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STUDIES IN THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX

BY HAVELOCK ELLIS

STUDIES IN THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX

COMPLETE IN TWO VOLUMES

With a new foreword by HAVELOCK ELLIS

* VOLUME I *

PART ONE

The Evolution of Modesty · The Phenomena of Sexual Periodicity · Auto-Erotism

PART TWO

Analysis of the Sexual Impulse · Love and Pain The Sexual Impulse in Women

PART THREE

Sexual Selection in Man

PART FOUR

Sexual Inversion

* VOLUME II *

PART ONE

Erotic Symbolism · The Mechanism of Detumescence The Psychic State in Pregnancy

PART TWO

Eonism and Other Supplementary Studies

PART THREE

Sex in Relation to Society

STUDIES IN THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX

BY

HAVELOCK ELLIS

VOLUME II

PART ONE

Erotic Symbolism · The Mechanism of Detumescence

The Psychic State in Pregnancy

PART TWO

Eonism and Other Supplementary Studies

PART THREE

Sex in Relation to Society

RANDOM HOUSE · NEW YORK

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PART ONE

Erotic Symbolism
The Mechanism of Detumescence
The Psychic State in Pregnancy

PREFACE.

In this volume the terminal phenomena of the sexual process are discussed, before an attempt is finally made, in the concluding volume, to consider the bearings of the psychology of sex on that part of morals which may be called "social hygiene."

Under "Erotic Symbolism" I include practically all the aberrations of the sexual instinct, although some of these have seemed of sufficient importance for separate discussion in previous volumes. It is highly probable that many readers will consider that the name scarcely suffices to cover manifestations so numerous and so varied. The term "sexual equivalents" will seem preferable to some. While, however, it may be fully admitted that these perversions are "sexual equivalents"—or at all events equivalents of the normal sexual impulse—that term is merely a descriptive label which tells us nothing of the phenomena. "Sexual Symbolism" gives us the key to the process, the key that makes all these perversions intelligible. In all of them—very clearly in some, as in shoe-fetichism; more obscurely in others, as in exhibitionism—it has come about by causes congenital, acquired, or both, that some object or class of objects, some act or group of acts, has acquired a dynamic power over the psycho-physical mechanism of the sexual process, deflecting it from its normal adjustment to the whole of a beloved person of the opposite sex. There has been a transmutation of values, and certain objects, certain acts, have acquired an emotional value which for the normal person they do not possess. Such objects and acts are properly, it seems to me, termed symbols, and that term embodies the only justification that in most cases these manifestations can legitimately claim.

"The Mechanism of Detumescence" brings us at last to the final climax for which the earlier and more prolonged stage

of tumescence, which has occupied us so often in these *Studies*, is the elaborate preliminary. "The art of love," a clever woman novelist has written, "is the art of preparation." That "preparation" is, on the physiological side, the production of tumescence, and all courtship is concerned in building up tumescence. But the final conjugation of two individuals in an explosion of detumescence, thus slowly brought about, though it is largely an involuntary act, is still not without its psychological implications and consequences; and it is therefore a matter for regret that so little is yet known about it. The one physiological act in which two individuals are lifted out of all ends that center in self and become the instrument of those higher forces which fashion the species, can never be an act to be slurred over as trivial or unworthy of study.

In the brief study of "The Psychic State in Pregnancy" we at last touch the point at which the whole complex process of sex reaches its goal. A woman with a child in her womb is the everlasting miracle which all the romance of love, all the cunning devices of tumescence and detumescence, have been invented to make manifest. The psychic state of the woman who thus occupies the supreme position which life has to offer cannot fail to be of exceeding interest from many points of view, and not least because the maternal instinct is one of the elements even of love between the sexes. But the psychology of pregnancy is full of involved problems, and here again, as so often in the wide field we have traversed, we stand at the threshold of a door it is not yet given us to pass.

HAVELOCK ELLIS.

24 Holmdene Avenue,
Herne Hill, London.

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EROTIC SYMBOLISM.

I.

The Definition of Erotic Symbolism—Symbolism of Act and Symbolism of Object—Erotic Fetichism—Wide extension of the symbols of Sex—The Immense Variety of Possible Erotic Fetiches—The Normal Foundations of Erotic Symbolism—Classification of the Phenomena—The Tendency to Idealize the Defects of a Beloved Person—Stendhal's "Crystallization."

By "erotic symbolism" I mean that tendency whereby the lover's attention is diverted from the central focus of sexual attraction to some object or process which is on the periphery of that focus, or is even outside of it altogether, though recalling it by association of contiguity or of similarity. It thus happens that tumescence, or even in extreme cases detumescence, may be provoked by the contemplation of acts or objects which are away from the end of sexual conjugation.[1]

In considering the phenomena of sexual selection in a previous volume,[2] it was found that there are four or five main factors in the constitution of beauty in so far as beauty determines sexual selection. Erotic symbolism is founded on the factor of individual taste in beauty; it arises as a specialized development of that factor, but it is, nevertheless, incorrect to merge it in sexual selection. The attractive characteristics of a beloved woman or man, from the point of view of sexual selection, are a complex but harmonious whole leading up to a desire for the complete possession of the person who displays them.

[1] The term "erotic symbolism" has already been employed by Eulenburg (*Sexuale Neuropathie*, 1895, p. 101). It must be borne in mind that this term, implying the specific emotion, is much narrower than the term "sexual symbolism," which may be used to designate a great variety of ritual and social practices which have played a part in the evolution of civilization.

[2] *Sexual Selection in Man*, iv, "Vision."

There is no tendency to isolate and dissociate any single character from the individual and to concentrate attention upon that character at the expense of the attention bestowed upon the individual generally. As soon as such a tendency begins to show itself, even though only in a slight or temporary form, we may say that there is erotic symbolism.

Erotic symbolism is, however, by no means confined to the individualizing tendency to concentrate amorous attention upon some single characteristic of the adult woman or man who is normally the object of sexual love. The adult human being may not be concerned at all, the attractive object or act may not even be human, not even animal, and we may still be concerned with a symbol which has parasitically rooted itself on the fruitful site of sexual emotion and absorbed to itself the energy which normally goes into the channels of healthy human love having for its final end the procreation of the species. Thus understood in its widest sense, it may be said that every sexual perversion, even homosexuality, is a form of erotic symbolism, for we shall find that in every case some object or act that for the normal human being has little or no erotic value, has assumed such value in a supreme degree, that is to say, it has become a symbol of the normal object of love. Certain perversions are, however, of such great importance on account of their wide relationships, that they cannot be adequately discussed merely as forms of erotic symbolism. This is notably the case as regards homosexuality, auto-erotism, and algolagnia, all of which phenomena have therefore been separately discussed in previous studies. We are now mainly concerned with manifestations which are more narrowly and exclusively symbolical.

