THE
WOMAN
MOVEMENT

McCRIMMON

PRICE
$1.00 Net

THE
AND
ND

The Woman Movement

By

A. L. McCrimmon

BATTLE for the ballot is to many the essence of the woman movement. But the movement is old, and has many forms. A review of its history, together with detailed examination of the educational, legal, economic, argumentative, and scientific phases it has assumed, appears in Doctor McCrimmon's pages. The writer's method is to present in the light of discriminating criticism the statements of supporters and opponents of the movement; his own conclusions are given in the closing chapter. No partisan spirit, but sober earnestness in seeking the facts has dictated the writing of this book.

THE GRIFFITH AND ROWLAND PRESS
PHILADELPHIA
BOSTON CHICAGO ST. LOUIS TORONTO, CAN.

The WOMAN MOVEMENT

A. L. McGRIMMON

THE WOMAN MOVEMENT

THE WOMAN MOVEMENT

By A. L. McCRIMMON
CHANCELLOR OF McMASTER UNIVERSITY

THE GRIFFITH & ROWLAND PRESS
PHILADELPHIA
BOSTON ST. LOUIS
CHICAGO TORONTO, CAN.

Published October, 1915

PREFACE

In discussing the Woman Movement reference is made to the opinions of many protagonists and antagonists. The author has tried in many cases to give the reader the exact words of these writers, believing that such procedure would be the safest in handling such a debatable question and would be appreciated by students of the social movements of our time.

CONTENTS

Part I. Historical Phases

Part II. Educational, Legal, and Economic Phases

Part III. Argumentative Phases

Part IV. Scientific Phases

PART I

HISTORICAL PHASES

I

PRIMITIVE PERIODS

THE "impressionist" account of creation given in the biblical narrative declares that God created man, "male and female created he them." Within the family of man this line of cleavage is plainly apparent and must always be taken into consideration. Upon it depends, to a certain degree at least, a division of labor between the man and the woman. How far this difference renders imperative a distinction in duties, beyond certain manifest biologic functions, is a subject for discussion upon which there has been no unanimity of opinion up to the present time.

Lester F. Ward's theory that life was at first essentially female seems to have only a presumptive basis, if it has that, of recognition in the biological world. The theory of the matriarchate, or an original rule by women, held by Bachofen and others, and described by some enthusiastic champions of woman's rights as indicating a golden age in woman's history, is without historical or scientific foundation. Some tribes of mankind traced, and still trace, lineage through the mother, and there seems to be evidence that among such tribes women

possessed an equality, or even in some cases had a decided precedence, in the sphere of social and private law. While this precedence was not so great, or so coextensive with maternal lineage as some sociologists [1] have held, yet along with maternal lineage went in some cases an amelioration of the condition of women. Such an amelioration was apparent among the Sioux and the Wyandottes. In other cases the husband was the autocrat, and often the woman was only a medium through which rights were conveyed. (Dargun.) The conclusion at which Doctor Howard arrives is as follows: "In short, if among many peoples at some stage of progress research has clearly demonstrated the existence of mother-right, it has just as clearly shown that the notion of a gynocracy, of a period of female supremacy, is without historical foundation." [2]

Woman, from the very beginning of the history of mankind, seems to have been always more or less in a state of dependence, either to her father or to her husband. While allowance must be made for exceptions, this statement represents the prevailing condition of women in all ages. Professor Westermarck gives the results of extensive research work:

> We must distinctly reject as erroneous the broad statement that the lower races in general hold their women in a state of almost complete subjection. Among many of

[1] Kantsky, Letourneau, Tylor, Grosse.

[2] "Matrimonial Institutions," Vol. I, p. 46.

them the married woman, though in the power of her husband, is known to enjoy a remarkable degree of independence, to be treated by him with consideration, and to exercise no small influence upon him. In several cases she is stated to be his equal, and in a few his superior.[3]

Westermarck takes exception to the statement that a people's civilization may be measured by the position held by the women, especially if you consider the earlier stages of culture. The Chinese proverb, "A wife is like one's clothes; when the clothes are worn out we can substitute those that are new," represents a lower treatment of women than that accorded to them among such primitive tribes as the Veddahs, the Mincopis, the Bushmen, or the Kaffirs.

Among the primitive tribes the status of woman varies from that of complete subjection to that of superiority. She may be the property or slave of her husband, being divorced or sold at his pleasure as in Fiji; she may be treated with respect as in the Canary Islands; be given approximate equality as in the Caroline Islands, in Nicobar, or among the Omahas; be consulted in all important bargains as in the Mexican tribes, among the Todas, or the Puget Sound Indians; be the decider of war or peace as among the Cherokees; be the ruling factor as in the Marianne group of Melanesia; be the divorcer as in Central East Africa if her husband

[3] "The Origin and the Development of the Moral Ideas," Vol. I, p. 638.

neglects to sew her clothes. Rarely has the woman no rights. Certain tribal rules have to be followed, or the consent of tribal or family councils obtained, before severe punishment is inflicted or divorce effected.

By carrying our modern standards over into the realm of savagery we are apt to arrive at a biased judgment concerning the aboriginal man, whose occupation has been described as "hunting, eating, and sitting around" while the woman works. Protection was of vital importance during that period, and was largely the function of man. Through division of labor between man and woman customs arose, and superstition and sexual taboo entrenched these customs. The women were as firm believers in sexual taboo as the men. Their physiological peculiarities accentuated this taboo for them. Thus was built up a division of labor which placed upon woman many tasks which modern civilization would consider inappropriate. These tasks varied with the economic system of the tribe. Mason has shown how woman functioned in primitive culture. She gathered the roots and the seeds, ground them in the mortar or with the milling-stones, put in the new crop with her digging-stick and hoed it. She scraped and dressed the skins from the chase, and made them into clothes. Masters says: "The Patagonian women, besides discharging all the household duties, and fetching wood and water, dress the furs and manufacture the mantles of the young

guanaco, fox, skunk, and ostrich skins, using, instead of needles and thread, sharp bodkins and sinew from the back of the adult guanaco." The primitive woman dyed the seaweed or straw and wove it into baskets; she quarried the clay, washed, mixed, modeled, and polished it into the lamp or other vessel; she it was too, who, with rope and notches, climbed the tree for the palm-beer; and, in fact, was the general carrier for the home. "In Guiana the women clean house, fetch water and fire-wood, cook the food, make the bread, nurse the children, plant the fields, dig the produce, and, when the men travel, carry whatever baggage is necessary in large baskets." The jealousy of man limited her freedom, but gave her secure protection. Westermarck finds that the human father has always been the protector of the family: "The history of human marriage is the history of a union in which women have gradually triumphed over the passions, prejudices, and egoism of men."

Amongst the Australian tribes the husbands yield or sell their wives at will. The wife is considered little better than the dog. The Kaffirs abandon their wives to an invading foe and endeavor to save their cattle. The Eskimos frequently sell or rent their wives. The Japanese have not entirely abandoned their practice of selling young girls for a time to houses of ill fame. Among the yellow races generally woman is regarded as an inferior, a mere shadow or echo. On the other hand, the Berber

women, especially the Imanan, often consider themselves superior to their husbands, and leave them the burdens of life, while they devote themselves to reading, writing, and the fine arts. We are straying away, however, from the primitive periods.

II

HISTORICAL NATIONS OF ANTIQUITY

NO attempt will be made in this section to describe the condition of woman in all nations. Only those nations which have influenced us most vitally will receive attention. A few words must suffice about the peoples cradled in Asia Minor and along the eastern Mediterranean. Among the Babylonians there was an annual woman market (Child), at which the most beautiful were sold first. The ugly girls, however, were not without purchasers, as the money obtained from the sale of those better favored by nature formed dowers for the less beautiful. Women gained some relief from this chattel condition by participation in temple ceremonies and by influence at the court. The warlike Semiramis helped Ninus in his difficulties, and Nitocris was the real ruler during the reign of Evil-Merodach.

Despite the prevalence of polygamy, women of the higher rank in Egypt possessed great power. "Behind them moved the vast herd of the women of the people, almost always poor and needy, and condemned, like their husbands and children, to labor for the treasury of the Pharaohs. The severity of

their toil, with the same privations and the same miseries, made the woman and the man fraternize." [1] The upper-class woman safeguarded herself by matrimonial contracts which sometimes led to mortgages on the husband's property, and sometimes to divorce previously stipulated if conditions changed. The situation steadily grew worse. Women became shrewd accumulators of wealth. Finot points out that Egypt grew uneasy over the deplorable results of feminine supremacy, and, instigated by the public indignation, Ptolemy Philopater prevented by decree the disposal of property by the wife without her husband's consent. There was prevalent in Egypt, as in many other primitive civilizations, the theory that the mother was only the nurse of the germ of which the father was the author. Diodorus, of Sicily, says: "No child is considered illegitimate in Egypt, even though it is born of a slave mother; for, according to the common belief, the father is the sole author of the child's birth; the mother has furnished only its food and dwelling."

From Asia Minor arose many noted women. For example, the Lycians produced Artemisia, the Queen of Caria, who fought with Xerxes at the battle of Salamis.

It is the Jews, however, who are of more interest to us for obvious reasons. The wife was bought with goods or with service. Seven years did Jacob

[1] Finot, "The Problem of the Sexes," p. 40.

toil for each of his wives. The husband had discretionary power of divorce, but had to observe certain tribal customs. The women were kept strictly to the line of virtue; only the nearest male relatives were allowed in the women's part of the house; the unfaithful wife was stoned to death. With the growth of wealth came the practice of polygamy, and laws were passed to prevent the neglect of the former wives when a new one appeared. Women were skilled in dancing and music. Their chief occupations were spinning, weaving, cooking, tent-making, and herding. Rachel tended her father's flocks, Ruth garnered in the field, Sarah baked cakes for Abraham's visitors, Miriam gained great repute as a prophetess, and Deborah judged Israel. Before the time of Moses women could not inherit from their father. They were not in the line of succession to the Jewish crown, yet Athaliah and Alexandra assumed chief power. The Jewish "Wisdom Literature" has many felicitous expressions concerning the virtuous woman, but there are expressions of doubt regarding the character of woman in general, such as this, "From garments cometh a moth, and from woman wickedness."

Principal Donaldson, of Saint Andrews, holds the opinion that "The Greek race was the finest that ever existed in respect of physical development and intellectual power." [2] The researches into the pre-Mycenæan period give uncertain glimpses of ma-

[2] "Woman in Greece, Rome, and Early Christianity."

ternal lineage and exceptional privileges of women. In Homeric times the influence of women was great and their condition happy. The men devoted themselves to war and agriculture, the women to household duties and to the management of the estate in the absence of their husbands. Helen, the wife of Menelaus, sewed and washed, plied the loom and the distaff. The life of woman was free and healthy. To the Greeks the gods moved upon the earth and harmony was the result. They gloried in the beautiful, especially in beautiful physical bodies. They expected their women to attract, and the spoils went to the victor whether he were Priam or Menelaus. Their great poems centered round the affection for women whom they loved and respected. Homer says: "There is nothing better or nobler than when husband and wife, being of one mind, rule a household." What admirable traits of marital life are represented by Hector and Andromache, Ulysses and Penelope, Menelaus and Helen! The man always took the initiative, he loved and bought or labored for; the woman learned to love. Marriage was monogamous. The husband, however, was somewhat tyrannical, and the son claimed superiority as in the case of Telemachus, who says to his mother: "Return to thy apartments; busy thyself with thy work, thy spindle, the linen; . . Speech is for men, especially for me, the master here."

Historical Greece is separated from the Homeric age by a long stretch of time. In Sparta two ideas

were regnant: the permanence of the state and the preservation of the worship of the gods. A strong state required strong, warlike men. Sparta was a veritable camp. The weakling was not allowed to live, nor the sickly to marry. The boys were examined periodically, being required to present themselves naked. Some authorities say the girls had to pass a similar examination. All healthy men were required to marry. Bachelors who evaded the law were compelled to march round the Agora, stripped of their clothing and singing of their shame. Girls were molded into physical strength and given mental tone by the practice of gymnastics. Greek writers discourse of the wonderful breasts and limbs of the Spartan women. One says to a young woman, "You could throttle an ox"; and she made reply, "Yes, by Castor and Pollux, for I practise gymnastics and leap high." In all parts of Greece an exceptionally well-proportioned form was a passport to safety. When Hyperides, in defending the hetaira Phryne, found he was losing his case, he tore open her garments, revealing a bosom perfectly marvelous in form, and she was set free. Such a form, it was believed, could belong only to a priestess, or prophetess of the divine Aphrodite. Yet the Spartan women were not regarded as licentious. There was practically no adultery, and the dowry which the wife brought to her husband was one of ancestral purity. Woman, in the eye of the Spartan law, was a mother only. There was no

regulation of women after the menopause. All the laws relating to women kept one object in view: a first-rate breed of men. The Spartan women accepted their task with enthusiasm. A lady once said to the wife of Leonidas, "You of Lacedæmonia are the only women in the world that rule the men." To which Gorgo replied, "We are the only women that bring forth men." It might be well for some of the modern advocates of woman's rights, who seem to consider they have a mission to subject and humiliate men as women have been subjected, to consider the statement of Principal Donaldson: "The student of history is continually reminded of the fact that when men lose their dignity and eminence, woman disappears from the scene; but when they rise into worth, she again comes on the stage in all her power and tenderness."[3] While the Spartan women gloried in their motherhood, they took a deep interest in the state. Aristotle finds fault because they own two-fifths of the land and rule their husbands. Plutarch is authority for the statement that "the Lacedæmonian men were always obedient to their wives and allowed them to meddle in public matters more than they allowed themselves to meddle in private affairs." When Sparta became degenerate through luxury, and the state was tottering to its downfall, the Spartan women sacrificed themselves for the state and for their husbands. Chelorus shared her husband's

[3] Ibid., p. 35.

exile, and Agesistrata and Cratesicleia suffered execution in the attempt to advance the interests of their kingly sons, Agis and Cleomenes. The condition of women among the other classes of Spartan society, slaves, and conquered races, can be more easily imagined than accurately described.

There was a great educational movement in the seventh and sixth centuries before Christ, of which the Æolian poetess, Sappho, was the center. It is said that Plato regarded her as the tenth Muse, and that Solon heard her song and said he wished to learn it and die. Sappho tried to light the fire of enthusiasm in the women with her poetry. The young came to her in large numbers, and a sort of woman's college was formed. The poetess thus berated the uneducated woman: "Dying thou shalt lie in the tomb, and there shall be no remembrance of thee afterwards, for thou partakest not of the roses of Pieria; yea, undistinguished shalt thou walk in the halls of Hades, fluttering about with the pithless dead." Several remarkable women were the fruit of Sappho's movement: the Theban poetess Corinna, the author of five books of poems, Praxilla, and Telesilla of Argos, the ancient Joan of Arc.

Athens, with a population of thirty thousand, was the largest *polis,* or city-state, in Greece. It was the center of the higher Greek culture and the mother of letters and philosophy. Of the condition of the women among the slaves and conquered races, we need not speak. Two classes, however, were

held in esteem: Grecian matrons under [illegible] tion, and the hetairæ, strangers, under no law. The Spartan state would not admit the latter; but Athens not only admitted them, but by her laws against miscegenation prevented marriage with them. In fact, it is said, the only sin the hetairæ could commit was to marry. They were the only educated women in Athens, refined and the devotees of high society. Though many of these women were vindictive parasites, yet as a class they had a tremendous influence on Grecian society. Nearly every great man had his hetaira, or "companion": Diotima was with Sophocles, Archeanassa with Plato, Haepyllis with Aristotle, Leontina with Epicurus, Metanaeva with Isocrates, Glycera with Menander, Timandra with Alcibiades, and Aspasia of Miletus with Pericles, who divorced his wife by mutual consent. The salon of Aspasia is considered the greatest in the whole history of man. It was the resort of Socrates, Phidias, Euripides, Anaxagoras, and others of the educated élite. Socrates acknowledged Aspasia as his teacher. Phryne, who was mentioned above, was the model of Praxiteles' Cnidian Aphrodite, the most lovely representation of woman in the world. Some of the distinguished men of Greece were the sons of these women. Themistocles was the son of a Thracian hetaira; Sophocles, the grandson of Sophocles and a stranger. There is no doubt about the relations of the hetairæ outraging the conventional spirit of Athens, yet their children were legitima-

tized by a decree of the senate as probably in the case of Pericles, the son of Aspasia, or by the *phratria* and the fathers acting as though they had been born in wedlock. Many of these voluptuous women of lower rank paid the penalty of despair and misery when their beauty faded and the pleasures of an unclean life had turned to the ashes of Sodom.

The Athenian matron enjoyed no such liberty as fell to the lot of the hetaira. She must be faithful, as the pure blood of Grecian citizenship must be preserved. Infidelity meant exile for her, isolation from a home of her own, and from religious privileges. The unfaithful wife who appeared in the temple had her dress torn off her. The wife had her separate apartments, on the upper flat, which were often locked and guarded. She must not attend a banquet. When going out on the street she was required to wrap up as she went on her way to some religious festival or funeral. Old women arranged the matches for the girls when they arrived at the age of fifteen or sixteen. Then the wife went into seclusion described above, to manage the household of her husband and to rear his children of pure blood. Thucydides makes Pericles say: "Great is the glory of that woman who is least talked of among men, either in the way of praise or blame." The double standard of sexual morality for men and women may be inferred from men's relations with the hetairæ, and is clearly stated, and assented to, by Periktone, the

female Pythagorean philosopher: "For a wife ought to bear all the circumstances of her husband, whether he be unfortunate, or err in ignorance, or in disease, or in drunkenness, or have intercourse with other women, for this error is permitted to husbands, but no longer to wives, for punishment awaits them." Horace, Tibullus, Virgil, and Propertius were confirmed bachelors, preying upon the conjugal rights of others.

Although women had no political rights, it must not be supposed that they were without influence, or did not find men who advocated their equality. Themistocles is reported as having remarked, "My little boy rules Athens; for the Athenians command the Greeks, I command the Athenians, his mother commands me, and he commands his mother." The Greeks held that the educability of a man depended upon his possession of a noble nature. The slave could not be educated because he did not have such a nature. The philosophers differed as to the educability of women. Plato held that "A man and a woman, when they both have the soul of a physician, may be said to have the same nature"; difference lay not in sex, but in character. On the other hand, Aristotle believed that woman was essentially different from man in nature, and therefore could not profit by the higher education given to citizens. The part which women took in the sacred festivals and their connection with oracles such as Delphi tended to bring respect and honor.

We must be on our guard against taking the literary expressions referring to women too seriously. It must be remembered that the plays were written by men, were acted by men, and produced before men. Many a rough joke and depreciating diatribe was perpetrated at the expense of the women. Hipponax says: "A man has only two pleasant days with his wife—one when he marries her, the other when he buries her."

In Rome we find the same classes of slaves, aliens, and full citizens, and similar laws against miscegenation. The alien woman, however, played little part, and that only in the later days of the republic. The female slave was treated as a chattel, but gained immunity from hard work if she bore two children, and possible freedom if she bore more. On the wife of the citizen fell the responsibility of bearing pure-blooded children, while the relations of the husband with alien women was a matter of indifference. The wife's rights varied greatly in Roman history.

In early Rome the father was a despot, and woman was always a child. In marriage she only exchanged the subjection to the father for that to her husband. The daughter of a Roman citizen had to marry a Roman citizen. As time elapsed, however, citizenship was extended, and with it the right of connubium. Intermarriage between plebeians and patricians was sanctioned in 442 B. C. The Italians received the right of connubium in 89 B. C. In A. D. 212 Caracalla, who had taxes in mind, con-

ferred citizenship on all the inhabitants of the Roman Empire.

The Roman matron was mistress of her own household, merely superintending the menial work, and going in and out as she pleased. The oft-quoted expression of Cornelia, "These are my jewels, the only ornaments of which I can boast," indicates the pride of the Roman mother in her sons. As Monroe has stated:

> The mother held a position far superior to the place of women in Greece. Within the home she was dignified with a position of independence and responsibility. She was more the companion of her husband and more his partner in his management of the home than in Greece. She herself reared and cared for her own children instead of turning them over to a nurse.[4]

Woman's position changed with the different epochs in Roman history. The double standard of morals was recognized, and is well represented in the statement of Cato the Censor: "If you were to catch your wife in an act of infidelity, you would kill her with impunity without a trial; but if she were to catch you she would not venture to touch you with her finger, and indeed she has no right." Bernard Shaw's scheme of temporary unions for the sake of offspring from selected stock has exemplification in the requests of certain noble Romans, such as Hortensius, who asked Cato for

[4] "History of Education."

the loan of his married daughter Portia, and later for Martia his wife. Sometimes, however, the women rebelled against inequitable conditions, and went to such extremes as to cast into the shade the performances of the English suffragettes. In 331 B. C., and again in 180 B. C., they entered upon a program of poisoning the men, which became a reign of terror. A modern note was struck by Hortensia, according to Appian, when she declared: "Why should we pay taxes when we have no part in the honors, the commands, the statecraft for which you contend against each other with such baneful results?" Religion gave women the opportunity of acting independently. They had exclusive festivals of their own, and frequently women became adherents to Isis, to the Jewish faith, and to other cults.

In 215 B. C. the Appian law was passed to regulate the extravagant expenditures of Roman women. They vigorously agitated against this law, and secured its abrogation. During the strife in which Octavianus, Antony, and Lepidus were engaged, one thousand four hundred women petitioned for the close of the war. As time elapsed women became rich and asserted their independence. Guardianship over them became merely nominal, and marriage was made a contract. Divorce could be obtained only through legal forms. Dowry was provided for life. Hecker thinks that woman was as influential in the first three centuries after Christ

as at any time in history. No woman was compelled to marry. The wife might proceed for a divorce whenever she pleased, although Donaldson holds that there is no good reason to suppose that divorces were very frequent in ordinary society. Both men and women were punished for adultery. Women in practice were free to manage their own property. Married women, spinsters, and widows were as free as men in the disposal of their property by will. Women could inherit to any amount. Their right to an education was not questioned. Brothers and sisters were allowed to succeed to equal portions. All business pursuits were opened to women, such as medicine, innkeeping, vaudeville, barber shops.

Augustus formulated laws to induce marriage and to punish adultery. Julius Cæsar offered rewards for offspring and placed fines on bachelors. The names of many notable women belong to this period. Livia was renowned for her beauty, tact, judgment, intellectual power, and well-poised character. For fifty years she held the affections and influenced the life of Augustus. Octavia was more beautiful than Cleopatra. The influence of Agrippina over Claudius, of Plotina over Hadrian, and of Paulina over Seneca, is well known. Zenobia, empress and Platonist; Servilia, the mother of Brutus; Tertulla, his sister and the wife of Cassius; Portia his wife, and numerous other women manifested their influence in no uncertain way. Women

built baths and gymnasiums, erected temples and statues, held priesthoods, and were among the leaders in philosophy and literature.

Westermarck says: "This remarkable liberty granted to married women, however, was only a passing incident in the history of the family in Europe. From the first Christianity tended to narrow it." [5] From Constantine the Justinian divorce became more difficult. Second and third marriages were placed under social disabilities. Rape, however, was still punished with death.

The Antonine jurisconsults assumed the equality of the sexes as a principle of their code of equity. The latest Roman law of the constitutions of the Christian emperors bears marks of reaction which was supported by the Teutonic custom of a husband's authority over his wife being the same as a father's over his unmarried daughter.

The Teuton, under some conditions, had the right to kill, sell, or repudiate his wife. When Teuton customs met Roman legal constitutions, Christianity had an ameliorating effect upon the former.

Among the Germanic tribes women had the management of the house and lands. They, moreover, took part in the battles when necessity demanded it. Florus relates that "The conflict was not less fierce and obstinate with the wives of the vanquished; in their carts and wagons they formed a line of battle. . . Their death was as glorious as their martial

[5] Ibid., p. 653.

spirit." Olive Schreiner remarks that it was no wonder that Rome fell before the sons of such women. Finot refers to the part women took in religion and its effect upon their status:

> From time immemorial women enjoyed a certain esteem among the Germans. The German Olympus is peopled with feminine divinities. Freya corresponds to the Greek Venus; the Norns are the Fates. The Valkyrie and the other divinities of a secondary order were recruited among the women. The latter were permitted to celebrate certain religious rites and to interpret omens. All this secured to the German women a respect not known among other nations.[6]

[6] Ibid., p. 72.

III

CHRISTIANITY AND THE MIDDLE AGES

WESTERMARCK is of the opinion that: "Progress in civilization has exercised an unfavorable influence on the position of women by widening the gulf between the sexes, as the higher culture was almost exclusively the prerogative of the men. Moreover religion, and especially the great religions of the world, has contributed to the degradation of the female sex by regarding women as unclean." [1]

The stigma of uncleanness sometimes excluded women from the religious rites of the primitive tribes, as in Melanesia. The Vedic texts declare women as impure as falsehood itself, and the Hindus class women with dogs and Sudras as depriving consecrated images of their godship should they touch them. Islam holds that the general depravity of women is greater than that of men, and women are excluded from many Moslem places of worship. Women are regarded by Buddhism as the most dangerous of all the snares which the tempter has spread for men. Judaism taught that "of the woman came the beginning of sin, and through her

[1] "The Origin and the Development of the Moral Ideas," Vol. I, p. 663.

we all die." The court of the women in the temple shows the separation of women in worship, and the severe punishment meted out to them should they be found in the court of the men marks the recognition of their inferiority. Some woman's rights supporters take umbrage at the "impressionist" account of creation given in Genesis when it forms woman from the rib out of the side of Adam. They say that was the beginning of man's treatment of woman as a mere "side issue" in life.

The teaching of Christ is clear and distinct in its exposition of the equality of woman in the economy of grace. In the kingdom of God there is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither barbarian nor Greek, neither male nor female. No woman, however, is found among the twelve apostles or the seventy. But Jesus honored such women as Mary and Martha with some of his most sacred confidences. There is that principle in Christ's teaching which develops the independent individuality and sacred personality of woman. Any woman who sneers at Christianity because of the way the Christian ages have used her is confusing the teaching of Christ and his religion with the dogmas of ecclesiasticism which were the product of a human priesthood. There are, of course, some teachings in the Bible which may irritate some women. The husband is enjoined in the apostolic teaching to regard the wife as his own body. (Eph. 5 : 28.) The wives are to be in subjection to their husbands, who are admonished to

love and cherish them. The wife is declared to be the weaker vessel (1 Peter 3 : 7); woman was created for man (1 Cor. 11 : 8); the husband is the head of the wife (Eph. 5 : 23); Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression. (1 Tim. 2 : 14.)

It is well known that for a long time there was a controversy among the Church Fathers as to the propriety of making use of the classical learning, some regarding it as of the devil and leading the student to the portals of hell, others advocating its study on the principle that it is well to spoil the Egyptians. In like manner there were two movements from an early date in ecclesiasticism, one upholding marriage, the other despising it. A literal interpretation of certain passages of Scripture, the belief that matter was necessarily evil, that woman was unclean, that any practices similar to those of paganism were of the devil, and other kindred opinions led the ecclesiastics to extreme views regarding the disabilities of women. Sects of all sorts arose with the most diverse tenets: some held that marriage was unnecessary, others that it was immoral; some regarded women as the snare of the Evil One; one sect of the Montanists, the Priscilliani, celebrated their mysteries with bread and cheese, and gave thanks to Eve, to Miriam, and to the four daughters of Philip.

The Church Fathers were very pronounced in their adverse opinions of women. The Apostolical

Constitutions state: "But if we have not permitted them to teach, how will any one allow them, contrary to nature, the office of a priest? For this is one of the ignorant practices of the atheism of the Greeks, to appoint priestesses to the female deities." Tertullian asks: "Do you know that each one of you is an Eve? The sentence of God on this sex of yours lives in this age. . . You are the devil's gateway. . . You are the first deserters of the law." Clement of Alexandria lays down requirements: "She is to exercise herself in spinning and weaving. . . Let her be entirely covered, unless she happen to be at home . . . nor will she invite another to fall into sin by uncovering her face." Gregory Thaumaturgus voices his poor opinion of women: "A person may find one man chaste among a thousand, but a woman never." One is inclined to ask the wonderful Gregory whether he is included in the thousand or in the nine hundred and ninety-nine. Saint Basil and others held that womanhood only belongs to this earthly existence; on the day of resurrection all women will appear in the shape of sexless beings. Was the good Saint Basil the protagonist precursor of the modern neuter-sex theory? Athenagoras ascetically remarks, "Whoever kisses a second time because he has found pleasure in it commits a sin." Saint Augustine seriously discusses whether woman is in the image of God as well as man. Thus these good fathers of a mistaken ecclesiasticism tried to make the natural current of

life run up-hill and read evil and sin into legitimate exercise of a God-given reproductive power for the perpetuation of mankind. Thus arose a celibate priesthood which impoverished the life of nations; thus was handed down to us a false delicacy and a prurient sexuality as a heritage from this ecclesiastical fungus growth on Christian religion—a heritage which enshrines ignorance in a false self-consciousness. In describing the influence of ascetic ecclesiasticism, Boulting writes as follows:

> Notwithstanding the legends of women martyred for their steadfastness in the faith, notwithstanding the veneration with which the mother of God was regarded from the times of Saint Augustine downward, notwithstanding the large share that Bertha of Kent took in the conversion of England, and Chlotilde in that of France, the fair form of woman had disturbed the austere contemplation of anchorites and tortured them with solicitations to forfeit their heavenly prize; therefore a debased asceticism filled a clergy under the obligation of celibacy with a passionate horror of womankind. Woman was regarded as the cleverest of all the snares the craft of the devil had devised; she was thought of as an unclean animal, in the fellowship of Satan, one inherently and unconquerably wicked, and as Saint Chrysostom described her, nothing but a necessary evil, a natural temptation, desired indeed, but bearing calamity with her, a domestic peril, a deadly fascination. . . At a synod held at Macon toward the end of the sixth century, it was even debated whether she possessed a soul. Eunuchs were substituted for her in the choir, and she was often herded with lepers and penitents in the narthex, at as great a distance from the altar as possible.

It must not be supposed that there were no movements in which women took an active part. Christianity owes much in its incipient as well as in later stages to the efforts and sacrifices of women. Toward the close of the fourth century Marcella opened her palace on the Aventine, and made it a center for the development of the women of Rome. It was her mother, Albina, who entertained the great Athanasius. To this center came Fabiola and Paula. The latter was the inspirer of Saint Jerome, and it was her influence which led to the establishment of the convent at Bethlehem.

The church and feudalism both gave the woman a large task to perform. Monasticism, with its moral discipline, was an exceedingly vital force until the time of the Reformation at least. Chivalry and feudalism furnished a social discipline in which woman played a considerable part. Alongside of its monasticism the church introduced scholasticism as an intellectual support to its faith, took part in the founding of universities to represent its teaching, and established an extensive system of canon law.

