Mrs. Gilman, with a little wavering, thinks it has been wrong since mankind left the savage state, all through its period of civilising itself, while Mrs. Schreiner thinks it began to go wrong only about three centuries ago in our age, having gone wrong also in older civilisations toward their close. Here Mrs. Schreiner is more correct than Mrs. Gilman, who is often confused between the past and present behaviour of the upper and lower classes. Both wish to return to the early condition of undifferentiated equality of the sexes. Marriage, then, for Mrs. Schreiner also, will become “a fellowship of comrades” (269), and “the new woman’s conception of love between the sexes” will be “wholly of an affection between equals” (271); for what the man’s conception of it will be, does not seem to matter. Here again is the ideal of friendship in the place of love. The objection that there may possibly be a diminution of sex-attractiveness she meets by referring to the past, when the hard manual labour of the women did not unfit them for men’s love (236). She

²⁹ Brehm’s *Bird-life*, English translation, London, 1874, p. 285. Brehm referred only to its continuance till the death of one of the parties (with several known exceptions, and with little proof of its generality), hardly to the widow’s speedy consolation and taking up even with the slayer of her husband (see p. 290), like Anne in Shakespeare’s *Richard III.* More correctly Aimé Martin cited birds as animals that “have no family, no true parental affection.” Yet the constancy of *some* birds, such as pigeons or doves, to a single mate, has from of old been held up as a model to mankind, as noted, *e.g.*, by Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, II. 23. As for others, Higginson thinks the treatment by the hornbill of his setting mate an extravagant model; but adds that “Nature has kindly provided various types of bird-households to suit all varieties of taste,” *Works*, iv. 129–32.

³⁰ So, frequently: 65, 80, 83, 86, 90, 91, 178 and n., 245, 246, 247, 271.

overlooks that in the past referred to, men and women had separate work, whereas her ideal is of their working side by side, as we shall see; and if in the past women were virile compared with our women, the men then were still more virile compared with our men, and, too, their love was not of the high order now contemplated. And against the objection that the free and independent women will not be willing to marry, she urges that "there is no ground for supposing that woman's need of man's comradeship would be diminished" (247-8). On the contrary, she says, "it is a movement of the woman toward the man" that is now going on, "of the sexes toward closer union" (265, *cf.* 272, 289). But the closer union is of greater companionship in work and in play, equal, common, promiscuous, like that of many friends toward many friends, ever changing; not the exclusive love of lovers, made permanent in wedlock. Indeed, Mrs. Schreiner depicts a coming condition when only a portion of women are to be child-bearers, and then only for half-a-dozen years (70, *cf.* 60-3). Because women are to do what has hitherto been men's work, evidently they are to have their own peculiar labour made as light as possible, and most of them are to be sterile, like the working female bees. And the alleviation may very well go on to excess, as here; for in the case supposed the few women devoted to race-propagation for a few years (very unlike the queen-bee, who makes up for the other females) could hardly have more than three or four children apiece. This would be systematised race-suicide. If Mrs. Schreiner should convert to her views her own country, England would soon cease to be. But the rest of the world would not stop on that account, and the British isles would soon be occupied by another race, with virile men and with women willing to be women.

Against such "amaternal" views,³¹ as she calls them, from within the woman movement Ellen Key raises her voice in pro-

³¹ Another amaternalist, because an apaternalist, Otto Weininger, in his *Sex and Character*, despite his opposition to the woman's movement, 71, and to granting the franchise to women (any more than to children and imbeciles), 339, may be classed among the feminists (and the feminist W. L. George bases feminism on Weininger's theory of the sexes, *Feminist Intentions*, Atlantic Monthly, Dec., 1913, p. 721), since he, too, has a solution of the woman question — one which is also a solution of the man question! His is that men should refrain from sexual intercourse with women — and let the race go, for the continuance of which we have no moral duty, 346. Men should refrain, because such intercourse is immoral; and it is immoral, because in it a man makes use of a woman as a means instead of an end, 337. This is but a misapplication of Kant's well-known ethical principle. Kant himself never so applied it, and if this application were correct, it would lead to the condemnation of kissing, and even of hand-shaking. We have a right to use others in exchange for allowing them to use us. We may hire servants, though we ought not to force any one into servitude. In sexual matters Kant's principle only forbids rape. Weininger's errors, standing out in strong contrast with some of those still to be described (especially Mrs. Gallichan's), are instances of the aberrations of the age, by himself described, 329-30, but without his apprehending that they mainly belong to the culminating period of an excessive civilisation.