A portion of the field of erotic symbolism is covered by what Binet (followed by Lombroso, Krafft-Ebing, and others) has termed "erotic fetichism," or the tendency whereby sexual attraction is unduly exerted by some special part or peculiarity of the body, or by some inanimate object which has become associated with it. Such erotic symbolism of object cannot, however, be dissociated from the even more important erotic sym-

bolism of process, and the two are so closely bound together that we cannot attain a truly scientific view of them until we regard them broadly as related parts of a common psychic tendency. If, as Groos asserts,[1] a symbol has two chief meanings, one in which it indicates a physical process which stands for a psychic process, and another in which it indicates a part which represents the whole, erotic symbolism of act corresponds to the first of these chief meanings, and erotic symbolism of object to the other.

Although it is not impossible to find some germs of erotic symbolism in animals, in its more pronounced manifestations it is only found in the human species. It could not be otherwise, for such symbolism involves not only the play of fancy and imagination, the idealizing aptitude, but also a certain amount of power of concentrating the attention on a point outside the natural path of instinct and the ability to form new mental constructions around that point. There are, indeed, as we shall see, elementary forms of erotic symbolism which are not uncommonly associated with feeble-mindedness, but even these are still peculiarly human, and in its less crude manifestations erotic symbolism easily lends itself to every degree of human refinement and intelligence.

"It depends primarily upon an increase of the psychological process of representation," Colin Scott remarks of sexual symbolism generally, "involving greater powers of comparison and analysis as compared with the lower animals. The outer impressions come to be clearly distinguished as such, but at the same time are often treated as symbols of inner experiences, and a meaning read into them which they would not otherwise possess. Symbolism or fetichism is, indeed just the capacity to see meaning, to emphasize something for the sake of other things which do not appear. In brain terms it indicates an activity of the higher centers, a sort of side-tracking or long-circuiting of the primitive energy; . . . Rosetti's poem, 'The Woodspurge,'

[1] K. Groos, *Der Æsthetische Genuss*, p. 122. The psychology of the associations of contiguity and resemblance through which erotic symbolism operates its transference is briefly discussed by Ribot in the *Psychology of the Emotions*, Part I, Chapter XII; the early chapters of the same author's *Logique des Sentiments* may also be said to deal with the emotional basis on which erotic symbolism arises.

gives a concrete example of the formation of such a symbol. Here the otherwise insignificant presentation of the three-cupped woodspurge, representing originally a mere side-current of the stream of consciousness, becomes the intellectual symbol or fetich of the whole psychosis forever after. It seems, indeed, as if the stronger the emotion the more likely will become the formation of an overlying symbolism, which serves to focus and stand in the place of something greater than itself. nowhere at least is symbolism a more characteristic feature than as an expression of the sexual instinct. The passion of sex, with its immense hereditary background, in early man became centered often upon the most trivial and unimportant features . . . This symbolism, now become fetichistic, or symbolic in a bad sense, is at least an exercise of the increasing representative power of man, upon which so much of his advancement has depended, while it also served to express and help to purify his most perennial emotion." (Colin Scott, "Sex and Art," *American Journal of Psychology*, vol. vii, No. 2, p. 189.)

In the study of "Love and Pain" in a previous volume, the analysis of the large and complex mass of sexual phenomena which are associated with pain, gradually resolved them to a considerable extent into a special case of erotic symbolism; pain or restraint, whether inflicted on or by the loved person, becomes by a psychic process that is usually unconscious, the symbol of the sexual mechanism, and hence arouses the same emotions as that mechanism normally arouses. We may now attempt to deal more broadly and comprehensively with the normal and abnormal aspects of erotic symbolism in some of their most typical and least mixed forms.

"When our human imagination seeks to animate artificial things," Huysmans writes in *Là-bas*, "it is compelled to reproduce the movements of animals in the act of propagation. Look at machines, at the play of pistons in the cylinders; they are Romeos of steel in Juliets of cast-iron." And not only in the work of man's hands but throughout Nature we find sexual symbols which are the less deniable since, for the most part, they make not the slightest appeal to even the most morbid human imagination. Language is full of metaphorical symbols of sex which constantly tend to lose their poetic symbolism and to become commonplace. Semen is but seed, and for the Latins especially the whole process of human sex, as well as the male

and female organs, constantly presented itself in symbols derived from agricultural and horticultural life. The testicles were beans *(fabæ)* and fruit or apples *(poma* and *mala)*, the penis was a tree (*arbor*), or a stalk (*thyrsus*), or a root (*radix*), or a sickle *(falx)*, or a ploughshare *(vomer)*. The semen, again, was dew *(ros)*. The labia majora or minora were wings *(alæ)*; the vulva and vagina were a field *(ager* and *campus)*, or a ploughed furrow *(sulcus)*, or a vineyard *(vinea)*, or a fountain *(fons)*, while the pudendal hair was herbage *(plantaria)*.[1] In other languages it is not difficult to trace similar and even identical imagery applied to sexual organs and sexual acts. Thus it is noteworthy that Shakespeare more than once applies the term "ploughed" to a woman who has had sexual intercourse. The Talmud calls the labia minora the doors, the labia majora hinges, and the clitoris the key. The Greeks appear not only to have found in the myrtle-berry, the fruit of a plant sacred to Venus, the image of the clitoris, but also in the rose an image of the feminine labia; in the poetic literature of many countries, indeed, this imagery of the rose may be traced in a more or less veiled manner.[2]

The widespread symbolism of sex arose in the theories and conceptions of primitive peoples concerning the function of generation and its nearest analogies in Nature; it was continued for the sake of the vigorous and expressive terminology which it furnished both for daily life and for literature; its final survivals were cultivated because they furnished a delicately æsthetic method of approaching matters which a growing refinement of sentiment made it difficult for lovers and poets to approach in a more crude and direct manner. Its existence is of interest to us now because it shows the objective validity of the basis on

[1] A number of synonyms for the female pudenda are brought together by Schurig—cunnus, hortus, concha, navis, fovea, larva, canis, annulus, focus, cymba, antrum, delta, myrtus, etc.—and he discusses many of them. (*Muliebria*, Section I. cap. I.)

[2] Kleinpaul, *Sprache Ohne Worte*, pp 24-29; *cf.* K. Pearson, *The Chances of Death*, vol. ii, pp 119-245; a selection of the literature of the rose will be found in a volume of translations entitled *Ros Rosarum*.

which erotic symbolism, as we have here to understand it, develops. But from first to last it is a distinct phenomenon, having a more or less reasoned and intellectual basis, and it scarcely serves in any degree to feed the sexual impulse. Erotic symbolism is not intellectual but emotional in its origin; it starts into being, obscurely, with but a dim consciousness or for the most part none at all, either suddenly from the shock of some usually youthful experience, or more gradually through an instinctive brooding on those things which are most intimately associated with a sexually desirable person.

The kind of soil on which the germs of erotic symbolism may develop is well seen in cases of sexual hyperæsthesia. In such cases all the emotionally sexual analogies and resemblances, which in erotic symbolism are fixed and organized, may be traced in vague and passing forms, a single hyperæsthetic individual perhaps presenting a great variety of germinal symbolisms.