Both the feudal and the canon law regulated the civil rights of women. Every heiress under sixty years must marry, the feudal lord or king being remembered in special taxation. For a long time woman could not inherit land. If she married without the consent of the lord she forfeited her inheritance. The canon law forbade her to cut her

hair, or to dress like a man. Marriage was a sacrament. The priest gradually took the place of the orator in the marriage ceremony, and ecclesiastical marriage superseded private marriage. Divorce was not allowed, yet the pope might declare the marriage null from the beginning on account of impediments of consanguinity or affinity defined by canon law; or spiritual kinship might annul, as in the case of unbaptized persons, or when a man married a woman whose father stood as his godfather at baptism; or special dispensations were granted. The case of Henry VIII is well known to us, and Leopold of Belgium defied every law of conjugal fidelity for forty years. It is said that Louis XIV cynically remarked, "The Holy See has never allowed its morality to interfere with its policy unless absolutely necessary." Hecker[2] declares that the Roman Catholic Church has never changed its attitude respecting woman's rights, and quotes Cardinal Gibbons, "Woman suffrage, if realized, would be the death-blow of domestic life and happiness." The church under Roman Catholic auspices taught that virginity was superior to the married state, which was encouraged only to prevent unchastity, or as a necessity for the propagation of the race; that while before God woman was equal to man, in human society she was his subordinate. The church, however, strove to preserve the sanctity of marriage for the man as well as for

[2] "A Short History of Woman's Rights."

his wife, to insist on equality of marriage rights and duties, to protect woman, and to present for consideration an ideal type of woman in Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ. The priest frequently was the educator of the wives and daughters of the illiterate feudal barons. Sir Henry Maine, in dealing with the general influence of the canon law, declares: "The systems which are least indulgent to married women are invariably those which have followed the canon law exclusively, or those which from the lateness of their contact with European civilization have never had their archaisms weeded out."

In the religious woman, or abbess, of the monastic system we get a woman of ability and influence. Putnam expresses this opinion: "No institution in Europe has ever won for the lady the freedom of development that she enjoyed in the convent in the early days. The modern college for women only feebly reproduces it. . . The lady abbess was part of two great social forces of her time—feudalism and the church." [3] Hilda, the famous grandniece of Edwin, King of Northumbria, was educated on the Continent, and became abbess of Whitby. In England and on the Continent the abbess was virtually a baron. She was overlord often of an immense property, holding directly from the king. "Like a baron she had the right of war, she sent her contingent of armed knights into the

[3] "The Lady," p. 71.

field, she issued the summons to her own courts, she was summoned to the Reichstag, and in some instances struck her own coins." A tenth-century nun, Hrotsrith, gives us, in her seven plays, the only known dramatic composition in Europe between the productions of classic times and the miracle plays.

In addition to the religious woman of the Middle Ages, we have the secular feudal lady with the wives of the tenantry, the more romantic lady of chivalry, and the burgher lady with the handicraft women. The handicraft women and the tenants' wives were engaged in the ordinary occupations of household and field handicraft. This field of handicraft, however, became more and more circumscribed for woman as men began to arrogate to themselves one handicraft after another. The feudal lady was occupied with the superintendence of household affairs, with actual participation in these, and with the management of the estate during the absence of her lord, not neglecting even the military duties. Opportunities for the romantic and chivalric came when the feudal lord died, or an unmarried daughter succeeded to the estate. Tradition reports that Helissent, daughter of Yon of Gascony, came to the court of Charlemagne and made this statement: "Two months ago my father died; I am come to ask for a husband." Another application came from a widow: "My husband is dead, but of what avail is mourning? Give me a strong man to husband,

for I am sore pressed to defend my land." Frequently the errant minnesinger had poems handed down to posterity through groups of women auditors.

Later in the period the burgher class arose. The burgher lady managed the house and performed such household duties as spinning. Her husband's will was law, but she acquired greater freedom through the example of the landed gentry and through the fact that the traveling burgher, in his absence, had to depend upon her to do the accounting.

IV

THE RENAISSANCE

IT is when the feudal lady became the romantic lady of chivalry, especially in the Latin countries, that we get periods of Platonism and freedom which recall the Periclean and Alexandrian ages of Greece. Under such conditions there arose a new worship of ladies and a new reverence to the "mother of God." In fact, in the period of celibacy Mariolatry was a blessing to the religious devotee. Boulting says: "Since true love must be spontaneous and above all carnal appetite, the body only pertained to marriage; the soul was free." Milman writes: "Every knight was the sworn servant of Our Lady: to her he looked for success in battle, . . strange as it may sound—for success in softer enterprises." The Italian poets of the thirteenth century courted the patronage of women, and wrote in the vernacular that women might read their productions. The great stream of Italian literature originated in the direct influence of women. Dante, at the age of nine, met his Beatrice; the poet exclaims, "at that moment the spirit of life began to tremble." In the later teens he met her again on the street, and nearly swooned with

self-consciousness at the radiant smile she gave him. "The loveliness of flesh was the mirror whence the enraptured soul might see reflected the beatific beauty of Our Lady." Beatrice married another and went her way, but Dante enshrined her in his heart. Petrarch writes of his own experience: "Cupid sped his shaft from the ambush of Laura's prayer-book." The shaft found a lodging-place in his heart, and the fact that Laura was a married woman was not a factor in the situation. Boccaccio, who was born out of wedlock, got his inspiration from two ladies in Naples. Literature received the patronage of noble ladies who presided over the company of the Decameron as their sisters later did over the circle of Bembo, Castiglione, and the Novelists.

Ellen Key gives this characterization:

> In antiquity woman exhibited the manly qualities of greatness of soul and civic virtue: in the Middle Ages she revealed the same faculty as man for saintliness and exercise of love; in the Renaissance she manifested the same ability as man to mold her own personality into a living work of art.[1]

Putnam says the Renaissance developed a waist. With the distention of her lower section the lady lost practically all resemblance to a human being. The lady appeared formalized, bedeviled, and bedizened. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries

[1] "The Woman Movement," p. 11.

the lady had become, to a great extent, the mistress of her own destinies. Women cultivated their minds with great care. The courtezan copied the example of the Greek hetairæ. The great poets, Ariosto and Tasso, sang of the beauty and purity, the delightful and seductive charms of their heroines. It is related that Tarquinia Molza, a widow of beauty learned in Plato and astronomy, entreated Tasso to bestow his heart on her, but he delicately informed her that that organ, devoted to another, had burned to a mere cinder. Men married women to perpetuate their stock and then turned to utilitarian affairs. Women, caught in a world of Platonism and mysticism, gave their attention to the cultivation of their minds, to the philosophy of love, to becoming the patrons of literature, and especially in the sixteenth century to the education of women. The Renaissance, which became moral and regulative in the north, was esthetic and intellectual in the south. If Luther is taken as representing the utilitarian educative power of the Renaissance, Vives, in Spain, and Dolce, in Italy, represent its intensive educative influence in the south. Vives was the tutor of the four daughters of Isabella of Spain, and afterward went to England with Catherine of Aragon. Young girls were to take Latin with their milk, read Plato as soon as possible, be subjected to a course of cold water and a vegetable diet, and given an embroidery of history and ethics, of Xenophon and Seneca. The hothouse process is

evident from its results: some girls conversed in Latin at seven years, Lady Jane Grey read Plato at thirteen, Mary Stuart delivered an address in Latin at the same age, Elizabeth translated a work of Margaret of France when she was but fourteen. Felicia Rasponi (1523-1579) says: "All were precocious, many were the daughters of learned sires; proud fathers and teachers forced their mental growth." Young girls spouted Latin before great dignitaries, Ippolita Sforza before Pius II (1459), Ballista Malatesta before the Emperor Sigismund (1433). The efflorescence of Italian women was universal, except in Venice. Margaret of Savoy was learned in philosophy, theology, Latin, Hebrew, Italian, Spanish, and French. The lady of chivalry lived two lives, one as the wife of her husband devoted to perpetuating his stock, the other as an educator of some other man or men. If the husband wanted the training the lady of chivalry could give, he must attach himself to some woman other than his wife. Late marriages became the vogue. Margaret of France did not marry until thirty-seven years of age.

The educated woman of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had eminent representatives in Vittoria Colonna at Rome, whose influence over Michelangelo was so remarkable; in Leonora Gonzaga at Urbino; in Renée of France at Ferrara; in Margaret, Queen of Navarre, whom Clement of Marcot describes as "Woman in body, man in heart, angel

in head"; in Isabella d'Este; and many others. Many liaisons marked the period, as might be expected. The age was loose in morals.

At the close of the fifteenth century came the courtezans, such as Tullia, Imperia, Lucrezia Patra, Torteia, Alexandra Florentina, or Beatrice of Ferrara. The moralists protested against their insatiable greed, and the clergy complained because young nobles crowded the doorways of the churches to offer holy water to loose women. All through the sixteenth century morals were very corrupt. The air was filled with lewd talking; it was unsafe for a girl to go out at night. It was declared that nearly every woman in Naples was dishonest, and that there were seven thousand fallen women in Rome and twelve thousand in Venice. Henry II had a double establishment. Margaret of France would have welcomed a mistress for her brother, Francis I.

At the close of the sixteenth century Italian Platonism was in decline, and sneers and rude jests accompanied devoted worship. Platonism failed to fructify society into higher endeavor. Too frequently its trail through the century is marked by the ashes of mysticism or the orgies of sensualism. De Moulde says:

> The Platonism of the Renaissance found a society in the plenitude of vigor, and save for a few elect souls it left it dead. As a philosophy it resulted in perfect skepticism; as a social panacea, in the woes of religion. It slew art and literature through the idea of seeking beauty in

itself. It left behind it a progeny of coquettes or else Delilahs and sensual women.[2]

In all the movements of the age there was a strange mixture of love and religion. It is related that a swain had to pass through a monastery to visit his mistress, but he stopped only on his return. Putnam gives this summary:

> In Italy, where the Renaissance was autochthonous, it was the work of the men, and the lady fell in with the current. In France, where it was largely a matter of importation, the lady's judgment and taste were part of the conditions that determined its form. Nor did she let go the hold it offered her. During the two succeeding centuries, in which France organized civilized life for Europe, the lady was assigned an important rôle. She succeeded unluckily in identifying herself with a self-destructive social mechanism, but while it lasted her position was strong. She gathered up and combined all that Christianity, Teutonism, courtesy, art, and convention had contributed for her benefit, and by their means developed a type which reminded Schopenhauer of "the holy apes of Benares, who in consciousness of their sanctity and inviolable position think they can do exactly as they please."[3]

The French houses of the upper-class society from Henry IV to Louis XIV displayed in their plans the tremendous influence of women as entertainers. The architect was required to provide for the salon which the eminent woman held, and at which

[2] "Women of the Renaissance."
[3] Ibid., p. 210.

she formulated her plans for helping the geniuses of the age. Rousseau owed much to the protection of Mme. de Luxembourg; Voltaire enjoyed the friendship of Mme. de Richelieu; Horace Walpole was materially aided by Mme. du Deffand. The names of Mme. de Sévigné, Mme. de Stäel, Mme. de Fayette, Mme. de Châteler are among those of notable *salonières* who exerted a very great influence upon the trend of history in Europe. One could institute an interesting comparison between the Louis XIV salons, and those of the Greek hetairæ, those of the age of Vittoria Colonna, and those of the English bluestockings.

The bluestocking movement in England was imported from France in the eighteenth century. As the Greek hetaira desired to be free from the restricting bonds of the wedded wife, as the lady of chivalry sought a realm in which she might have independence of soul, as the French *salonière* exerted herself to be the patroness of genius, so the English bluestocking desired personal freedom for herself. She kept herself, however, remarkably free from compromising situations or Continental liaisons. The idea that love was above marriage or must not be identified with the marital relations appeared in a little different form, but nevertheless it was not considered ladylike to marry for love. Mrs. Delaney married, to please her family, a man three times her age. Mrs. Montague was the wife of a man double her age. Some of

the bluestockings never married. Mrs. Carter and Mrs. Hannah More bore the title "Mrs." as brevet after the manner of the age. Gallantry, intellectual stimulus, soulful companionship led such men as Johnson, Walpole, and Richardson to seek the uplifting associations of those English women who advocated constitutional monarchy and supported the Church of England. Putnam draws a distinction:

> The *salonière* was the climax of the lady as she had been understood for two thousand years; she was as far removed from ordinary womanhood as physical limitations permitted. The bluestocking, on the other hand, began to bridge the gulf between the lady and the rest of her sex, to humanize her, and to release her from mental parasitism. Her movement, blind, tentative, and ineffectual as it was, became visible in the next century as a first effort to get along without men.[4]

The principle of Protestantism—personality—gained headway and voiced itself in Milton and Defoe, in Comenius and Fénelon, in the salons of France, in the Woman's Lyceum of Paris, founded in 1786, in the literary productions on the rights of man, and in the French and American Revolutions. The emancipation of the individual was the cry. Naturally the condition of woman would be considered. The last decade of the eighteenth century produced the Swedish work, "The Natural No-

[4] Ibid., p. 282.

bility of Woman," by Thorild, and German, French, and English vindications of woman by Hippel, Condorcet, and Mary Wollstonecraft. With these productions we enter upon the modern woman's rights movement.

V

THE WOMAN MOVEMENT IN MODERN TIMES: THE REVOLUTIONS

BEFORE the Renaissance there was no sex consciousness except in sporadic movements, as those in Greece and Rome, or in feminism in Italy and France. With the freer thought of the Renaissance woman began to feel that justice had passed her by. This recognition of her status bred active discontent. As early as the time of Mulcaster (1581) England had listened to an appeal for the education of women. In 1696 Mary Astell wrote probably the first book in the world advocating the cause of women. It was the French and American Revolutions, however, which really started the modern woman movement as we understand it. As early as 1766 Mme. Doyen, in her work, "The Triumph of Woman," had refuted a French production, which attempted to prove that woman did not belong to the human species. This was followed by numerous feminist productions preceding the French Revolution. In 1790 Condorcet became an ardent advocate of woman's rights. In the upper class of French society Mme. Roland with her salon of Girondists showed what a beautiful and accom-

plished but ill-starred woman could do. Contemporary with the French Declaration of Rights Olympe de Gouges prepared a book, "The Declaration of the Rights of Women," which she dedicated to the queen. This time it was no mere upper-class feminist movement which she and Theroigne de Mericourt tried to start. They represented the lower classes. When the ideas of popular rights were so generally discussed, it is no wonder that thoughtful women began to apply logical principles to their condition. If "all men are born free and equal," it was natural for the woman to ask about her equality. Theroigne de Mericourt incited the women of Paris to meet on the Place Louis XV to claim their entrance to the sessions of the legislature of the Commune. The women's attempt in France, however, proved abortive. The National Assembly refused a later petition for them to vote the equality of the two sexes. Moreover, the rights which they had enjoyed as feudal noblewomen, or as women masters in the professional voting of the guilds, were withdrawn. Numerous women's clubs sprang up which claimed as members such remarkable women as Charlotte Corday and Rose Lacombe. When Napoleon gained the mastery, his dislike of the intellectual woman was reflected in the Code Napoleon, which placed the wife under the guardianship of her husband. It was not until this century (1907) that the married woman obtained control of her earnings and savings. There also arose the despotic

state regulation of prostitution. This system of reglementation has been strenuously attacked by leading women. Women were active during the early French Socialist movements of Saint Simon and Fourier. For a time, in 1848, they seemed to be likely to gain their recognition, but their hopes proved illusory, and it was not until Maria Deraismes organized the Congresses of 1878 and 1890 that the woman's rights movement in France took a new lease of life. So far the greatest achievements of the French feminists have been in education.

From France, however, Mary Wollstonecraft carried the principles of woman's rights into England, and in 1792 published her "Vindication of the Rights of Women." She had an unfortunate example of manhood in her father, and was still more unfortunate in her own family experiences. She separated from her husband Imlay, and lived with the atheist, William Godwin. One of her daughters, Fanny, committed suicide; the other, Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin, went away with the poet Shelley, whom she married when his wife committed suicide. Horace Walpole, writing to the bluestocking, Hannah More, calls Mary Wollstonecraft a philosophizing serpent. She was also referred to as "that hyena in petticoats." Mary Wollstonecraft, like Olympe de Gouges, appealed to the reason and to the natural rights which belong to all human beings. We shall take occasion to examine her production later.

Whether women had the right to vote in England at this time and previous to it, is a question of dispute. Caroline A. Biggs says:

> In early Saxon times women who were freeholders of lands and burgesses in towns had the same electoral rights as men. We have records showing that ladies of the manse, in their own right, sent members to Parliament. Down to the time of the Civil War women were accustomed to share in the election of "parliament men."[1]

Mrs. Fawcett acknowledges that certain authorities and the law-court interpretations are against her contention, but quotes from the "Annals of a Yorkshire House" that when Spencer Stanhope was running, his mother wrote a letter saying, "Should it come to a very close struggle I dare say they will then call upon the ladies, and in that case every self-respecting woman should certainly refuse her assistance."

In 1797, five years after Mary Wollstonecraft's production, Fox took occasion to comment on the absurdity of any one's advocating the rights of woman. Women, however, were taking more interest in public affairs. In the Peterloo riots of 1819 they were active in the fray. When the Reform Bill of 1832 was drafted, it was thought advisable to substitute "male person" for "man." It was contended that this put upon women the burden of a statutory disability.

[1] "History of Woman's Rights," IV, p. 833.

In the United States during colonial times the suffrage was not restricted to males until Virginia did so in 1699, New York in 1777, Massachusetts in 1780, New Hampshire in 1784. The nine other States followed later. In the first half of the seventeenth century Anne Hutchinson, the mother of fifteen children, held the first woman's club in America, giving in her own house lectures twice a week. She was banished from Massachusetts and went to Rhode Island, where she was welcomed by Roger Williams, who held that "the civil power had no right to interfere with the opinions of men and women, or with their idea on any subject." Mary Brent arrived in Maryland four years after Anne Hutchinson came to America. In 1647 she, as the executor of Governor Calvert, assumed his attorneyship for his brother, Lord Baltimore, and went to the general assembly and demanded the right to sit and to cast *two* votes. During the Revolution women were active. They formed antitea leagues and domestic-goods leagues. Through the example of Martha Washington the "Daughters of Liberty" was formed. Hannah Lee Corbin, of Virginia, protested to her brother, Gen. Richard Henry Lee, that to tax women without votes was just as wrong as for England to tax the men without votes. The War of Independence matured the movement. When the change to the present form of constitution was being considered, the women demanded the vote in 1787. Abigail Smith Adams, the wife of

John Adams, wrote a bantering letter to him, in which she said:

> I long to hear you have declared an independency. . . I desire you to remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors. . . Remember all men would be tyrants if they could. If particular attention and care are not paid to the ladies, we are determined to ferment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound to obey any laws in which we have no voice nor representation.

When the Constitution was drawn up, however, and put into practice, the women did not receive the privilege which some of them expected. No doubt there was not much universality about the movement among women during these Revolutionary times. This may account for the way in which it became a secondary issue.

The spirit of romanticism was wide-spread in educated circles. "The New Héloïse," the productions of the Lake poets, Goethe's letters, the writings of Mme. de Stäel, and in the earlier half of the nineteenth century those of George Sand, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Camilla Collett, Shelley, and others of later decades presented the claims of "human universality and individual peculiarity" in the development of both sexes.

VI

THE WOMAN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN EUROPE

MANY movements of great importance characterized the nineteenth century, movements which caused discussion of the rights of the common people, and as a necessary consequence the rights of woman. In Continental Europe the French revolutions of 1830, 1848, and 1870 affected not only France but the rest of Europe. The rise of the German Empire and the Italian Kingdom in the latter half of the century were events of first-rate political significance. Among the English-speaking nations there were rapid steps toward democracy and federation. Early in the century the *laissez-faire* policy became a part of practical politics and of strategic commercialism. The laboring class began to rise to class-consciousness in the trade union movement. In England the reforms of 1832, 1867, and 1885 gave successive advance in the extension of the suffrage. Poor law and municipal reform, Chartism, Socialism, and Cooperation claimed the attention of all who were interested in social questions. The introduction of the policy of *laissez-faire* in industry, and the contemporaneous growth of trade unions, of a self-conscious labor class, and of woman's participation

in economic affairs gave the woman movement a wider application and a conscious purpose. In America the antislavery agitation and the Civil War in the United States were parts of movements for an emancipated democracy. The latter part of the nineteenth century and the opening years of the twentieth saw the Australasian states making many experiments in social politics. The nineteenth century therefore was studded with pivotal points round which civil rights movements revolved.

In England, as has been mentioned above, the women were aroused by the substitution of "male person" for "man" in the Reform Act of 1832 and the Municipal Act of 1835, which put upon them the burden of a statutory disability. For more than thirty years there was an interesting controversy respecting this point. In 1850 Lord Brougham's act provided that "words importing the masculine gender shall be deemed to include females unless the contrary is expressly provided." It was not until 1867, however, that "male person" gave place to "man" in the Suffrage Act. The very next year women claimed the right to vote under the act. Miss Lydia Becher and some five thousand of the women of Manchester were refused the right. The matter was carried to the Court of Common Pleas in the case of Charlton vs. Lings. The judgment rendered held that the word "man," in an act of Parliament, must be held to include woman, but "this did not apply to the privileges granted by the state." The champions

of the women's cause pointed out that then "man" meant merely man or male person for voting, but meant both man and woman for the purposes of taxation.

In 1835 the realm of science recognized the ability of woman in electing Mrs. Somerville and Caroline Herschel to the Astronomical Society. Mrs. Browning and the Brontë sisters took a prominent place in literature. Florence Nightingale immortalized herself in the relief work of the Crimean war. The admirable way in which Queen Victoria performed her royal duties commanded the respect of all. In 1840, at the antislavery conference held in London, the women who came as representatives from America, were refused recognition. This action created a good deal of irritation and was destined to have an important bearing on the movement, especially in America.

Both in Parliament and among non-parliamentarians the women's cause found male champions. Disraeli and Cobden favored their movement. Lord Brougham took an active interest. Mr. Gladstone, while not favoring woman suffrage, strenuously opposed the way in which the Divorce Act of 1857 discriminated against the wife. He spoke no less than twenty-nine times with reference to a single clause of the act. John Stuart Mill took an entirely different position from that of his distinguished father toward the status of woman. At the 1865 election, when Mill ran successfully, woman suf-

frage was a plank in his platform. He advocated an amendment to the Franchise Act of 1867 to put "person" instead of "man" into the bill, and supported it so ably that he induced John Bright to give his vote for woman suffrage, a vote which he never expected to give and which he never repeated. Mill presented the women's petition for suffrage to Parliament in 1866, a petition which bore the names of such well-known women as Miss Garrett, Mrs. Somerville, Frances Power Cobbe, Florence Nightingale, and Harriet Martineau. When Mill was defeated in the election of 1868, Jacob Bright took his place in Parliament as the advocate of the women.

The municipal franchise was extended to women in 1869, and in 1870 under the Education Act they received the school franchise and the right to be elected on boards. Miss Elizabeth Garrett, M. D., and Mrs. Emily Davies served on the London Board. Miss Beden was a member of the Manchester Board for twenty years, and Miss Flora Stevenson of the Edinburgh Board for thirty-three years.

Of the writings and speeches relevant to the rights of women, reference has been made to those of Cobden and Disraeli. From 1830 to 1842 appeared parts of Comte's "Positive Philosophy," in which the sexual relation is treated. "The Westminster Review" for July, 1851, had an article by Mrs. Taylor (afterward Mrs. J. S. Mill), which had considerable influence both in England and in America. John Stuart Mill's "Subjection of

Women" was published in 1869. This work was translated into other languages, and is a classic argument in favor of woman's rights. Roscoe in 1858; Huxley in 1865, and Darwin in 1871, had something to say respecting this movement.

Continental Europe was by no means so active in the movement for woman's rights as England and America, although there are one or two notable exceptions. Doctor Schirmacher attributes the difference in progress in the movement between Germanic and Romance countries to the greater freedom of activity possessed by women, to the prevalence of the Protestant religion, to the training of girls in self-reliance and responsibility, and to the greater number of women in business.

Sweden, in 1862, granted the active suffrage in municipal affairs to women who paid taxes to the amount of one hundred and thirty-five dollars. Those municipal electors elect the county and town councils, and these in turn elect members of the Riksdag. The movement in Scandinavian countries was of literary origin: Fredrika Bremer, who published her "Huertha" in 1856 in Sweden; Adelaide Eurooth, Fredrika Runeberg, and Strindberg in Finland; Clara Collett in Norway; Mathilda Febiger, Pauline Worm, and Georg Brandes, the translator of Mill's "Subjection of Women," in Denmark; and Bjornsen and Ibsen in Finland, Norway, and Denmark. In 1871 the Danish Women's Club was organized by Representative Bajer and his wife. In

Germany, where respect for individual liberty is not as developed as in England, Augusta Schmidt, Louise Otto Peters, Henrietta Goldschmidt, Lina Margenstein, and Ottilia V. Steyber were active in the woman's movement from the year 1848. In 1865 there was formed the German General Woman's Club, whose program includes rights to education, to work, to choose one's calling, and to act as a citizen. The kaiser's conception of the spheres of woman as those of the church, the nursery, and the household is well known. In France women were supporters of the Socialist movement of 1848, George Sand taking an interesting part. Marie Deraismes and Leon Ricker organized the French woman's rights movement in 1876. The movement is largely restricted to Paris. At the time of the formation of the kingdom of Italy, a well-defined agitation began in that country under the direction of Anna Mozzoni. In 1878 the first International Woman's Rights Convention was held in Paris. In 1881 there was a universal suffrage convention at Rome.

VII

THE WOMAN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

IN the United States Frances Wright, a Scotch woman, began an agitation for woman's rights when she visited that country in 1820. A number of books were published by women treating of the same question. In 1832 Lydia Maria Child published her "History of Woman." Margaret Fuller's "Man versus Woman," and Eliza Fernham's "Woman and Her Era" followed.

The antislavery movement called further attention to the natural rights of man, and gave the women an opportunity for active propagandism. The Antislavery Society of Boston included twelve women in 1832. Their inclusion split the society in 1839. When the women spoke as advocates of the antislavery cause they encountered considerable opposition. Abbey Kelly was met with cries of "Jezebel" and "hyena." In 1837 an incendiary attack was made on the hall in which Angelina Grimke was speaking. In 1840, Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Elizabeth Pease went to London as delegates to the World's Antislavery Conference, but were refused recognition. William Lloyd Garrison separated himself from the men and

sat with the women as a protest against such action. The women returned to the United States, and immediately began an agitation which resulted in the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848—the first woman's rights convention. A declaration of sentiments was drafted and published. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, in a letter to Susan B. Anthony, said:

> In times like these every soul should do the work of a full-grown man. When I pass the gate of the celestials and good Saint Peter asks me where I wish to sit, I will say: "Anywhere, so that I am neither a Negro nor a woman. Confer on me, great angel, the glory of whole manhood, so that henceforth I may feel unlimited freedom.

In 1845 Fredrika Bremer, of Sweden, visited the United States, and in 1848 Ernestine L. Rose, of Westphalia, was forced to find here a home. Fredrika Bremer is said to have wept bitterly at not being born a man when in her girlhood she read of the exploits of Napoleon. At subsequent woman's rights conventions many prominent American men took part, among whom were William Henry Channing, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, William Lloyd Garrison, Horace Greeley, Theodore Tilton, Henry Ward Beecher, Frederick Douglass, and Wendell Phillips. It is a point of interest to note that in 1853 Antoinette L. Brown was excluded from the platform of the World's Temperance Convention. The temperance movement was destined to become second in importance only to the antislavery movement

in drawing attention to woman's rights. The activity of Susan B. Anthony and her associates was stopped by the Civil War. The inciting production of Harriet Beecher Stowe, the Red Cross work of Clara Barton, the sanitary commission of Elizabeth Blackwell, the superintendence of nurses by Dorothea Dix, and the assistance of Ernestine L. Rose, Anna Ella Carroll, and others manifest the cooperation of women. For six years the regular woman's rights movement was interrupted. Immediately after the close of the war there came reorganization, and concurrently with this there arose the vital question of the enfranchisement of the Negroes. But if the Negro is to be enfranchised, why not women? was the question naturally asked.

In 1866 the American Equal Rights Society was formed by a combination of the Woman's Rights Society and part of the Antislavery Society.

The preamble to the constitution states:

> WHEREAS, By the war society is once more resolved into its original elements, and in the reconstruction of our government we stand face to face with the broad question of natural rights, all associations based on special claims for special classes are too narrow and partial for the hour. Therefore, from the baptism of this second revolution, purified and exalted through suffering, seeing with a holier vision that the peace, prosperity, and perpetuity of the republic rests on equal rights to all, *we* to-day assembled in our eleventh National Woman's Rights Convention bury the woman in the citizen and our organization in that of the American Equal Rights Association.

The object of the association is given as "to secure equal rights to all American citizens, especially the right of suffrage, irrespective of race, color, or sex." The same year Mrs. Stanton announced herself as a candidate for Congress, thinking there was nothing to prevent her holding office, although she was not recognized as a voter. A number of persons who were favorable to woman suffrage thought it was an inopportune time to press the question upon Congress when efforts were being made to get the Negro enfranchised. The leaders of the woman's movement, however, continued to agitate. Rev. Olympia Brown, Mrs. Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone, Henry Blackwell, and others stumped the country. Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell were wife and husband, but Lucy refused to give up the name of Stone, in which refusal her husband concurred. The women agitators called the Republican party, with which many of them had been associated, faithless, and they bitterly found fault with the silence of their quondam friends of journalism, Tilton and his "Independent," Greeley and the "New York Tribune," Phillips and the "Antislavery Standard." These men feared that the cry would be raised that the negresses also were to be enfranchised, and thus the whole attempt to enfranchise the Negro would prove abortive. It was a case of the Negro's hour versus humanity's hour, so the women put it. In 1868 a number of antitax societies were formed, as it was asserted that women

should not pay taxes if they were not allowed representation through their vote. Julia and Abby Smith, of Glastonbury, Conn., entered upon a passive resistance campaign until they were finally reduced to two cows, which they called in honor of the times, "Votey" and "Taxey." "Then the authorities grew ashamed, and ceased to visit them."

The thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States abolished slavery. The fourteenth amendment was passed in 1868, as follows:

1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make, or enforce any law which shall abridge the privilege or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of its laws.

2. . . . But when the right to vote . . . is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged . . . the basis of representation shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens of twenty-one years of age in such State.

The fifteenth amendment to the Constitution states:

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Hundreds of petitions poured in to ask that the several States be prohibited from disfranchising any of their citizens on the ground of sex. In 1869 the National Woman's Suffrage Association was formed with the avowed object of securing the ballot on equal terms with men. The equal rights platform was found too broad, and was abandoned in 1870. A little later there was formed another association by those who did not believe in focusing the platform too much on the federal securing of the franchise. This was the American Woman's Suffrage Association, which retained a distinct existence for twenty years. Its president was Henry Ward Beecher, and among its members were Lucy Stone, Henry Blackwell, George Curtis, George W. Julian, Mary A. Livermore, Julia Ward Howe, the author of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," William Lloyd Garrison, Lousia M. Alcott, and Francis D. Gaynor.

In 1869 Wyoming conferred the suffrage on women. The next year Mary A. Livermore's paper, "The Agitator," of Chicago, was absorbed in "The Women's Journal," of Boston, edited by Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell. This is still the leading suffrage paper in America. The club movement also began during this period. The Women's Christian Temperance Union was formed in 1874.

An interesting phase of the suffrage movement from the constitutional side appeared at this time.