test. Almost alone among the feminists she lays stress upon the unlikeness of men and women, and wishes their different functions and occupations to be respected, emphasising the duty of motherhood on the woman's part. Still, though saying nothing about any natural equality of the sexes, she insists upon the need of the abolition, "on both sides, of every external privilege," and the establishment of their complete equality "in legal right and personal freedom."³² For her, as for the rest, the main object of the woman movement is to make the wife "of age," freeing her from her husband's guardianship, and making her "legally his equal," or setting up both "absolutely free and equal," as much for his benefit as for hers (41, 217, 110). Woman, moreover, is to have every "human right" as well without as within marriage (141), and, furthermore, she needs to be emancipated, not merely "as a human being," but "as a woman" (56). Ellen Key perceives the error of the recent change in the woman movement, from demanding equal rights, to demanding equal functions, similar application, and actual sameness with men (181). She recognises the danger of the increasing disinclination of women for maternity, and of its encouragement by the amaternal theory (172-3) of those whom she regards as the "ultra" or "extreme" feminists (127, 222, *cf.* 158), such as Mrs. Gilman and Rosa Mayreder (and she would probably have included Mrs. Schreiner but for the asynchronism); and nothing could be better than her denunciation of their philosophy (176-93). In her opinion it is not necessary for law to limit the choice of labour, as nature does that herself (182); for nature originally made the division of labour between men and women, principally with a view to woman's function of motherhood (186); and "on the whole," and "upon a higher plane," "the division of labour must remain the same as that which has hitherto existed," since "it is necessary for the higher ends of culture that woman shall in an ever more perfect manner fulfil what is her most exalted task, the bearing and rearing of the new generation" (187, *cf.* 215). Hence the error of those feminists who would have women compete with men, working side by side with them in occupations outside the home, and would repair this lack of home by co-operative housekeeping and social institutions for the care of children (41-2); which competition and outside work is an evil both to the women and to the men, lessening the latter's ability to enter into matrimony, employing paid labour for what should be the labour of love, and causing woman "to lose that character by which she gives happiness to man and receives it

³² P. 213 of *The Woman Movement*, 1909, English translation, New York, 1912.

from him" (124, 106, 126). Women, she says, should be employed only "in industrial fields of work where their powers are as productive as possible, with the least possible loss in time and strength; above all, in those fields where the work requires no long preparation and the dexterity does not suffer by interruptions" (42-3).

So far Ellen Key deserves the epithet of a "moderate" feminist which she arrogates (*cf.* 181); but hardly so will we consider her when we follow her to the end. She has demanded two things: that the wife shall be free and equal with her husband, and therefore independent of him, and that she shall not be employed in work unsuitable to the function of maternity, at least during the years properly devoted to that function. These two demands are incompatible, and she recognises there is no remedy "under the present economic system" (124). These objects can be realised only under "another possible ideal of the future," when "production is determined no longer by capitalistic interests, but by social-political interests" (42). Ellen Key also is a socialist, but her socialism is the kind usually denominated state socialism; and what she says about it is confined to the treatment of women. Women who have not children are to be employed (by the state or otherwise) in the fields already described as appropriate to them, but women who have children are to be "remunerated by the state" (43). Society by thus "recompensing the vocation of mother" will give her "a full equivalent for self-supporting labour" (163). The plan is of "a paternity assessment upon society as a contribution to the maintenance of children and a compensation of motherhood by the state" (149-50n.), "the service of mother receiving the honour and oblation that the state now gives to military service" (218). This will "restore, upon a higher plane, the arrangement which is already found in the lower stages of civilisation, the arrangement which nature herself created: that mother and child are most closely bound together, that they together, above all, form the family, in which the father enters [or not] through the mother's or his own free will."³³ For "then marriage will signify only the living together [the mating] of two people upon the ground of love and the common parenthood of children. Maternal right will in law take the place of paternal right, but in reality the father will continue to retain all the influence upon the children which he personally is able to exert, just as has hitherto been the case with the mother" (150n.). In fact, marriage will then be a wholly perfunctory

³³ Through his knowledge that he is the father, she should have said,—a knowledge which nature accords only to human beings, for them alone to make use of.

affair: the condition of maternity will entitle the woman to the state's support, and no questions need be asked about the father (except possibly as to his health). For child-bearing and -rearing by the mother is one thing, her living with the child's father is another thing, and if the state steps in and severs the necessary connection between the two, they may or may not co-exist any more: that will be a matter of indifference. At all events, they must not co-exist unless the mother so wills. The child will always go with its mother: that it should have a father, is not considered of much consequence.³⁴ The gains summed up are that no mother will ever be deprived of her children, and will nevermore, for her own and her children's maintenance, need to live with a brutal [or in any wise uncongenial] man. Curiously, it is concluded that there will be no fathers who avoid their economic duties toward their children (*ib.*); for the very sufficient reason that they have no such duties! Another advantage is that "there will be no more illegitimate children" (*ib.*), as there will be no distinction between child-bearing within and without marriage,—and practically no marriage at all, but only cohabitation while both parents agree. Child-bearing is one of the rights of woman as a human being,—rather as an animal being. On this, this "moderate" feminist insists. "All woman's rights," she says, "have little value, until this one thing is attained: that a woman who through her illegitimate motherhood has lost nothing of her personal worth, but on the contrary has proved it, does not forfeit social esteem" (171). There will be "a new morality" (223), and its arrival is "only a question of time," and "within a century" people will smile at our doubts on the subject (217).

So Ellen Key brings us back to a position little different from Grant Allen's. Women will do the light work they are capable of, and those with children will be supported by the state, that is, primarily by the men who do the hard work. Women, of course, in this plan as in all others, are to have all political rights, including the suffrage, although this is not insisted on,³⁵ and their election to office during motherhood is deprecated (27, 130-6); but, as it is acknowledged that they cannot support themselves as well as men, and need men's supplementary support, room is left for the claim, which men will not shut their eyes to, that men have a

³⁴ And all that has been gained to humanity by the knowledge of paternity may be abandoned!