Thus it has been recorded of an Italian nun (whose sister became a prostitute) that from the age of 8 she had desire for coitus, from the age of 10 masturbated, and later had homosexual feelings, that the same feelings and practices continued after she had taken the veil, though from time to time they assumed religious equivalents. The mere contact, indeed, of a priest's hand, the news of the presentation of an ecclesiastic she had known to a bishopric, the sight of an ape, the contemplation of the crucified Christ, the figure of a toy, the picture of a demon, the act of defecation in the children entrusted to her care (whom, on this account, and against the regulations, she would accompany to the closets), especially the sight and the mere recollection of flies in sexual connection—all these things sufficed to produce in her a powerful orgasm. (*Archivio di Psichiatria*, 1902, fasc. II-III, p 338.)

A boy of 15 (given to masturbation), studied by Macdonald in America, was similarly hyperæsthetic to the symbols of sexual emotion "I like amusing myself with my comrades," he told Macdonald, "rolling ourselves into a ball, which gives one a funny kind of warmth I have a special pleasure in talking about some things It is the same when the governess kisses me on saying good night or when I lean against her breast. I have that sensation, too, when I see some of the pictures in the comic papers, but only in those representing a woman, as when a young man skating trips up a girl so that her clothes are raised a little. When I read how a man saved a young girl from drowning, so that they swam together, I had the same sensation. Looking at the statues of women in the museum produces the same effect, or when a

see naked babies, or when a mother suckles a child I have often had that sensation when reading novels I ought not to read, or when looking at a new born calf, or seeing dogs and cows and horses mounting on each other When I see a girl flirting with a boy, or leaning on his shoulder or with his arm round her waist, I have an erection It is the same when I see women and little girls in bathing costume, or when boys talk of what their fathers and mothers do together. In the Natural History Museum I often see things which give me that sensation One day when I read how a man killed a young girl and carried her into a wood and undressed her I had a feeling of enjoyment When I read of men who were bastards the idea of a woman having a child in that way gives me this sensation Some dances, and seeing young girls astride a horse, excited me too and so in a circus when a woman was shot out of a cannon and her skirts flew in the air. It has no effect on me when I see men naked Sometimes I enjoy seeing women's underclothes in a shop, or when I see a lady or a girl buying them, especially if they are drawers When I saw a lady in a dress which buttoned from top to bottom it had more effect on me than seeing underclothes Seeing dogs coupling gives me more pleasure than looking at pretty women, but less than looking at pretty little girls" In order of increasing intensity he placed the phenomena that affected him thus The coupling of flies, then of horses, then the sight of women's undergarments then a boy and a girl flirting, then cows mounting on each other, the statues of women with naked breasts then contact with the governess's body and breasts, finally coitus (Arthur Macdonald, *Le Criminel Type*, pp 126 *et seq*)

It is worthy of remark that the instinct of nutrition when restrained, may exhibit something of an analogous symbolism, though in a minor degree to that of sex The ways in which a hyperæsthetic hunger may seek its symbols are illustrated in the case of a young woman called Nadia, who during several years was carefully studied by Janet It is a case of obsession ('maladie du scrupule"), simulating hysterical anorexia in which the patient, for fear of getting fat, reduced her nourishment to the smallest possible amount "Nadia is generally hungry, even very hungry One can tell this by her actions, from time to time she forgets herself to such an extent as to devour greedily anything she can put her hands on At other times, when she cannot resist the desire to eat, she secretly takes a biscuit She feels horrible remorse for the action, but, all the same, she does it again Her confidences are very curious She recognizes that a great effort is needed to avoid eating, and considers she is a heroine to resist so long 'Sometimes I spent whole hours in thinking about food, I was so hungry: I swallowed my saliva, I bit my handkerchief, I rolled on the floor, I wanted to eat so badly I would look in books for descriptions of meals

and feasts, and tried to deceive my hunger by imagining that I was sharing all these good things'" (P. Janet, "La Maladie du Scrupule," *Revue Philosophique*, May, 1901, p 502.) The deviations of the instinct of nutrition are, however, confined within narrow limits, and, in the nature of things, hunger, unlike sexual desire, cannot easily accept a fetich.

"There is almost no feature, article of dress, attitude, act," Stanley Hall declares, "or even animal or perhaps object in nature, that may not have to some morbid soul specialized erogenic and erethic power."[1] Even a mere shadow may become a fetich. Goron tells of a merchant in Paris—a man with a reputation for ability, happily married and the father of a family, altogether irreproachable in his private life—who was returning home one evening after a game of billiards with a friend, when, on chancing to raise his eyes, he saw against a lighted window the shadow of a woman changing her chemise. He fell in love with that shadow and returned to the spot every evening for many months to gaze at the window. Yet—and herein lies the fetichism—he made no attempt to see the woman or to find out who she was; the shadow sufficed; he had no need of the realty.[2] It is even possible to have a negative fetich, the absence of some character being alone demanded, and the case has been recorded in Chicago of an American gentleman of average intelligence, education, and good habits who, having as a boy cherished a pure affection for a girl whose leg had been amputated, throughout life was relatively impotent with normal women, but experienced passion and affection for women who had lost a leg; he was found by his wife to be in extensive correspondence with one-legged women all over the country, expending no little money on the purchase of artificial legs for his various protegées.[3]

It is important to remember, however, that while erotic symbolism becomes fantastic and abnormal in its extreme mani-

[1] G. S. Hall, *Adolescence*, vol. i, p. 470.
[2] Goron, *Les Parias de l'Amour*, p 45.
[3] A. R. Reynolds, *Medical Standard*, vol. x, cited by Kiernan, "Responsibility in Sexual Perversion," *American Journal of Neurology and Psychiatry*, 1882.

festations, it is in its essence absolutely normal. It is only in the very grossest forms of sexual desire that it is altogether absent. Stendhal described the mental side of the process of tumescence as a crystallization, a process whereby certain features of the beloved person present points around which the emotions held in solution in the lover's mind may concentrate and deposit themselves in dazzling brilliance. This process inevitably tends to take place around all those features and objects associated with the beloved person which have most deeply impressed the lover's mind, and the more sensitive and imaginative and emotional he is the more certainly will such features and objects crystallize into erotic symbols. "Devotion and love," wrote Mary Wollstonecraft, "may be allowed to hallow the garments as well as the person, for the lover must want fancy who has not a sort of sacred respect for the glove or slipper of his mistress. He would not confound them with vulgar things of the same kind." And nearly two centuries earlier Burton, who had gathered together so much of the ancient lore of love, clearly asserted the entirely normal character of erotic symbolism. "Not one of a thousand falls in love," he declares, "but there is some peculiar part or other which pleaseth most, and inflames him above the rest. . . . If he gets any remnant of hers, a busk-point, a feather of her fan, a shoe-tie, a lace, a ring, a bracelet of hair, he wears it for a favor on his arm, in his hat, finger, or next his heart: as Laodamia did by Protesilaus, when he went to war, sit at home with his picture before her: a garter or a bracelet of hers is more precious than any Saint's Relique, he lays it up in his casket (O blessed Relique) and every day will kiss it: if in her presence his eye is never off her, and drink he will where she drank, if it be possible, in that very place." etc.[1]

Burton's accuracy in describing the ways of lovers in his century is shown by a passage in Hamilton's *Mémoires de Gramont.* Miss Price, one of the beauties of Charles II's court, and Dongan were ten

[1] R. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part III, Section II, Mem. II Subs. II, and Mem. III. Subs. I.

derly attached to each other; when the latter died he left behind a casket full of all possible sorts of love-tokens pertaining to his mistress, including, among other things, "all kinds of hair." And as regards France, Burton's contemporary, Howell, wrote in 1627 in his *Familian Letters* concerning the repulse of the English at Rhé: "A captain told me that when they were rifling the dead bodies of the French gentlemen after the first invasion they found that many of them had their mistresses' favors tied about their genitories."