The English struggle over the word "man" in the franchise acts will be recalled. In 1869 Francis Minor, a lawyer, declared that the fourteenth amendment, in enfranchising colored men, had performed a like service for all women. Virginia Minor brought suit because she was not allowed to register. The case went to the Supreme Court, and judgment was given against her in 1875. The argument advanced by Minor was as follows:

WHEREAS, All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside: therefore, be it

Resolved, (1) That the immunities and privileges of American citizenship, however defined, are national in character and paramount to all State authority. (2) That while the Constitution of the United States leaves the qualifications of electors to the several States, it nowhere gives them the right to deprive any citizen of the elective franchise, which is possessed by any other citizen—to regulate not including the right to prohibit. (3) That as the Constitution of the United States expressly declares that no State shall make or enforce any laws that shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, those provisions in the several State constitutions which exclude women from the franchise on account of sex are violations alike of the spirit and letter of the Federal Constitution. (4) That as the subject of naturalization is expressly withheld from the States, and as the States clearly have no right to deprive of the franchise naturalized citizens, among whom women are expressly included, still more clearly have they no right to deprive native-born woman citizens of the franchise.

Minor pointed out that women were counted in the enumeration on which the congressional appropriation is based, and held they were legally entitled to an equal share in direct representation. The decision given by the court was:

> The National Constitution does not define the privileges and immunities of citizens. The United States has no voters of its own creation. The Constitution does not confer the right of suffrage upon any one, but the franchise must be regulated by the States. The fourteenth amendment does not add to the privileges or immunities of a citizen; it simply furnishes an additional guaranty to protect those he already has. Before the passing of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, the States had the power to disfranchise on account of race or color. These amendments, ratified by the States, simply forbade that discrimination, but did not forbid that against sex.

The constitutional questions seem to be: (1) Who are citizens of the United States? (2) Are women citizens? (3) Have the States the right to discriminate against one citizen who has the same qualifications respecting age, residence, and property as another citizen who has the elective franchise? Chief Justice Taney gave an innocuous decision of the court in the Dred Scott case: "Citizens are the political body who, according to our republican institutions, form the sovereignty and hold the power and constitute the government through their representatives."

Three alternatives presented themselves to the

women agitators: one, to go on the assumption that they had the right to vote and to test their claim legally; the second, to get Congress to pass an act forbidding that the right to vote be denied on account of sex; the third, to get the various State legislatures to pass acts conferring the franchise on women. Acting on the first alternative Virginia Minor lost her case, and in 1872 Susan B. Anthony and fourteen others were arrested by the deputy marshal for voting. Fines were imposed, which were never paid, and the election officers were imprisoned but soon released. At the close of the National Woman's Suffrage Convention in Washington, a committee of women, before a joint committee of the Congress, petitioned that an experiment be tried by enfranchising the women of the District of Columbia, and if the experiment were successful, that State disfranchisement on account of sex be prohibited. The aim of the women in initiating action before Congress has been to get a select and permanent committee to hear their appeals. In 1882 they were granted a select but not a permanent committee. In 1883 they obtained a favorable majority report for their second alternative in a proposed sixteenth amendment:

1. The right of citizens of the United States shall not be denied nor abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

2. The Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to enforce this provision.

The women are still unsuccessful in getting this amendment, or their permanent committee. It would facilitate matters greatly if such an amendment were passed. This would require a two-thirds vote in the Houses and a three-fourths vote in the State legislatures, or a specially called convention. To win the States one by one will require fifty-two acts of State legislation in such cases.

VIII

THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN THE LAST GENERATION

DURING the last thirty years there have been many changes in the status of woman. In regard to suffrage the movement in England gained considerable impetus in the eighties when the New Franchise Bill was under consideration. In 1880 the suffrage was extended to women in the Isle of Man, at first to the freeholders, and later to the householders. John Morley, Mrs. Cobden Unwin (Cobden's daughter), and Mrs. Helen Clark (Bright's daughter) were active for woman suffrage. The Trade Union Congress favored it. Gladstone, however, opposed it, holding that it would "trespass upon their delicacy, their purity, their refinement, the elevation of their whole nature." The Corrupt Practices Act of 1883 limited campaign expenses, and the politicians called the women to help. The Primrose League was formed to aid Lord Randolph Churchill and his followers. Three years later, in 1886, Mrs. Gladstone was instrumental in forming the Women's Liberal Federation, which had a majority against woman suffrage until 1890. Then those who opposed woman suffrage and those who thought that the time was

not ripe for it, seceded and formed the National Women's Liberal Association in 1893. In the House of Commons support of woman suffrage bills has grown, until 1892 was the last year in which such a bill was defeated on a straight issue. In 1881-1882 municipal franchise was extended to women in Scotland. County franchise was given to women in England in 1888, and ten years later, in Ireland, women were given the franchise except for members of Parliament. Petitions have been presented again and again to Parliament; the petition of 1896, under the control of Florence Davenport Hill, carried a quarter of a million signatures. Women, in 1894, became eligible as poor-law guardians, parish and district councilors, and in 1907 as town and county councilors. The suffragists, however, do not carry the united support of the British women. In 1889 Mrs. Humphrey Ward started an antisuffrage movement, although she is reported as not being opposed to local franchise for women. Miss Potter (now Mrs. Webb) and Mrs. Creighton supported her for a time, but afterward changed their views. Mrs. Ward, in "The Nineteenth Century," made this statement: "We believe the emancipating process has now reached the limits fixed by the physical constitution of women. . . The normal experience of women does not, and never can, provide them with such material to form a sound judgment on great political affairs as men possess." Sir James Knowles, the editor, said: "It is submitted that for

once and in order to save the quiet home life from total disappearance they should do violence to their natural reticence and signify publicly and unmistakably their condemnation of the scheme now threatened." In 1908 an antisuffrage society was formed under Mrs. Henry Ward, and a men's antisuffrage league under the Earl of Cromer. These societies amalgamated in 1910. The suffragists, such as Miss Margaret Ashton, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, and Mrs. Lees, say that the antisuffrage women put them in mind of certain dissenters in 1772, who petitioned against their brother dissenters respecting the repeal of the Five Mile and Test and Corporation Acts: "And as we are content, we pray that others who are not content may meet with no relief." They point out that while the antisuffragists are crying out against the injury of bringing their sex into the conflict of political life, Mrs. Henry Ward assists her son in his campaign in West Herfordshire.

In 1903 the militant societies became active. Mrs. and Miss Pankhurst formed the Social and Political Union. Protests were made in 1908 and 1909 by the suffrage societies:

> That the council of the National Union of Woman's Suffrage Societies strongly condemns the use of violence in political propaganda, and being convinced that the true way of advocating the cause of woman's suffrage is by energetic, law-abiding propaganda, reaffirms its adherence to constitutional principles, and instructs the Executive

Committee and the societies to communicate this resolution to the press.

The militants' policy is to coerce the government to identify itself with the suffrage cause; they work against the supporters of the government even if they are in favor of woman suffrage. The regular suffragist union supports the man. The public is well acquainted with the extreme methods used by the militants, such as attacks on cabinet ministers, stone-throwing, window-breaking, pollution of the mails, burning of buildings, hunger-strikes. The militants complain that the government has not been true to its promises, and that Lloyd-George, Winston Churchill, and other ministers are traitors. There has been a good deal of parliamentary strategy used respecting suffrage bills, and it is easy to get a wrong impression of what the government is trying to do. Mr. Asquith has always announced himself as an opponent of woman suffrage, but as being willing to let the majority view prevail; he would not initiate such legislation, but would bow to the deliberate judgment of the House. Even the militant suffrage societies could not get along without a split, and the Freedom League was formed under Mrs. Despard. The government's "Cat and Mouse" Bill, which was passed to meet the hunger-strike of the militants in prison, seems to have broken the leadership of the movement for the present. Only sporadic attempts at violence are reported. Mrs. Pankhurst thinks she is doing a

marvelous work. "The men and women," she says, "of the coming time will, I am persuaded, be filled with admiration for the patient work of the early pioneers and the heroic determination and persistence in spite of coercion, repression, misrepresentation, and insult of those who fought the later militant fight." Keir Hardie has been an adviser in some of the legislative movements. Israel Zangwill has furnished some ammunition, such as the following: "What Christianity cannot do, what charity cannot do, what all the thunder of your Carlyles and your Ruskins cannot do, a simple vote does." Mrs. Bernard Shaw uses hot words: "That the vilest male wretch who can contrive to keep a house of ill fame should have a vote, and that the noblest woman in England shall not have one because she is a female!"

In the United States Wyoming no longer stands alone in granting full suffrage to women. It has been joined by twelve other States: Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Washington, California, Arizona, Kansas, Oregon, Illinois (partial), Alaska, Montana, and Nevada. It is reported that in Colorado and Idaho the payment of political workers is a wide-spread abuse. There is a suffragette movement in New York City under Mrs. Belmont and Mrs. MacKay, but it has not assumed the prominence which the English movement has gained. In 1895 the suffragist, Julia Smith, published a Suffrage Woman's Bible, with a Preface by Mrs. Stanton.

In 1910 Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt organized the Woman's Party Movement, which has been of considerable service in the campaigns for the extension of the franchise. Mrs. Francis Squire Potter started the Political Settlement movement to provide a school for politics for women. A reading-room with desks, maps, and books is provided to continue the work of permanent citizenship.

There are antisuffrage societies also in the United States. Some years ago the Albany Association for opposing woman suffrage was formed with this declaration: "It threatens the home, threatens the sacredness of the marriage tie, threatens the church, and undermines the Constitution of our great republic." In the American Senate this opinion was expressed: "If we make this experiment we shall destroy the race, which will be blasted by the vengeance of Almighty God."

In 1904 the International Council of Women, which originated in Washington in 1888, sanctioned woman suffrage.

In the British Dominions there has been considerable progress in the enfranchisement of women, especially in Australasia. Municipal suffrage was granted to widows and spinsters in Ontario in 1884, in New Brunswick in 1886, in Quebec, Nova Scotia, and Manitoba in 1887, in Prince Edward Island, British Columbia, and the Northwest in 1888. Hon. W. R. Emmerson says that in 1783, when New Brunswick was a province, women had a right to vote, and did

vote in the election; the right was taken away in 1791. In 1883 the Canadian Women's Suffrage Association was formed in Toronto, Mr. Donald McEwen being president, and Mrs. S. McMaster, William Houston, and Thomas Bengough on the Executive Committee. The same year Sir John A. Macdonald's Bill to amend the electoral law contained a clause for woman suffrage. The clause was voted on next year and rejected by seventy-eight to fifty-one votes. In 1897 British Columbia conferred the municipal franchise on all women ratepayers.

In New Zealand the age of petition reached its climax in 1891 when the women presented a suffrage petition seventy yards long. In 1893 full franchise was conferred, although women were not given the right to sit in Parliament. In 1895 South Australia granted women full suffrage; in 1900 West Australia did likewise. In 1902 the Federation of Australia conferred the full franchise, and New South Wales did the same for that state. In 1903 Tasmania, in 1905 Queensland, and in 1908 Victoria granted state franchise to women. At the Imperial Conference in 1911 Premier Fisher, of Australia, said: "There is no Australian politician who would nowadays dare to get up a meeting and declare himself an enemy . . . not the slightest doubt that women's votes had had a good effect on social legislation." In November, 1910, both of the Australian Houses of Parliament passed this resolution:

That this House is of the opinion that the extension of the suffrage to the women of Australia for State and Commonwealth Parliaments on the same terms as men, has had the most beneficial results. It has led to the most orderly conduct of elections, and at the last Federal elections the women's vote in the majority of the States showed a greater proportionate increase than that cast by the men. It has given a greater prominence to legislation, particularly affecting women and children, although the women have not taken up such questions to the exclusion of others of wider significance. In matters of defense and imperial concern they have proved themselves as far-seeing and discriminating as men. Because the reform has brought nothing but good, though disaster was freely prophesied, we respectfully urge that all nations enjoying representative government would be well advised in granting votes to women.

In 1902 a Women's Suffrage League was formed in Natal; in 1907 a Woman's Enfranchisement League in Cape Colony, and an International Woman's Suffrage Alliance for Natal, the Transvaal, and Cape Colony.

In Continental Europe there have been a few countries which have advanced toward the enfranchisement of women. In 1904 the eighth annual meeting of the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance was held in Berlin. Their demands were stated as follows: Equal educational and labor opportunities, equal rights before civil and criminal law, equal responsibility of men in sex matters, woman suffrage, recognition of the high value of woman's work in the social sphere. It will take

many suffrage conventions to make much impression on some of the German political parties. In 1901 a woman suffrage society was formed through the inspiration of Mrs. Cauer, Doctor Augsburg, and Doctor Schirmacher. Two years later Catholic and Jewish societies were formed. In 1908 an imperial law was passed, authorizing women to join political societies and to attend sessions and public meetings.

In Sweden the Baroness of Adlesparre founded the Fredrika Bremer League in 1884. When the men received universal male suffrage in 1909, the women were given passive suffrage in municipal elections. In Finland, which was part of Sweden until 1809, active and passive male and female suffrage was granted to those over twenty-five years of age. This is the only European example of political eligibility of women. Of the two hundred members in Parliament, nineteen were women in 1907, and twenty-five in 1908. In all the European countries where there is a system of reglementation in vogue, the women's societies are pressing for its abolition. In Norway, as in Sweden and Finland, the real suffrage movement began in the eighties. In 1884 the Norwegian Women's League was formed. They were a factor in the abolition of the official regulation of prostitution in 1887. In 1907 women who were taxed were granted the suffrage. The constitution prevents them from being cabinet ministers, consuls, or theologians. The

Danish women who are taxpayers and twenty-five years old were given the vote in municipal affairs in 1908. Two years before this, official regulation of prostitution was abolished. In Iceland active [1] and passive municipal suffrage was granted to women in 1907.

A suffrage movement started in Hungary in 1904. The Clericals and Social Democrats strenuously opposed it. The French woman's rights parties, which have achieved little except in education, are Catholics, Moderates, and Radicals. The Catholics accept the superiority of man, but demand higher education, the single standard morals, and the authority of the mother. The Moderates are individualistic. The Radicals desire coeducation, schools of motherhood, equal pay, municipal and national suffrage. The feminist sentiment on the whole seems to be rapidly growing. (Finot.) In Russia women were granted in 1908 the right to hold the first National Congress of Women through the efforts of Mrs. V. Philosophow. In 1909 the Servian Federation of Woman's Clubs declared for woman suffrage. In 1907 Mrs. Anna Carina formed the League of Progressive Women in Bulgaria. This league admits only confirmed woman's rights supporters.

[1] By active suffrage is meant that the voting power is granted to citizens not only as ordinary electors but as representatives.

PART II

EDUCATIONAL, LEGAL, AND ECONOMIC PHASES

IX

WOMEN AND EDUCATION

THE extension of facilities for education of women has been more important than the granting of the franchise. The education of women has received the full support of all classes of women and men, with the exception of a few ultraconservative individuals or pessimistic philosophers. Professional callings in life demanding educational preparation have been opened to women. It has been suggested (Tayler) that the admonition of Canon Gore to the working men of England might be applied to the advancement of women:

> All this passion for justice will accomplish nothing unless you get knowledge. You may become strong and clamorous, you may win a victory, you may effect a revolution, but you will be downtrodden again under the feet of knowledge if you leave knowledge in the hands of privilege, because knowledge always wins over ignorance.

The educational position of women in ancient and medieval times has been referred to. Queen's College, in London, the first woman's college in England, was founded in 1848 "to prepare females for teachers and governesses." Bedford followed next year. Then came Girton in 1872, Newnham in

1875, and Holloway in 1886. Edinburgh opened its Pharmacy Department to women in 1868. Since 1870 there have been public rural coeducational and urban girls' elementary schools. All the British universities are open to women except Dublin, although Oxford and Cambridge do not confer degrees on women. There are about six hundred female physicians. The Salvation Army has three thousand women "preachers," but among the regular Christian denominations there are very few, the Congregational bodies having a limited number.

In the United States girls were admitted to the Boston schools in 1789. In the nineties Plymouth and Gloucester gave them an hour or two a day. The first female seminary was instituted by the Moravians in 1749, at Bethlehem, Pa. From 1819 to 1829 Mrs. Emma Willard advocated education for girls in New York, despite the opposition of the clergy, who thought higher mathematics would lead to the dissolution of the family. Mrs. Willard founded Troy Female Seminary in 1821. In 1836 Mary Lyon founded Mount Holyoke at South Hadley, Mass. Catharine Beecher originated the American Woman's Educational Association in 1852. In 1861-1865 Matthew Vassar founded Vassar College, the first adequately endowed woman's college; Miss Sophie Smith founded Smith in 1871-1875; Henry F. Durant, Wellesley in 1875; Radcliffe followed in 1879. There are now over one hundred women's colleges in the United States, with nearly ten thousand

students. There are thirty-five thousand girls in private secondary schools. In the meantime another movement was instituted to open existing schools to women. Oberlin College was open to women from the first, in 1833. Then came Antioch, which was followed by Wisconsin in 1863, by Michigan, California, and Evanston in 1870, by Cornell in 1872. Yale, Harvard, Columbia, and Johns Hopkins do not confer degrees on women, but Harvard and Columbia have annexes. There has been a very large increase in the attendance of women at college. Leland Stanford, Jr., for example, had twenty-nine and seven-tenths per cent women students in 1892, and forty per cent in 1898. It has now limited the attendance of girls to five hundred. In 1910 there were twelve thousand five hundred and ninety B. A. degrees conferred in the United States. Of these, forty-four per cent went to women.

Barnes says the people of the United States have a modern industrial democracy, being educated almost entirely by celibate women. In the primary public schools of the entire country eighty per cent of the teachers are females—in Massachusetts, ninety per cent; in Connecticut, ninety per cent; in New York City and in Boston, eighty-nine per cent; in Chicago, ninety-three per cent; in Omaha, ninety-seven per cent; in Charleston, ninety-nine and three tenths per cent. In the high schools fifty-four per cent of the teachers are women, in the normal schools sixty-five per cent, and in the higher institutions

seventeen and six-tenths per cent. In secondary schools the boys are outnumbered by the girls. This feminization of education is noticeable also in the curriculum chosen, the girls in the high schools and colleges taking the humanities, the boys science. In the registration for courses in high schools and seminaries since 1890 there has been an increase in Latin of fifteen per cent, French four per cent, German ten per cent, history twenty-seven per cent, but a decrease in physics of seven per cent, chemistry three per cent, physiology fifteen per cent, civics seven per cent.

Some think that the showy, concrete, emotional type of journalism exemplified by "McClure's" and "Everybody's" in contrast to the "Century" and the "Atlantic" is due to the influence of women. From sixty per cent to seventy per cent of the attendance at religious services is composed of women. The feminization of culture is noticeable in modern civilization. The United States is only one example. The presence of so many women teachers has caused anxiety in some quarters. Are the rising generations to receive the best educational equipment for the strenuous work of the world? The personality of the teacher is the great factor in the objective means of education. While women may have saved the situation in education when the men were moving off to engineering, manufacture, and commerce, the question which Barnes asks naturally arises: "Whether the historian of the

future will consider this period of demoralization and feminization a time of advance may be uncertain, but it is certainly a time of liberated energy and of broadening participation in all that is best in life." It must be remembered also that anthropologically woman is nearer the child than man, and that the mother instinct is a strong qualification for women teachers in the primary grades.

Women are entering the professions by the hundreds. In the United States there are at least one thousand university teachers, one thousand lawyers, two thousand journalists, three thousand five hundred preachers, seven thousand physicians, sixteen thousand in the professions exclusive of teaching. From 1890 to 1898 there was an increase in medicine, of men fifty-one per cent, of women sixty-four per cent; in dentistry, of men one hundred and fifty per cent, of women two hundred and five per cent; in pharmacy, of men twenty-six per cent, of women one hundred and ninety per cent; in technical and agricultural education, of men one hundred and nineteen per cent, of women one hundred and four per cent. These statistics show what a revolutionary change has taken place since the times when the clergy thought higher mathematics detrimental to the home, when Harriet Martineau concealed her writing under her sewing, and Mary Somerville hid her mathematics from her friends, when Myra Beadwell and Belva A. Lockwood had to petition the Supreme Court, and Elizabeth Blackwell's appear-

ance at Geneva Medical School in the forties was considered by the students a joke some other college was playing on them as it was considered "indecent" for a woman to study medicine, or when Anne Hutchinson, Lucretia Mott, Anne Lee, or Antoinette Blackwell dared to preach.

In other countries the education of women is receiving attention. Elementary education has become obligatory in Canada, Australia, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Italy, France, Servia, and Japan. The illiterates in Russia number from seventy to eighty per cent. Of the two million students in the elementary schools, six hundred and fifty thousand are girls. Mexico has public elementary schools for girls. Italy separates the boys from the girls. In secondary education there is not as universal provision made for the public instruction of girls. You rarely find the same quality of opportunity with coeducational programs as are given in Canada and the United States. Japan furnishes secondary schools for girls and an educational institution for the daughters of the nobles. Russia, under Catherine II, created an institute for girls, which gave a superficial fashionable course. Helena Pavlowna, the aunt of the Tsarina of Alexander II, established in 1857 the first public lyceum for girls of all classes. Now there are three hundred and fifty lyceums, with ten thousand students. The Moscow lyceum is the only one of German gymnasium rank. Galicia has girls' gymnasiums at

Cracow, Lemberg, and Przemysl; Servia has public and private high schools, and has opened the boys' gymnasiums to girls; Bulgaria has high schools. In Belgium there are government girls' high schools, but girls have to go to private institutions to prepare for the universities. This is true of France also with her Lycées since 1890. In Italy one hundred thousand girls are in the Roman Catholic Church schools, and twenty-five thousand in state and private schools. Girls are admitted to the boys' classical and technical institutions. There are convent schools in South America, Central America, and Mexico. Mexico has public high schools also for girls. There are private schools in Portugal and Great Britain. The secondary education of girls in Australia is largely of a private school character. In the Netherlands the schools are not coeducational, and are partly municipal and partly private. Germany furnishes gymnasiums or real-gymnasiums, or admits to boys' schools. In 1866 Sweden opened the art academies to women.

In higher and professional education there has also been a decided improvement the last fifty years. The Swedish university was opened to women in 1870. Women were allowed to qualify for dentists, surgeons, and organists in 1861, but not for preachers. Helsingfors University was opened to women in 1870, Copenhagen in 1876. The universities are open to women also in Germany, the Netherlands, Australia, Portugal, Italy, France, Belgium, Servia,

Bohemia, and Galicia. The universities of South America and Mexico are open to women, but public opinion is against their attendance. In Mexico no women attend. Only a few attend in Spain. In France one-tenth of the students are women. There has been a reactionary wave in Bulgaria in the exclusion of women in 1907. Russia has vacillated in her policy. In 1862 and 1886, when edicts of exclusion were announced, the women went to Switzerland. There is now another adverse edict, the two thousand women in the universities being allowed to finish. Russia has a sort of dog-in-the-manger policy: she does not want her women in her own universities, and does not wish them to go elsewhere for higher education. She has lower schools of commerce for women; and there are three hundred thousand women employed in commerce. Japan opened a woman's university. The University of Tokyo does not receive women.

There is a number of outstanding women in European educational circles. Sonja Kowalewska, a Russian, the winner of a contest in mathematics, was professor of mathematics in the free University of Stockholm; Madame Skledowska-Curie, also a Russian, the joint discoverer of radium, holds the chair of physics at Sorbonne; Ellen Key is a teacher of note; Anna Tumarkin is professor of philosophy in the University of Berne. Marie Poplin is the leader in the preparation of women for the university in Belgium. There are ten uni-

versity women teachers in Italy, including Therese Labriola in philosophy at Rome and Rina Monti in anatomy at Pavia. Spain, which used to boast of its Latin professor, Donna Galinda, and of Isabel de Rosores, who preached in the Cathedral of Barcelona, now boasts of Emilia Pardo Bazan, as the Spanish Zola. She is a suffragist. Miss (Doctor) Panajotatu is lecturer in bacteriology in the University of Athens, which was opened to women in 1891. In Galicia Mrs. Doctor Dazynska is university lecturer in political economy. Fräulein Babor was the first woman Ph. D. from the Czech University. In German Austria Marie V. Ebner (Eschenbachy) is considered by some the greatest woman German writer. There are sixty-two thousand female teachers in Italy; women control the whole public school system for girls in France; there are one thousand two hundred women teaching in Bulgaria, and one thousand in Servia; of eight thousand teachers in Galicia, one-half are women; of sixty-seven thousand in Russia, twenty-seven thousand are women. Even in Japan thirteen per cent of the teachers are women.

There are women in nearly all the liberal professions; one hundred and twenty-six thousand in Russia, including five hundred and forty-five physicians and four hundred druggists; doctors, dentists, artists, authors, poets in Servia and Bulgaria; lawyers in Paris, Toulouse, and Germany; doctors in Belgium, Spain, South America, Germany, the

Netherlands, Sweden. There are no women preachers in Germany or France. The medical profession seems to be one which opens most easily to women, the ministry the most difficult, with law as a close second. There are twenty women doctors in the Netherlands, five lawyers, and three preachers; there are fifty doctors in Germany, five lawyers, and no preachers. In Italy Rina Monti is professor of anatomy, Maria Montessori is noted for her hospital work, but the legal profession is closed, although Laidi Poëb was called to the bar in Turin. Journalism and pharmacy claim a considerable number of women in some countries.

In the far East the shackles are beginning to fall from the women. In Korea the women are petitioning the government to grant them a name, as they have neither a first nor a family name. In China the movement toward popular education will affect beneficially the women. The time may be at hand when there will be no murder of girl babies and the women will escape from the threefold subjection to father, mother, and mother-in-law. In India the mother-in-law rules the zenana. Education of women is discredited because the best educated women are the dancing-girls, whose morals are loose. Cornelia Sorabija is India's first woman lawyer. This may mean considerable for the legal status of woman, as male lawyers cannot take women as clients. Every civilized person will hail with gladness the day when the Chinese cease to consider "a cow worth more

than a thousand women," and the father no longer prays, "May the tree grow in the forest, but may no daughter be born to me."

The association and club movements, of which we can give no extended account, have exerted a great influence upon the enlightenment of women. The suffrage associations have received attention. In 1842 the National Woman's Relief Society was formed; it was made national in 1868, and incorporated in 1892. In 1868 the Sorosis Society appeared in New York City, and the New England Woman's Club in Boston. It is said that the club movement arose because the women were excluded from the Dickens dinner in 1867. In 1874 there was formed the Women's Christian Temperance Union, in 1879 the Woman's National Indian Association, in 1882 the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ. The National Council of Women was organized in 1888 to unify the women's associations; at the opening of this century over a million adherents were claimed. The preamble to the constitution of the National Council of Women reads as follows:

> We, women of the United States, sincerely believing that the best good of our homes and nation will be advanced by our own greater unity of thought, sympathy, and purpose, and that an organized movement of women will best conserve the highest good of the family and the state, do hereby band ourselves together in a confederation of workers committed to the overthrow of all forms of ignorance and injustice, and to the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom, and law.

The same year the International Council of Women was formed of National Councils, to meet every five years; in 1900 there were six million members. Its object is:

> To unite the women of all countries of the world for the promotion of cooperative internationalism through the abatement of that prejudice which springs from ignorance and which can be corrected only by that knowledge which results from personal acquaintance.

In 1890 the General Federation of Women's Clubs was organized; in 1893, the National Council of Jewish Women; in 1893 the Countess of Aberdeen was instrumental in forming the National Council of Women in Canada; in 1898, the National Congress of Mothers. There are so many women's organizations that one sometimes wonders, as he does respecting those of men, whether so much organization and convention work leaves time for that culture which must be emphasized if we would escape superficiality. The club movement, however, has drawn women together and exercised an elevating influence. There are general federations of women's clubs in the United States, Australia, Great Britain, Canada, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Hungary, France, Belgium, Russia, Servia, and Turkey. Greece has a federation of Greek women, of which Queen Olga was president.

X

THE LEGAL STATUS OF WOMAN

A FEW comparative statements will show the advancing legal status of women.

1. In discussing the former status of woman the following points may receive attention:

(1) The husband had discretionary power of divorce among the Jews; the wife possessed this privilege in the zenith of her power at Rome. During the time that separation was under the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts in England, the woman's position was affected by the adverse views of the clergy. When parliamentary divorce superseded the ecclesiastical form, for obvious reasons the wife did not have an equal opportunity with the husband. It was not until 1801 that a wife was given a decree of divorce, and there were only three such decrees granted before 1840.

(2) Distinction was made between husband and wife in criminal offenses. The wife's militant rebellion against her husband was considered petty treason. Was he not her lord and master? If a husband killed his wife he was drawn and hanged, but if a wife killed her husband she was drawn and burned. If the wife was married to a habitual

drunkard she had to endure his violent treatment. The husband might desert wife and child without being compelled to support them.

(3) The woman did not have equal rights of inheritance. In the Middle Ages woman could not inherit land, and if she married without the consent of her feudal lord she forfeited her inheritance. Every heiress under sixty years must marry. From an early date in the modern period, however, she could will, contract, and sue in the same way as men. When a woman married, the husband controlled her property which he might alienate. Her wages, earnings, rents, profits, and deposits were under his control. She was not a *feme sole,* but one with her husband.

(4) The wife had no guardianship of her children. Even after the husband's death, a guardian previously appointed by him had control of them. Joint guardianship was denied the widow.

These four groups of conditions will be sufficient to show the inferior position of the married woman before the law.

2. It is interesting to note some of the changes which have been made in the legal status of woman:

(1) A separate treatise will be required to treat the divorce question adequately. In 1857 judicial divorce was instituted in England. The change from parliamentary to judicial divorce gave woman more equality of opportunity. The Royal Commission on Divorce brought in majority and minority

reports, either of which, if adopted, will place woman in a different position regarding the grounds of divorce. In the United States the wife has equal rights of divorce. (Baller.)

(2) There is now equality before the criminal law. The English law of 1902 granted protection to husband and wife if one is a habitual drunkard. By the English law of 1886 a deserting husband may be made to contribute to the support of the wife and children.

(3) The English Married Woman's Property Acts of 1870 and 1882, for which Mrs. Jacob Bright worked so hard, gave the wife control of her wages, earnings, rents, and profits of property from an intestate, and the later one confers the general capacity of acquiring and executing ordinary rights of ownership as if *feme sole*.

The Canadian Women's Property Act, which was passed as early as 1859, allows the wife to enjoy all the real estate whether belonging to her before marriage or acquired afterward. She is free from her husband's debts, holds her personal property, and may obtain an order of protection for her own earnings or those of her minor children.

In the States of the American Union the wife usually controls her earnings and property. In fact, her control over her property is greater than that of the husband over his property. Idaho has a law which declares all property obtained after marriage to be the property equally of husband and wife,

and the wife's heirs inherit half if she dies intestate.

(4) In the guardianship of children the English laws of 1873 and 1895 grant to the wife guardianship of children under sixteen years in case of divorce, or if the husband deserts. By the law of 1886 the mother is guardian at the death of her husband, or jointly if he appointed a guardian. She also may appoint a guardian to act after her death. The Canadian law of 1859 states that the Superior Court may appoint the mother guardian notwithstanding the fact that the deceased husband may have appointed another. Equal guardianship of minors is granted in California, Kansas, Maine, Nebraska, New York, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island.

Thus considerable change has been made from the position that the woman is a ward of her father or her husband, or even, in some countries, of her mother-in-law. Havelock Ellis says: "These legal reforms were effected by parliaments of men, elected exclusively by men, and for the most part they were effected without any very strong pressure from women." [1]

3. Woman still occupies a position of inequality in some directions. The English divorce law allows divorce to the husband if the wife is guilty of adultery, but the wife must prove, in addition to adultery, the fact of tyranny, cruelty, incest, or desertion. In Quebec a husband can always demand

[1] Ellen Key's "Woman Movement," p. XII.

separation on account of adultery, but the wife can make such a demand successfully only if the concubine is kept in the common habitation.