³⁵ In 1896 Ellen Key attacked the suffragists for forgetting the maternal rights of women in their race for political and economic rights. But in 1905 she made a public statement of her allegiance to woman suffrage: Katherine Anthony, *Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia*, 211-13, who, in her zeal for the latter cause, characterises Ellen Key as "the 'wise fool' of the woman movement."

better right to the direction of affairs than they. Men, though supporting children in general, are supposed to be willing to give up all rights over them, and to renounce having any children they can call their own, returning to the mother-right (and paternity-ignorance) of primitive times, though on the "higher plane" to which the efforts principally of men have raised women, and which consists in forgetting the means whereby the elevation was attained. And although women are to remain different from men, and therefore attractive to men, it is expected that this system of promiscuity will work smoothly and satisfactorily to all concerned! and the children who have a mother but whose father will be the state, are to be as well brought up as children are now who have a real father to boot! Surely if our present individualism *à deux* must give way to something else, it will not be to this, or the state that makes the exchange will itself give way to those which do not.

A maternalist, if not also a paternalist, is the physiologist Forel, whose comprehensive work on *The Sexual Question* contains many wise suggestions, but also some very deleterious matter. In it he advocates an approach toward free love,³⁶ and a return to many of the practices and excesses of the matronymic period. He considers "the most advantageous form of marriage for the future" to be "a kind of free monogamy (eventually [with permissive] polygamy), accompanied by obligations relative to the procreation of children and to the children procreated. Polyandry should only have an accessory right to existence in certain pathological or exceptional cases" (182). His principle, in agreement with Bebel's (and Pearson's), we have already seen.³⁷ More fully expressed, it is given thus: "Penal justice has only the right to intervene [in the sexual province] in cases where individuals or society are injured, *or run the risk of being injured*" (401). The latter proviso is too lightly taken. He does not think a third party [the child] is injured, provided the law puts certain obligations, mostly of a pecuniary sort, upon its unassociated parents. For he admits that "one of the principal tasks of man's sexual morality will always be to restrain his erotic polygamous desires, for the simple reason that they are especially apt to injure the rights and the welfare of others" (455); wherefore it is the duty of the state to penalise such offences. Or if undesired children were always avoided, by the common use of anti-conceptional measures, which he describes and recommends (although that part of his work is omitted in the

³⁶ Pp. 371, 377, 384-5, 525, of Rebman's edition of C. F. Marshall's translation.

³⁷ Above, ii. 43.

American edition, under our laws of freedom of the press!), he does not sufficiently consider what risk of injury would be involved to the nation that falls into these ways. In one place he says: "If the objection is raised that this [obligation of caring for the children every one is free to procreate] would lead immoral people to avoid [by anti-conceptual measures] the procreation of children so as to enjoy more varied sexual pleasure, I reply that this would be beneficial; for this anti-social class of individuals would be eliminated by sterility" (387). But immorality of this sort — anti-social selfishness — is in nine cases out of ten an acquired habit, which is not transmitted by heredity, so that from this point of view there is no need of eliminating such persons, and harm may be done, because they may have other good transmissible qualities. This is a matter of education, to which Forel's own doctrine may contribute, and it lies beyond the domain of heredity. What Forel here says puts him, for the nonce, in the class of "superficial prattlers" of whom we have quoted him as speaking.³⁸

And now comes along the irrepressible George Bernard Shaw, who in the Preface to his amusing play entitled *Getting Married*, tirades against "the licentiousness of marriage"³⁹ and the intolerableness of tying a woman for life to a man who may commit murder;⁴⁰ and under the caption of "The Old Maid's Right to Motherhood" asserts that "the right to bear a child, perhaps the most sacred of all woman's rights,⁴¹ is not one that should have any condition attached to it such as being saddled with the obligation to be the servant of a man, except in the interest of race welfare"; and in spite of this proviso, which would have provided him with a very plain reason, did he not shut his eyes to it from all but the eugenic point of view, and in spite of the fact that every right without exception is subject to conditions, expresses his entire inability to answer the question why "the taking of a husband should be imposed" on certain women, who dislike the domestic habits of men, etc., "as the price of their right to maternity" (153-4, 148). Reversely, of course, though Mr.

³⁸ Above, p. 28n.

³⁹ Pp. 122-8 of Brentano's edition. Cf. *Man and Superman*.

⁴⁰ P. 122. The woman then suffers vicariously. But another may be honoured vicariously when her husband does a noble deed — e.g., the former Mrs. now Lady Scott. The "for better, for worse" is double-edged. The choice must lie between getting either honour or dishonour as the case may be, or getting neither. Probably most honest women would choose the former, on the expectation that their own choice would turn out well. Cf. above, p. 124. As for licentiousness in marriage, that can hardly be touched except by the parties concerned, and their physicians.

⁴¹ Note that Shaw here concedes that women have rights of their own not possessed by men, besides the one here mentioned. Then men have rights peculiarly theirs, not possessed by women, besides the one corresponding to the one here mentioned. Where, then, is the equality of the sexes?