Schurig (*Spermatologia*, p. 357) at the beginning of the eighteenth century knew a Belgian lady who, when her dearly loved husband died, secretly cut off his penis and treasured it as a sacred relic in a silver casket. She eventually powdered it, he adds, and found it an efficacious medicine for herself and others. An earlier example, of a lady at the French court who embalmed and perfumed the genital organs of her dead husband, always preserving them in a gold casket, is mentioned by Brantôme. Mantegazza knew a man who kept for many years on his desk the skull of his dead mistress, making it his dearest companion. "Some," he remarks, "have slept for months and years with a book, a garment, a trifle. I once had a friend who would spend long hours of joy and emotion kissing a thread of silk which *she* had held between her fingers, now the only relic of love." (Mantegazza, *Fisiologia dell' Amore*, cap. X.) In the same way I knew a lady who in old age still treasured in her desk, as the one relic of the only man she had ever been attracted to, a fragment of paper he had casually twisted up in a conversation with her half a century before.

The tendency to treasure the relics of a beloved person, more especially the garments, is the simplest and commonest foundation of erotic symbolism. It is without doubt absolutely normal. It is inevitable that those objects which have been in close contact with the beloved person's body, and are intimately associated with that person in the lover's mind, should possess a little of the same virtue, the same emotional potency. It is a phenomenon closely analogous to that by which the relics of saints are held to possess a singular virtue. But it becomes somewhat less normal when the garment is regarded as essential even in the presence of the beloved person.[1]

While an extremely large number of objects and acts may be found to possess occasionally the value of erotic symbols, such

[1] Numerous examples are given by Moll, *Konträre Sexualempfindung*, third edition, pp. 265-268.

symbols most frequently fall into certain well-defined groups. A vast number of isolated objects or acts may be exceptionally the focus of erotic contemplation, but the objects and acts which frequently become thus symbolic are comparatively few.

It seems to me that the phenomena of erotic symbolism may be most conveniently grouped in three great classes, on the basis of the objects or acts which arouse them.

I. PARTS OF THE BODY.—*A. Normal:* Hand, foot, breasts, nates, hair, secretions and excretions, etc.

B. Abnormal: Lameness, squinting, pitting of smallpox, etc. Paidophilia or the love of children, presbyophilia or the love of the aged, and necrophilia or the attraction for corpses, may be included under this head, as well as the excitement caused by various animals.

II. INANIMATE OBJECTS.[1]—*A. Garments:* Gloves, shoes and stockings and garters, caps, aprons, handkerchiefs, underlinen.

B. Impersonal Objects: Here may be included all the various objects that may accidentally acquire the power of exciting sexual feeling in auto-erotism. Pygmalionism may also be included.

III. ACTS AND ATTITUDES.—*A. Active:* Whipping, cruelty, exhibitionism. *B. Passive:* Being whipped, experiencing cruelty. Personal odors and the sound of the voice may be included under this head. *C. Mixoscopic:* The vision of climbing, swinging, etc. The acts of urination and defecation. The coitus of animals.

Although the three main groups into which the phenomena of erotic symbolism are here divided may seem fairly distinct, they are yet very closely allied, and indeed overlap, so that it

[1] Chevalier (*De l'Inversion*, 1885; *id. L'Inversion Sexuelle*, 1892, p 52), followed by E Laurent (*L'Amour Morbide*, 1891, Chapter X), separates this group from other fetichistic perversions, under the head of "azoöphilie" I see no adequate ground for this step. The various forms of fetichism are too intimately associated to permit of any group of them being violently separated from the others.

is possible, as we shall see, for a single complex symbol to fall into all three groups.

A very complete kind of erotic symbolism is furnished by Pygmalionism or the love of statues.[1] It is exactly analogous to the child's love of a doll, which is also a form of sexual (though not erotic) symbolism. In a somewhat less abnormal form, erotic symbolism probably shows itself in its simplest shape in the tendency to idealize unbeautiful peculiarities in a beloved person, so that such peculiarities are ever afterward almost or quite essential in order to arouse sexual attraction. In this way men have become attracted to limping women. Even the most normal man may idealize a trifling defect in a beloved woman. The attention is inevitably concentrated on any such slight deviation from regular beauty, and the natural result of such concentration is that a complexus of associated thoughts and emotions becomes attached to something that in itself is unbeautiful. A defect becomes an admired focus of attention, the embodied symbol of the lover's emotion.

Thus a mole is not in itself beautiful, but by the tendency to erotic symbolism it becomes so. Persian poets especially have lavished the richest imagery on moles (Ibn *El-Ochchaq* in *Bibliotheque des Hautes Etudes*, fasc. 25, 1875), the Arabs, as Lane remarks (*Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 214), are equally extravagant in their admiration of a mole.

Stendhal long since well described the process by which a defect becomes a sexual symbol. "Even little defects in a woman's face," he remarked, "such as a smallpox pit, may arouse the tenderness of a man who loves her, and throw him into deep reverie when he sees them in another woman. It is because he has experienced a thousand feelings in the presence of that smallpox mark, that these feelings have been for the most part delicious, all of the highest interest, and that, whatever they may have been, they are renewed with incredible vivacity on the sight of this sign, even when perceived on the face of another woman. If in such a case we come to prefer and love *ugliness*, it is only because in such a case ugliness is beauty. A man loved a woman who

[1] This has already been considered as a perversion founded on vision, in discussing *Sexual Selection in Man*. IV.

was very thin and marked by smallpox, he lost her by death. Three years later, in Rome, he became acquainted with two women, one very beautiful, the other thin and marked by smallpox, on that account, if you will, rather ugly. I saw him in love with this plain one at the end of a week, which he had employed in effacing her plainness by his memories." (*De l'Amour*, Chapter XVII.)

In the tendency to idealize the unbeautiful features of a beloved person erotic symbolism shows itself in a simple and normal form. In a less simple and more morbid form it appears in persons in whom the normal paths of sexual gratification are for some reasons inhibited, and who are thus led to find the symbols of natural love in unnatural perversions. It is for this reason that so many erotic symbolisms take root in childhood and puberty, before the sexual instincts have reached full development. It is for the same reason also, that, at the other end of life, when the sexual energies are failing, erotic symbols sometimes tend to be substituted for the normal pleasures of sex. It is for this reason, again, that both men and women whose normal energies are inhibited sometimes find the symbols of sexual gratification in the caresses of children.