The English law excludes women from juries, and gives males the preference in collateral inheritance. By the Ontario law the father is sole guardian of infants, and the widow has no more authority than a guardian appointed by the father. The father has control and custody of the children, and is entitled to their earnings. The wife cannot engage in service without the husband's consent, and the latter may serve notice on her employer for harboring.

If one reviewed the laws of Continental Europe he would find many inequalities. The guardianship of husband over wife still prevails in the Netherlands; in Italy a woman cannot accept office in a society without the consent of her husband, attested by a notary; in Russia a wife cannot secure a passport without the consent of her husband; even in Belgium, although the wife may have her own account in the savings-bank, she cannot withdraw more than twenty dollars per month without the consent of her husband.

4. In some instances the inequality is in favor of the wife. In Ontario she can deed away her real estate without the signature of her husband; she may hold property without power of anticipation; "she can use the restraint to discomfit her enemies and defeat her creditors, and when it

suits her convenience get the court to remove it"; she is not liable for the debts of her husband, although he is liable for her debts. In New Zealand the husband cannot deprive wife and children by will.

XI

MORAL RIGHTS WITH LEGAL ASSOCIATIONS

WITH reference to the protection and control of the female's body the age of consent used to be ordinarily ten years, sometimes as low as seven. The old common law of England gave the husband right to correct and chastise his wife. A wife who refused to obey the court's decree of restitution of conjugal rights was imprisoned. The laws against seduction were few and not severe. Rape, however, was severely punished. Prostitution, in many countries, was licensed and regulated by the government.

The age of consent has been raised in England to sixteen years through the efforts of the late W. T. Stead. Delaware has the age as low as seven; Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina place it at ten; Kentucky, Louisiana, Tennessee, and West Virginia twelve; New Hampshire at thirteen; California, Illinois, Indiana, Maine, Maryland, Nevada, Vermont, Virginia, Wisconsin, North Carolina, New Mexico at fourteen; Iowa and Texas at fifteen; Arkansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, and Connecticut at sixteen; Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, New York,

Utah, and Wyoming at eighteen. The women's associations have been very active in this field in the United States.

The right of the husband to beat his wife was taken away by the English law of 1891. In 1884 Lord Selbourne's law put an end to the imprisonment of wife or husband who refused to obey the court's decree for restitution of conjugal rights. In 1891 the husband was rendered incapable of forcing the decree of the court.

The laws against seduction have been made more severe; the Charlton Act of Canada is an example. Red-light districts are being broken up. Some cities, as Salt Lake City, have refused to tolerate them longer. The police will not allow strangers to enter the Barbary Coast of San Francisco. The women's associations are fighting reglementation in Continental Europe. They are aided by many publicists and sociologists. The annexes of prostitution in connection with the British military forces were abolished by the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act. Mrs. Josephine Butler and Sir James Stansfield led in this movement. In Norway the official regulation of prostitution was abolished in 1887; in Denmark in 1906. This system is being vigorously attacked in Switzerland, Germany, France, Italy, and Russia. It is significant that from his residence in Paris the leader of the Young Turks was convinced of the superiority of harem life and legal polygamy.

Society continues to recognize the so-called "double standard of morals." A man may be guilty of impurity without affecting very much his standing in some grades of society. An erring woman at once pays the penalty of complete or partial ostracism. A person, man or woman, guilty of libidinous conduct ought to feel society's disapproval. Impurity should not be condoned, no matter where it is found. There is "something rotten in the state of Denmark" where social impurity is winked at because the offender is a man. While it is necessary to stigmatize the impure person, whoever it may be, it is not so certain that society is not right in considering woman's trespass fraught with greater potential ill to its welfare. When one considers the relation of the woman to the perpetuation of the race, the mother's position in the house, the curse of illegitimacy, and the whole peculiar functioning of woman in society, he realizes more and more the responsibility which is laid upon woman. To minimize the responsibility of man is only to court disaster. We should demand purity of the man, and at the same time point out to woman that where peculiar functioning power is given, peculiar obligation devolves to conserve the rare endowment.

The influence of woman in all moral spheres is recognized. History is replete with examples of her beneficial intervention and cooperation: the anti-slavery movement and Harriet Beecher Stowe, the

temperance movement and Frances E. Willard, the campaign against social vice and Josephine Butler, the Red Cross movement and Florence Nightingale and Clara Barton, antimilitarism and Bertha von Suttner, philanthropic work of all kinds and women whose number is legion.

XII

THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF WOMAN

PROF. J. A. THOMSON says that the French Revolution was the social progenitor of the doctrine of evolution and the industrial revolution that of the doctrine of natural selection. Socialism regards these two revolutions as finger-posts in its path of progress. It was economic considerations which extended the bounds of the woman movement and gave conscious purpose to it in the wider sense. It must be remembered that socialism, apart from its Utopian excrescences, is an economic movement, and that the woman movement of the lower classes is socialistic.

1. Reference has been made to the part which woman played in primitive industry. While man was engaged in hunting or in protecting or taking his leisure, woman was the conserver of those processes which in the progress of the race became the technique of the home, the factory, the mill, the farm, the art gallery. Prof. Otis T. Mason, in the "American Antiquarian," January, 1889, has a classic passage:

> Let us follow the savage woman through her daily cares in order that we may comprehend the significance of her

place in the play. The slain deer lying before the cave, or bush-shelter, or wigwam, shall be the point of departure in the inquiry. She strikes off a sharp flake of flint for a knife. By that act she becomes the first cutler, the real founder of Sheffield. With this knife she carefully removes the skin, little dreaming that she is thereby making herself the patron saint of all subsequent butchers. She rolls up the hide, then dresses it with brains, smokes it, curries it, treats it with implements of stone and bone, with much toil and sweat, until she makes her reputation as the first currier and tanner. With fingers weary and worn, with needle of bone and thread of sinew, and scissors of flint, she cuts and makes the clothing for her lord and family; no sign is over the door, but within dwells the first tailor and dressmaker. From leather especially prepared she cuts and makes moccasins for her husband. . . Out of little scraps of fur and feathers, supplemented with bits of colored shells or stone or seeds, she dresses dolls for her children, makes head-dresses and toggery for the coming dance, adorns the walls of her squalid dwelling, creating at a single pass a dozen modern industries—at once toymaker, milliner, modiste, hatter, upholsterer, and wall-decker. . . She was first and is now the universal cook, preserving food from decomposition, and doubling the longevity of man. Of the bones at last she fabricates her needles and charms. . . From the grasses. . . she constructs the floor-mat, the mattress, the screen, the wallet. . . The arts devised by woman are in the ascendency, and the man militant has glorified them by his cooperation. Her ancient digging-stick is now a plow; her rude carrying-strap over her aching forehead is now the railroad train; her woman's boat the ocean liner; her stone hand-mill the costly roller-mill; her simple scraper for softening hides, the great tanneries and shoe-factories; her distaff, the power-loom; her clay and smooth pebbles, the potter's wheel; her sharpened stick

and bundle of hairs are the apparatus of the plastic and pictorial arts. In the early history of art, language, social life, and religion women were the industrial, elaborative, conservative half of society. All the peaceful arts of today were once woman's peculiar province. Along the lines of industrialism she was pioneer, inventor, author, originator.

When man became more circumscribed in his movements and his settlements became more permanent, when the pastoral and agricultural phase of life claimed his interest, he took over a great number of the operations which had been performed in a primitive way by the women. He brought his initiative, and the qualities developed in the chase and in tribal warfare, to bear upon domestic problems. The division of labor was readjusted. Men's pursuits became more varied and women's more restricted to the house. The same forces seem to have been at work as have been operative in subsequent divisions of labor. When the machine age came, woman was taken from the home and placed beside man in the factory.

The Jewish woman was occupied in spinning, weaving, tent-making, cooking, and herding. Ruth was gathering grain in the field when she met her fate in Boaz. The Greek women had a similar round of weaving, spinning, embroidery, tailoring, milling, and housewifery. The Roman women were found in many business pursuits. In the Middle Ages, we find more restriction. In addition to the

religious woman and the lady of chivalry, there was the working woman or the housewife. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century working men began to come to industrial self-consciousness. The factory system had created a body of workmen who owned nothing of the factors in the industrial process but their labor-power. Trade unions sprang up as legal recognition of the right to combine was given. It was not until about 1870 that women's industrial self-consciousness began to arise, when the typewriter, the telegraph, the telephone, and the department store opened up wider fields for women's activity.

If we take the United States as an example, we can see how rapidly women have entered the industrial occupations. In 1840, when Harriet Martineau visited America, only seven occupations were open to women: trading, needlework, keeping boarders, working in cotton-factories, typesetting, bookbinding, and household service. In 1890 there were four million women wage-earners in the United States, in 1900 five million three hundred thousand, and in 1910 eight million. In thirty years the number of wage-earning women had doubled. Women are engaged in all but nine of the three hundred and three breadwinning occupations of the United States; there are six thousand barbers, three thousand iron and steel workers, two thousand painters, two thousand stock-raisers, two thousand in the saloon business, one hundred lumber-

men. The female wage-earners are in the United States in proportion to the male wage-earners as fourteen to eighty-six, in Great Britain as twenty-five to seventy-five, in Germany as twenty to eighty, in Italy as twenty-two to seventy-eight, in Japan, where factory conditions are thoroughly bad, as two to one. In 1900 Russian women constituted forty-four per cent of the labor population. There were three hundred thousand Russian women in commerce, one million six hundred and seventy-three thousand in domestic service, nine hundred and eighty-two thousand in textile and mining industries, and two million in agriculture and fisheries. In France there are nine hundred thousand women in industry and one million five hundred thousand in agriculture; in Belgium, two hundred and sixty-eight thousand in industry; in Italy, eighteen thousand in commerce out of a total of one million four hundred thousand women laborers. In the United States in 1900 there were one million in agriculture, two million in domestic service, one million three hundred thousand in industries; in Australia, one hundred and fifty thousand in domestic service, thirty-five thousand in commerce, three thousand four hundred in transportation, seventy-five thousand five hundred in industry, thirty-nine thousand in extractive industry; in Great Britain, two million in industry, one million three hundred thousand in domestic service, four hundred and fifty thousand in commerce.

Finot points out that, although the population of France has increased very little, the women in the extractive industries have increased from one million eight hundred and seventy-eight thousand in 1866 to three million three hundred and thirty thousand in 1906, and that there are eight times as many women as men in the manufacture of fabrics and clothing.

2. It would take a separate volume to deal even in a general way with the laws which have been passed in different countries to safeguard the interests of women and children. Australia, for example, has an eight-hour day for women and the exclusion of children under thirteen from factories. The history of factory legislation from the time of Robert Owen to the present day is the history of the attempts to protect women and children as well as men engaged under the "machino-facture" system.

3. Trade unionism also can answer many questions respecting the industrial progress of women. Women workers, like unskilled men, have proved a difficult problem for the labor organizer. Norway has two thousand of her sixty-seven thousand women wage-earners organized; France has thirty thousand of nine hundred thousand in industry; Belgium sets a high-water mark in having two hundred and fifty thousand organized out of the two hundred and sixty-eight thousand in industry.

4. Women, as a rule, get less pay than men. Sometimes the pay is so small that it must either be

regarded as a supplement to home supplies, or as forcing the worker either to starvation or to immorality. The textile-workers in Russia get only $1.25 to $1.50 per week; in Galicia, from ninety-six cents to $4.82 per month; in Slovenia, seventy per cent of the female workers cannot live on their wages; in Spain, those who work in cigars and lace sometimes get only ten cents a day; in France, women get fifty cents a day in industry and thirty-seven cents a day in agriculture.

If the factory robs the home of the mother; if labor conditions play the greatest part in the indirect massacre of infants; if middle-class daughters, supported at home, work for mere pin-money; if spinsters unsophisticated in economic bargaining, averse to combination, with little choice of alternatives, run wages toward starvation minimums, then the relation of women to industry demands careful consideration for the sake of the race. If half of the women who commit suicide in England are waitresses under thirty years of age, if the ranks of prostitution are continually being renewed by starvation-wage girls, if there is being bred into the young girls of the race an antimarriage feeling, and a specious "freedom" from duties to home and child, then there seems to be need of a woman movement to save the race.

PART III

ARGUMENTATIVE PHASES

XIII

THE ARGUMENTS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

THE argument presented during the Revolutionary period differed from that presented by Mary Astell in 1696. Mary Astell thought the minds of men and women were alike, but woman was an inferior or female man who needed better education to make her attractive. Some psychologists take her as an example of woman's less intensive analytic consciousness, even of her own personality. She is at least an example of woman's acceptance of man's opinion of that time that woman was an inferior copy of himself. Plato, it will be recalled, held that the difference between men and women was in character, not in sex. We have referred to the sway of Platonism over the feminist movement in France and Italy. Even today many women speak of Plato as though he were one of the great protagonists of their movement. They would not do this if they paused to consider that his mature work, the "Republic," advocated a state ruled by philosophers, in which the home was destroyed, and where women were to be held in common. Are modern women ready to follow some of their leaders in a program which disrupts the

home, introduces universal wet-nurses, and sets up a system of free love? It is only when such is the attitude that Plato can be followed. It ought also to be remembered that Plato, in the "Timæus," held this low opinion of women: "Men who have been cowardly and unjust during their lives will, according to all probabilities, be changed at a second birth into women." Aristotle, on the other hand, argued that woman was essentially different from man in nature, and hence could not profit by education.

Hippel, Condorcet, and Thorild pointed out that woman as "man" had human rights and dealt with the benefits which would come to society through the emancipation of women. Some of the women writers emphasized the mother's need of culture to rear her children better. The arguments of the revolutionary times are best represented by the productions of Condorcet, Olympe de Gouges, and Mary Wollstonecraft.

Condorcet wrote to this effect:

> I do not understand in the name of what principle, in the name of what right, are women, in a republican government, excluded from public offices? The term national representation means representation of the nation. Do not women form a portion of the nation? The object of this assembly is to establish and to maintain the rights of the French people. Do not women constitute a part of the French people? The right to elect and to be elected is based for men upon their claim to be free and intelligent creatures. Are not

women free and intelligent? The only limits placed upon this right are condemnation to hard labor or shameful punishment, and to minority. Have all women been involved with the public prosecutor? Will women be charged with their lack of education, their lack of political talent? It seems to me there are many representatives who dispense with these. The principal objection itself, which is in every mouth, the argument that consists in saying that opening a political career to women will snatch them from their families, is a conjecture which has only a semblance of solidity. In the first place, it does not apply to the numerous women who are not wives, or who are wives no longer. Then, if it were decisive, it would be necessary, *for the same cause, to forbid them all the manual and all the commercial callings;* for these occupations tear them by thousands from family duties, while political employment would not busy a hundred of them in all France.[1]

Olympe de Gouges, in her famous "Declaration," proclaims:

All the women and all men who are citizens must be equally eligible to all dignities, places, and public offices, without any other distinction than that of their virtues and their talents. . . Woman is born free and equal to man in rights. . . The principle of all sovereignty resides in the entire nation, which is only the union of the woman and the man. . . The law must be the expression of the general will, and all the men, as well as all the women, must concur personally through their representatives in its formation. . . Woman has the right to mount the scaffold; she must also have that of mounting the tribune.[2]

[1] "Journal of the Society of 1789," No. 5, July, 1790.
[2] Finot, p. 245.

Emma Rauschenbusch Clough, in writing of Mary Wollstonecraft and her work, declares: "A tone pervades the speculations of a century ago concerning the antagonism between woman's personal freedom and the binding nature of the marriage tie that cannot be called morally refreshing." She thinks, however, that Mary Wollstonecraft compared favorably with many of her contemporaries. "The Vindication of the Rights of Women" was published in 1792. It was dedicated to Talleyrand, who visited the author in that year. The British press at once recognized it as advocating a new system. The author says: "I may excite laughter by dropping a hint which I mean to pursue some future time, for I really think that women ought to have representatives, instead of being arbitrarily governed without having any direct share allowed them in the deliberation of government." William Godwin, with whom she lived, expressed this opinion:

> The strength of her mind lay in intuitions. She was often right by this means only in matters of mere speculation, by a sort of tact, and the force of a cultivated imagination; and yet, though perhaps in the strict sense of the term, she reasoned little, it is surprising what a degree of soundness is to be found in her determinations.

He did not agree with her in all her opinions, nor did she follow him in his anarchistic writings except in "Maria, or the Wrongs of Woman," in

which she defines her position: "If laws exist, made by the strong to oppress the weak, I appeal to my own sense of justice."

Mary Wollstonecraft participated in revolutionary writing, and strenuously opposed Burke, whom she misinterpreted. She stigmatized as a relic of feudalism that desire of Englishmen to preserve the family estate, to perpetuate a name, which Burke commended. "You should have hinted to the French," she says to Burke, "that property in England is much more secure than liberty (press-gang), and not have conceded that the liberty of an honest mechanic—his all—is often sacrificed to secure the property of the rich."

She attacks the attitude of the day toward woman. This attitude may be described under four headings: (1) Woman was a creature of sensibility rather than of reason, whose mission was to please. Rousseau, whom Mary Wollstonecraft followed in theories of natural rights and "back to nature" programs, held that woman was created to please man—"Nature has ordained the woman should serve man"—and that woman should be of the same religion as her husband though that religion be false. Mary Wollstonecraft asks in rejoinder, why women should be educated as for a harem. The ideal woman of her day was the woman of sensibility, in whose education the cultivation of the understanding was always subordinate to the acquirement of some accomplishment of

a corporeal character. (2) Woman was to be in subjection to her husband. Many believed that such subjection was ordained by God. Milton's "Paradise Lost" was real with acquiescence. In this poem Eve is made to say to Adam:

> My author and disposer; what thou bidst
> Unargued I obey; so God ordains.
> God is thy law; thou mine; to know no more
> Is woman's happiest knowledge and her praise.

(3) Woman was regarded as man's inferior. She certainly held an inferior position, and the opinion of the civilized world at that time was, "That which is, is right." Mary Wollstonecraft's daughter, Mary Shelley, shared this opinion to a certain extent: "My belief is, whether there be sex in souls or not, that the sex of our material mechanism makes us quite different creatures, better though weaker, but wanting in the higher grades of intellect." (4) Women had souls, but their sex confined these within certain limits. Those virtues should be practised which fitted her for her subordinate position. Such should be the aim of her education.

With all these four points Mary Wollstonecraft disagreed. She advocated the woman of reason in contradistinction to the woman of sensibility; she fought against the subjection of women and the gentle tabby-cat ideal for the housewife, holding that dependence robs gentleness of its godlike char-

acter and breeds meanness and selfishness. She refused to admit that there was an inherent difference in the mental proclivities of men and women; what appears as inferiority was the result of ages of custom and different habits of life. "Considering the length of time that women have been dependent, is it surprising that some of them hug their chains?" She acknowledges that women were inferior in physical strength, but thought the first cause of woman's customary inferiority was that weakness had virtually become an attraction. In the development and emancipation of woman she advocated: (1) A rational independence and freedom; now "confined in cages like the feathered race, they have nothing to do but to plume themselves, and stalk with mock majesty from perch to perch. It is true they are provided with food and raiment, for which they neither toil nor spin, but health, liberty, and virtue are given in exchange." (2) Women need training in self-reliance and virility. They have been cooped up in close rooms until infantine airs have become second nature.

> In the most trifling dangers they cling to their support with parasitical tenacity, piteously demanding succor; and their natural protector extends his arm, or lifts his voice, to guard the lovely trembler—from what? Perhaps the frown of an old cow, or the jump of a mouse; a rat would be a serious danger. In the name of reason, and even common sense, what can save such beings from contempt, even though they be soft and fair?

This woman of reason has little patience with the acute sensibilities of her sisters or the foibles of gallantry of her brothers. "It is not condescension," she says, "to bow to an inferior. So ludicrous in fact do these ceremonies appear to me that I scarcely am able to govern my muscles when I see a man start with eager and serious solicitude to lift a handkerchief, or shut a door, when the lady could have done it herself had she only moved a pace or two." (3) Women should cultivate the sense of order. The question is asked: "How can a sense of order be expected from a being who from infancy has been made the weathercock of its own sensations?" (4) Women should develop intelligence and character.

To be a good mother a woman must have sense and that independence of mind which few women possess who are taught to depend entirely on their husbands. Meek women are in general foolish mothers. They want their children to love them best, and take their part in secret against the father, who is held up as a scarecrow. Women should engage in the activities of life; such engagement develops character.

Such is the program Mary Wollstonecraft maps out for woman. This is to be carried out through (1) education and (2) participation in the civic duties of life. She has "a profound conviction that the neglected education of my fellow creatures is the grand source of the misery I deplore," and she advocates national schools with coeducation. There

should be reforms in the social, legal, and political status of women. Government should be representative and the suffrage universal. Woman should have the right to work in any legitimate calling. The laws which make an absurd unit of a man and his wife ought to be changed. We must expect that considerable time will be needed to overcome the habits of ages. "Who can tell how many generations may be necessary to give vigor to the virtues and talents of the freed posterity of abject slaves?"

The fundamental points, therefore, upon which Mary Wollstonecraft insists are the following: (1) There is no inherent difference in the mental proclivities of man and woman; existing differences are due to different habits and activities of life. (2) There are certain "natural rights" inherited at birth from God. All human beings, male and female, have these indefeasible rights. "If the abstract rights of man will bear discussion and explanation, those of woman by a parity of reasoning will not shrink from the same test." (3) Hence women had certain ethical rights in the state which were not respected. Mary Wollstonecraft's biographer, Emma Rauschenbusch Clough, passes this criticism:

> Mary Wollstonecraft could not arrive at a correct estimate of the moral status of woman by exalting reason, and ignoring the function of conscience, of spontaneous impulse, that gather strength from family

traits, race characteristics, general environment, and religious motive.

Professor Tayler, of London University, criticizes the basis of the woman's movement of revolutionary and later times: "That the rights of women might be equal in value to the rights of men and yet not identical never occurred to English or American men and women."

XIV

NINETEENTH-CENTURY ARGUMENTS: AMERICA

THE arguments advanced by the American supporters of the woman's rights movement were embodied in manifestoes, petitions, declarations of rights, and speeches by men and women from time to time. The Declaration of Sentiments of the first conference of 1848 was as follows:

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind requires that they shall declare the causes which impel them to such a course.

We hold those truths to be self-evident; that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Wherever any form of government becomes destructive of those ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing

its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer what evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they were accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled.

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having as its direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let the facts be submitted to a candid world: He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise. He has compelled her to submit to laws in the formation of which she had no voice. He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men, both native and foreign. Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law civilly dead. He has taken from her all right to property, even to the wages she earns. He has made her morally an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage

she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming to all intents and purposes her master—the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty and to administer chastisement.

He has so framed the laws of divorce as to what shall be the proper causes, and in case of separation to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women—the law in all cases going upon the false assumption of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single and the owner of property he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow she receives but a scanty remuneration. He closes against her all the avenues of wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law she is not known. He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her in Church, as well as State, but a subordinate position, claiming apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and with some exceptions from any public participation in the affairs of the church.

He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society are tolerated in men.

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign to her a sphere of action when that belongs to her conscience and to her God.

He has endeavored, in every way that he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

Now in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half of the people of this country, their social and religious degradation; in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

In entering upon the great work before us, we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, and ridicule; but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition State and national legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and press in our behalf. We hope this convention will be followed with a series of conventions embracing every part of the country.

In this manifesto we find again the insistence upon (1) the idea that all mankind are born free and equal; (2) the inalienable rights which belong to every human being; (3) the fact that certain ethical rights of women are not recognized in the existing man-made economy. Certain rights have been denied to women which have been extended to ignorant and degraded men. It is true that the Negro has been enfranchised theoretically, and even Indians, though exempt from taxation, have been given the vote, as in the case of the Sioux in 1893. The disabilities of women, social, legal, and

political, are dwelt upon. There is a decided anti-man tone in the declaration.

The franchise was always the leading object in one section of the woman movement:

> The ballot is schoolmaster. Reading and writing are of inestimable value, but the ballot teaches what these cannot teach. . . The ballot is like charity, which never faileth and without which man is only sounding brass or tinkling cymbal. The ballot is the one thing needful without which rights of testimony and other rights will be no better than cobwebs, which the master will break through with impunity. To him that hath the ballot all other things shall be given—protection, opportunity, education, a homestead.[1]

Several reasons are given by the advocate of woman's rights why political rights are not given as well as social, civil, and industrial rights: (1) It requires a change in constitutional, not statute law. "There is not another country having an elected representative body where this body may not extend the suffrage." School suffrage has been granted in one-half of the States, but sometimes it is vetoed by the government. Municipal suffrage has been declared unconstitutional in Michigan and New Jersey. (2) The liquor interests control both parties, and these know that the women would put the liquor traffic out of business. (3) "In all generations Church, State, and society have combined to retard the development

[1] "History of Woman Suffrage," II, p. 168.

of women, with the inevitable result that these of every class are narrow, more bigoted, and less progressive than the men of that class." (4) The large number of foreigners who do not appreciate the situation. (5) The number of immoral politicians who know the women would not stand for corruption. (6) In the indifference, the inertia, the apathy of women lies the greatest obstacle to their enfranchisement. Women, as a rule, find their needs very well supplied; the working class do not reason about it; the upper class are willing to be fed and be parasites; the intermediate class are busy with other things. (7) There is a skepticism regarding the issue of democratic government.

The National Woman's Suffrage Convention of 1876 issued another Declaration of the Rights of Women:

> The history of our country the past one hundred years has been a series of assumptions and usurpations of power over women, and is in direct opposition to the principles of just government acknowledged by the United States as its foundation, which are (1) the natural right of each individual; (2) equality of those rights; (3) rights not delegated are retained by the individual; (4) no one can exercise the rights of others without delegated authority; (5) non-use of rights does not destroy them.

It further declares bills of attainder have been passed by the introduction of the word "male" into all State constitutions; the writ of *habeas*

corpus is inoperative in case of the married woman against her husband; the right of trial by a jury of one's peers is denied to women, as for instance when a girl is tried for infanticide; there is taxation without representation; an unequal code for men and women exists; aristocracies of the Old World are based upon birth, wealth, refinement, education, nobility, but in their nation on sex alone; the judiciary is but an echo of the party in power.

William Henry Channing, in 1853, advocated equal suffrage, equal inheritance, ownership, guardianship, divorce, jury rights, and exemption from taxation until the suffrage be granted. Thomas Wentworth Higginson spoke in favor of equal rights in property, education, and industry. Horace Greeley said: "I recognize most thoroughly the right of woman to choose her own sphere of activity and usefulness, and to evoke its proper limitations." William Lloyd Garrison expressed the opinion that the men of all nations have no just respect for woman, they have tyrannized over her deliberately, they have not sinned through ignorance, but theirs is not the knowledge that saves. Theodore Tilton, in the convention after the war, held in the Church of the Puritans, New York, in 1866, is reported as having declared:

> In like manner the Christian women of this country are chained to the rock of Burmese prejudice; but God is giving the morning and the evening dew, the

early and the latter rain, until the ancient fetters shall be worn away and a disfranchised sex shall leap at last into political liberty.

Henry Ward Beecher drew this ludicrous parallel:

Is an Irishman just landed, unwashed and uncombed, more fit to vote than a woman educated in our common schools? . . It is more important that woman should vote than that the black man should vote. . . I argue not a woman's right to vote, I argue woman's duty to discharge citizenship.

XV

NINETEENTH-CENTURY ARGUMENTS: EUROPE

THE English and Continental writers on the status of woman during the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century presented the following arguments:

Those opposing the movement argued as follows:

1. Auguste Comte,[1] parts of whose "Positive Philosophy" appeared from 1830 to 1842, believed that there was a natural inferiority of women, and scientifically held that woman's position in society is, and must always be, different from man's.

> Biological philosophy teaches us that through the whole animal scale, and while the specific type is preserved, radical differences, physical and moral, distinguish the sexes. Comparing sex with age, biological analysis presents the female sex, in the human species especially, as constitutionally in a state of perpetual infancy, in comparison with the others, and therefore more remote in all important respects from the ideal type of the race. Sociology will prove that the equality of the sexes, of which so much is said, is incompatible with all social existence, by showing that each sex has special and permanent functions which it must fulfil in the natural economy of the human family,

[1] "Positive Philosophy," Bk. VI, Chap. 5.

and which concur in a common end by different ways, the welfare which results being in no degree injured by the necessary subordination, since the happiness of every being depends on the wise development of its proper nature.

We have seen that the preponderance of the affective faculties is less marked in man than in the lower animals, and that a certain degree of spontaneous speculative activity is the chief cerebral attribute of humanity, as well as the prime source of the marked character of our organism. Now the relative inferiority of woman in this view is incontestable, unfit as she is, in comparison, for the requisite continuousness and intensity of mental labor, either from the intrinsic weakness of her reason, or from her more lively moral and physical sensibility, which are hostile to scientific abstraction and concentration. This indubitable organic inferiority of feminine genius has been confirmed by decisive experiment, even in the fine arts, and amidst the concurrence of the most favorable circumstances. As for any function of government, the radical inaptitude of the female sex is there yet more marked, even in regard to the most elementary state, and limited to the guidance of the mere family, the nature of the task requiring, above everything, an indefatigable attention to an aggregate of complex relations, none of which must be neglected, while the mind must be independent of the passions, in short reasonable. Thus the economy of the human family could never be inverted without an entire change in our cerebral organism, and the only possible result of a resistance to natural laws would be to deprive woman of the enjoyment of her proper welfare by disturbing the family and society. Again, we have seen that in the affective life of man, the personal instincts overrule the sympathetic and the social, which last can and do only modify the

direction decided by the first, without becoming the habitual moving powers of practical existence. Here again by a comparative examination we can estimate the happy social position appropriated by the female sex. It is indisputable that women are in general as superior to men in a spontaneous expansion of sympathy and sociality, as they are inferior to men in understanding and reason. Their function in the economy of the family, and consequently of society, must therefore be to modify by the excitement of the social instinct the general direction necessarily originated by the cold and rough reason which is distinctive of man. Apart from all consideration of material differences, and contemplating exclusively the noblest properties of our cerebral nature, we see that, of the two attributes which separate the human nature from the brutes, the primary one indicates the necessary and invariable preponderance of the male sex, while the other points out the moderating function which is appropriate to woman, even independently of maternal cares, which evidently constitute her most important special destination, but which are usually too exclusively insisted on, so as to disguise the direct social and personal vocation of the female sex.

His main points, therefore, are: (1) The biological infancy of woman; (2) equality of the sexes incompatible with social existence; (3) fundamentally different psychological characteristics; (4) the political sphere belongs naturally to man as the home sphere belongs naturally to woman.

2. On account of the part the Napoleonic Code has played in legal systems, it is of interest to record the view of Napoleon:

Woman is given to us that she may bear children. Woman is our property, we are not hers, because she produces children for us; we do not yield any to her. She is therefore our possession as the fruit tree is that of the gardener.