Shaw seems to overlook it, a bachelor must have the right of fatherhood without the obligation of being saddled with a wife whose domestic ways he may not like: he might contract with one or more women for a child from each (with a contingency clause about twins), pay them, take the issue, and, with the help of trained nurses, raise a family of motherless children, with the advantage, if he likes, of having them all of the same age.⁴² Evidently the state has a right, and duty, to put a finger in the pie here; which is just what it has done everywhere. Keeping the form of marriage, however, Mr. Shaw would get rid of its substance by means of perfectly free divorce, at the desire of either party, without anybody asking why,—“as easy, as cheap, and as private” as the marriage itself (203). “To impose a continuance of marriage on people who have ceased to desire to be married” he thinks as bad as would be to impose marriage on them against their will in the first place; while divorce by the action of either party he thinks no worse than is refusal by one party in the first place (181). Each must be free to discard the other when tired of him or her (182). A woman, then, might marry one day, conceive, and divorce the next day, and have a child without even the illegitimacy which Ellen Key would legitimise.⁴³ In the case of the matrimonially inclined woman that is discarded by her husband, Mr. Shaw says nothing about alimony; but he has in mind another arrangement which dispenses with that. This is our old friend, the economic independence of women, to be achieved for them by the state under socialism, after liberalism emancipates them politically (173, 183). “Until the central horror of the dependence of women on men is done away with” (he means the dependence of individual on individual, for that of all on all cannot possibly be done away with), until then, he says, “family life will never be decent” (164), and “we shall have to maintain marriage as slavery” (182); for the sexual relations may be made “decent and honourable [only] by making women economically independent of men.”⁴⁴ Yet if they then *may* be decent, he offers no reason for supposing they *will* be decent. It is the indecency of loveless marriage that shocks these modern prudes: for the indecencies committed by lovers under no

⁴² Cf. above, p. 132 below.

⁴³ Shaw would get the same promiscuity even more directly. “What we need,” he says in *Sociological Papers*, 1904, p. 75, “is freedom for people who have never seen each other before and never intend to see one another again, to produce children under certain public conditions, without loss of honour.” Every great man might then have innumerable children; for eugenic women would come to him, as breeders bring their mares to a famous stallion, to have children by him. His time, indeed, might be so much occupied in this way, that he would soon cease to be a great man.

⁴⁴ 204. Cf. Pearson above, p. 122n.; who also speaks of “the pure gratification of sexual appetite,” *Ethic of Freethought*, 406.

restraint they have no sensibility. Their refinement is also shown by the fact that not only Shaw, but Grant Allen before him, see indelicacy in requiring the bride to give her consent in a public ceremony.⁴⁵ A society may grow too fine to live in this coarse world.⁴⁶ But in general, says our iconoclast, "until we abolish poverty it is impossible to push rational measures of any kind very far" (202). Let us, then, wait.

In the last remarks we have our finger on the core of much of the latter-day (a few years ago it would have been called *fin-de-siècle*) feminism, sounded by men and echoed by women. The canker gnawing there is the over refinement of feeling, running into sentimentality, that accompanies excessive luxury. Feeling is to be the guide, and nobody is to be compelled to do what he or she dislikes. I am not to inflict pain on another, if possibly avoidable; but at all events another is not to inflict pain on me, much less myself on myself. Hence I am not to be bound, if any obligation no longer pleases me. In freeing myself I may inflict pain on the other party; but consistency is restored by granting the same permission to him or her, if he or she happened first to desire the release. I will let every one else be selfish, if they will let me be selfish. This is the golden rule of the new morality. Each one is to live his or her own life, and let others live theirs. Each is to look after his or her own self. Each is to develop his or her own personality. Each — each — each, — the world is to consist of eaches! Thus in general, if any bargain once entered upon becomes in any way distasteful, there must be some way of getting out of it, else — so people now talk — one is not free, but enslaved. Obligations are obligations, to be sure, while they last; but every obligation must be dissolvable by incurring some slight penalty, mostly of a pecuniary nature, especially if this be nominated in the bond, or generally understood. If the one party breaks the contract, the other party is liberated. Hence every marriage, being regarded as a mere contract, can be unloosed when the one party desires and the other is willing, by the one breaking and the other denouncing it. Or, if only the one is anxious to withdraw from an agreement that has become irksome, provided he or she will satisfy obligations that have been promised to the other, and assumed, or ordered by the state, toward third parties (the offspring), which, however, need not be forthcoming, the other, though unwilling, must not be allowed to hold

⁴⁵ *The Woman Who Did*, 85. They both probably got the idea from the carping Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xxix. n. 15.

⁴⁶ Yet, as we know, qualities tend to run into their opposites. For Forel "every pregnancy and every birth" — whether or no the accidental result of libidinous indulgence — should be "looked upon by society with honour and respect," *The Sexual Question*, 417.

her or him in bondage by denying the release. The yoke of duty is no longer pressed down: duty belonged to the old morality, and is now discarded.⁴⁷ Uppermost now is the sense of the agreeable, and the desire to avoid present pain,—these form the cornerstone of the new morality.⁴⁸ The old belief that marriage is a social duty for the procreation of children, the perpetuation of the family, the increase and improvement of society, and the safety of one's country, no longer holds. In its place marriage is to be a union of friends, to which the procreation of children is only incidental (and perhaps accidental),—a commingling of souls, it is described as being, though we all know that there is to remain one thing from the old, the commingling of bodies, legalised during the continuance of the connubial state, till divorce separates the parties for other unions and more comminglings. Again as in ancient Rome, the old *conjugium* is being abandoned for a mere *concubitus*.⁴⁹ If these unions for pleasure, instead of duty, are anything else than legalised harlotry, it is difficult to see the distinction.⁵⁰ That love alone sanctifies sexual intercourse, is absolutely false. What sanctifies (and sanctions) sexual intercourse, is the acceptance by both parties, before all the world, of certain permanent obligations toward each other and toward the offspring that are to be produced. Without such acceptance before all the world of these obligations, the more the parties love each other, the more indecent is their sexual intercourse. Just the opposite is the new view. According to it, the marital relation must be enjoyable to both parties, or (so it is maintained) it

47 Thus W. L. George: "Duty is in a bad way, and I, for one, think that we should be well rid of duty; for it appears to me to be merely an excuse for acting without considering whether the deed is worthy," *The Break-up of the Family*, Harper's Magazine, July, 1916, pp. 256-7. In other words, every one must reconsider the question for himself every time.