The case of a schoolmistress recorded by Penta instructively shows how an erotic symbolism of this last kind may develop by no means as a refinement of vice, but as the one form in which sexual gratification becomes possible when normal gratification has been pathologically inhibited. F R, aged 48, schoolmistress, she was some years ago in an asylum with religious mania, but came out well in a few months. At the age of 12 she had first experienced sexual excitement in a railway train from the jolting of the carriage. Soon after she fell in love with a youth who represented her ideal and who returned her affection. When, however, she gave herself to him, great was her disillusion and surprise to find that the sexual act which she had looked forward to could not be accomplished, for at the first contact there was great pain and spasmodic resistance of the vagina. There was a condition of vaginismus. After repeated attempts on subsequent occasions her lover desisted. Her desire for intercourse increased, however, rather than diminished, and at last she was able to tolerate coitus, but the pain was so great that she acquired a horror of the sexual embrace and no longer sought it. Having much will power, she restrained all erotic impulses during many years. It was not until the period of the menopause that the long repressed desires broke out, and at last found a

symbolical outlet that was no longer normal, but was felt to supply a complete gratification. She sought the close physical contact of the young children in her care. She would lie on her bed naked, with two or three naked children, make them suck her breasts and press them to every part of her body. Her conduct was discovered by means of other children who peeped through the keyhole, and she was placed under Penta for treatment. In this case the loss of moral and mental inhibition, due probably to troubles of the climacteric, led to indulgence, under abnormal conditions, in those primitive contacts which are normally the beginning of love, and these, supported by the ideal image of the early lover, constituted a complete and adequate symbol of natural love in a morbidly perverted individual. (P. Penta, *Archivio delle Psicopatie Sessuale*, January, 1896.)

II.

Foot-fetichism and Shoe-fetichism—Wide Prevalence and Normal Basis—Restif de la Bretonne—The Foot a Normal Focus of Sexual Attraction Among Some Peoples—The Chinese, Greeks, Romans, Spaniards, etc.—The Congenital Predisposition in Erotic Symbolism—The Influence of Early Association and Emotional Shock—Shoe-fetichism in Relation to Masochism—The Two Phenomena Independent Though Allied—The Desire to be Trodden On—The Fascination of Physical Constraint—The Symbolism of Self-inflicted Pain—The Dynamic Element in Erotic Symbolism—The Symbolism of Garments.

Of all forms of erotic symbolism the most frequent is that which idealizes the foot and the shoe. The phenomena we here encounter are sometimes so complex and raise so many interesting questions that it is necessary to discuss them somewhat fully.

It would seem that even for the normal lover the foot is one of the most attractive parts of the body. Stanley Hall found that among the parts specified as most admired in the other sex by young men and women who answered a *questionnaire* the feet came fourth (after the eyes, hair, stature and size).[1] Casanova, an acute student and lover of women who was in no degree a foot fetichist, remarks that all men who share his interest in women are attracted by their feet; they offer

[1] G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence*, vol. ii, p. 113. It will be noted that the hand does not appear among the parts of the body which are normally of supreme interest. An interest in the hand is by no means uncommon (it may be noted, for instance, in the course of History XII in Appendix B to vol. iii of these *Studies*), but the hand does not possess the mystery which envelops the foot, and hand-fetichism is very much less frequent than foot-fetichism, while glove-fetichism is remarkably rare. An interesting case of hand-fetichism, scarcely reaching morbid intensity, is recorded by Binet, *Etudes de Psychologie Expérimentale*, pp. 13-19; and see Krafft-Ebing, *Op. cit.*, pp. 214 *et seq.*

the same interest, he considers, as the question of the particular edition offers to the book-lover.[2]

In a report of the results of a *questionnaire* concerning children's sense of self, to which over 500 replies were received, Stanley Hall thus summarizes the main facts ascertained with reference to the feet: "A special period of noticing the feet comes somewhat later than that in which the hands are discovered to consciousness. Our records afford nearly twice as many cases for feet as for hands. The former are more remote from the primary psychic focus or position, and are also more often covered, so that the sight of them is a more marked and exceptional event. Some children become greatly excited whenever their feet are exposed. Some infants show signs of fear at the movement of their own knees and feet covered, and still more often fright is the first sensation which signalizes the child's discovery of its feet Many are described as playing with them as if fascinated by strange, newly-discovered toys. They pick them up and try to throw them away or out of the cradle, or bring them to the mouth, where all things tend to go. . . . Children often handle their feet, pat and stroke them, offer them toys and the bottle, as if they, too, had an independent hunger to gratify, an *ego* of their own. . . . Children often develop [later] a special interest in the feet of others, and examine, feel them, etc., sometimes expressing surprise that the pinch of the mother's toe hurts her and not the child, or comparing their own and the feet of others point by point. Curious, too, are the intensifications of foot-consciousness throughout the early years of childhood, whenever children have the exceptional privilege of going barefoot, or have new shoes The feet are often apostrophized, punished, beaten sometimes to the point of pain for breaking things, throwing the child down, etc. Several children have habits, which reach great intensity, and then vanish, of touching or tickling the feet, with gales of laughter, and a few are described as showing an almost morbid reluctance to wear anything upon the feet, or even to having them touched by others. . . Several almost fall in love with the great toe or the little one, especially admiring some crease or dimple in it, dressing it in some rag of silk or bit of ribbon, or cut-off glove fingers, winding it with string, prolonging it by tying on bits of wood Stroking the feet of others, especially if they are shapely, often becomes almost a passion with young children, and several adults confess a survival of the same impulse which it is an exquisite pleasure to gratify. The interest of some mothers in babies' toes, the expressions of which are ecstatic and almost incredible, is a factor of great importance" (G. Stanley Hall, "Some Aspects of the

[2] *Memoirs*, vol i, Chapter VII.

Early Sense of Self," *American Journal of Psychology*, April, 1898.) In childhood, Stanley Hall remarks elsewhere (*Adolescence*, vol. ii, p. 104), "a form of courtship may consist solely in touching feet under the desk." It would seem that even animals have a certain amount of sexual consciousness in the feet; I have noticed a male donkey, just before coitus, bite the feet of his partner.

At the same time it is scarcely usual for the normal lover, in most civilized countries to-day, to attach primary importance to the foot, such as he very frequently attaches to the eyes, though the feet play a very conspicuous part in the work of certain novelists.[1]

In a small but not inconsiderable minority of persons, however, the foot or the boot becomes the most attractive part of a woman, and in some morbid cases the woman herself is regarded as a comparatively unimportant appendage to her feet or her boots. The boots under civilized conditions much more frequently constitute the sexual symbol than do the feet themselves; this is not surprising since in ordinary life the feet are not often seen.

It is usually only under exceptionally favoring conditions that foot-fetichism occurs, as in the case recorded by Marandon de Montyel of a doctor who had been brought up in the West Indies. His mother had been insane and he himself was subject to obsessions, especially of being incapable of urinating. he had had nocturnal incontinence of urine *in childhood*. All the women of the people in the West Indies go about with naked feet, which are often beautiful. His puberty evolved under this influence, and foot-fetichism developed. He especially admired large, fat, arched feet, with delicate skin and large, regular toes. He masturbated with images of feet. At 15 he had relations with a colored chambermaid, but feared to mention his fetichism, though it was the touch of her feet that chiefly excited him. He now gave up masturbation, and had a succession of mistresses, but was always ashamed to confess his fancies until, at the age of 33, in Paris, a very intelligent woman who had become his mistress discovered his

[1] Among leading English novelists Hardy shows an unusual but by no means predominant interest in the feet and shoes of his heroines; see, *e.g.*, the observations of the cobbler in *Under the Greenwood Tree*, Chapter III. A chapter in Goethe's *Wahlverwandschaften* (Part I, Chapter II) contains an episode involving the charm of the foot and the kissing of the beloved's shoe.

mania and skillfully enabled him to yield to it without shock to his modesty. He was devoted to this mistress, who had very beautiful feet (he had been horrified by the feet of Europeans generally), until she finally left him. (*Archives de Neurologie*, October, 1904.)