3. Schopenhauer (1788-1860), the German philosopher whose works attracted attention in the forties, is well known for his pessimism. In his "Studies in Pessimism" he alleges:

The fundamental fault of the female character is that it has no sense of justice. This is mainly due to the fact that women are defective in the powers of reasoning and deliberation, but it is also traceable to the position which nature has assigned to them as the weaker sex. . . They are dependent not upon strength but upon craft; and hence their instinctive capacity for cunning and their ineradicable tendency to say what is not true. For as lions are provided with claws and teeth, and elephants and boars with tusks, bulls with horns, and the cuttlefish with its cloud of inky fluid, so nature has equipped woman for her defense and protection with the arts of dissimulation; and all the power which nature has conferred upon man in the shape of physical strength and reason has been bestowed upon woman in this form. Hence, dissimulation is innate in woman, and almost as much a quality of the stupid as of the clever. It is as natural to them to make use of it on every occasion as it is for those animals to employ their means of defense when they are attacked; they have a feeling that in so doing they are only within their rights. Therefore a woman who is perfectly truthful, and not given to dissimulation, is perhaps an impossibility, and for this very reason they are so

quick at seeing through dissimulation in others that it is not a wise thing to attempt it with them. But this fundamental defect which I have stated, with all it entails, gives rise to falsity, faithlessness, treachery, ingratitude, and so on. Perjury in a court of justice is more committed by women than by men. It may, indeed, be generally questioned whether women should be sworn at all. From time to time one finds repeated cases everywhere of women who want for nothing, taking things from shop counters when no one is looking, and making off with them. . . The natural feeling between men is mere indifference, but between women it is actual enmity. The reason of this is that trade jealousy, *odium figulinum,* which in the case of men does not go beyond the confines of their own peculiar pursuit, but with women embraces the whole sex, since they have only one kind of business. Everywhere they meet in the street, women look at one another like Guelphs and Ghibellines. . . Further, while a man will, as a general rule, always preserve a certain amount of consideration and humanity in speaking to others, even to those who are in a very inferior position, it is intolerable to see how proudly and disdainfully a fine "lady" will generally behave toward one who is in a lower social rank (I do not mean a woman who is in her service) whenever she speaks to her. . . Women are an undersized, narrow-shouldered, broad-hipped, and short-legged race. . . Men need only look at the way she is formed to see that woman is not meant to undergo great labor, whether of mind or body. She pays the debt of life not by what she does, but by what she suffers.

Schopenhauer thought that fidelity was impossible in man; dwells on the lower aspects of woman's nature; holds female sympathy a matter

of sobbing and wailing on the slightest provocation; that vanity in woman comes from the absence of an intelligent ego; that when a man enters she becomes another person. Von Hartman held that chastity was unnecessary and unnatural.

If the chastity of the bridegroom were indispensable to matrimony, then, generally speaking, only such men would rear legitimate families whose physiological shortcomings would scarcely make their multiplication desirable.

Schopenhauer's philosophy respecting women has a later representative in Otto Weininger.

4. W. C. Roscoe had an able article on "Woman" in the "National Review" for October, 1858: Society has always received its characteristic nature and distinctive impress, not from the woman, but from the man. Had women the mental ability they would have discovered the privileges which it is said they have lacked.

Why tell us of Semiramis and Maria Theresa, of Vittoria Colonna and Mrs. Browning, of Mrs. Somerville and Mrs. Martineau, down to Brynhilda who held up King Guellos, and Captain Betsey who commanded the Scotch brig Cleotus? These great names which shoot so high, serve but to measure the average growth. . .

The rights-of-woman question is in much the same position now that the rights of man was in the days of Tom Paine. Society reconstructed on the basis of the rights of woman as urged to their full extent would be in yet a worse position than if we framed new schemes

of government on the theory of the natural equality of men. . .

Those modern Amazons who insisted upon setting up their sex as a separate class of beings, naturally at enmity with man, and by him unjustly subjugated and ignorantly tyrannized over, are fond of speaking of us as if we either followed a Machiavellian policy of keeping our wives and daughters ignorant, or as if, as a matter of taste, we preferred to associate with ignorant females that we may rejoice in our superiority. . .

It is an idle question which is the higher in creation when each is in an equal degree supplemental to the other. . . The scientists, however, will tell you, if we glance through the various divisions of the animal kingdom, we shall find that the most perfect forms of each division are not those through which it passes into the class next above it. . . Woman is higher than man in her nature; she is less noble in the degree of self-control and responsibility. To man, with instincts less pure, intuitions less deep, sensibilities less fine, and a heart less faithful and unselfish, has been given a weightier charge—to be more entirely under his own control, to be more completely master of himself. . .

We cannot believe what is nowadays broadly asserted, that the difference between the male and female intellect is due entirely to differences in education and circumstance, and that woman placed under the same conditions as man would become man except in the bare physical distinction of sex. . .

Unmarried and unprotected females have a right to demand room in our social organism, but no right to represent all women since they are the least truly women.

We do not hesitate to say, in spite of the most enlightened remonstrance, not only that this occupation (household) is more healthy and natural to a woman, but that it is in reality a broader field, calls forth more

faculties, and exercises and disciplines them more perfectly than ninety-nine out of one hundred of the industrial associations out-of-doors.

He asks you to reverse the situation and try to educate men to womanly characteristics. "We only say that men with equal advantage will go further in their own direction."

XVI

NINETEENTH-CENTURY ARGUMENTS: EUROPE

IN this section we deal with the arguments advanced by those who favor the movement.

1. In the forties Cobden and Bright were outspoken in their advocacy of the rights of women. Disraeli said:

> In a country governed by a woman—when you allow women to form part of the other estate of the realm—peeresses in their own right, for instance—when you allow women not only to hold land, but ladies of the manor to hold legal courts—when a woman by law may be a churchwarden and overseer of the poor—I do not see when she has so much to do with the State and Church, on what reasons, if you come to right, she has not a right to vote.

2. Huxley[1] writes to this effect:

> Some declare woman to be superior to man, others that she is inferior. The latter ask whether the song which embodies the ideal of pure and tender passion—Adelaide—was written by *Frau* Beethoven; whether it was Fornarina or Raphael who painted the Sistine Madonna. Nay, we have known one such heretic to lay his hand upon the ark itself, so to speak, and to defend the startling paradox that even in physical beauty man is the superior and

[1] "Lay Sermons," 1871, Chap. II.

(after thirty years) womanly beauty, so far as it is independent of grace or expression, is a question of draperies and accessories.

He holds this is no ground for refusing education to woman; that there is less difference between the average boy and average girl than between different boys.

Naturally not so finely strung, nor so well balanced as boys, girls are in great measure debarred from the sports and physical exercises which are justly thought absolutely necessary for the full development of the vigor of the more favored sex. Women are by nature more excitable than men, . . and female education does its best to weaken every physical counterpoise to this nervous mobility—tends to stimulate the emotional part of the mind and stunt the rest. We find girls naturally timid, inclined to dependence, born conservatives; and we teach them that independence is unladylike. . . With few insignificant exceptions, girls have been educated to be either drudges or toys, beneath man; or a sort of angel above him; the highest ideal aimed at oscillating between Clärchen and Beatrice. . . Let us have sweet girl graduates by all means. They will be none the less sweet for a little wisdom; and the "golden hair" will not curl less gracefully outside the head by reason of there being brains within. . . Let them become merchants, barristers, politicians. Let them have a fair field, but let them understand, as the necessary correlation, that they are to have no favor. Let nature alone sit high above the lists, rain influence, and judge the prize.

And the result? For our part, though loth to prophesy, we believe it will be that of other emancipations. Women will find their place, and it will neither

be that in which they have been held nor that to which some of them aspire. Nature's old Salique law will not be repealed, and no change of dynasty will be effected. The big chests, the massive brains, the vigorous muscles, and stout frames of the best men will carry the day when it is worth while to contest the prizes of life with the best women. And the very hardship of it is that the very improvement will lessen their chances. Better mothers will bring forth better sons, and the impetus gained by the one sex will be transmitted in the next generation to the other. The most Darwinian of theorists will not venture to propound the doctrine that the physical disabilities under which women have hitherto labored in the struggle for existence with men are likely to be revived by even the most skilfully conducted process of educational selection. . . The duty of man is to see that not a grain is piled upon that load beyond what nature imposes; that injustice is not added to inequality.

3. The two productions which had the most far-reaching influence were those of Mrs. Taylor, who afterward married John Stuart Mill, and John Stuart Mill.

Mrs. Taylor's article appeared in the "Westminster Review," July, 1851. She refers to the advances made by women educationally, industrially, and legally, and then (1) appeals to the Radicals and Chartists in England and to the Democrats on the Continent to support the rights of women, who are "men" in the generic sense, and who should not be an exception to their slogan that taxation and representation should be coextensive; (2) she shows that the prejudice of cus-

tom and the rule of physical strength have produced the subjection of women, a state of affairs detrimental to both man and woman; (3) so far from being expedient,

> we are firmly convinced that the division of mankind into two castes, one born to rule over the other, is in this case, as in all cases, an unqualified mischief; a source of perversion and demoralization both to the favored class and to those at whose expense they are favored; producing none of the good which it is the custom to ascribe to it, and forming a bar, almost insuperable while it lasts, to any really vital improvement, either in character or in the social condition of the human race.

Men's tastes have changed. Woman's inequality has caused a progressive deterioration in men.

> In the present closeness of association between the sexes, men cannot retain manliness unless women acquire it. . . It is from nothing in the faculties themselves, but from the petty subjects and interests in which alone they are exercised that the companionship of women, such as their present circumstances make them, so often exercises a dissolvent influence on the high faculties and aspirations in men.

The position of women promotes selfishness in men; the insignificant man, when no other place is open, can lord it in his house. (4) The real question is, whether it is right and expedient that one-half of the human race should pass through life in a state of forced subordination to the other half. "We deny the right of any portion of the

species to decide for another portion, or any individual for another individual what is or what is not their 'proper sphere.' The proper sphere for all human beings is the largest and highest which they are able to attain to." (5) Women have shown fitness for the higher social functions exactly in proportion as they have been admitted to them. If there is any one function for which they have shown a decided vocation it is that of reigning, as exemplified by Queen Elizabeth, Isabella of Castile, Maria Theresa, and Blanche of France. (6) Women have a right to enter politics and industry. To those who plead that maternity is incompatible with political duties she answers that incompatibility will take care of itself as among men, and could apply to mothers only. Of the "hardening tendency" argument she says:

> The common duties of life, as at present constituted, are incompatible with any other softness in women than weakness. . . Even if every woman, as matters now stand, had a claim on some man for support, how infinitely preferable is it that part of the income should be of the woman's earning, even if the aggregate sum were but little increased by it, rather than that she should be compelled to stand aside in order that men may be the sole earners, and the sole dispensers of what is earned!

(7) It is no valid argument to say that women do not want the suffrage. Neither do the people of Asia wish emancipation from heathen customs. (8) Rationality, not declamation, is what is needed.

4. John Stuart Mill's "Subjection of Women" is a classic. "The Essay," says Mill, "is a broad expanse of generalization concerning all human nature, universal principles of character and conduct, and far-reaching prophecies."

Mill argues that:

(1) Universal custom furnishes no presumption for the subjection of women: (*a*) The legal subjection of women to men is wrong. (*b*) Objections are rooted in the strongest feelings and universal usage. (*c*) The mere physical fact of men's superior strength was converted into a legal right and sanctioned by society. The subjection of woman does not rest to-day on considerations of social experience; it is primitive slavery lasting on. (*d*) The Stoics were the first who taught moral obligation to slaves. (*e*) The subjection of woman gratifies the pride, the love of power, and the personal interest of the whole male sex. (*f*) The object of being attractive to men has been made the pole-star of feminine education and formation of character.

(2) History points to its removal: (*a*) The note of the modern world is that human beings are free to achieve the lot which appears to them most desirable instead of being chained to that into which they happen to be born. (*b*) The subjection of woman is the only case, except royalty, where birth prevents competition for certain things. (*c*) Subjection of women is a unique relic of an oth-

erwise exploded world of thought. (*d*) What is called the nature of woman is a result of forced repression and unnatural stimulation. (*e*) Men do not know the nature of women. (*f*) If the vocation of wife and mother be natural to women, they will not shun it unless the conditions have been made unattractive.

(3) There are evils of inequality in marriage: (*a*) Marriage being the destination appointed by society for women, one might have supposed it would have been made as attractive as possible; instead of this we are met with capture, purchase, and subjection. (*b*) Women's actual treatment is better than their legal position. (*c*) Equality in marriage would not allow scope for men's evil propensities. (*d*) Many business partnerships have no head. (*e*) Legal equality is the only means of rendering the family a school of moral cultivation. We have had the morality of submission and that of chivalry; but the time has come for the morality of justice. (*f*) The power of earning is essential to the dignity of woman.

(4) Men possess a monopoly: (*a*) Is it just to deny women the right to choose occupations at their own risks? (*b*) Suffrage is required as a guaranty to just consideration. (*c*) What women have not done is no argument against them, since they have been trained away from the occupations of men; what they have done, however, is an argument in their favor. (*d*) Woman's attitude is a

corrective to man's overvaluation of mere abstraction. (*e*) Women have not had the same desire as men for celebrity. It is only three generations since women attempted philosophy, science, and art. (*f*) Their social discipline alone is enough to account for nearly all the apparent differences between women and men. (*g*) Women cannot be expected to devote themselves to the emancipation of women until men are prepared to join with them in the undertaking.

(5) These results will flow from giving equal opportunities: (*a*) It will be good for the men; unearned distinction always inspires the worst sort of pride; merit, not birth, is the only rightful claim to authority. (*b*) It will double the mass of mental faculties available for the service of society. (*c*) It will develop women's powers. (*d*) Women's influence will be greater when they are better informed; at present they influence public opinion regarding war and philanthropy. (*e*) There will be greater harmony between husband and wife. (*f*) It will satisfy the craving for freedom, which, after food and raiment, is the first and strongest want of human nature. (*g*) It will be a boon to unmarried women and to the married women who have passed middle life.

Mrs. John Stuart Mill holds that the subjection of women is wrong, a vestige of an exploded social code, which has perverted woman into a creature of attraction and given her an apparent nature that is

the result of repression and unnatural stimulation. Modernism says every human being has the right to develop freely. Marriage should be made as attractive as possible. Legal equality is the only means of rendering the family a school of moral cultivation. The power of earning is essential to the dignity of woman. Their social discipline is sufficient to account for nearly all the apparent difference between women and men. The results of giving equal opportunities would, in many ways, redound to the benefit of society.

XVII

PRESENT-DAY PHASES: THE SUFFRAGE

THE woman movement in the opening years of the twentieth century appears in so many different phases that it is difficult to arrange its exponents under any systematic classification. It ranges from the woman's club, which attempts in an indefinite and innocuous way to elevate woman somehow, to the violent, misandric, anticonventional feminist. Frequently it is associated with anarchistic or atheistic tendencies, as it has been at times in the past. We recall that Ernestine Rose was an extreme communist and a freethinker, renouncing all faith with her own Jewish belief; that Pauline Wright Davis was an extreme radical; that the daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Mrs. Stanton Blatch, strongly advocated cooperative working-women's dwellings because thereby the isolated home would be undermined. When an individual or a class has been in subjection and afterward arises to aggressive self-consciousness, there is apt to be an extreme movement away from authority whether it be represented in God, convention, or law. Joran, in his "Le Suffrage des Femmes," an essay which won the prize of the French Academy

of Moral and Political Science, declares, "Anarchy, collectivism, and antimilitarism constitute a 'social trinity' in close connection with the feminist movement." Some feminists make war on marriage; others seek greater facilities for divorce; Rosa Mayreder enjoins young women to live lives of freedom "undisturbed by the opinion or conduct of the society to which they belong." Ellen Key, who is reported as denying the deity of Christ and the existence of a personal God, advocates a break with convention when the power of love so directs. Other advocates display a vindictive spirit in their attempts not only to be emancipated from what they consider a man-made thraldom, but to be revenged on the male sex. These find a toothsome morsel in the examples of the lower grades of life, where the ferocious spider makes a breakfast on her mate, and they look with longing for the return of the good old time, in which they believe, when "puny, pygmy, parasitic males struggled for existence, and were used or not, as it happened, like a half-tried patent medicine."

W. L. George, a prominent spokesman of the feminist movement in England, writes as follows in the "Atlantic Monthly," December, 1913:

> The feminists argue that there are no men and that there are no women; there are only sexual majorities. . . (They) base themselves on Weininger's theory, according to which the male principle may be found in woman, and the female principle in man. It follows

that they recognize no masculine or feminine "spheres," and that they propose to identify absolutely the conditions of the sexes . . . they have no use for knightliness and chivalry. . . They frequently accept woman's inferiority, but believe this inferiority to be transient, not permanent. . . (They) are emphatically arrayed against modern marriage, which they look upon as a slave union, . . are in opposition to most world institutions. For them the world is based upon the subjection of women. . . They intend to open every occupation to women. They intend to level the wages of women and men. . . They intend to use the vote as women, and not as citizens. . . (They) desire simpler divorce. . . I am inclined to believe that the ultimate aim of feminism with regard to marriage is the practical suppression of marriage and the institution of free alliance. . . The wife should die in child-birth and the mother rise from her ashes.

Every thoughtful person recognizes that there is a great deal of social unrest, whether it be represented by the labor, the woman, or some other movement. Walter Heape[1] traces this unrest to three sources: racial antagonism, class antagonism, and sex antagonism. In the philosophy of society the woman's movement cannot be disregarded. Heape thinks he has found the roots of sex antagonism as far back as the existence of exogamy and totemism, the former representing the natural instincts of the errant male, the latter having its origin in the mother's desire for qualities to characterize her child, and afterward being used by

[1] "Sex Antagonism," p. 1.

her to circumscribe the movements of her husband. He holds that sexual antagonism varies with the environmental conditions, and can be avoided only by continually changing the sex relations in accordance with changes of environment:

> If I am right, this struggle for dominance between the sexes, this sex antagonism is a law of nature. In that case the sex antagonism evinced in our midst to-day is a normal result of environment, and will be determined by the environment. We cannot alter the law, but we can modify the environment, and the nature of the settlement of our dispute will depend upon our recognition of that fact and the manner in which we make use of it.

There are those who hold that woman is by nature inferior to man and must remain so. The beliefs of Schopenhauer and Napoleon are reflected in those of Weininger and Lombroso. Others, such as Rosa Mayreder and Professor Thomas, admit the present inferiority of woman, but ascribe such a condition to the enforced habits of life during her subjection. Some, on the other hand, champion the superiority of woman on account of her moral and religious characteristics. Still others think it foolish to talk of the inferiority or superiority of woman. Professor Tayler points out that there may be equality with different functions and different rights, and Ellen Key thinks "there is nothing more futile than to try to prove the inferiority of woman to man, unless it be to try to

prove her equality." Walter Heape is of this opinion:

> As for the demand for "equality," I conceive that no principle has been more consistently abused by man; there is absolutely no justification for the use of that word in connection with any matter which concerns the relation of the sexes. The basis for such relation must be founded on the laws of nature, and equality does not exist in nature; it is purely a mathematical conception, and to imagine that complementary parts of a whole are or can be equal in nature is to imagine an absurdity. Clearly, great confusion exists regarding the whole matter; and in the process of "tinkering," the application of which I judge is imminent, we are likely to commit grave errors.

As might be expected of a movement which has to do with one-half of the human race, there is no unanimity among women as to the character of the movement, the methods to be employed, or the ends to be gained. At times the cleavage is wide and deep. The Conservatives and Unionists Women's Franchise Association of England, in July, 1912, resolved that they "should boycott anti-suffragists, should refuse to receive them, or to strike hands with them." There is danger of an intrasexual strife, not only on account of the political proclivities of nervous clubs, but also from the fact that confirmed spinsters are taking such an active part often in antagonism to the mothers of the nation. The middle-class woman, as in Germany, frequently finds herself antagonistic to the

lower-class woman, and the Catholic woman to her Protestant sister.

If we were to try to find some plank of the movement's platform whereby to classify women in their relation thereto, the suffrage might give as good results as any that can be chosen. Regarding the suffrage, women and their male sympathizers may be divided into four classes:

1. Those who do not want the franchise. They are apathetic and indifferent, and form in the estimation of the agitators the chief obstacle to woman's gaining the vote.

2. Those who oppose the movement for political equality, such as Mrs. Henry Ward and the members of the antisuffragist societies to which reference has been made. Mrs. Ethel Colquhoun, writing in the "Nineteenth Century," January, 1914, laments the fact that young women are being taught all over the country the false doctrine that man has usurped a place in society which belongs by right to women; she points out the necessity of a Women's Protective League in Colorado, where women are supposed to influence legislation mightily; she refers to the women who vociferously advocated universal suffrage during the American Civil War; but of the five hundred women who helped in the war, only half a dozen were known to be suffragists; she is afraid of the moral retrogression and the blighting of delicacy, modesty, refinement, and reserve of the real gentlewoman,

which is a moral asset that society can ill afford to lose; and she thinks that the suffragists persistently underestimate the part played by their own sex in building up those social values which are the foundation of civilization.

Helen K. Johnson[2] believes that the condition of woman improves with the advance of civilization and the extension of the prerogatives of man; where man is a bigot, woman is a harem toy; where he is a human clod, she is a drudge; where he has governmental and religious freedom, she is a leader of thought. The suffrage movement has played little part in the past fifty years of progress; voting is not a natural right nor "the first right of a citizen," for suffragists advocating the literacy qualification say they will disfranchise the ignorant as soon as the vote is given to women. The Fathers of the Revolution closed their declaration by pledging their lives to attain their rights, whereas the women of 1848 closed their declaration with a pledge to distribute tracts and hold conventions under the protection of "tyrants." The stability of government depends upon the enforcement of its decrees by *men,* and there is no question of an equivalent. What the suffragists have deemed to be an abstract "right" has prevented them from taking "active part" in any efforts put forth to end a concrete wrong.

Dora Marsden was at one time the editor of the

[2] "Women and the Republic."

defunct London "Freewoman" and an organizer of militant suffragism; now she is one of its severest critics. She thinks the exponents of women's freedom practise unconscious deception; that the woman's movement is nothing if not an effort to lift themselves forever out of the servant class and place themselves definitely and finally among the "masters," using their faculties like all masters for the upbuilding and development of their own personalities and the advancement of their personal aims; that the opponents of the free woman are not actuated by spleen or by stupidity, but by dread—a dread founded upon ages of experience with a being who, however well loved, has been known to be an inferior; if they were not "down" in themselves, i. e., weaker in mind, no equal force could have crushed them down; there can be no overreaching in the long run with mind, it can neither receive nor give quarter; those who are "down" are inferior; when change takes place in the thing itself, i. e., when it becomes equal or superior, by the nature of its own being it rises; so woman, if ever equal, must have sunk on the ground of inferiority.

Edith Sellers[3] examines the only case of political eligibility of women in Europe—in Finland. The majority of women in the Finnish Diet are domestic servants; the suffragists neglect their household duties and their children.

[3] "Nineteenth Century," 1912.

> Babies, indeed, are rather at a discount among them in this our day. The opinion is gaining ground rapidly that when once they are born, it is for the State to look after them, not their own mothers. . . There is no outside work they will not do, and for starvation wages—nay, for no wages at all—even though they themselves be half starved. They are practically never at rest; early and late they are on the go, to the detriment, of course, of their nerves, and through them of their health, and much besides.

The above examples of women antisuffragists are sufficient to show the trend of their opposition. The male opponents are no less outspoken. Floyd thinks that in women as voters there will be an element impatient of restraint, straining at the rules of procedure, cynical of excuses for inaction; not always by any means on the side of progress; making every mistake possible to ignorance and self-conceit. Mackmurdo, in his "Pressing Questions," asserts that it is only under abnormal conditions that we find women who would rather be cabinet ministers than mothers, traders than housewives; we should not duplicate the error of enfranchising incompetent men; enfranchisement is not a right of citizenship; the payment of taxes is the purchasing of protection, not the purchase price of a vote; all government implies the surrender of our freedom to govern ourselves; the casting of a vote once in five years will not promote intelligence; there would be an unwieldy electorate; women would lack in judgment and succumb to emotional influence; po-

litically the family is the unit; the electoral machine is not adapted for feminine hands; home and children would be neglected.

Weininger, whose book the feminists regard as the "meanest" production against their sex, but whose views respecting the constitution of men and women many of them accept, regards woman as naturally incapacitated for government and franchise duties; women are always sexual, absorbed respecting marriage, match-making, children, and management of men through sexuality; a woman's demand for emancipation and her qualifications for it are in direct proportion to the amount of maleness in her. He agrees with Schopenhauer that it has been exhaustively proved that the female is soulless and possesses neither ego nor individuality, personality nor freedom, character nor will; no men who really think deeply about women retain a high opinion of them; men either despise women or have never thought seriously about them; talented women are incomplete men, monsters from the feminine standpoint, never showing more than fifty per cent of masculinity, which is far less than the average man; their mimicries of man will be valueless, and will never equal really masculine work.

Joran holds that the leading characteristics of women disqualify them for political life, and is inclined to agree with Mr. Thomas (1772) that history shows that woman always displays an excess of pity or an excess of vindictiveness; they are

wanting in the calm strength which tells them when and where to stop; and he agrees with Ruskin, who, although not opposed to woman suffrage, thought the vote should be taken from some men.

Walter Heape thinks that

> extended power given to women threatens to result in legislation for the advantage of but a relatively small class of spinsters, who are in reality but a superfluous portion of the population, and whose interests are directly antagonistic to the interests of the woman who is concerned in the production of children; the waste products of our female population would order the habits and regulate the work of those women who are of real value to us as a nation.[4]

John Lionel Tayler holds that upon the three fallacies of the matriarchate, the oversexed, and the neuter types of women, all three of which logically destroy each other, as well as being the merest grotesques of serious thought, much of the modern woman movement is built up; the matriarchate has no comparative evidence to support it, periods of license for women do not correspond with those of civilization; "oversexed" has no scientific meaning, and if the condition should ever arise it should be met by medical treatment; "neuter sex" is even cruder. Where is the form like the worker bee and the queen bee? The aim in all this, consciously or unconsciously, is to dewomanize woman, and destroy her real inborn individuality of body and mind;

[4] "Sex Antagonism," p. 208.

since animal life began its long upward evolution, since sex appeared, and it appeared very early on this earth, sex has slowly differentiated itself into two types, male and female, whose minds and bodies have grown more masculine and more feminine in this upward path; in the animal world the direction has been male-dominated until man, and man-directed ever since; in the beginning, and it will be so in the end, man directed in his creative strength; none the less it is woman who sees.

In the recent antisuffrage productions the opinions of the past are recalled; as, for instance, the opinion of Almira Lincoln Phelps, the sister of Miss Willard, that

> If we could with propriety petition the Almighty to change the condition of the sexes, and let man take a turn at bearing children and in suffering ailments peculiar to women, which render them unfit for certain positions and business, why in this case, if we really wished to be men and thought God would change the established order, we might make our petition; but why ask Congress to make us men?

Some are inclined to brush this matter aside somewhat roughly and with Bossuet ask women to remember their origin, that they come from a supernumerary bone. Schopenhauer, Hartman, Strindberg, and Möbius are quoted. Möbius held that

> Just as animals, since time immemorial, do the same things over and over again, so would the human race.

had there been only women, have remained in its pristine state. Far-reaching force and power, fantasy and thirst for knowledge would surely make woman restless and hinder her in her maternal ends, therefore nature gave her these qualities in very small doses. All progress derives from man.

The philosophical workings of Fichte, Spencer, Nietzsche, and Tolstoy are laid under contribution. Fichte is of the opinion that

> According to natural disposition, the second sex occupies a place a degree lower than the first. . . Woman does not appertain to herself, but to man. . . The concept of marriage decrees the unlimited subjection of women to the will of man. . . Her own worth depends entirely upon the condition that she belongs to her husband in all that she is, and that without a single reservation she give herself wholly into his hands. The least of the consequences of this is contained in the law that she resign all her rights to him and follow him. Only when united to him, only in his eyes and in his affairs, does she possess life and activity. She has ceased to lead the life of an individuality.[5]

Spencer, who once favored woman suffrage from the point of view of a general principle of individual rights, later discovered mental and emotional differences between the sexes which disqualify women from the burden of government and the exercise of its functions. Nietzsche cries:

> Woe betide us if ever the eternally wearisome qualities of woman, in which she is so rich, dare to take free

[5] "Basis of Natural Rights."

scope! What matters truth to her? Nothing is more foreign, more distasteful, more odious. . . To deny the antagonism between man and woman, and the necessity of an eternally hostile tension, possibly to dream of equal rights, equal education . . . here are typical marks of platitude of mind.[6]

Tolstoy has a chapter worth reading on "Man and Woman" in his "Church and State." As his discussion takes a maternalist turn, reference will be made to it in another connection.

3. The third class embraces all those who are in favor of the suffrage being given to women. This class may be subdivided into three divisions:

(1) Those who concentrate their attention and influence on the suffrage, and declare it, as in the case of Miss Cobbe, "the crown and completion of all progress in woman's movements," or as Mrs. Belmont would say, the object which demands the excitement of women and its attainment in any manner possible. When women have votes, "The blind struggle will be over; there will be light where there is now darkness. Order will be brought out of chaos."

(2) Those who not only concentrate upon the vote, but use violence to get it. The whole Pankhurstian suffragette movement is representative of this class.

(3) Those who take a wider view of the objects immediate and ulterior of the movement. Some

[6] "Beyond Good and Evil."

agree with Mrs. Stanton that the suffrage is merely a vestibule to progress; others are not so much concerned about the prior erection of the vestibule. They generally agree respecting the political and educational program, but differ in their views regarding the other functions of woman, whether she should engage as freely as man in economic life, whether motherhood should be held before the girl as the supreme occupation of woman.

Jane Addams says:

> From the beginning of tribal life women have been held responsible for the health of the community, a function which is now represented by the health department; from the days of the cave-dwellers, so far as the home was clean and wholesome, it was due to their efforts, which are now represented by the bureau of tenement-house inspection; from the period of the primitive village, the only public sweeping performed was what they undertook in their own dooryards, that which is now represented by the bureau of street-cleaning. Most of the departments of a modern city can be traced to woman's traditional activity, but, in spite of this, so soon as these old offices were turned over to the care of the city, they slipped from woman's hands, apparently because they became matters of collective action and implied the use of the franchise.[7]

H. G. Wells writes as follows:

> Woman insists upon her presence. She is no longer a mere physical need, an esthetic byplay, a sentimental background; she is a moral and intellectual necessity

[7] "Newer Ideals of Peace."

in a man's life. She comes to the politician and demands, Is she a child or a citizen? Is she a thing or a soul? She comes to the individual man . . . and asks, Is she a cherished weakling or an equal mate, an unavoidable helper? Is she to be tried and trusted, or guarded and controlled, bond or free?

Goethe is quoted with approval:

(When woman) is able through sufficient energy to elevate her other advantages, she becomes a being than which one could imagine none more perfect. . . The saying, "He shall be thy master," is the formula of a barbarous age long since past; men cannot reach the highest degree of cultivation without conceding the same rights to woman.

Finot is of the opinion that Gladstone's argument that woman must lose in her delicacy and purity should she be granted the franchise could not be used with effect by present-day orators. This, he believes, shows the radical change which has taken place in public opinion.