48 "The marriage service," says George in the same article, p. 259, "will need a new clause: we shall have to swear to be agreeable." How the sense of duty toward the public over against personal gratification is now lost, is well shown by a sentiment expressed by the Secretary of the Navy. There is a rule forbidding midshipmen to marry, just as there is in most colleges a similar rule, nothing preventing them from marrying a little later, when they have passed beyond the age of probation. A midshipman having broken the rule and been properly expelled, Secretary Daniels, after getting him reinstated, is reported in the papers (e.g., *The New York Times*, March 20, 1915) as saying: "If I were a young middy in love with a girl, I would marry her if it broke up the whole navy. I would let nothing like that [the navy, his country, and his oath of obedience] stand between me and the girl I loved." Of course the corollary to such a sentiment is, that if he ever ceased to love her and fell in love with another, he would divorce the one and marry the other if it broke up all society: he would not let such a little thing as the welfare of future generations stand between him and his new love.

49 Marriage unions, says George, the feminists "would base exclusively upon love," *ib.* 722.

50 "Scarcely more than liaisons, hardly deserving the name of marriage," Mrs. John Martin characterises them, *Feminism*, 210. "When pleasure," says Professor Nitz, "is sought for its own sake, without the responsibility and consequence of having children, matrimony loses its entire purpose, and becomes nothing else than a form of monogamic prostitution."

ought to cease.⁵¹ The same principle would apply also to the parental and filial relations: they, too, should cease the instant they become disagreeable, although this seems to be overlooked for the moment.⁵² But, for the principle applied to the marital relation, at best a flimsy and wholly unproved biological theory is invoked in excuse, that gladness is necessary for the procreation of fine offspring.⁵³ This stuff is now held up to the lovers of liberty (and of libertinism) as the "new ethics," in ignorance that it is as old as the decay of all the ancient civilisations.^{53a}

The latest exponent of this "new morality of love" ⁵⁴ is Mrs. W. M. Gallichan (C. G. Hartley) in her book *The Truth About Woman* (London, 1913). Another opponent of asexuality (268-70), she is likewise a follower of Ward, with whom she agrees in saying that "the female is the race" (292), and whom she outdoes by maintaining that by reason of the female's biological

⁵¹ Cf. also Christabel Pankhurst: "Sexual intercourse, where there exists no bond of love and spiritual sympathy, is beneath human dignity. Such intercourse is forbidden by Nature herself . . . more strictly . . . than any other sin," *Plain Facts about a Great Evil*, 35.

⁵² To be sure, there is no sexual intercourse here, but living together is an intimate intercourse which ought not to be imposed upon other people against their will, any more than upon husbands and wives. It is a hardship to compel parents to live with children they do not love. If they prefer others, why should they not adopt them, and turn their own over to the state? And grown children need have nothing more to do with parents they do not love. For, of course, love is a natural impulse that cannot be commanded — at least no more between parents and children than between husband and wife. Godwin, who long before our present-day dilettanti treated marriage only as friendship, and acted upon his theory, held that "in a state of equality [of property and of the sexes] it will be a question of no importance, to know who is the parent of each individual child. It is aristocracy, self-love, and family pride that teach us to set a value upon it at present. I ought to prefer no human being to another, because that being is my father, my wife, or my son, but because, for reasons which equally appear to all understandings, that being is entitled to preference," *Political Justice*, VIII. viii. This is only carrying out the principle to the bitter end.

⁵³ If Weininger's "law" of sexual attraction be correct, then the mating of the sexually complementary males and females, who most attract each other, might give "the best results," *Sex and Character*, 29-30, 36. But their characters do not change with every change of passion; nor is this corollary of his law (which is what W. L. George bases modern feminism on: above, p. 184n.) so plain as his law itself. Weininger himself, in a note, admits that "for special purposes the breeders, whose object often is to modify natural tendencies, will often disregard this law." The "best" results above referred to, are those which are most imitative of the parents. If the parents themselves do not deserve to be imitated, these results from their passionate mating are not desirable.

^{53a} The leading advocates of this new morality, of course, have the best intentions, and believe they are offering to the world something fine and noble. They are deceived by the fact that they are aiming at the happiness of everybody; which certainly is unobjectionable. But they place happiness in freedom from constraint, and extend this to women as if men already had it. Herein they err, as they do not perceive that in allowing this to others they are claiming it for themselves, and that nothing else is the definition of selfishness. The socialists have equally good intentions; but intentions do not always realise their intent. Mr. Blease asserts that there is no analogy between the laxity of morals at the fall of Rome and this new movement, because of "the loftiness of its purpose, the purity of its motive, the emphasis which it lays upon the dignity of motherhood and the solemn duty of the women to maintain the purity and vigour of the race," *The Emancipation of English Women*, 226. But we have no reason to suppose that the emancipation of the Roman women was not likewise done with good intentions, although we know that the results were undesirable.