Probably the first case of shoe-fetichism ever recorded in any detail is that of Restif de la Bretonne (1734-1806), publicist and novelist, one of the most remarkable literary figures of the later eighteenth century in France. Restif was a neurotic subject, though not to an extreme degree, and his shoe-fetichism, though distinctly pronounced, was not pathological, that is to say, that the shoe was not itself an adequate gratification of the sexual impulse, but simply a highly important aid to tumescence, a prelude to the natural climax of detumescence; only occasionally, and *faute de mieux*, in the absence of the beloved person, was the shoe used as an adjunct to masturbation. In Restif's stories and elsewhere the attraction of the shoe is frequently discussed or used as a motive. His first decided literary success, *Le Pied de Fanchette*, was suggested by a vision of a girl with a charming foot, casually seen in the street. While all such passages in his books are really founded on his own personal feelings and experiences, in his elaborate autobiography, *Monsieur Nicolas*, he has frankly set forth the gradual evolution and cause of his idiosyncrasy. The first remembered trace dated from the age of 4, when he was able to recall having remarked the feet of a young girl in his native place. Restif was a sexually precocious youth, and at the age of 9, though both delicate in health and shy in manners, his thoughts were already absorbed in the girls around him. "While little Monsieur Nicolas," he tells us, "passed for a Narcissus, his thoughts, as soon as he was alone, by night or by day, had no other object than that sex he seemed to flee from. The girls most careful of their persons were naturally those who pleased him most, and as the part least easy to keep clean is that which touches the earth it was to the foot-gear that he mechanically gave his chief attention. Agathe, Reine, and especially Madeleine, were the most elegant of the girls at that time, their carefully selected and kept shoes, instead of laces or buckles, which were not yet worn at Sacy, had blue or rose ribbon, according to the color of the skirt. I thought of these girls with emotion, I desired—I knew not what; but I desired something, if it were only to subdue them." The origin Restif here assigns to his shoe-fetichism may seem paradoxical, he admired the girls who were most clean and neat in their dress, he tells us, and, therefore, paid most attention to that part of their clothing which was least clean and neat. But, however paradoxical the remark may seem, it is psychologically sound. All fetichism is a kind of not necessarily morbid obsession, and as the careful work of Janet and others in that field has shown, an obsession is a fascinated attraction to some object or idea

which gives the subject a kind of emotional shock by its contrast to his habitual moods or ideas. The ordinary morbid obsession cannot usually be harmoniously co-ordinated with the other experiences of the subject's daily life, and shows, therefore, no tendency to become pleasurable. Sexual fetichisms, on the other hand, have a reservoir of agreeable emotion to draw on, and are thus able to acquire both stability and harmony. It will also be seen that no element of masochism is involved in Restif's fetichism, though the mistake has been frequently made of supposing that these two manifestations are usually or even necessarily allied Restif wishes to subject the girl who attracts him, he has no wish to be subjected by her. He was especially dazzled by a young girl from another town, whose shoes were of a fashionable cut, with buckles, "and who was a charming person besides." She was delicate as a fairy, and rendered his thoughts unfaithful to the robust beauties of his native Sacy. "No doubt," he remarks, "because, being frail and weak myself, it seemed to me that it would be easier to subdue her.' "This taste for the beauty of the feet," he continues, "was so powerful in me that it unfailingly aroused desire and would have made me overlook ugliness It is excessive in all those who have it." He admired the foot as well as the shoe "The factitious taste for the shoe is only a reflection of that for pretty feet When I entered a house and saw the boots arranged in a row, as is the custom, I would tremble with pleasure, I blushed and lowered my eyes as if in the presence of the girls themselves. With this vivacity of feeling and a voluptuousness of ideas inconceivable at the age of 10 I still fled, with an involuntary impulse of modesty, from the girls I adored"

We may clearly see how this combination of sensitive and precocious sexual ardor with extreme shyness, furnished the soil on which the germ of shoe-fetichism was able to gain a firm root and persist in some degree throughout a long life very largely given up to a pursuit of women, abnormal rather by its excessiveness than its perversity. A few years later, he tells us, he happened to see a pretty pair of shoes in a bootmaker's shop, and on hearing that they belonged to a girl whom at that time he reverently adored at a distance he blushed and nearly fainted.

In 1749 he was for a time attracted to a young woman very much older than himself; he secretly carried away one of her slippers and kept it for a day, a little later he again took away a shoe of the same woman which had fascinated him when on her foot, and, he seems to imply, he used it to masturbate with.

Perhaps the chief passion of Restif's life was his love for Colette Parangon. He was still a boy (1752), she was the young and virtuous wife of the printer whose apprentice Restif was and in whose house he lived. Madame Parangon, a charming woman, as she is described,

not happily married, and she evidently felt a tender affection for the boy whose excessive love and reverence for her were not always successfully concealed. "Madonna Parangon," he tells us, "possessed a charm which I could never resist, a pretty little foot; it is a charm which arouses more than tenderness. Her shoes, made in Paris, had that voluptuous elegance which seems to communicate soul and life. Sometimes Colette wore shoes of simple white drugget or with silver flowers; sometimes rose-colored slippers with green heels, or green with rose heels; her supple feet, far from deforming her shoes, increased their grace and rendered the form more exciting." One day, on entering the house, he saw Madame Parangon elegantly dressed and wearing rose-colored shoes with tongues, and with green heels and a pretty rosette. They were new and she took them off to put on green slippers with rose heels and borders which he thought equally exciting. As soon as she had left the room, he continues, "carried away by the most impetuous passion and idolizing Colette, I seemed to see her and touch her in handling what she had just worn; my lips pressed one of these jewels, while the other, deceiving the sacred end of nature, from excess of exaltation replaced the object of sex (I cannot express myself more clearly). The warmth which she had communicated to the insensible object which had touched her still remained and gave a soul to it; a voluptuous cloud covered my eyes." He adds that he would kiss with rage and transport whatever had come in close contact with the woman he adored, and on one occasion eagerly pressed his lips to her cast-off underlinen, *vela secretiora penetralium*.

At this period Restif's foot-fetichism reached its highest point of development. It was the aberration of a highly sensitive and very precocious boy. While the preoccupation with feet and shoes persisted throughout life, it never became a complete perversion and never replaced the normal end of sexual desire. His love for Madam Parangon, one of the deepest emotions in his whole life, was also the climax of his shoe-fetichism. She represented his ideal woman, an ethereal sylph with wasp-waist and a child's feet; it was always his highest praise for a woman that she resembled Madame Parangon, and he desired that her slipper should be buried with him. (Restif de la Bretonne, *Monsieur Nicolas*, vols. i-iv, vol. xiii, p. 5; *id, Mes Inscriptions*, pp. ci-cv.)