The cause of woman's emancipation will be definitely won only on the day when her vote will weigh in the national and international scale. . . In the course modern democracies are following, the ballot will not fail to become the supreme arbiter of the destinies of the nations. . . The woman's vote will bring the triumph of laws for the social protection of childhood, of woman, of old men, of the race threatened by alcoholism, syphilis, tuberculosis. . . And as upon the enlargement of her life depends, above all, the salvation of

man himself, let us trust to the beneficent star that presides over human destinies.[8]

As a rule the maternalists and amaternalists may be grouped under this subdivision: Olive Schreiner, Ellen Key, Rosa Mayreder, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, and others. Their views will receive attention later.

4. There is a fourth class composed in the main of men who are not sure that the giving of the franchise to women is the best policy, but who are either willing to give the experiment a trial or think it would be inconsistent with the modern recognition of individual rights not to allow women the experiment. Emerson took this position when he said: "I do not think it yet appears that women wish this equal share in public affairs. But it is they, and not we, that are to determine it."[9]

Martin asserts:

Votes for women will have no more effect on man's mastership than so many boiled peas, if it is nature's gift to him; the vote may help, I don't know. . . I look and look and look at the women in the street. There are just two kinds: those who have found themselves and their world, and those who haven't. These last are abundantly represented among the suffragists; a masterless lot they are, out of a job, and practising to produce a masterless world. But the master they need is not a man, for some of them have men already, but an inner

[8] "Problem of the Sexes."
[9] "Miscellanies," p. 344.

governor who should look out of their eyes and see truth and duty, and strengthen their hands to seize them.[10]

Havelock Ellis points out that, "The respective fitness of men and women for any kind of work or privilege can only be ascertained by actual experiment."

Saleeby recognizes

fully the right of woman to go her own way, to choose her own fortune or misfortune. . . Throughout the living world the individual is so constituted that his or her personal fulfilment of his or her natural destiny as an individual is precisely that which best serves the race.

[10] "The Unrest of Women."

XVIII

PRESENT-DAY PHASES: MATERNALISM

FROM the point of view of the race, suffrage is of less importance than maternity. The maternalists and the amaternalists of the woman movement take decided issue with each other. This cleavage was apparent early in the movement when Antoinette Brown Blackwell opposed Mrs. Stanton.

Maternalists may be divided into two classes: One is composed of those who think the home is woman's sphere and participation in the pursuits of men is degrading to the woman participants and injurious to the men with whom they compete; the other comprises modified maternalists, who make maternity the great center of woman's functioning but agitate for greater freedom and development.

Professor Tayler, in his "Nature of Woman," points out that emancipation has come, but woman is not satisfied because she is not in her natural capacity; the participation of women in factory and business life debases them, depreciates wages, displaces men, turns women away from home-making, enables the thriftless husband to send his wife to work and his children to the crèche; women more

readily acquire business vices; there are many pursuits unfit for women; man is and always has been the fighter; victory in war and in industry depends mainly on invention and originality; in industrial inventions women's opportunities were greater, man's originality and genius makes its own opportunity; the teaching to-day that action is for woman, as for man, the ideal is a cruel and false doctrine by the record of all history as well as of biological thought; a man's influence is small by the side of a womanly woman's though his actions may be large, and it is woman as she *is* that counts, not primarily what she does; part of the lack of religious feeling in an age permeated by religious thought and questioning is due to woman's dewomanizing modern education, which teaches her to value mathematics and reason instead of literature and life; nature says, "two types of body and mind I need, womanly and manly, a state of being for motherhood and a state of doing for achievement," and for a moment our age says one, the woman's, is to be lost, but it is nature that will prevail; woman is a presence, man a force.

Ellen Key advocates individualistic motherhood, and considers progress a maternalizing process. She advocates freedom for women, not to imitate men, but to function as mother in the wider sense. She believes that amaternal feminism will lead to a sex war; that there is an insoluble conflict between motherhood and a vocation.

There would be left there, upon the one side, only the mating instinct, in which the same points of view as in animal breeding must obtain; on the other, only the same kind of sympathy which is expressed in the friendship between persons of the same sex, the sympathy in which the human, individual difference, instead of sexual difference, forms the attraction. In love, on the other hand, sympathy grows in intensity, the more universally human and at the same time sexually attractive the individual is; the "manly" in man is charmed by the "womanly" in woman, while the "womanly" in man is likewise captivated by the "manly" in woman, and vice versa. But when neither needs the *spiritual self* of the other as his complement, then man, in erotic respects, returns to the antique conception of the sex relationship, of which Plato has drawn the final logical conclusion. . . That a woman's life is lived most intensively and most extensively, most individually and most socially, most egoistic and most altruistic, most receptive and most generous, in and with the physical and psychic exercise of the function of maternity, because of the conscious desire, by means of this function, to uplift the life of the race as well as her own life. . . The fundamental error of the amaternal solution of the problem is that it characterizes motherliness as a non-social instinct, but on the other hand, defines the "personal" activity of woman as an expression of the social instinct. For all social instincts have been developed by culture out of the primitive instincts. All cultural development lies between the sex impulse of the Australian Negroes and the erotic sentiment of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's sonnets. . . And when the amaternalist asserts that motherliness, which we have in common with beasts and savages, cannot be an expression of the personality, their argument has the same validity as that which would deny

to the Sistine Chapel the quality of an expression of personality, because beasts and savages also exhibit the decorative instinct. . . The development of the mother instinct into motherliness is one of the greatest achievements in the progress of culture, a development by which the maternal functions have continually become more complex and differentiated. Mother love, and the reciprocal love which it awakens in the child, not only exercises the first deep influence upon the individual's life of feeling, but this love is the first form of the law of mutual help, it is the root of altruism, the cotyledon of a now widely ramified tree of "social instincts." . . Time, time, time is needed by the new mother to direct the self-activity of the child. Above all in the restless, sensitive, life-deciding years, when the boy is becoming a youth, and the little girl a maiden, the mother needs quiet and leisure to be able to give the ineffably needy children "the hoarded secret treasures of her heart." . . The feminism which has driven individualism to the point where the individual asserts her personality in opposition to, instead of within, the race; the individualism which becomes self-concentration, antisocial egoism, although the watchword upon its banners is "society instead of the family," this feminism will bear the blame should hatred lead to war. . . Blind rage of the average man under the lash of contempt wielded by a weaker human being, extreme feminists play about this abyss—the depths in the nature of man out of which the elementary, hundred-thousand-year-old impulses arise.[1]

Laura Marholm asserts: "It is through her children that the innermost life of a woman is determined. Her most hidden treasures come to light. . .

[1] "The Woman Movement."

She grows into something definite, whereas she was formerly something quite indefinite."

Mrs. S. J. Hall says:

> Woman has a better, a holier vocation. She works in the elements of human nature. Her orders of architecture are formed in the human soul—obedience, temperance, truth, love, piety—these she must build up in the character of her children.

Mary Scharlieb points out the imperative necessity to improve the race through parenthood that vice may be sapped at its foundation; it is merely a truism that the race will be whatever the women of the race make it; it is greatly to be regretted that young mothers neglect their own little children to take up social, philanthropic, or other outside pursuits.

Earl Barnes[2] recognizes the great waste to society of having unmarried women and women over fifty years of age not occupied with social work of some kind, but says:

> Woman's work has to a large extent an episodic character. Any woman who misses romantic love, marriage, and children misses the crowning joy and glory of her life. . . We must conserve the life of the mother, feed her the milk, and then let her give it to her baby, instinct with her own life. . . It is quite possible that our recent talk of ignorant mother love and of the necessary substitution of sanitary nurseries, canned care, and predigested affection must all go the same way

[2] "Women in Modern Society."

Saleeby says: "The leading women who in any way countenance such measures as deprive the blood of the future of its due contribution from the best women of the present are leading not only one sex, but the race as a whole to ruin."

Tolstoy states:

> The calling of every individual, man or woman, consists in serving mankind. . . Men chiefly are engaged in the improvement of the lot of living men and women, women alone in the perpetuation of mankind itself. . . Out of this difference arise alike the duties of the one and the other, duties that have not been devised by man, but which inhere in the nature of things. Out of this difference arises the estimation of the values and vices alike of woman and of man, an estimation that has always existed, exists now, and will never cease to exist as long as man is endowed with reason.
>
> It has always been, and will ever be, that man who spends the greater part of his life at the manifold physical, intellectual, and social work peculiar to him, and woman, who spends the greater part of her life at the work exclusively peculiar to her of bearing, nursing, and rearing children, will alike feel that they are engaged in their proper spheres, and will alike elicit the love and respect of other persons, for both are fulfilling their part—that for which they are predestinated by nature.
>
> According to my view, she will be the ideal woman who, after having assimilated the highest view of life of the age in which she lives, shall devote herself to her service as woman, to her inexorable calling of bearing, nursing, and educating the greatest possible number of children who will be capable of serving mankind according to the view of life imbibed from her.

But how about those who have no children, who do not enter the married state, the widows? They will do well to take part in the manifold labors of men. . . But to see a young woman capable of bearing children employed at men's work will ever be deplorable. To see such a woman is like the sight of a rich loam that is covered with gravel for a place or a promenade. It is still more deplorable, as this soil could have produced only grain, while the woman could have produced that which is priceless and than which there is nothing higher—man.

Yes, such women who fulfil their calling rule over the ruling men; such women prepare a new posterity and guide public opinion, and therefore such women hold within their hands the highest power for the redemption of mankind from existing and impending evils of our time. . . Yes, you women who are mothers, in your hands above all rests the salvation of the world.[3]

This Tolstoian mother philosophy may be contrasted with Ibsenism, which has influenced Scandinavian writers, and which emphasizes the sharing of spiritual values.

[3] "Church and State," p. 139.

XIX

PRESENT-DAY PHASES: AMATERNALISM

THE amaternalists may also be divided into two classes. One is composed of extremists, androphobes, wavers of the flag of sex war. Some of these have been described as those who want something and they think it is the vote; others as being more ready to raise Cain than to bear a son. Some seem to be overstrung, hysterically insane, and in need of guardianship. Others are confirmed spinsters.

The other class has, among its members, many women of superior qualities. They look upon progress not as a maternalizing process, but as a humanizing one. They advocate social motherhood and hold that mother-tenderliness emasculates.

Between the maternalists as represented by Ellen Key, and the amaternalists as represented by Mrs. Gilman, may be placed Olive Schreiner, who is a strong advocate of motherhood, but thinks every woman should participate in the work of the economic field, so that she may be economically independent and free from the charge and condition of parasitism; woman's inferior position is due to parasitism, the exclusion from the toil necessary

to produce virility; this has led to mercenary marriages and to the lowering of the standard of women, which is the standard of the race; the fine lady is a deadly microbe, debilitating feminine society with the blight of idleness. The following extracts from her "Woman and Labor" will show the way in which she treats the problem:

> No man yet ever entered life farther than the length of one navel-cord from the body of the woman who bore him. It is the woman who is the final standard of the race . . . other causes may lead to the enervation of the race, the parasitism of child-bearing women must. . . The woman problem is not solved by solving the male labor problem, the solution of the latter might lead to greater female parasitism. . . If the parasite woman on her couch, loaded with gewgaws, the plaything and amusement of man, be the permanent and final manifestation of female human life on the globe, then that couch is also the death-bed of human evolution. . . The sharing by men and women of common labors, necessitating a common culture, and therefore common habits of thought and interests, would tend to fill that painful hiatus which arises so continually in modern conjugal life.

She holds that the entrance of woman into economic independence would injure two classes—the inveterate female sex-parasite and the silly dude who "sits in the front row of the stall in a theater, with sloping forehead and feeble jaw, sucking at intervals the top of his gilt-headed cane, and watching the unhappy women who dance for gold."

The amaternalists place the emphasis upon the development of personality, upon rights which are human, and consider motherhood somewhat of an incidental. Charlotte Perkins Gilman[1] says that owing to the parasitism of women they are a thousand years behind the men, the upholders of mercenary marriages and of unproductive consumption; woman is oversexed physically and mentally just as the cow has become oversexed in milk-giving; the qualities of a human being are modified by work, and woman should be given an opportunity to emancipate herself; we are living in a man-made world; we have the man-shaped family, man-shaped industry, art, religion, fashion, and even crime; what man has done to the family, speaking broadly, is to change it from an institution of best service to the child to one modified to his own service, the vehicle of his comfort, power, and pride; industry is a feminine function, but man has usurped it; women now are but a job lot.

> Our long restriction to house-limits, the heavy limitations of our clothing, and the heavier ones of traditional decorum have made women disproportionally short-legged. . . Alone among all female things do women decorate and preen themselves and exhibit their borrowed plumage to attract the favor of the male.

This male may be cross-eyed, wide-eared, bandy-legged, but he must have a more or less prognathous jaw.

[1] "Woman and Economics: The Man-made World."

The greatest milliners, the greatest dressmakers and tailors, the greatest hair-dressers, the masters and designers of all our decorative toilettes and accessories are men. . . After ages of culture, in which men have developed architecture, sculpture, painting, music, drama, we find women in the primitive environment making flowers of wax and hair and worsted, doing mottoes of perforated cardboard, making crazy-quilts and mats and tidies—as if they lived in a long-past age, which belongs to a lower race.

She pleads for development in spiritual values because woman is human. Every handicraft, every profession, every science, every art, all normal amusement and recreation, all government, education, religion, the whole living world of human achievement, all this is human and woman has a right to it; one sex has no right to a monopoly. As society is now organized, woman,

for herself and for her children, must win and hold him who is the source of all supplies. Therefore she is forced to add to her own natural attractions this "dance of the seven veils, of the seventeen gowns, and of the seventy-seven hats of gay delirium." . . To teach, to rule, to make, to decorate, to distribute—these are not sex functions; they are race functions.

The cause of the decay of nations may be found in the social evil, warfare, and poverty. Woman can aid in preventing all these.

The scope and purpose of human life is entirely above and beyond the field of sex relationship. Women are

human beings as much as men, by nature; and as women are even more sympathetic with human processes, to develop human life in its true powers we need full equal citizenship for women.

Mrs. Gilman would socialize the home and the nursery and place the care of both in the hands of scientific experts. Ethel Colquhoun jeers at Mrs. Gilman's picture of the home of the future in which father and mother are equally concerned (or unconcerned), going off daily to their work and returning at night to find the house has been skilfully dealt with by experts while the baby has spent an improving day in the commercial nursery.

Miss Thomas, the president of Bryn Mawr, is reported as saying:

> They have spent half a lifetime in fitting themselves for a scholar's work and then may be asked to choose between it and marriage. No one can estimate the number of women who remain unmarried in revolt before such a horrible alternative.

According to the investigation of Ellen Key, it seems that two-thirds of the women graduates of American universities shrink from this "horrible alternative." Martin asks, "Can it be that Miss Thomas inclines to feel that life is for study rather than study for life?" Miss Thomas would seem to have some sympathy with the cry of the alumna quoted by Mary Roberts Coolidge:[2] "To be intellec-

[2] "Why Women Are So."

tual is all right; to be domestic is all right; but to try to be both is hell!" Doctor Coolidge pleads for more liberty for women even from the point of view of the race: "The zoologists are well aware that in spite of every care the higher animals will rarely breed in captivity, yet womanhood is expected to do so successfully." As matters are now arranged there is a frightful strain on the young wife. The husband introduces her to sex matters, old quacks gossip to her in pregnancy, a strange doctor attends her in childbirth, and she is given no education how to take care of her child.

Rosa Mayreder, like Mrs. Gilman, holds a place in the front ranks of the amaternalists. She regards this age as degenerate, marked by poverty of ideals, of noble feelings, and of passionate beliefs.

> The great weakness of modern civilization with regard to the position it has assigned to woman, consists in the very fact that it is the result of man's work, created by man for the purposes of man, and thus unadapted to the woman as an individual. . . There is always a danger in recognizing conventional valuation, as has been lately revealed in the tendency to acknowledge a fundamental difference between the sexes, and to establish maternity as the determinative factor which is to limit woman's position in the sphere of future civilization. Maternity may weigh as a heavy encumbrance upon women in the matter of their outward equality with man, but as regards their mental equality this generalization is as little of a universal criterion as any other. . . Man, not nature, is responsible for making motherhood into a drag-chain interfer-

ing with the spiritual and intellectual development of the female sex. . . Even the assumption that the highest destiny of woman lies in motherhood is refuted by the history of civilization. . . (Woman) pays dearly for her maternity. The price which is paid is nothing less than spiritual freedom and equality of birth, and the farther humanity advances toward higher forms, just so much farther must the female sex, for the sake of motherhood, remain behind the male.[3]

She talks of the renunciation of progeny for the sake of the development of personality, and of the injustice of nature which has been increased by civilization.

Nature had no other purpose in view so far as woman was concerned, than to adapt her for motherhood, even at the cost of rendering all her other capacities inferior to those of the men. . . Nature may have laid a heavy burden upon woman, but civilization has increased it to an unbearable degree. The predisposition to diseases of all sorts, the diminution of resistance in the physique, the bodily softening which follows in the path of civilization, exact a heavier penalty from the female organism than the male, because the undisturbed operation of the process of gestation necessitates complete and perfect health. . . When attempts were first made in England to use anesthetics in cases of painful births, the English Church protested against it as a suspension and amelioration of a divinely decreed punishment. . . Woman and woman are no more alike than man and man. Unless this fundamental truth is recognized, the psychology of sex will remain a labyrinth of insoluble contradictions. . . Civilization and

[3] "Survey of the Woman Problem," *passim*.

culture bring man nearer to woman; they render him effeminate; they are antivirile. . . Christianity sought to raise mankind to a higher plane of grafting female traits into the male nature; the Renaissance, in which so many ancient elements come again to life, set up the masculine type as a pattern for woman.[4]

She asks how much of the really masculine (by which she means estimated in neuromuscular activity) is left in men's occupations. Primitive masculinity declined when man engaged in agriculture and industry rather than war, when gunpowder was introduced, when machinery became predominant, and the civilian laid aside the sword. "The government office, the court of justice, the counting-house, the studio—they are all but sepulchers of essential masculinity." She classifies men and women as acratic, iliastric, and synthetic persons. The acratic is the

partially developed being of unmitigated sexuality whose whole personality is determined by teleological sex characteristics; the iliastric are those who have overcome sex; the synthetic representatives of higher humanity in a monistic sense will be those whose psychophysical constitution enables them to overstep the bounds of sexuality, and to raise and increase the inward relationships between the sexes—those beings who are subject to the conditions both of the male and of the female.

For lofty souls nothing is more unbearable than the idea of bondage to sex. To be excluded on account

[4] Ibid., *passim*.

of sex from any possibility of development, from any road to knowledge within the realm of human existence, can but awaken in such souls a hatred against sex. . . Nature has given the male the great advantage of allowing his teleological sex conditions to produce those qualities which are favorable to the development of free personality, while the female must first overcome her teleological nature before she can develop such qualities.[5]

[5] Ibid., p. 273.

PART IV

SCIENTIFIC PHASES

XX

DYNAMIC FACTORS IN THE SUBJECTION AND THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMAN

THE literature dealing with the causes of woman's subjection and the causes of the movement for her emancipation is extensive.

1. Westermarck treats of the causes of woman's subjection as follows:

> Wives' subjection to their husbands is due to the men's instinctive desire to exert power, and to the natural inferiority of women in such qualities of body and mind as are essential for personal independence. . . In the sexual impulse itself there are elements which lead to domination on the part of man and submission on the part of woman. . . The sexual impulse of the male is thus connected with a desire to win the female, and the sexual impulse of the female with a desire to be pursued and won by the male.[1]

He is of the opinion that the Sabine women enjoyed being carried off. This ethicopsychological line he pursues still further in showing how social ideas respecting the female sex in general were cramping bonds. Women in the social estimation

[1] "Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas," Vol. I, p. 657.

ought to be slight and dainty and feeble. He further states that:

> Progress in civilization has exercised an unfavorable influence on the position of women by widening the gulf between the sexes, as the higher culture was almost exclusively the prerogative of the men. Moreover religion, and especially the great religions of the world, has contributed to the degradation of the female sex by regarding women as unclean.

He also discusses the economic cause, but thinks that the general theory that women are more oppressed in proportion as they are less useful is open to doubt.

Ellis agrees with Westermarck in his analysis of desire:

> To abandon herself to her lover, to be able to rely on his physical strength and mental resourcefulness, to be swept out of herself and beyond control of her own will, to drift idly in delicious submission to another and stronger will—this is one of the commonest aspirations of a young woman's intimate love-dreams.[2]

Professor Tayler draws attention to the lack of sex-consciousness on the part of women until modern times, and to the acceptance by woman of man's opinion of her.

Rosa Mayreder develops this last thought under the head of the tyranny of the norm, trying to show

[2] "Studies in the Psychology of Sex," p. 66.

that the progressive woman has a twofold struggle with conformity, contending with the accepted type, which the masculine notion has set up for womanhood, and with the predominating womanly type, which actually stands for the average of the sex. She also accounts for woman's inferior position on the ground that it is established in accordance with the sexual instincts of the domineering type of man, which requires her to exercise severe self-restraint in sexual matters, and which through such men as Napoleon has led to the formation of legal codes that place women under disabilities and that seem to regard her still in the primitive view that the individual is rather a propagative unit than a personality. This abstract conception of woman, this "subjective fetich of sex," as she calls it, has vitiated the concrete situation and appears as a regulative ghost of the past, even to those who are inclined to place woman on a higher pedestal. The special literature for women of this age tends to continue the subjection; the feminine types are puppets arbitrarily cut and padded to conform to established pattern.

Mrs. Gilman tries to show how "the strong hand" of man has fashioned the world. In his masterful way man has turned every department of life, even the home, to the ministry of his comfort. In the economic world the very parasitism of woman has tended to keep her in subjection.

John Stuart Mill held that the physical strength

of man was converted into a right by him and sanctioned by society; that the object of being attractive to men has been made the pole-star of female education; that man's monopoly has circumscribed the development of woman.

Professor Tayler thinks that in early society, where grievances were settled by the individual, woman, on account of her inferior strength, had to look to man for protection, and became habituated to subjection.

Chancellor Jordan, of Leland Stanford, Jr., University, in his "Footnotes of Evolution," says:

> Let us for the present accept Schopenhauer's analysis of the defects of woman's character. May we not say that for each real defect there is an historic cause? To remove the wrong is to destroy its reaction. If women are given to small deceit, it is because men have been addicted to small tyranny. If women are short-sighted, it is because in the nature of things the near things have been woman's province. If a woman has not a judicial mind, it is because the protection of the child makes her necessarily a partisan. If woman in her care of the species neglects the individual, it is because in the past she has been driven or sold into the custody of individuals not lovable for themselves. If she shows in one form or another the same weakness as man, it is because she is in fact very man, bone of his bone, flesh of his flesh. . . A woman, like a man, must find something to do if she is to avoid misery and decay. Her release from the industrial world is conditional on the fact that she has something better to do than to win food; something more vital to social development than to add to the physical resources of

life. So long as society exists, the "eternal womanly" will find its own sphere of full activity. In the long run that division of labor will prove best which justifies itself by enduring.

One might fill many pages with different opinions on the subject. From the above it will be seen that the causes of the subjection of woman may be classified as historical, biological, psychological, economic, or social.

2. The same classification may be made of the causes of the emancipation movement. Westermarck, who puts the power of the father and of the husband among the causes of woman's subjection, thinks that emancipation started with the decrease of this power. Moreover, life became more complicated and the surveillance over women consequently diminished; women entered more extensively into the occupation of life, greater education was given them, they acquired wider interests, which gave them a broader view of life and participation in it. Westermarck refers to the decline of antiquated religious ideas, which, he says, "is removing what has probably been the most persistent cause of the wife's subjection to her husband's rule." [3]

Rosa Mayreder says that the revolutionary elements of a changing civilization are urging women now consciously toward a free personality. One of the most potent of these elements, she thinks, is sport, and she declares that the bicycle has done

[3] Ibid., p. 669.

more for the emancipation of woman than all the strivings of the entire woman movement taken together. The concept of the lady, she believes, is beginning to collapse, and the trend of civilization is toward the womanizing of man. The highest ideal for the race is the synthetic man, a hermaphrodite human personality.

Walter Heape says that the present woman movement has its origin in sex antagonism, which always arises when sex laws have remained rigid in spite of change in environment.

John Stuart Mill pointed out that the note of the modern world is freedom to achieve and not being bound to the birth-status. This modern note finds expression in the woman movement.

Some writers, like Mackmurdo, handle the question in a matter-of-fact way and declare that the woman movement has been precipitated by such blunders that three and a half million women have had no alternative other than to compete with man, and the illusion that benefits come and go with the vote has been allowed to gain currency.

In treating of the great social movement of modern times we are led back inevitably to the revolutionary movement in France and America and to the industrial revolution. From the history of the woman movement we see that the same ideas of popular rights, the same diffusion of sentiments of freedom which characterized the French Revolution were basic to the woman movement. The ma-

chine age took woman from the home and placed her beside man in the factory. The pioneer life of the early settlement trained woman in independent responsibility. Woman's attacks on slavery, intemperance, and other social evils opened the eyes of communities to her influence. Her share in the Red Cross movement and general philanthropic work gave evidence of her power to benefit the race in other ways than in the immediate sphere of motherhood. The opening of schools, colleges, technical institutes, and universities to women gave them the opportunity of training their powers. Thus there has been an accumulation of causes round the nuclei of the social and economic movements which were represented in the great national revolutions, political and economic.

3. Mackenzie, in his "Social Philosophy," recognizes that the aims of social economy are the conquest of physical nature, the development of the powers of the individual, and the socialization of man. The race must be preserved; it must be elevated. The part any individual member of the race can play depends upon his or her physical and mental powers, and the opportunity which the social community gives such individual to exercise his powers in the best conjunction with the powers of others to produce the best results for the race.

Upon this background we must throw the woman movement and try to get a proper perspective for the understanding of its genius and for the

criticism of its attempts. From their constitution are women qualified to enter all the realms of service which engage the attention of man? Some men are not adaptable to some spheres of action; for them to attempt such service would produce only a misfit and a loss to society. Are there some spheres of service which are denied to women, just because they have the peculiarities of women? Is there anything in the biological, psychological, or sociological constitution of woman which prevents her from engaging, to the advantage of society, in some spheres of labor, but which opens to her certain other spheres which are denied to men? Does the history of woman's relation to the advancement of the race confirm or refute the results of our scientific inquiry? If science is still too uncertain in its findings, is there a practical gauge which may be used in an every-day way to measure the situation? In all our inquiry we should try to keep the unbiased judicial attitude and seek only that which is the best for mankind. To arrive at any conclusion we must examine the difference between man and woman.

XXI

ANTHROPOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

FROM the point of view of anthropology there are considerable differences between man and woman. Many of those differences, however, are said not to be as great as the differences between men of different races. Havelock Ellis feels inclined to say that "a man is a man even to his thumbs, and a woman is a woman down to her little toes." This puts one in mind of the ingenious theory of the morbid Weininger that every cell has its definite sexual significance and is sexually characteristic. Mrs. Gilman acknowledges that in race-preservation male and female have distinctive organs, distinctive functions, distinctive lines of action, but in self-preservation she says they have the same organs, the same functions, the same line of action. It seems doubtful whether Mrs. Gilman has seized the full significance of the first part of her statement.

The bodily changes of womanhood appear earlier in life. The girl of thirteen years may be taller than the boy, and is more mature. At puberty the boy's big hands and feet, his widening shoulders and clumsy appearance are very apparent when com-

pared with the girl's shorter hands and feet, widening hips, and rounder body. Ellis says that were you to mold the bodies of a representative man and woman into circular columns, the woman would be larger only around the thighs. Minute anthropological differences need not be discussed.

The important points in the anthropological investigation of the body are not only the skull and its measurements, but also the mass of the body and its morphological entirety. In fact, some anthropologists make the latter measurements the point of departure and consider the cranium only one detail of the whole. (Montessori.) The stature, the sitting stature, the spread of the arms, the circumference of the thorax, and the weight are regarded as important. In a normal human organism, Montessori says, the stature should equal the spread of the arms; the circumference of the thorax, half the stature; the sitting stature, slightly more than the perimeter of the chest; the weight, as many kilograms as there are centimeters in the stature over and above one meter. When the circumference of the thorax is greater than half the stature the type is said to be brachyscelous; if less, macroscelous; if equal, mesatiscelous.

Women are more brachyscelous than men. The difference in woman corresponds to a larger development of the lumbar segment of the spinal column, which is related to the function of maternity. Manouvier gives the following measurements:

Segments	Men	Women
Cervical	22.1	23.9
Thoracic	58.5	55.4
Lumbar	11.4	13.7
Sacrococcygeal	7.9	6.7

Doctor Dally states:

The vertebral column in woman is longer in its lumbar region; the shafts of the coccyx bones are not oval as in man, but are more rounded; the direction of the neck of the femur is more transverse; the body of the vertebræ is depressed, the transverse processes are less accentuated, less straight, and a little inclined backward; the spinal orifice and the orifices of conjugation are smaller. The sternum is generally longer and narrower in woman than in man, the ribs of the woman are straighter than those of the man, the union of anterior and posterior segments is more abrupt, and the curve of the latter is less pronounced. . . The projection of the crests and processes, the depressions, grooves, and imprints, are less defined in woman than in man.

When the stature is one hundred the adult has a sitting stature of fifty-two and a circumference of the chest of fifty or fifty-two. The child's corresponding figures are sixty-eight and seventy. The child, therefore, is ultrabrachyscelous. Woman, in this respect, at least, is nearer the child. Women are shorter than men. The stature of the Italian woman is four inches less than that of the man. The difference is largely due to the shorter legs of women.

Men are heavier than women, as the following table of volumetric proportions shows (Montessori):

Age	Male (kg.)	Female	Age	Male (kg.)	Female
0	3.20	2.91	14	40.50	38.10
1	10.00	9.03	15	46.41	41.30
2	12.00	11.04	16	53.39	44.44
3	13.21	12.45	17	57.40	49.08
4	15.07	14.18	18	61.26	53.10
5	16.07	15.05	19	63.32	
6	18.04	16.74	20	65.00	54.46
7	20.16	18.45	25	68.29	55.08
8	22.26	19.82	30	68.90	55.14
9	24.09	22.44	40	68.81	56.65
10	26.12	24.24	50	67.45	58.45
11	27.85	26.25	60	65.50	56.73
12	31.00	30.54	70	63.03	53.72
13	35.32	34.65	80	61.22	51.52

The index of stature is obtained from the ratio between the essential (sitting) stature and the total stature reduced to a scale of one hundred. In normal persons this varies from forty-seven to fifty-six, usually about fifty-two. There seems to be a connection between brachyscely and vegetal life. The ponderal index is obtained from the ratio of the stature to the cube root of the weight to the scale of one hundred.