⁵⁴ P. 114 of the work to be cited.

anabolism,⁵⁵ and because women began the first productive operations of human society (22-3, 124, 144), woman's nature is especially the constructive, man's being destructive,⁵⁶ overlooking that in the periods of civilisation proper, men, in spite of their greater destructiveness, have been far more constructive than women; and by reason of this, and because the female sex was the original (49-50, quoting Ward), and also in the human species took the lead (44, 249), and women were the dominant force in the early mother-age (139-40, *cf.* 153, 169-70, 173), therefore the female is not now, as Ward held, the passive sex,⁵⁷ but woman is still and forever the predominant sex,⁵⁸ and all progress has rested and does rest on her (44, *cf.* 238, 251, 261). This is due to the erroneous view that what came first is natural and what followed is unnatural, artificial, or conventional; which is applied to the relation between the sexes (16, 21-2, 25, 34, 125, 140, 183, 206), although all Mrs. Gallichan had a right to say was what she also does say that there has been a "reversal of the early superiority of the female, in the human species," and its replacement by "the superiority of the male."⁵⁹ Here, too, she cannot keep consistency; for the intermediary stage of sexual equality she treats as the best, finding it among the animals in the marriages of birds, which, like Mrs. Schreiner, she places above ours, and among mankind in the contractual marriages of the later Egyptians, Babylonians, and Romans, which she recommends as

55 22, 42, 54n., here relying on Geddes and Thomson.

56 22, 24, 124, 135, 247, 262, 383, and in her later work, *The Position of Woman in Primitive Society*, London, 1914 (the references are to the New York edition, published under the title of *The Age of Mother-Power*), 246. Similarly Earl Barnes treats women as the conservers of life and men as its destroyers, *Woman's Place in the New Civilisation*, Annals of the Amer. Acad. of Pol. and Soc. Science, Nov., 1914, p. 10.

57 50n., 250-3. She outdoes even Mrs. Gilman by asserting that woman still is the pursuer of the male, though not as openly as were to be desired, 66, 252-7, 309, 317, 352. Woman is not now "over-sexed," but "wrongly sexed," 265. The authoress commits also the same fallacy as Mrs. Gilman, above, p. 178, explaining: "It is only under the fully established patriarchal system, with its unequal development of the sexes, that motherhood is a source of weakness to women," 264, although the weakness of not being able to undertake motherhood did not exist when the patriarchal system was at its height (was "fully established"), *cf.* 280, but has always appeared when that system began to break down, *cf.* 197.

58 Pp. v., viii., 67, 257, 383, *cf.* 68, 251, 267, 291, 384, 385. Mrs. Gallichan likewise quotes the spider and crinipred stories, and treats the latter as "a delightful case" and "a knock-down blow to the theory of the natural superiority of the male," and as showing "the true origin of the sexes," the female creating the male as her assistant, "his sole function being her impregnation," 52-3, 73, 74.

59 249, *cf.* 144-5, 247. Men "usurped" the place of women in the leadership, 168, 171, 206. She overlooks that all revolutions are usurpations from the point of view of the displaced (and their heirs), and by impartial onlookers are treated as such, or are justified, according to the results. Time, also, legitimises, the acquiescence of the conquered proving the fitness of the conquerors. Furthermore, in denouncing the later development of male superiority, she forgets her own statement that "there can be no upward change which is not in accord with the laws of Nature," 48. Her position is, that if the female had started and always and everywhere been inferior to the male, woman's outlook would be hopeless, 49; *cf.* the later work, 7-8. Yet the fact that the female started superior and has been excelled by men, would seem to make women's chances of (again) reaching equality still more desperate: *cf.* above, p. 54.

models for our imitation.⁶⁰ She concludes: "In the face of the facts before us one truth cries out its meaning: 'Women must be free face to face with men'" (241). She has simply neglected to note that that state of equality was reached, in every case, in the declining period of those civilisations; wherefore the truth taught by the facts is exactly the contrary.⁶¹ She even goes back to primitive peoples; and the gynæcocracy of the Zuni Indians, with its frequent divorce and small families, she praises as a good example for civilised peoples.⁶²

Accordingly, despite the alleged superiority and predominancy of the female sex, Mrs. Gallichan would kindly claim no more for women than equality with men in all matters economic, political, social, and moral. Both matriarchy and patriarchy were incomplete (170): they must be united, woman must not take freedom away from man, but share it with him (175); not "free from man," but "free with man" must be the woman's watch-cry (269); men's opinions will also have to be respected (290); children belong to the fathers as well as to the mothers (62-3): in short, there must be something like Ward's gynandrocacy. First of all, as necessary for the rest, economic freedom must be re-

⁶⁰ 58, 59, cf. 92, 105, 113-14, 249; 188, 189, 210, 240-1, 343, 344. She has a high idea of the happiness of married life of the equal couples in ancient Egypt; which she probably has got from the idealised account drawn of it by Emily Simcox in her *Primitive Civilisations*. Miss Simcox, however, adds: "The marriage contracts of later Egypt were all in effect marriage settlements," ii. 461. There is, then, no need of imitating the Egyptians, as the English already have such settlements.