Shoe-fetichism, more especially if we include under this term all the cases of real or pseudo-masochism in which an attraction to the boots or slippers is the chief feature, is a not infrequent phenomenon, and is certainly the most frequently occurring form of fetichism. Many cases are brought together by Krafft-Ebing in his *Psychopathia Sexualis*. Every prostitute of any experience has known men who merely desire to gaze at her shoes, or possibly to lick them, and who are quite willing to pay for this privilege. In London such a person is known as a "boot-man," in Germany as a "Stiefelfrier."

The predominance of the foot as a focus of sexual attraction, while among us to-day it is a not uncommon phenomenon, is still not sufficiently common to be called normal; the majority of even ardent lovers do not experience this attraction in any marked degree. But these manifestations of foot-fetichism which with us to-day are abnormal, even when they are not so extreme as to be morbid, may perhaps become more intelligible to us when we realize that in earlier periods of civilization, and even to-day in some parts of the world, the foot is generally recognized as a focus of sexual attraction, so that some degree of foot-fetichism becomes a normal phenomenon.

The most pronounced and the best known example of such normal foot-fetichism at the present day is certainly to be found among the Southern Chinese. For a Chinese husband his wife's foot is more interesting than her face. A Chinese woman is as shy of showing her feet to a man as a European woman her breasts; they are reserved for her husband's eyes alone, and to look at a woman's feet in the street is highly improper and indelicate. Chinese foot-fetichism is connected with the custom of compressing the feet. This custom appears to rest on the fact that Chinese women naturally possess a very small foot and is thus an example of the universal tendency in the search for beauty to accentuate, even by deformation, the racial characteristics. But there is more than this. Beauty is largely a name for sexual attractiveness, and the energy expended in the effort to make the Chinese woman's small foot still smaller is a measure of the sexual fascination which it exerts. The practice arose on the basis of the sexual attractiveness of the foot, though it has doubtless served to heighten that attractiveness, just as the small waist, which (if we may follow Stratz) is a characteristic beauty of the European woman, becomes to the average European man still more attractive when accentuated, even to the extent of deformity, by the compression of the corset.

Referring to the sexual fascination exerted by the foot in China, Matignon writes: "My attention has been drawn to this point by a large number of pornographic engravings, of which the Chinese are very fond. In all these lascivious scenes we see the male voluptuously fond

ling the woman's foot. When a Celestial takes into his hand a woman's foot, especially if it is very small, the effect upon him is precisely the same as is provoked in a European by the palpation of a young and firm bosom. All the Celestials whom I have interrogated on this point have replied unanimously: 'Oh, a little foot! You Europeans cannot understand how exquisite, how sweet, how exciting it is!' The contact of the genital organ with the little foot produces in the male an indescribable degree of voluptuous feeling, and women skilled in love know that to arouse the ardor of their lovers a better method than all Chinese aphrodisiacs—including 'giusen' and swallows' nests—is to take the penis between their feet. It is not rare to find Chinese Christians accusing themselves at confession of having had 'evil thoughts on looking at a woman's foot.'" (Dr. J. Matignon, "A propos d'un Pied de Chinoise," *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, 1898.)

It is said that a Chinese Empress, noted for her vice and having a congenital club foot, about the year 1100 B.C., desired all women to resemble her, and that the practice of compressing the foot thus arose. But this is only tradition, since, in 300 B.C., Chinese books were destroyed (Morache, Art. "Chine," *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique des Sciences Médicales*, p. 191). It is also said that the practice owes its origin to the wish to keep women indoors. But women are not secluded in China, nor does foot compression usually render a woman unable to walk Many intelligent Chinese are of opinion that its object is to promote the development of the sexual parts and of the thighs, and so to aid both intercourse and parturition. There is no ground for believing that it has any such influence, though Morache found that the mons veneris and labia, are largely developed in Chinese women, and not in Tartar women living in Pekin (who do not compress the foot). If there is any correlation between the feet and the pelvic regions, it is more probably congenital than due to the artificial compression of the feet. The ancients seem to have believed that a small foot indicated a small vagina. Restif de la Bretonne, who had ample opportunities for forming an opinion on a matter in which he took so great an interest, believed that a small foot, round and short, indicated a large vagina (*Monsieur Nicolas*, vol. i, reprint of 1883, p. 92). Even, however, if we admit that there is a real correlation between the foot and the vagina, that would by no means suffice to render the foot a focus of sexual attraction.

It remains the most reasonable view that the foot bandage must be regarded as strictly analogous to the waist bandage or corset which also tends to produce deformity of the constricted region. Stratz has ingeniously remarked (*Frauenkleidung*, third edition, p. 101) that the success of the Chinese in dwarfing trees may have suggested a similar attempt in regard to women's feet, and adds that in any case both dwarfed trees and bound feet bear witness in the Mongolian to the same

love for small and elegant, not to say deformed, things. For a Chinaman the deformed foot is a "golden water-lily."

Many facts (together with illustrations) bearing on Chinese deformation of the foot will be found in Ploss, *Das Weib*, vol. i, Section IV.

The significance of the sexual emotion aroused by the female foot in China and the origin of its compression begin to become clear when we realize that this foot-fetichism is merely an extreme development of a tendency which is fairly well marked among nearly all the peoples of yellow race. Jacoby, who has brought together a number of interesting facts bearing on the sexual significance of the foot, states that a similar tendency is to be found among the Mongol and Turk peoples of Siberia, and in the east and central parts of European Russia, among the Permiaks, the Wotiaks, etc. Here the woman, at all events when young, has always her feet, as well as head, covered, however little clothing she may otherwise wear.

"On hot nights or on baking days," Jacoby states, "you may see these women with uncovered breasts, or even entirely naked without embarrassment, but you will never see them with bare feet, and no male relations, except the husband, will ever see the feet and lower part of the legs of the women in the house. These women have their modesty in their feet, and also their coquetry; to unbind the feet of a woman is for a man a voluptuous act, and the touch of the bands produces the same effect as a corset still warm from a woman's body on a European man. A woman's beauty, that which attracts and excites a man, lies in her foot; in Mordvin love poems celebrating the beauty of women there is much about her attire, especially her embroidered chemise, but as regards the charms of her person the poet is content to state that 'her feet are beautiful,' with that everything is said. The young peasant woman of the central provinces as part of her holiday raiment puts on great woolen stockings which come up to the groin and are then folded over to below the knee. To uncover the feet of a person of the opposite sex is a sexual act, and has thus become the symbol of sexual possession, so that the stocking or foot-gear became the emblem of marriage, as later the ring. (It was so among the Jews, as we see in the book of *Ruth*, Chapter III, v. 4, and Chapter IV, vv. 7 and 8). St Vladimir the Great asked in marriage the daughter of Prince Rogvold. as Vladimir's mother had been a serf, the princess proudly replied that she 'would not uncover the feet of a slave.' At the present time in the

east of Russia when a young girl tries to find out by divination whom she will have as a husband the traditional formula is 'Come and take my stockings off.' Among the populations of the north and east, it is sometimes the bride who must do this for her husband on the wedding night, and sometimes the bridegroom for his wife, not as a token of love, but as a nuptial ceremony. Among the professional classes and small nobility in Russia parents place money in the stocking of their child at marriage as a present for the other partner, it being supposed that the couple mutually remove each other's foot raiment, as an act of sexual possession, the emblem of coitus." (Paul Jacoby, *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, December, 1903, p. 793.) The practice among ourselves of children hanging up their stockings at night for presents would seem to be a relic of the last-mentioned custom.