In considering the different organs of the body we find a number of distinctions. Ellis states that the skull is higher in man. According to Topinard: "Women tend to be less long-headed among long-headed people and less broad-headed among broad-

headed people, so approaching the typical average of humanity." The cephalic index is obtained from the ratio of the maximum transverse diameter to the maximum longitudinal diameter reduced to the scale of one hundred. The index of the dolichocephalic is seventy-five and downward; of the brachycephalic, eighty to eighty-five; of the mesaticephalic, seventy-five and one tenth to seventy-nine and nine tenths; of the hyperbrachycephalic, eighty-five and one tenth and upward. Montessori says the rhythm of the female brain is analogous to that of the male, except for the more precocious attainment of the maximum weight, which corresponds to the more precocious evolution of the female organism. In normal persons Broca places the minimum cranial capacity at one thousand and forty-nine cubic centimeters, the maximum at one thousand eight hundred and thirty cubic centimeters. The average brain-weight of men is one thousand three hundred and fifty grams; of women, one thousand two hundred grams. Ellis gives the stature of man in proportion to that of woman as one hundred to ninety, and brain weight as one hundred to ninety. Two factors are at work, however, in cranial capacity, the size of the body and mental activity. The brain has to control the body, and the larger the body the larger is the brain needed. Finot says: "A still more conclusive point is that the size of our heads and also the shape of our skulls are modified by educa-

tion."[1] Sergi combats this statement by Finot, and thinks he has established that the cranial capacity is not augmented with cerebral activity among civilized peoples. Compared with bodily weight woman's brain seems to be as large as man's. There is little difference in the frontal and occipital lobes. The parietal lobe is larger in man, and seems to be largely developed in persons of exceptional intellectual power. The cerebellum, of whose function we know little, is larger in woman. Ellis says:

> The only well-marked and generally acceptable cranial differences, so far as our present knowledge extends, are those pointed out at the outset: in men the air-sinuses and projections are more marked, and in women the bones are more prominent. In all these respects men approach the savage, simian, and senile type (Virchow), while in all these respects also women approach the infantile type.

Martin gives the following table of average cranial capacity.[2]

				Men	Women	Difference
Civilized	Badois	48 craniums m 26 " f		1513	1330	183
	Bavarian	100 " m 100 " f		1503	1335	168 (11.2%)
Semi-civilized	Malay	26 " m 2 " f		1414	1223	191
	Aino	87 " m 64 " f		1462	1308	154
Lowest Race	Weddos	22 " m 10 " f		1277	1139	138 (10.8%)

[1] Ibid., p. 148.

[2] Forel, "The Sexual Question," p. 191.

In woman we find an absolutely erect forehead, prominent nose and brows, and no traces of supra-orbital arches. Woman has a smaller weight of jaw, a smaller mouth, but larger teeth. The voice is higher in women and children; the vocal cords are longer in man. The thyroid gland, a very important one, is larger in women and children, and its behavior indicates a very pronounced relation to the sexual life of the woman.

Woman has a relatively large trunk; her chest is narrower, her abdomen more prominent, her stomach relatively larger, her heart smaller and lighter, and her arterial tension is weaker. The liver, spleen, and kidneys are of the same size. The arms, legs, hands, and feet are shorter. The humerus shows in the lower extremity a lesser torsion than that of man. The olecranal perforation, said to be a mark of the gorilla and of inferior races, is found more frequently in women.

The differences in the organs of reproduction we need not discuss. The secondary sexual characters are apparent. The hair is finer and darker in woman. She has no beard. Her eyes are darker; her color is lighter. These are not insignificant details if there is a relation between pigmentation and vitality. Virchow, the distinguished pathologist, makes a statement which has been combated by the champions of the woman's cause:

> Woman is woman only through her genital gland. All the peculiarities of her body and mind, of her

nutrition and nervous activity, the tender delicacy and roundness of the limbs, with the peculiar enlargement of the pelvis, the development of the breasts when the voice has attained its fulness, the beautiful head of hair, together with the scarce perceptible down on the rest of the skin, and then in addition to all this, the depth of feeling, truth of intuition, gentleness, devotion, and faithfulness—in short, everything which we admire and honor in woman as truly womanly is merely a dependence of the ovary.

As might be expected, the maximum sexual differences of the skeleton are in relation to the pelvis. The bones are differently arranged "as though forces acting downward from within were enlarging the door of life for the unborn child." (Ellis.) Topinard says: "As we rise in the human series the pelvis enlarges, and consequently the supremely beautiful pelvis is the ample pelvis. The Greeks, by narrowing the pelvis in their sculpture, not only deprived woman of one of her most desired characteristics, but made her more bestial." Montessori points out, however, that it is the pelvic aperture, not its broadness, which is important. When we consider that the enlarged cerebrum is a distinct mark of evolution, and that the greater mortality of male infants is partly due to their larger heads, the pelvic aperture is of great importance to the race.

Man has the long levers and active frame. In strength, as well as in rapidity and precision of movement, women are inferior to men. Professor Thomas says:

One of the most important facts which stands out in a comparison of the physical traits of men and women is that man is a more specialized instrument for motion, quicker on his feet, with a longer reach, and fitted for bursts of energy; while woman has a greater fund of stored energy and is consequently more fitted for endurance.

There is close relationship between relatively restricted motion and occupational life and between occupation and characteristic mental life. How the difference between man and woman has arisen is a point upon which there is much debate.

Finot says the vitality of woman is far superior to that of man.

> If her longevity is relatively higher, it is because, after having passed a certain age, her organism better resists the assaults of time. A singular fact is that she is less subject than man to attacks of senility, with its train of degrading evils, of which the abasement of our intelligence is one of the most frequent and deplorable. Arteriosclerosis, which decimates man, is more rare among women. The violent death, which is the indication of the wearing out and degeneration of the arteries, is much more menacing to our sex called "strong" than to the weaker sex.[3]

Thomas remarks that

> man has in short become somatically a more specialized animal than woman, and feels more keenly any disturbance of normal conditions, while he has not the same physiological surplus as woman with which to meet the disturbance.

[3] Finot, ibid., p. 320.

From the point of view of anthropology woman is regarded as intermediate in development between the child and the man. She has more beauty than man; and as Westermarck points out, physical beauty is the development of characteristics which distinguish the human organism from the animal, which mark sex distinctions and, most of all, race distinctions.

Ellis comes to the following conclusions:

Woman is more in harmony with nature and brings man into harmony with nature; there is a greater variational tendency in man; there are precocity and earlier arrest in woman. . . The result of this precocity is that woman, taken altogether, presents characteristics of short men, and to some extent of children. The whole organism of the average woman, physical and psychical, is fundamentally unlike that of the average man on account of this fact alone.

The human infant presents in an exaggerated form the chief distinctive characteristics of humanity, the large head and brain, the small face, the hairlessness, the delicate bony system, and woman represents more nearly than man the human type to which man is approximating; nature has made women more like children in order that they may better understand and care for children.

The sexual adjustment has been proceeding for so vast a period of time, even if we can only take man and his immediate ancestors into consideration, that the sexual balance has become as nearly perfect as possible.

and every inaptitude is accompanied by some compensatory aptitude, even if it has not, as sometimes occurs, itself developed into an advantageous characteristic.

The wisdom of man may be, however, in flat opposition to the wisdom of nature, but it is safer to trust the conservation of nature than that of man. "We are not at liberty to introduce any artificial sexual barriers into social concerns."

It seems to be proved from anthropology that woman is nearer the child than man. From a developmental point of view the most disturbing conclusion is that the period of infancy in woman is shorter than it is in man. This biological fact may be the result of limitation of environment and opportunity for action and initiative. To remedy it should be one of the objective points of any movement for the elevation of the race. When one considers the time it takes for evolution to produce distinct transmissible changes, he perceives that the lengthening of infancy cannot be produced in a short period. This change must be brought about without impairing vital functions, for "a species in which the maternal half exhibited a general inferiority of vital functions could scarcely survive."

XXII

ETHICOPSYCHOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

MANY other differences are apparent from the ethicopsychological point of view. Mental variations appear with decided characteristics before and during the adolescent period. The adolescent girl is more affectible, more intuitive, less combative, more suggestive, more esthetic, and less rational than the adolescent boy. The average college man finds his dominant interest in public, civic, scientific, or technical lines; the college woman in domestic, esthetic, and literary lines. Barnes voices the opinion of many men and women when he says, "The teaching to-day that action is for woman as for man, though ideal, is a cruel and false doctrine. . . It is woman as she *is* that counts, not primarily what she does." Girls are more precocious than boys, and Galton says that precocity is, on the whole, of no advantage in later life.

Is there a female type of mind? Mrs. Gilman says: "There is no female mind. The brain is not an organ of sex; as well speak of a female liver." Broca declares that "Men and women, if left entirely to their own inward tendencies, would grow to resemble one another very closely, as indeed

they do when in the savage state." On the other hand, Leland says: "Men and women are radically different both in body and mind. In proportion to the female organs remaining in man, and the male in woman, there exists also in each just so much of their peculiar mental characteristics." In the opinion of Walter Heape, the biologist,

> it is not only the feminine mind which is different from the male mind; it is the whole female organization, her inclination, feelings, and intuitions which are different. It is the woman's biological necessities and all the various forces which conduce to their satisfaction, which, though complementary to those of the man for a period in their joint lives, are quite different from, and eventually become diametrically opposed to, his needs and the natural forces which drive him. . . But woman is constitutionally quite different from man, so different that no man may justly claim properly and completely to understand any woman, at any time, or under any circumstance.

Professor Geddes holds to a profound and fundamental difference between maleness and femaleness. Densmore, while denying this fundamental difference, acknowledges that "Our girls, daughters of educated mothers, are still distinctly feminine, and mentally and physically as radically different from boys as would be the case if Geddes' theory were true." Professor Thomas makes a cautious statement: "Whether the characteristic mental life of women and the lower races will prove identical with that of the white man, or different in quality, is a

different question and problematical." We recall in this connection Ellis' statement, quoted above, that nature has made women more like children that they may better understand children.

Before referring to differences in detail attention should be drawn to two or three lines of general distinction. The mental life of woman during the whole process of reproduction must be of a character almost entirely unknown to man. The emotions, thoughts, and fancies of the periods of pregnancy, of gestation, during the childhood of offspring, and even of later years, are of a peculiar nature, unexperienced by and largely unknown to man. Olive Schreiner draws attention to this:

> Alike in the sports, and joys, and sorrows of infancy; alike in the non-sexual labors of life; alike even in the possession of that instinct which draws sex to sex, and which, differing slightly in its form of manifestation, is of equal intensity in both; the moment actual reproduction begins to take place, the man and the woman enter spheres of sensation, perception, emotion, desire, and knowledge which are not, and cannot be, absolutely identical.

With the rhythmic wave of plenitude and tension of the arterial system during menstruation there comes a set of mental characteristics which must be peculiar to women. Doctor Clouston, speaking of this period, says:

> It has a psychology of its own, of which the main features generally are a slight inability or tendency to-

ward lack of mental inhibition. Just before the process commences each month, a slight diminution of energy or tendency to mental paralysis and depression during the first day or two of its continuance, and a very considerable excess of energizing power and exaltation of feeling during the first week or ten days after it has ceased, the last phase being coincident with woman's period of highest conceptive power and keenest generative uses.

The menstrual period marks the highest point of hysteria, melancholia, and kleptomania to which woman is more subject than man as she is to somnambulism, hypnotic suggestion, ecstasy, trance, catalepsy, and hallucination. Diderot says:

> A man never sat at Delphi crying, "I feel him, I feel him, the God is come." . . It was a woman who walked barefoot through the streets of Alexandria with a torch in one hand and a pitcher in the other, saying, "I will burn heaven with this torch and extinguish hell with this water so that man may love his God only for himself."

Ellis thinks woman is less susceptible to pain. The evidence is conflicting as to the senses. Probably men are superior in smell, in the range of hearing and of color, and in certain phases of touch. Color-blindness is rare in women and savages. Colored-hearing is largely confined to women and children. Galton says: "I have found as a rule that men have more delicate powers of discrimination than women, and the business experience of life confirms this." Sidney Webb agrees with this

conclusion; he found that women weavers can seldom set their own looms, and that women heraldric engravers have never been able to point their own graves. Helen B. Thompson, experimenting on fifty Chicago college students, found men better in brightness of vision, discrimination of two points on the skin, smell, and taste. A greater number of subjects should be examined, however, to get any reliable results. On the whole there seems to be little difference in the functioning of the senses when you take into consideration the physical training of the individual.

Lecky says:

> Physically, men have the indisputable superiority in strength, and women in beauty. Intellectually, a certain inferiority of the female sex can hardly be denied when we remember how almost exclusively the foremost places in every department of science, literature, and art have been occupied by men, how infinitesimally small is the number of women who have shown in any form the very highest order of genius, how many of the greatest men have achieved greatness in defiance of the most adverse circumstances, and how completely women have failed in obtaining the first position even in music and painting, for the cultivation of which their circumstances would appear most propitious. It is impossible to find a female Raphael, or a female Handel, or a female Shakespeare or Newton; they are more occupied with particular instances than with general principles; they judge rather by intuitive perceptions than by deliberative reasoning or past experience. They are, however, usually superior to man in nimbleness and rapidity of thought; and in the gift of tact

or the power of seizing speedily and faithfully the finer inflection of feeling, and they have therefore often attained very great eminence as conversationalists, as letter-writers, as actresses, and as novelists.[1]

Ellis says the masculine method of thought is massive and deliberate, while the feminine method is quick to perceive and nimble to act. Paul Lafitte thinks women are more touched by the fact than by the law; they are more interested in things than in relation of things. Weininger makes the bald statement that with women thinking and feeling are identical, with man they are in opposition. Barrett Wendell, of Harvard, claims that teaching women weakens the intellect of the teacher. It has been pointed out by many that women think in particulars rather than in generals, they work in the concrete rather than in the abstract. Helen Thompson found that women memorize more rapidly than men, form a greater number of associations in a given time, are as retentive, have a greater tendency to religious faith, and are less ingenious. Forel finds the women possess a faculty of reception and comprehension, and a faculty of reproduction almost equal to those of men. The want of logic in woman's reasoning is often apparent.

Spencer writes:

How necessary is this consensus we may, indeed, see in the less cultivated in our own society, and especially

[1] "History of European Morals," Vol. II, p. 379

in women of inferior ranks. The united traits distinguishing them are: That they quickly form very positive beliefs which are difficult to change; that their thoughts are full of special and mainly personal experiences, with but few general truths, and no truths of high generality; that any abstract conception expressed to them they can never detach from a concrete case; that they are inexact alike in processes and statements, and are even averse to precision; that they go on doing things in the ways they were taught, never imagining better methods, however obvious; that such a thing as the framing of an hypothesis, and reasoning upon it as an hypothesis is incomprehensible to them; and thus it is impossible for them deliberately to suspend judgment and to balance evidence. Thus the intellectual traits, which in the primitive man are the results not of limited experience only but of correspondingly undeveloped faculties, may be traced among ourselves in those cases where the life, relatively meager in its experiences, has not cultivated those faculties up to the capacity of the type.[2]

The pessimists have dwelt upon the injustice of woman and many have pointed out her lack of judicial balance.

Women respond to stimuli more readily than men. There is a greater affectibility as manifested by changes in the heart, the iris, and the bladder. Women are more subject to emotional states. Their basal ganglia of the brain are more developed. Their fondness for adornment is well known. Barnes draws attention to women's expression of

[2] "Principles of Psychology," Bk. II, p. 58.

beauty in themselves as exemplified by Mme. Le Brun's best work being herself painted, and Angelica Kauffman's "Vestal Virgin" being herself. Forel is of the opinion that in the young girl love is a mixture of exalted admiration for masculine courage and grandeur and an ardent desire for affection and maternity; she wishes to be outwardly dominated by a man, but to dominate him by her heart. "If it is objected that woman is more conservative and more routine than man, I reply that this inconvenience is compensated by the fact that she is, on the whole, more inclined to enthusiasm and to be led by noble masculine natures who have the sense of the ideal than by others." Women are inclined to be more antagonistic and critical toward other women than men toward other men. Yet, on the whole, it is believed that sentiment is more delicate and more finely shaded in them than in men.

Woman's will is strong and tenacious from one point of view. She is quick to arrive at conclusions and obstinate in holding them. Ellis, however, thinks woman does not display the same sturdy independence which led Balzac to fame through complete indifference of friends, or Bacon, Galileo, Wagner, or Ibsen through obloquy and contempt. Chesterton says that men represent the deliberative and democratic element in life; woman represents the despotic.

Professor Tayler points out that the great strug-

gle for victory in war and in industry depends mainly on invention and originality; that in industrial lines woman's opportunities were greater than man's, and in any case genius makes its own opportunities; that no woman approaches Bach, Handel, Beethoven, or Mozart, in music; Homer, Shakespeare, Goethe, Dante, Milton, Browning, or Wordsworth, in poetry; Phidias, Michelangelo, Raphael, Turner, or Watts, in sculpture; Aristotle, Roger Bacon, Newton, or Darwin, in science; Socrates, Plato, Francis Bacon, Descartes, Locke, Berkeley, or Kant, in philosophy; Confucius, Buddha, or Christ, in religion; Count Rumford, in cooking; or Worth, in dressmaking. Forel states that man excels woman in his creative imagination, his faculty of combination and discovery, and by his critical mind. Since the technical schools have been attended by women it is asserted that the inventions by women have been accumulating fast in the patent office, but it is conceded that these inventions are not of the major sort.

XXIII

ETHICOPSYCHOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES (CONTINUED)

LECKY says: "Morally, the general superiority of women over men is, I think, unquestionable. If we take the somewhat coarse and inadequate criterion of police statistics, we find that, while the male and female populations are nearly the same in number, the crimes committed by men are usually rather more than four times as numerous as those committed by women; and although it may be justly observed that men, as the stronger sex, and the sex upon whom the burden of supporting the family is thrown, have more temptations than women, it must be remembered, on the other hand, that extreme poverty which verges upon starvation is most common among women, whose means of livelihood are more restricted, and whose earnings are smallest and most precarious."

Self-sacrifice is the most conspicuous element of a virtuous and religious character, and it is certainly far less common among men than among women, whose lives are usually spent in yielding to the will and consulting the pleasure of another. There are two great departments of virtue: The impulsive, or that which springs spontaneously from the emotions; and the deliberative, or that which is performed in

obedience to the sense of duty; and in both of these I imagine women are superior to men. Their sensibility is greater, they are more chaste both in thought and act, more tender to the erring, more compassionate to the suffering, more affectionate to all about them. . . In active courage women are inferior to men. In the courage of endurance they are commonly their superiors. . . In the ethic of the intellect they are decidedly inferior. To repeat an expression I have already employed, women very rarely love truth, though they love passionately what they call "the truth," or opinions they have received from others, and hate vehemently those who differ from them. They are little capable of impartiality or doubt; their thinking is chiefly a mode of feeling; though generous in their acts, they are rarely generous in their opinions. . . They are less capable than men of perceiving qualifying circumstances, of admitting the existence of elements of good in systems to which they are opposed, of distinguishing the personal character of an opponent from the opinions he maintains. Men lean most to justice, and women to mercy. Men are more addicted to intemperance and brutality, women to frivolity and jealousy. Men excel in energy, self-reliance, perseverance, and magnanimity; women in humility, gentleness, modesty, and endurance. . . Their religious or devotional realizations are incontestably more vivid. . . But though more intense, the sympathies of women are commonly less wide than those of men. Their imaginations individualize more, their affections are in consequence concentrated on leaders rather than on causes. . . These are certain eternal moral landmarks which never can be removed.

Lombroso and Ferrero hold that deception in women is "almost physiological," which is due to weakness, menstruation, modesty, sexual selection,

desire to be interesting, suggestibility, compassion, and the duties of maternity.

Mrs. Besant says: "The keynote of my life has been the longing for sacrifice to something greater than the self." This self-sacrifice is generally held to be applicable to the representative woman.

Lotze thought that women submit more readily to new relationships. Barnes thinks women have evolved a morality of the person and of the family; men, of the groups and of property. Women are diplomatic, tactful, coquettish as contrasted with the direct and bold manner of men. They tend more to periodicity in all their functions and adjustment of life. Mary R. Coolidge says that women are rapidly passing from purely instinctive to conscious and voluntary motherhood, and as they do so they will set a higher standard of sex morality for men. The fact that women are more conservative and less critical of systems than men may account for their adherence to dogma and to established religions. It is estimated that ninety-nine per cent of the great religious movements in the world have received their primary impulse from men, and that those started by women have had little or no stability. However, "Woman can supply much of the living spiritual substance if a man will supply the mold for it to flow into." Of the six hundred religions mentioned in the "Dictionary of Religions," only seven are given as having women originators: The Bourignonists of Flanders,

a mysticism; the Buchanists of Glasgow, whose founder thought she was the woman spoken of in the Apocalypse and assured her followers she could conduct them to heaven without dying; the Philadelphians, a mysticism and universalism; the Southcottians, whose founder was considered demented; the Society of Victims, with a crazy originator; the Universal Friends, whose founder, Jemima Wilkinson, is described as an ambitious and selfish woman, who grew rich from the donations of her followers; the Wilhelmians, whose originator taught that the Holy Ghost was incarnated in her anew. In addition to these might be mentioned the singing and shouting Shakers, who boast of Anne Lee, and the rehash of Oriental religion as represented by the theosophy of Mme. Blavatsky and Mrs. Besant, and the Christian Science of Mrs. Eddy. The hypnotic and hysterical phenomena connected with some of these religions are apparent.

In the whole morale of life differences are manifest as might be expected. In the realm of fashion and dress the proclivities of women are pronounced. Diderot says that "The one thing that women have been thoroughly well taught is to wear decently the fig-leaf they have inherited from their grandmother Eve." Finot gives this caustic criticism:

> Rich or poor, stout or thin, tall or short, blond or brunette or red-haired; made like statues or deformed and misshapen; resembling hogsheads or reeds, they dress identically the same way, following the same pas-

sive obedience to the laws promulgated by the kings and queens of dressmaking.[1]

M. E. Gornez-Carillo thus describes the effects of the corset:

When she finally takes it off, after a day of fatigue, her bosom does not heave with pleasure. With her soft, clenched hands the martyr of fashion strokes her flesh, wounded by the whalebones, the lacings, the stiff canvas. Then she looks into a mirror and sees, with deep sadness, the bruises the hard cuirass has left upon her waist. But, alas! neither these pains nor any sufferings will make our sisters draw back a single step upon the ground of their coquetry.

When one sees woman's blind following of the fantastic flights of fashion he is tempted to agree with Plautus' statement: "Whoever wishes to give himself many troubles need only bestow upon himself two things: a ship or a woman. These are the two things in the world most difficult to equip." At the Convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs at Chicago, June, 1914, Mrs. Robert J. Burdette declared:

As the fashions are to-day, a woman would have to design nearly everything for herself if she would not wear immoral clothes. The reason is plain enough. Fashions, especially French fashions, are not designed for good women. They will not spend enough money to suit the merchants. That is the reason that every new fashion is designed originally for the demi-monde of Paris. It is an unpleasant thought that it is the

[1] Ibid., p. 330.

latter who set the standard which our fashionable women follow with naive avidity.

Woman is more intuitive than man. She often reaches valid conclusions without going through a process of reasoning. This is the reason that a philosophy such as Bergson's seems to present so great a future for the women of the race. Bergson thinks philosophy is apt to go to seed on the logical faculty of analysis, and that intuition brings us to the very heart of life.

In reviewing the whole field, Barnes makes this summary:

> Man creates, woman conserves; man composes, woman interprets; man generalizes, woman particularizes; man seeks beauty, woman embodies beauty; man thinks more than he feels, woman feels more than she thinks. For new spiritual birth, as for physical birth, men and women must supplement each other. . . To be a woman is to be for twenty-five years a girl, and then a young woman, capable of feeding and protecting herself, possessed of conserving powers superior to her brothers. After that for twenty-five years she is a human being primarily devoted to romanticism, finding her large fulfilment only in wifehood and motherhood, direct or vicarious; in the last twenty-five years she should be a wise woman of ripe experience, carrying over her gathered training and powers to the service of the group.

Geddes and Thomson make a similar statement:

> The female cell is large and immobile. It represents stored energy. The male cell is small and agile. It

represents expenditure of energy. From these fundamental characteristics the social and psychological differences can be deduced. The female represents the conservation of the species, the preservation of past gains made by the race. Her characteristics are continuity, patience, and stability. Her mental life is dominated by integration. She is skilled in particular ideas and in the application of generalization already obtained, but not in abstraction or the formation of new concepts. Since woman is receptive, she possesses keener senses and more intense reflexes than man. Her tendency to accumulate nutrition brings about a greater development of the viscera; and since emotions are reflex waves from the viscera, woman is more emotional than man. The male, on the other hand, represents the introduction of new elements. Males are more variable than females throughout the animal kingdom. Everywhere we find the male sex adventurous and inventive. Its variety of ideas and sentiments are greater. Its activities are characterized everywhere by impulsiveness and intensity rather than by patience and continuity. Men are more capable of intense and prolonged concentration of attention than women. They are less influenced by feeling than women. They have greater powers of abstraction and generalization.[2]

Professor Dewey, however, admonishes as follows:

Upon no subject has there been so much dogmatic assertion based upon so little scientific evidence, as upon the male and female type of mind. We know that traits are transmitted from grandfather to grandson through the mother, even the traits most specific in

[2] "Biological Theory," p. 171.

nature. This, with other accessible facts, demonstrates that such difference of mental characters as exist are those of arrangement, proportion, and emphasis rather than of a kind and quality. Moreover, it is scientifically demonstrable that the average difference between man and woman is much less than the individual differences between either men or women themselves.

History shows that man's productions have been superior in the line of creativeness, of abstract thought, of wider generalizations, and in certain other departments of the intellectual world. In treating of the causes of such superiority various lines of thought have been advanced. Darwin wrote as follows:

> We may calculate that the greater size, courage, pugnacity, energy, and strength of man in comparison with woman were acquired during primeval times, and have subsequently been augmented chiefly through the contest of rival males for the possession of females. The greater intellectual vigor and power of invention in man is probably due to natural selection, combined with the inherited effects of habit; for the most able men will have succeeded best in defending and providing for themselves and for their wives and offspring.[3]

Ellen Key thinks that "woman, by her maternal functions, uses up so much physical and psychical energy that in the sphere of intellectual production she must remain of less significance." Forel ventures this prophecy: "Tied down

[3] "Origin of Species," p. 605.

hitherto partly by servitude, the mental faculties of woman will doubtless rise and flourish in all their natural powers as soon as they are absolutely free to develop in society equally with those of men by the aid of equal rights." Helen Thompson says:

> The point to be emphasized as the outcome of this study is that, according to our present light, the psychological differences of sex seem to be largely due, not to differences of average capacity nor to difference in type of mental activity, but to the difference in the social influence brought to bear on the developing individual from early infancy to adult years. The question of the future development of the intellectual life of woman is one of the social necessities and ideals rather than of the inborn psychological characteristics of sex.

Ellis gives the following explanation: "While women have been largely absorbed in that sphere of sexuality which is nature's, men have roamed the earth, sharpening their aptitudes and energies in perpetual conflict with nature." John Stuart Mill expresses his opinion:

> I consider it presumptuous in any one to pretend to decide what women are or are not, can or cannot be, by natural conservation. They have always hitherto been kept, as far as spontaneous development is concerned, in so unnatural a state that their nature cannot but have been greatly distorted and disguised, and no one can safely pronounce, that if women's nature were left to choose its own directions as freely as men's,

and if no artificial bent were attempted to be given to it except that required by the conditions of human society, and given to both sexes alike, there would not be any material difference or perhaps any difference at all, in the character and capacities which would unfold themselves.

As was pointed out above, there are at present certain intellectual pursuits in which women have not made the same advances as men. This is recognized even by those most favorable to woman's advancement. The question which faces the inquirer who seeks the best interests of all is whether these pursuits are to be regarded as naturally complementary to those more exclusively woman's; and if not, whether age-long differences of habit and occupation have brought about this result or whether a considerable amount of the difference is not due to inherent biological distinctions. If the latter question is answered affirmatively, are we not thrown back again to the position of considering the natural sphere of woman as of a complementary character for the good of society? This natural sphere may not exclude women from social and political functions hitherto not exercised by them, but it may demand an adjustment of the aim and scope of the woman movement. Even admitting the argument that owing to the past condition of women, a few exceptional women such as history reveals, are sufficient to prove the inherently equal, though undeveloped, capacities of women; yet it

must be remembered that, on the whole, female offspring inherits equally from father and mother, and to a certain extent exceptional endowment will make its opportunity. Forel admits that there is a long period before woman ere she reaches the achievement of man in some departments, when he says the results of education can only be inherited as such by infinitesimal engraphies (Semon's theory), possible after hundreds of generations: after all, may there not be certain pursuits for which women, as a rule, are not qualified, just as men are not qualified to give motherly care to infancy? However, this brings us back again to life questions which must be also biologically considered.

XXIV

BIOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

BIOLOGISTS consider the individual as existing for the race, as the host and servant of the germ-plasm. The individual is destined by nature for parenthood. But in relationship to this great business, the man and the woman are on quite a different plane; so much so that Grant Allen may well think woman is the sex sacrificed to reproductive necessities.

Some biologists hold there is proof of the fundamental and absolute difference between the sexes. Morgan's experiments show that one more chromosome is necessary to produce the female. This seems to prove the statement that sex is as inborn as the backbone. The conclusion is, however, modified by the fact that the sex of the fœtus is not distinguishable for the first five weeks. Geddes and Thomson say:

> In all living creatures there are two great lines of variation, primarily determined by the very nature of the protoplasmic change (metabolism); for the ratio of the constructive (anabolic) changes to the disruptive (katabolic) ones; that is, of income to outlay, of gains to losses, is a variable one. In one sex, the female, the balance of debtor and creditor is the more favorable

one; the anabolic processes tend to preponderate, and this profit may be first devoted to growth, but later to offspring, of which she can afford to bear the larger share. To put it more precisely, the life-ratio of anabolic to katabolic changes, A/K, in the female is normally greater than the corresponding life-ratio, A/K, in the male. This for us is the fundamental, the physical, the constitutional difference between the sexes; and it becomes expressed from the very outset in the contrast between their essential reproductive elements, and may be traced on into the more superficial sexual characteristics.[1]

Otto Weininger presented an interesting but unaccepted hypothesis of the division of the protoplasm to account for the infinite many-sidedness of individual development. He posits a sort of chemical affinity of the sexes which is dependent on the fact that every cell of the organism possesses a decided sexual accentuation. A male with seventy-five per cent maleness seeks out a woman with twenty-five per cent maleness. The integral or ideal union would be represented by such a formula as this: $\frac{75m+25w}{m}+\frac{25m+75w}{w}$. There is a disharmony where this formula is not met. A woman with forty per cent maleness is a monster. No woman has fifty per cent maleness. While Weininger was ill-balanced, there are many suggestive hints in his theory, and in some directions he anticipated the results of recent biological researches into the composition of the germ-cells.

[1] "Evolution of Sex."

As to variability the biological evidence is conflicting. Wallace says the superior variability of the male is constitutional, and not due to sexual selection, as Darwin taught. Pearson, however, holds that "the principle that man is more variable than woman must be put aside as a pseudo-scientific superstition until it has been demonstrated in a more scientific manner than has hitherto been attempted." Saleeby maintains that woman is biologically more variable than man; that woman's less variable activity is due to her training. Thomas thinks woman stands nearer to the plant process than man, representing the constructive as opposed to the disruptive metabolic tendency. "Viewed with reference to activity, the animal is an advance on the plant, from which it departs by morphological and physiological variations suited to a more energized form of life; and the female may be regarded as the animal norm from which the male departs by further morphological variations." Barnes says: "Man has, in short, become somatically a more specialized animal than woman, and feels more keenly any disturbance of normal conditions, while he has not the same physiological surplus as woman with which to meet the disturbance." It is pointed out that the lower forms of life show greater resistance to surgical and traumatic treatment. The records of the Glasgow, Paris, and Edinburgh hospitals show that more women recover from operations than men. It might be un-

safe to draw any general conclusion from this, especially in the face of the poet's assertion that

> Nature tried her prentice hand on man,
> And then she made the lassies O.