⁶¹ She dwells with gusto upon the extensive activities of the women under the Roman empire, as proving that "the patriarchal subjection of women can never lead to progress," 236-8; although the progress their activities led to was decay. She seems to have been misled by Ellis, whom she quotes, 179 (194, 229), and 234.

⁶² 137, cf. 132; and again in her later book, 147, quoting to the same effect an incidental remark by Mrs. James Stevenson. In this later book on mother-power Mrs. Gallichan has somewhat altered and disarranged the above cited views. Now, basing herself on the peculiar views advanced by J. J. Atkinson in his *Primal Law* (published by A. Lang together with the latter's *Social Origins*, London, 1903), she conceives that the mother-age was not the original, but was preceded by an age of brutal patriarchy, when the full-grown males, under the influence of sexual jealousy, held for themselves many wives and added their daughters to their harems, and expelled their sons; till there came a time, suggested by the conduct of some turkey-hens which Mrs. Gallichan once observed, 62-4, when their wives and daughters combined and with the aid of the expelled sons of other fathers (it was an oversight on the part of the brutal fathers not to have killed these instead of expelling them) deposed the patriarchs, and in the interest of order instituted the maternal clan, in which the women, now also turning to industry and acquiring property, which descended to their daughters, became the leaders—Mrs. Gallichan is chary about calling them rulers. But this was only a transitional stage, and again gave way to the later patriarchy, which still endures; for, because of their individualism and selfishness, the men again took to themselves the women, and other men were willing to sell their daughters. Mrs. Gallichan omits to call attention here to the fact that by now the men had become the principal producers and proprietors. This condition, she holds, likewise is transitional, and must be done away with, as in the other work. In all this she now has to abandon the idea that the original is the natural. But her mouth seems to water at the idea of that transitional period when women had their own way. She speaks of those women as having solved some of the most urgent questions which now confront us, 178; cf. the first book, 132. But, although she evidently claims that that transitional period was superior to the one which preceded, she will not admit that the one which succeeded is superior, 334, notwithstanding that nine-tenths of progress has been made under it.

gained by women — “by whatever means this is to be accomplished” (256); for Mrs. Gallichan does not enter into the details of socialism.⁶³ Men and women must work “together as lovers and comrades” (68): the mother “side by side with the father” both “in the home and in the larger home of the state” (175). They must co-operate in the framing of laws (352): that women are to have the franchise is treated as a matter of course. Law must regulate love in the interest both of the race and of the individual (240) — in the interest of the race, by accepting marriage (349, *cf.* 338), preferably monogamy (340–1, 352), and requiring provision for the children (348), and forbidding degenerates from reproducing their like (345–6, 355, *cf.* 257), because of the prenatal right of every child to be well born (17, 256); and in the interest of the individual, by permitting divorce, “without any shame or idea of delinquency,” merely as “relief from a misfortune”;⁶⁴ which is also in the interest of the race, because the unfit wife or husband is an unfit parent (355) and — here comes in the unproved biological basis — life must be given gladly to be given well (263, 342, *cf.* 345). “The fundamental principle of the new ideal morality is that love and marriage must always coincide, and, therefore, when love ceases the bond should be broken.”⁶⁵ Mrs. Gallichan admits some difficulty in practice, to keep “free motherhood,” which she advocates, from degenerating into free love, which she reprobates;⁶⁶ for, according to her, “the door of marriage itself must be left open to go out of as it is open to enter” (256). Free love is removed, she seems to think, by requiring responsibility even for temporary unions (*cf.* 191). These are not to be forbidden (even to the already married?), but are to be regulated by requiring that “the birth of every child, without exception, must be preceded [or else abortion employed?] by some form of contract which, though not necessarily binding the mother and father to each other, will place on both alike the obligation of adequate fulfilment of the duties to their child.” Yet in the same breath she says that both “mothers and children must be safe-guarded,

⁶³ She suggests protection for mothers in recognition of their work for the state, 264; equal wages for equal work, and opening of all occupations, 282–9; else polygamy where women outnumber men, 278. Her husband, it may be remarked, has written a book in exculpation of polygamy.

⁶⁴ 354. She quotes with approval Cunningham Graham's saying that “divorce is the charter of woman's freedom,” 357; and again in her later book, 178.

⁶⁵ 350. “The enforced continuance of an unreal marriage is really the grossest form of immorality, harmful not only to the individuals concerned, but to the children,” 353, and tolerable only for the sake of the children already begotten, but even so, not to be required by the state, for only the parents “strong enough” to stand it “can safely remain in a marriage without love,” 358.

⁶⁶ 349, 250, *cf.* 338; yet on p. 305 she joins “free motherhood” with “free love” as part of Ellen Key's doctrine, which she accepts.

whether in legal marriage or outside," since "the same act of love cannot be good or bad just because it is performed in or out of marriage" (as though in every case the morality of an act were not determined by the circumstances!); and therefore, if the parents cannot make adequate provision for their child, "the state must step in with some wide and fitting scheme of insurance of childhood" (348). Thus, even when there is a child, there will be little difference, at least so far as any poor but healthy woman is concerned, between this arrangement and free love, and when there is no child (as there need not be), no difference at all. At all events, "a woman's natural right is her right to be a mother,"⁶⁷ if she wants to,—and also, though this is not said, to have sexual intercourse with men when she wants to.⁶⁸

Socially, the scheme likewise does not work out quite consistently, as more than an equal function seems to be assigned to the female. "It is woman, not man," says Mrs. Gallichan, "who must fix the standard in sex";⁶⁹ for "hers is the supreme responsibility in creating and moulding life": she is no longer to be man's help-mate, but man is to be "her agent, her helper."⁷⁰ Woman, therefore, by means of her renewed economic independence, is to regain her primitive⁷¹ "free power of selection in love" (256), the duty being incumbent on her, as the predominant sex in reproduction, to "choose a fitting father for her children" (18), and to guide her choice "by the man's fitness alone, not, as now it is, by his capacity and power for work and protection" (255). Fitness for what, if it is not for work and protection? we may ask: is it mere bullshiness?⁷² And for this, of course, men, and women too, as Shaw perceived, must all be reduced to the same income, though Mrs. Gallichan says nothing about such socialism. Morality, of course, in her view, must be the same for both the sexes (240), and that of men must prevail, being the only natural one, that of women (the over-emphasis on chastity

⁶⁷ So in the later work, 345.

⁶⁸ For certainly if a woman may have a child whenever she wants, without anybody objecting, she may have sexual intercourse with a man whenever she wants, without anybody objecting. But then, by the principle of the single standard, any man may have sexual intercourse with any (willing) woman whenever he wants (and can find one), without anybody objecting. Such a simple *reductio ad absurdum* of their promises does not seem to occur to the logical minds of these reformers.

⁶⁹ 257, repeated in the later work, 345.

⁷⁰ 384. "Women and not men are the responsible sex in the great things of life that really matter," 292, *cf.* 251.

⁷¹ According to the later work, her transitional!

⁷² *Cf.* Bernard Houghton, criticising H. G. Wells's socialistic argument about women, economically independent, choosing the best men—those with "a fine, vigorous, and attractive personality": "If they chose able men, well and good, but the probability is that, as want of ability would, under socialism, entail no particular hardship, and as ability is by no means necessarily combined with 'a fine, vigorous, and attractive personality,' the latter quality—somewhat reminiscent, by-the-by, of Nietzsche's 'big blond brute,'—would alone find acceptance in the ladies' eyes," *Socialism through Biological Spectacles*, Westminster Review, Sept., 1908, p. 246.

and modesty) having been imposed upon them in the false patriarchal régime, under the guiding principle of property;⁷³ whereas woman's moral character is not superior to man's, nor does Nature require it to be so.⁷⁴ Chastity, according to this believer "in passion as the supreme factor in race-building" (374, *cf.* 100, 114, 381), is defiled only by sexual intercourse from other motives than love (*cf.* 215, 342, 374), and with love and its result women should "be not ashamed of anything, but to be ashamed."⁷⁵ This is why motherhood should be protected outside of marriage as well as in. The founding of all mating on love, she avers, may even go far to do away with prostitution (368-9), as we may well believe.

But enough of this, which is becoming nauseous. Be it only added that all such emancipation of women—to be *given* them (256) because of their natural superiority (67, *cf.* 263, also 6, 27, 385)—is intended for the benefit of men as well as of women. "We [women] must free them [men] as well as ourselves," says Mrs. Gallichan (292, *cf.* 216, 279, 385). It reminds us of the analogous position of the socialists, voiced by the democratic corn-rimer, Ebenezer Elliott:—

"We'll forge no fetters into swords,
But set our tyrants free."

⁷³ 171, *cf.* 189, 226, 238, 254, 255, 357. It is, she says in her later book, 238-9, important "that women should grasp firmly this truth: the virtue of chastity owes its origin to property." "The sense of ownership has been the seed-plot of our moral code." Even of fatherhood "property, not kinship, was the basis."

⁷⁴ *Cf.* 258-61. On this subject Mrs. Gallichan speaks with no uncertain voice. "This false ideal of chastity was in the first place forced upon them [women], but by long habit it has been accentuated and has been backed up by woman's own blindness and fear. Thus to-day, in their new-found freedom, women are seeking to bind men up in the same bonds of denial which have restrained them. In the past they have over-readily imbibed the doctrine of a different standard of purity for the sexes, now they are in revolt—indeed, they are only just emerging from a period of bitterness in relation to this matter. Men made women into puritans, and women are arising in the strength of their faith to enforce puritanism on men. Is this malice or revenge? In any case it is foolishness," 326. Women "must come out and be common women among common men. This, I believe, is a better solution than to bring men up to women's level," 381. In other words, Mrs. Gallichan would prefer that women should now demoralise men, instead of men trying to moralise them any more. All this, it may be remarked, is repudiated by Christabel Pankhurst, who comes near to Weininger from the other side, and who writes as if she were commissioned to represent the sex. "It is very often said to women that their ideas of chastity are the result of past subjection. Supposing that were so, then women have the satisfaction of knowing that their subjection has brought them at least one great gain—a gain they will not surrender when the days of their subjection are over. The mastery of self and sex, which either by nature or by training women have, they will not yield up," *Plain Facts about a Great Evil*, 135.

⁷⁵ 317. *Cf.* Mrs. Tuttle: "To-day there is nothing in sex nor in the racial instincts to be ashamed of, except 'to be ashamed of being ashamed,'" *The Awakening of Woman*, 135. Mrs. Tuttle likewise, of course, disclaims any desire, in feminism, to establish free love, 149.