It has been stated that "Nature indicates her own aristocrats nowhere more clearly than in the blood." In woman the heart and lungs develop faster than in man. Her blood, however, has not as many red corpuscles as are found in the blood of men. In men the specific gravity is greater and the pulse-rate slower. The condition of the blood has a great deal to do with the creative power, with memory, and generally with the whole mental and active life.

In considering the respiration the costal breathing of women is well known. This has been proved to be an artificially induced habit due to irrational methods of dress. The adult human being has eighteen respirations per minute as compared with six by the rhinoceros, two hundred and ten by the rat, and forty-four by the human infant. Women can live longer than men on a given supply of air, as the carbon burnt per hour by them as compared with that burnt by men is in the proportion of six to eleven.

Differences also are found in certain other general biologic matters, such as the greater quantity of, but less solids in, the urine of women, the more pronounced relation of the thyroid gland in the

sexual life of woman, and the relatively large stomach of the female.

A very important fact is that referred to under anthropological differences, the more rapid maturing of the girl, and hence the lesser length of infancy. The vital organs, such as the heart and lungs, mature more rapidly in women. The growth of the brain in women is more rapid than in men before the twentieth year; from twenty to thirty-five years there is a small increase in the brain of men. From the educationists' point of view the two great biological facts of importance are the increased size of the cerebrum of man as compared with the lower animals and the prolonged period of infancy. The first fact marks out the educability of man, the second the progressiveness of man. One of the causes of the greater mortality of male infants is the large head. One of the starting-points for the improvement of women should be the prolongation of their infancy.

The most distinctive line of cleavage biologically between man and woman is found in the generative system and its functions. Walter Heape believes that the generative system demands toll of every other organ of the body.

> If there is one thing more than another emphasized by the study of reproductive physiology, it is the essential differences between the male and the female. The reproductive system is one of the two most primitive systems of organs possessed by all living things.

The digestive system is necessary for the life of the individual, the reproductive for the life of the species, and all the other systems of organs—excretory, vascular, nervous, muscular, skeletal, sensory—are called forth and built up in accordance with the needs which arise for the more efficient discharge of both these two primitive systems. But, and this is of great moment, one of those two primitive systems, the reproductive, is not only structurally but functionally, fundamentally different in the male and the female; and since all other organs and systems of organs are affected by this system, it is certain that the male and female are essentially different throughout. Some of these differences are glaring and forceful, others infinitely subtle, hidden differences, and the most remarkable are not due to structural differences, but to profound divergence of function. The origin of them all is to be traced without doubt to the overwhelming influence either of the forces which induce the activity of the reproductive system, or to the products of that activity; it is by such means that all the tissues of the body are bound together and drilled subservient to sex.

That there are profound basic differences here between man and woman must be recognized, although we may not agree as to the conclusions to which these differences lead. It is along this line that Ellen Key differs from other protagonists of the female sex when she says:

Doing away with an unjust paragraph in a law which concerns women, turning a hundred women into a field of work where only ten were occupied before, giving one woman work where formerly not one was em-

ployed—these are the mile-stones in the line of progress of the women's rights movement. It is a line pursued without consideration of feminine capacities, nature, and environment.

Biologists point out the iron rule of life laws in such statements as this: "No human being can escape from the results of infringement of the biological laws of sex, and those women who demand to be released from the iron fetters of nature are no wiser than children who cry for the moon." [2]

From thirty to forty years of woman's life is subject to a monthly change of a most pronounced character. Finot says: "'The eternally wounded one' draws from this sexual difference the majority of the characteristics which distinguish her from man." Ellis thinks that while a man may be said, at all events relatively, to live on a plane, a woman lives on the upward or downward slope of a curve. Doctor Fothergill attributes to the weakening influence of this cause the early arrest of development in girls in height, muscles, larynx, etc. Michelet declares that woman is forever suffering from the cicatrization of an interior wound, which is the cause of the whole drama. Dr. Mary Jacobi has studied minutely this

worm which gnaws periodically at the root of life. . . In woman exists a rhythmic wave of plenitude and tension of the arterial system, at all events perceptible in the radial artery, which begins at a minimum point

[2] Heape, "Sex Antagonism," p. 4.

from one to four days after the cessation of menstruation, and gradually rises to a maximum either seven or eight days before menstruation, or at any day nearer than this.

At this time there is an engorgement of the thyroid, the parotid, the tonsils, etc. The pulse is slow, there is a pelvic tension, the breasts are enlarged, the temperature higher, the surface blood-vessels change, there are pigmentary changes, the voice is impaired. In the realm of organic sensations and the general tone of life there must be corresponding changes. It is generally believed there is a rhythm of all the senses. At this period, where there are any abnormalities in the individual, these reach their height. In trials of skill and contests of other kinds the menstruation period must be taken into consideration. The Continental European contracts of singers have provision made in them for needed rest during the monthly period.

There is no doubt but that a considerable portion of the discomfort could be removed by proper attention to health and exercise. Dr. Mary Jacobi thinks that healthy women do not need rest, but admits:

> It remains true, however, that in our exciting social conditions forty-six per cent of women suffer more or less at menstruation, and for a large number of these, when engaged in industrial pursuits or others, under the command of an employer, humanity dictates that rest from work during the period of pain be afforded wherever practicable.

Another biological function peculiar to woman is the preservation of the germs of the future generation. The old idea that woman is the mere harborer of the germ communicated by man has given away to scientific findings. Genetics shows that woman furnishes part of every zygote which develops into the individual. Sex is determined at fertilization after Mendelian principles. Some biologists hold that the mother determines the sex in all the higher animals. Woman furnishes one-half of future generations. Man is mortal, and unless woman performs the functions for the continuance of the race, mankind will be extinct.

Upon woman also depends the normality of the fœtus. The infant is nurtured in the body of the mother a longer time in proportion to the body-weight than in the case of any other species. By means of the placenta the child throws off its waste products into the circulatory system of the mother, and the mother furnishes the child with the oxygen and nutriment it needs. Any toxic derangement of the mother may lead to abnormality in the child. The toxins may filter through the placenta and affect the physical condition of the fœtus. For example, the intoxication of the mother may lead to a diseased nervous system in the child. After three months of pregnancy there is an interference of the health of the mother, an interference which may demand quietness and rest. Not only in her circulatory system but in her anatomical structure woman

is required to fit herself to guard the integrity of the germ and to safeguard the birth of the child. Exercise for the strengthening of the muscles of the back and the abdomen may prove of great value. The birth of male children requires more attention than female, owing to the larger head. The birth-rate of males is higher than that of females, but the death-rate is also higher. For nine months the fœtus has this close relation with the mother. This biological experience is entirely beyond the range of man's participation. This experience profoundly affects the physical and mental condition of woman. "Under the influence of pregnancy and of maternity woman becomes nobler morally, and develops physically and intellectually."[3] Professor Desplats says: "The fœtus is not a mere parasite joined to the mother and living through her; it is a regular guest, who lives in and with her. . . It brings to her special stimulants which awaken in her sleeping activities which will be the cause of her physical completion and of feelings previously unexpected which will become her moral complement." Walter Heape declares:

> A normal woman is physiologically constituted to bear children and to rear them, and her neglect to perform the functions of motherhood results in derangement of the normal functional condition of all those systems of organs which are controlled or in any way affected by the generative system. . . Any derangement

[3] Finot, p. 173.

of this one system tends to induce pathological conditions throughout the body, and all spinsters run this risk. But, when, in addition to the derangement incident to the non-performance of these natural functions of woman, is added an abnormal stimulation of some other system of organs, the risk of disorganization is greatly increased.

Another function of woman which materially affects the normal life of the child is that of lactation. The natural period of maternal feeding is the longest known. For the first nine months of its life the natural food of the child is the mother's milk. The nursing period opens another realm of experience precluded to man. Professor Gulick's attempt to share the experiences of his wife with regard to their child will be recalled. There is no substitute which can take the place of the milk of the mother. The attempt to substitute something else causes a large percentage of the mortality of infants.

The close relation of woman to nature, her nearer affiliation with childhood, the maternal sympathies which she possesses as an actual or a foster-mother, have a most important influence on the childhood of the offspring of any generation. The school is no place for a child under five years, or possibly seven. There are strands in the child's life which no one can weave together so well as the mother. The relation of sympathy to altruism and morality is sufficient to show the immense advantage to the growing child of a mother's care.

Some protagonists of woman's emancipation, in trying to prove that women are capable of functions identical with those of man, point out that even in the secondary sexual characters, such as beards, mammary glands, and voice, women at certain times in life may manifest the character of the male; that in parrots and other birds the female is as highly colored as the male; that in marine copepods and in some butterflies, the female is the more highly ornamented; that in gynandromorphism part of the body is male and part female; and in hermaphroditism the same individual carries two sets of reproductive organs.

Analogies from lower forms of life are, however, very uncertain, and male secondary sexual characters in the female are exceptional. There is no doubt that sexual glands and their secretions influence the body. Removal of the glands prevent the appearance of the characters, and transplanting of the female glands to the male produces feminine characteristics. This influence of the sexual glands and their secretions shows the different biological and psychological experience of the male as compared with the female.

What causes the appearance of secondary sexual characters has not been satisfactorily explained. Many explanations have been offered; extra-growth force in breeding season, sexual selection, need of protection, continuous variation, mutation, waste products deposited as pigments in the breeding sea-

son, and other hypotheses. Kellogg says: "The plain truth is that the satisfactory, all-explaining explanation of secondary sexual character and sexual dimorphism is yet to be formulated."

The fact, however, is patent that any attempt to argue away the difference which the sexual characters make in the experiences of the male and the female is a case of special pleading which refutes itself.

XXV

CONCLUSION

IN the light of our review of the historical, philosophical, and scientific phases of the woman's movement, what conclusions seem to be warranted? It is with a good deal of diffidence that one attempts to fix upon definite results.

1. History shows that woman has not received the same opportunity for development as man. Whether her constitutional peculiarities have been a factor in the production of this disability is a moot question. From his size and strength man had to assume the rôle of protector in early eras; a rôle which gave him activity and wider horizon, and which instituted a division of labor that placed upon woman what are called menial tasks. The general condition of mankind should always be taken into consideration whenever the advantages or disadvantages of either sex are receiving attention. The bonds of custom, of ceremonial, of tribal organization, hold fast with the consent of both men and women. Division of labor naturally found new lines of social cleavage with the appearance of peculiar adaptability. On the whole, man may have been domineering and oppressive, although it may be ques-

tionable that conscious deliberate purpose led him to subject woman even in semicivilized conditions. Woman had a right to repudiate the extravagant claims of certain epochs that she was ordained to serve man, or which regarded man as her "author and disposer." The foolishness of a mistaken ecclesiasticism regarding her uncleanness, or the use of anesthetics lest she feel no pain, was also an irritation difficult to bear. When woman slipped the leash, however, sometimes she ran amuck, as Egyptian feminism or the Neo-Platonism of Italy and France proved. We must always learn to walk before we run.

It seems to be a mistaken notion which feminists entertain that man has taken a delight in keeping woman in subjection. The truth seems to be that with advancing civilization and the recognition of individual rights men have been willing to accord women greater freedom. They may have been slow in doing this, but probably such tardiness was the result of a failure to grasp the situation earlier. While women have been successful through their agitation in getting legislatures of men to grant them improved legal status, it must be noted that these legislatures were composed of men, and that early and frequently men have granted improved legal status and greater opportunities of education on their own initiative. Even if we were to allow the extreme claim of the feminist that man has always acted to increase his own reputation and

comfort, it would be a poor way for him to extend his "empirical ego" by pursuing, as Roscoe points out, a "Machiavellian policy of keeping wives and daughters ignorant." The tortuous way man has trodden explains many class disabilities without having recourse to a satanic policy of deliberate oppression; and it is far more in the interests of race-elevation to recognize the short-sightedness and dim vision of man than to enter upon a campaign of sex antagonism which interprets all the shortcomings of the past as the result of conscious deliberate purpose.

The arguments built upon the matriarchate, the "neuter sex," or the "oversexed," have foundations of sand, have bases unhistorical, abnormal, or pathological.

2. The statement that all human beings are free and equal requires considerable adaptive interpretation to make it true. There are rights, however, which belong to every member of the human race. There is the sacredness of human personality, the full significance of which we have not yet appreciated. There is the right of the individual to develop in accordance with law of its being. Human rights are not necessarily identical rights. The constitution of the individual varies. There is, however, enough similarity between individuals to make many rights the same. The limitation of individual rights is found in the rights of others, or in the integrity of the race. Woman is human, and there

are series of rights belonging to her which are identical with those of man. Rights bring corresponding duties. Differences in duty depend upon differences in constitution and relationship. Woman differs from man: anthropologically she is nearer the child; biologically her infancy is shorter; psychologically she is more precocious; physiologically she is the child-bearer. There are differences in detail which need not be repeated; differences in absolute brain capacity, in blood composition, in length of limb, in relation of certain glands to the bodily constitution; differences in intuition, in sensibility, in logical analysis, in affectibility, in dynamic efficiency, in moral behavior. How much of this difference is due to custom and habits of life, and would disappear with changes in these, cannot be definitely stated. Should it be possible to remove many of these differences by a technique of life similar to that of man, woman must be prepared to lose as well as to gain. Even the result of the jealousy of the male has its compensations. Woman, however, as a personality, has a right to test her powers. She is not the ward of man. Let her "choose her sphere and evoke its limitations." Huxley may be right that nature has her Salic law and no change of dynasty will be effected. Much of the inferiority of woman in knowledge can be removed by education. In Anglo-Saxon countries a literary test would probably find women superior. Woman must not expect, how-

ever, to gain in intuition through the rigors of logical analysis. Much of the explosive emotionality and subserviency to fashion may be removed by the strictures of her own sex. There are differential limitations and advantages which cannot be removed in a short time, and some which never can be removed. Disadvantageous precocity and limited infancy present problems which have required decades and centuries to solve in the general history of mankind. Women should not expect to gain a solution of these merely by casting a vote. The duty of motherhood is as permanent as the race. Woman will never be able to change her physical constitution by a multiplicity of "neuter-sex" or "oversexed" arguments.

The individual, whether man or woman, has a right to free action, to development of inherent powers, to conscious deliberate choice, to assume the burdens of responsibility. The danger lies in trying to become something for which we are unfitted by nature, to assume prematurely responsibilities which we cannot meet, to emphasize our own individual rights at the expense of the rights of others. The impatient question will meet us, Who is to decide? The answer is: The individual must decide. Society should give as much freedom for experimentation as possible. After the experience of mankind, however, anarchism cannot expect to receive *carte blanche*. Personality develops through society. To destroy the race by the grow-

ing of a big individual would be like cutting off the tap-root of life. Amaternalist straining at the tether may be overdone. As Prof. F. C. S. Schiller, of Oxford, says: "Nothing is more ominous than that personal success should have so often to be purchased by racial extinction." If this has been true in the case of man and of integral races, how much greater the disaster if the whole human race be jeopardized and ultimately extinguished by the refusal of woman to assume maternal duties that she might be a more developed personality, "like man."

3. The race, therefore, has its claim. Society demands of its constituent members certain duties. Old nature may be called blind and unjust, but she knows that if the human race is to continue, children must be born. Men may have given ground to the amaternalists for their contention that woman is often regarded as a mere propagative unit and not a personality. The plain fact, however, is that both man and woman are personalities which are propagative units. In a very real sense the individual exists for the race and the woman is sister to her daughter. Both woman and man should have the opportunity for personal advancement as great as their own constitutions and the social necessities will permit. The mere fact that some men and some women take no part in the propagation of the race does not impair the validity of the argument that biologically the individual exists for the race.

No unmarried man or woman can meet fully social responsibilities unless the duties of foster-parenthood are assumed. The assumption of such duties on the part of the unmarried can never take the place of real fatherhood and motherhood. The intellectual and esthetic throes of creative work are very commendable. In race continuation, however, flesh and blood can never be replaced by syllogism and palette.

It is a false academic dilettanteism which teaches the girl graduate that motherhood is too mundane for her divine powers. All the arguments advanced to prove how maternity breaks the course of individual advancement, how the individual is sacrificed to race demands, how much wiser and more developed the individual woman would be if she eschewed the duties of maternity, all such arguments are brushed aside by nature herself; that nature which lives in the instincts, the passions, and the deepest intuitions of man and woman. "Self-interest" has another face if you will turn it round; it is the face of altruism. Scientists have been wont to find nature "red in tooth and claw." Some, however, begin to recognize more fully another side of nature in love, as "creation's final law," and exemplified in the subordination of vegetable life to reproduction, in the somatic protection of the germ-plasm, in the sacrifice of flower-stem to crowded heads of flowers as in the dandelion. (Thomson.) Whether you find this in

science or not, whether you are willing or unwilling to see the perfection and beauty of life in that efflorescence which insures the perpetuity of that life, the homely, matter-of-fact conclusion is that maternity is a *sine-qua-non* for the existence of the human race.

The mother is so indispensable and so important that society will do well to crown her with all the prerogatives which she can advantageously use. She has a right to all the culture which can be given her. She wins it by her function; she needs it in the rearing of her children. She has a right to have her influence felt in the ordering and control of social activities. Her functions are unique. No creative laboratory or propagative shrine can take her place, no crèche can supply her arms, no manufactory her nourishment, no infant-expert her intuition and instinct, no social nursery her sympathetic care. She hides behind no "social responsibility" that she may have license for selfishness or shirk individual responsibility which is the source of the iron in the constitution of man.

Does not man also exist for the race? Certainly he does, and it may be that the world would be better if things did not get into the saddle and carry him so far into material concerns. If man, however, is remiss in his duties, that is no excuse for woman; and man can never have the opportunities of woman in influencing the rising generation. Without in any way attempting to minimize

the responsibility of man, it is safe to say that peculiar and distinctive responsibility is laid upon woman.

4. There are women without maternal duties. In Great Britain there are a million and a quarter more women than men. At any point of time a large proportion of marriageable women are unmarried. There are married women without children, and there are homes from which children or husbands have gone. Many a woman could add much to the social heritage if she had a proper chance. The woman problem is a larger question than that of motherhood.

The experience of man justifies the education of woman, and in the main along the same lines as that of man. Few will dissent from this opinion as far as primary and secondary education is concerned. By a number of elective courses, and the provision of courses of peculiar benefit to women, the colleges can meet the necessities of the woman student. It is not necessary that every woman should be a mother. It is of importance that every woman should catch something of the spirit of motherhood.

Woman has a right to fit herself for economic duties. She sometimes attempts that for which she would seem to be ill-fitted, as the census reports show. Even this attempt may be better than a life without active interest and a parasitism that undermines the character. Many a woman, however,

who does not engage in business or professional pursuits is not a parasite, as is manifest from the devoted service of a daughter or a sister. On the whole, it is commendable for every girl to place herself in a position of economic independence. The housewife is not a parasite; her management of home duties is worthy of great reward. It is not necessary that the wife should have a definite wage-scale or that there should be the commercializing of wifely domestic duties after the manner of the factory world. The daughter who remains at home, adding grace, refinement, and comfort to home life need not regard herself as a parasite. Protest should be entered against the modern everlasting monetizing of functions. Refinement and delicacy no money can buy. The diatribes against chivalry are cheap artillery. Beauty and strength are still safeguards in the ramparts of civilization.

The attempt to prescribe an external economic program for the mother seems ill-advised both from the view-point of the mother and from that of the industrial world. There are enough debatable problems to settle through the entrance into industrial life of women who can work regularly—the effect on the wage-scale, the adjustment of labor, the remuneration of the father who has to support children and wife whose duties at home are worth far more to the state than any she could undertake in a factory. The married woman who bears children and attends to her maternal functions will

have no time to do other work. The physical disturbance before child-birth, the three months' quiet she should have, the recuperative period after child-birth, the care that should be exercised in lactation, and the motherly supervision of growing boys and girls, render external economic concerns out of the question. Even the girl who enters industry labors under a severe handicap and should have periodical seasons of comparative rest in many cases. Society need not worry about the economic status of woman from the economic side; that will take care of itself since nature is judge of the lists, but it should be concerned about undue economic pressure defeminizing woman and rendering her relatively unfit for maternity.

In the moral, religious, and esthetic realms the race owes much to woman. Her position may have safeguarded her to a certain extent, but her constitution also is favorable to good results. The fine taste, the delicate susceptibility, the spirit of sacrifice, the nurture of reverence, the grace of life are well represented. Even in her body beauty shows the great difference from the beast. Woman has a finer sense of moral purity which augurs well for society the more her influence is felt. If cruelty flares out at times in her nature, pity and commiseration hasten to preserve the balance. The world of philanthropy has yet to receive her best efforts. Of the two great organizing forces in civilization, religion is one. Woman is the conservator of

religion. She may be slow to change her theology, but she does society valuable service in holding steadfastly the essentials of faith which to her intuition seem indispensable.

In the political realm even now she exercises considerable influence. Were it not for antisocial organization and racial hatred, men might be content to let her govern the state as the son of Themistocles was said to govern Athens—by proxy. To some of us the full extension of political duties to women seems an experiment, the results of which are not positively clear. Society, from the data at hand, does not seem to have the right to forbid the vote to women should they desire it; it has the right to withdraw it should the result be unsatisfactory. Women would do well to consider the argument of Mrs. Humphrey Ward as to their competency to engage in imperial politics. Should woman desire the vote and be accorded the duty, she may cultivate logical reasoning and judicial decision to supplement that intuition of hers which seems so unerring that many are willing to give her every opportunity of influencing the counsels of society. Every man with high social instincts wishes the very best for the social welfare, and will hail with satisfaction the day when woman proves her competency in every walk of life of which she is capable.

Mankind has not arrived, may never arrive in this mundane sphere, at that stage of perfection in its

international relations which allows, or will allow, it to ignore the neuromuscular force of its members. The vicarious sufferings of woman should receive all due recognition; but vicarious sufferings, no matter how equivalent they may be, can never take the place of the shock of battle or the carnage of warfare. I imagine that in our saner moments we wish to shield our mothers, our wives, and our daughters from such an experience, and we should regard their participation in protective functions of this character as highly prejudicial to the progress of the race. Such participation is unspeakably bad for man; it would be unutterably worse for woman.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following is a partial list of the books consulted in the preparation of this work:

Abbott, E., Women in Industry; Appleton, New York, 1913.

Balfour, A. J., Decadence; Henry Sidgwick Memorial Lecture, 1908.

Barnes, Earl, Women in Modern Society; B. W. Huebsch, New York, 1912.

Bateson, Wm., The Methods and Scope of Genetics; Cambridge University Press, 1908.

Bayles, Geo. J., Woman and the Law; The Century Company, 1901.

Beveridge, Wm. H., John and Irene; Longmans, 1912.

Boulting, W., Woman in Italy; Brentanos, 1910.

Carpenter, Edward, Love's Coming of Age; Mitchell Kennesley, New York, 1911.

Clough, E. Rauschenbusch, Mary Wollstonecraft and the Rights of Woman; Longmans, 1898.

Comte, I. A. M., Positive Philosophy; Macmillan, 1904.

Coolidge, M. R., Why Women Are So; Henry Holt, 1912.

Darwin, Chas., The Origin of Species; P. F. Collier & Son, New York, 1909.

Davenport, C. B., Heredity in Relation to Eugenics; Williams & Norgate, London, 1912.

De Moulde, la Claviere Rene, The Woman of the Renaissance; Putnam, 1901.

Deniker, Joseph, Races of Man; Scribners, London and New York, 1901.

Densmore, E., Sex Equality; Funk & Wagnalls, New York, 1907.

Donaldson, Jas., Women in Greece, Rome, and Early Christianity; Longmans, 1907.

Ellet, E. F., Women of the American Revolution; Jacobs, 1900.

Ellis, Havelock, Problems of Race Regeneration; Cassell, London, 1911.

Ellis, Havelock, Studies in the Psychology of Sex; Davis, London, 1900, 1906.

Fawcett, Mrs. M. G., Woman's Suffrage; New York, 1912.

Finot, Jean, The Problem of the Sexes; Putnam, 1913.

Floyd, Dell, Women and World-Builders; Chicago, 1913.

Forel, A., The Sexual Question; Rebman, 1908.

Geddes, P., and Thomson, J. A., Evolution of Sex; Scribners, 1905.

George, W. L., Women and To-morrow; Appleton, New York, 1913.

Gilman, Mrs. C. S., Women and Economics; Small, Maynard & Co., Boston, 1907.

Gilman, Mrs. C. S., The Man-Made World; Charlton Co., New York, 1911.

Goddard, H. H., The Kallikak Family; Macmillan, 1912.

Heape, Walter, Sex Antagonism; Putnam, 1913.

Hecker, E. A., History of Woman's Rights; Putnam, 1911.

Huxley, Thos. H., Lay Sermons; London, 1883, Appleton, 1903.

Johnson, H. K., Woman and the Republic; The National League for the Civic Education of Women, New York, 1909.

Joran, Le Suffrage des Femmes; Prize Essay, French Academy of Moral and Political Science.

Jordan, S., Footnotes to Evolution; Appleton, 1898.

Key, E., Motherliness and Education for Motherhood; Putnam, 1913.

Key, E., The Woman Movement; Putnam, New York and London, 1912.

Lecky, W. E. H., History of European Morals; New York, 1880, Appleton, 1904.

Leland, Chas. G., The Alternate Sex; Funk & Wagnalls, 1904.

Mackenzie, John S., An Introduction to Social Philosophy; James Maclehose & Sons, Glasgow, 1895.

Mackmurdo, A. H., Pressing Questions; The John Lane Company, New York, 1913.

Martin, E. S., The Unrest of Women; New York, 1910, Appleton, 1913.

Mason, A. G., Woman in the Golden Age; The Century Company, 1901.

Mayreder, Rosa, A Survey of the Woman Problem; Geo. H. Doran Company, New York, 1913.

Meyer, A., Woman's Work in America; Henry Holt, 1891.

Mill, J. S., Subjection of Women; Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1869.

Montessori, Maria, Pedagogical Anthropology; F. A. Stokes & Co., New York, 1913.

Morgan, C. L., Heredity and Sex; Columbia University Press, 1913.

Ostogorski, M. I., The Rights of Woman; Scribners, 1893.

Pankhurst, E. Sylvia, The Suffragette; Sturgis & Walton, 1911.

Putnam, E. J., The Lady; Sturgis & Walton, 1910.

Rembaugh, Bertha, The Political Status of Women in the United States; Putnam, New York, 1911.

Ripley, Wm. Z., Races of Europe; Appleton, 1899.

Saleeby, C. W., Methods of Race Regeneration; Cassell, London, 1911. Woman and Womanhood; Heinemann, London, 1911. Parenthood and Race-culture; Cassell, London, 1909.

Scharlieb, M. D., Woman and Race Regeneration; Cassell, London, 1911, New York, 1912.

Schirmacher, K., The Modern Woman's Rights Movement; Macmillan, 1912.

Schreiner, O., Woman and Labor; Stokes, New York, 1911.

Spencer, Herbert, Principles of Psychology; Appleton, 1904.

Squire, Belle, The Woman Movement in America; McClurg, Chicago, 1911.

Stanton, E. C., et al., The History of Woman's Suffrage; National American Woman Suffrage Association, New York, 1881.

Sumner, H. L., Equal Suffrage in Colorado; Harper, New York, 1909.

Tayler, Lionel, The Nature of Woman; Dutton, 1913.

Thomas, W. I., Sex and Society; University of Chicago Press, 1907.

Thompson, H. B., The Mental Traits of Sex; University of Chicago Press, 1903.

Thomson, J. A., Heredity; Murray, London, 1908.

Tolstoy, Count Leo N., Church and State; Tucker, Boston, 1891.

United States Labor Bureau Bulletins.

Van Vorst, Bessie and Marie, The Woman Who Toils; Doubleday, New York, 1907.

Weininger, O., Sex and Character; Heinemann, London, 1906.

Westermarck, Edward, The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas; Macmillan, London, 1912. The History of Human Marriage; Macmillan, London, 1901.

SOCIAL SER

The Interest of Each is the Conce

This is the catchword of the series of publications projected by the Social Service Commission of the Northern Baptist Convention

Pamphlets Now Ready Are:

The Social Problem

General Introduction. By S. Z. Batten. **15 cents** net.

The Church and the Family

The Child in the Normal Home. By A. L. McCrimmon, LL. D. **10 cents** net.

The Home as the School for Social Living. By Henry Frederick Cope. **10 cents** net.

The Recovery of the Home. By Charles F. Thwing, D. D. **10 cents** net.

What Parents Should Teach their Children. By Sylvanus Stall, D. D. **10 cents** net.

The Function of the Family. By Howland Hanson, D. D. **10 cents** net.

Why Boys and Girls Go Wrong. By Allan Hoben. **10 cents** net.

The Disruption of the Home. By George C. Chase, D. D. **10 cents** net.

The Housing Problem. By John C. Kennedy. **10 cents** net.

The Industrial Menace to the Home. By Samuel Zane Batten. **10 cents** net.

Neglected Childhood. By Mornay Williams. **10 cents** net.

The Church and Wealth and Industry

A Reasonable Social Policy for Christian People. By Charles R. Henderson, Ph. D. **10 cents** net.

Women in American Industry. By Scott Nearing. **10 cents** net.

The Church and the Labor Movement. By Charles Stelzle. **10 cents** net.

Welfare Work by Corporations. By Mrs. Mary Lathrop Goss. **10 cents** net.

Child Labor. By Owen R. Lovejoy. **10 cents** net.

Working-men's Insurance. By C. S. Henderson, D. D. **10 cents** net.

One Rest-day in Seven. By C. C. Horsman. **10 cents** net.

The Church and the Community

The Church in the Smaller Cities. By Rev. F. W. Patterson. **10 cents** net.

The Churches Outside the Church. By George W. Coleman. **10 cents** net.

The Social Mission of the Church. By Alfred Wesley Wishart. **15 cents** net.

The Church in the Country Town. By Charles O. Bemies. **15 cents** net.

Federation for Service. By Washington Gladden, D. D. **10 cents** net.

Men and the Church. By Carl D. Case. **10 cents** net.

The Church in the City. By Leighton Williams, D. D. **10 cents** net.

The Church as a Social Center. By C. F. Reisner, D. D. **10 cents** net.

The Church and Politics

Ethical and Religious Significance of the State. By James Quayle Dealey, Ph. D. **15 cents** net.

The City: As It Is and Is To Be. By Clinton Rogers Woodruff. **15 cents** net.

International Justice. By Prof. George C. Wilson. **10 cents** net.

The Administration of Justice. By Mornay Williams. **10 cents** net.

The Practice of Citizenship. By Elmer C. Griffith, Ph. D. **10 cents** net.

The Relation of Christianity and Socialism. By J. E. Franklin. **10 cents** net.

The Church and Social Waste

A Working Temperance Programme. By Samuel Zane Batten. **15 cents** net.

Saving the Children. By Eugene R. Pendleton. **10 cents** net.

The Rights of the Unborn Race. By Edward B. Pollard, D. D. **10 cents** net.

THE GRIFFITH AND ROWLAND PRESS

1701-1703 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

BOSTON: 16 Ashburton Place

CHICAGO: 107-109-111 S. Wabash Ave.

ST. LOUIS: 514 N. Grand Ave.

TORONTO, CAN.: 223 Church St.