While we may witness the sexual symbolism of the foot, with or without an associated foot-fetichism, most highly developed in Asia and Eastern Europe, it has by no means been altogether unknown in some stages of western civilization, and traces of it may be found here and there even yet. Schinz refers to the connection between the feet and sexual pleasure as existing not only among the Egyptians and the Arabs, but among the ancient Germans and the modern Spaniards,[1] while Jacoby points out that among the Greeks, the Romans, and especially the Etruscans, it was usual to represent chaste and virgin goddesses with their feet covered, even though they might be otherwise nude. Ovid, again, is never weary of dwelling on the sexual charm of the feminine foot. He represents the chaste matron as wearing a weighted *stola* which always fell so as to cover her feet; it was only the courtesan, or the nymph who is taking part in an erotic festival, who appears with raised robes, revealing her feet.[2] So grave a historian as Strabo, as well as Ælian,

[1] Schinz. "Philosophie des Conventions Sociales," *Revue Philosophique*, June, 1903, p. 626. Mirabeau mentions in his *Erotika Biblion* that modern Greek women sometimes use their feet to provoke orgasm in their lovers. I may add that simultaneous mutual masturbation by means of the feet is not unknown to-day, and I have been told by an English shoe-fetichist that he at one time was accustomed to practice this with a married lady (Brazilian)—she with slippers on and he without—who derived gratification equal to his own.

[2] Jacoby (*loc. cit.* pp. 796-7) gives a large number of references to

refers to the story of the courtesan Rhodope whose sandal was carried off by an eagle and dropped in the King of Egypt's lap as he was administering justice, so that he could not rest until he had discovered to whom this delicately small sandal belonged, and finally made her his queen. Kleinpaul, who repeats this story, has collected many European sayings and customs (including Turkish), indicating that the slipper is a very ancient symbol of a woman's sexual parts.[1]

In Rome, Dufour remarks, "Matrons having appropriated the use of the shoe (*soccus*) prostitutes were not allowed to use it, and were obliged to have their feet always naked in sandals or slippers (*crepida* and *solea*), which they fastened over the instep with gilt bands. Tibullus delights to describe his mistress's little foot, compressed by the band that imprisoned it: *Ansaque compressos colligat arcta pedes.* Nudity of the foot in woman was a sign of prostitution, and their brilliant whiteness acted afar as a pimp to attract looks and desires." (Dufour, *Histoire de la Prostitution*, vol. II., ch. xviii.)

This feeling seems to have survived in a more or less vague and unconscious form in mediæval Europe. "In the tenth century," according to Dufour (*Histoire de la Prostitution*, vol. VI., p. 11), "shoes *à la poulaine*, with a claw or beak, pursued for more than four centuries by the anathemas of popes and the invectives of preachers, were always regarded by mediæval casuists as the most abominable emblems of immodesty. At a first glance it is not easy to see why these shoes—terminating in a lion's claw, an eagle's beak, the prow of a ship, or other metal appendage—should be so scandalous. The excommunication inflicted on this kind of footgear preceded the impudent invention of some libertine, who wore *poulaines* in the shape of the phallus, a custom adopted also by women. This kind of *poulaine* was denounced as *mandite de Dieu* (Ducange's Glossary, at the word Poulainia) and prohibited by royal ordinances (see letter of Charles V., 17 October, 1367, regarding the garments of the women of Montpellier). Great lords and ladies continued, however, to wear *poulaines*." In Louis XI.'s court they were still worn of a quarter of an ell in length

Spain, ever tenacious of ancient ideas, appears to have preserved

Ovid's works bearing on this point. "In reading him," he remarks, "one is inclined to say that the psychology of the Romans was closely allied to that of the Chinese."

[1] R. Kleinpaul, *Sprache ohne Worte*, p. 308. See also Moll, *Konträre Sexualempfindung*, third edition, pp. 306-308. Bloch brings together many interesting references bearing on the ancient sexual and religious symbolism of the shoe, *Beiträge zur Ætiologie der Psychopathia Sexualis*, Teil II, p. 324.

longer than other countries the ancient classic traditions in regard to the foot as a focus of modesty and an object of sexual attraction. In Spanish religious pictures it was always necessary that the Virgin's feet should be concealed, the clergy ordaining that her robe should be long and flowing, so that the feet might be covered with decent folds. Pacheco, the master and father-in-law of Velasquez, writes in 1649 in his *Arte de la Pintura:* "What can be more foreign from the respect which we owe to the purity of Our Lady the Virgin than to paint her sitting down with one of her knees placed over the other, and often with her sacred feet uncovered and naked. Let thanks be given to the Holy Inquisition which commands that this liberty should be corrected!" It was Pacheco's duty in Seville to see that these commands were obeyed. At the court of Philip IV. at this time the princesses never showed their feet, as we may see in the pictures of Velasquez. When a local manufacturer desired to present that monarch's second bride, Mariana of Austria, with some silk stockings the offer was indignantly rejected by the Court Chamberlain: "The Queen of Spain has no legs!" Philip V.'s queen was thrown from her horse and dragged by the feet; no one ventured to interfere until two gentlemen bravely rescued her and then fled, dreading punishment by the king: they were, however, graciously pardoned. Reinach ("Pieds Pudiques," *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, pp. 105-110) brings together several passages from the Countess D'Aulnoy's account of the Madrid Court in the seventeenth century and from other sources, showing how careful Spanish ladies were as regards their feet, and how jealous Spanish husbands were in this matter. At this time, when Spanish influence was considerable, the fashion of Spain seems to have spread to other countries. One may note that in Vandyck's pictures of English beauties the feet are not visible, though in the more characteristically English painters of a somewhat later age it became usual to display them conspicuously, while the French custom in this matter is the farthest removed from the Spanish. At the present day a well-bred Spanish woman shows as little as possible of her feet in walking, and even in some of the most characteristic Spanish dances there is little or no kicking, and the feet may even be invisible throughout. It is noteworthy that in numerous figures of Spanish women (probably artists' models) reproduced in Ploss's *Das Weib* the stockings are worn, although the women are otherwise, in most cases, quite naked. Max Dessoir mentions ("Psychologie der Vita Sexualis," *Zeitschrift fur Psychiatrie*, 1894, p. 954) that in Spanish pornographic photographs women always have their shoes on, and he considers this an indication of perversity. I have seen the statement (attributed to Gautier's *Voyage en Espagne*, where, however, it does not occur) that Spanish prostitutes uncover their feet in sign of assent, and Madame d' Aulnoy stated that in her time to show her lover her feet was a Spanish woman's final favor.

The tendency, which we thus find to be normal at some earlier periods of civilization, to insist on the sexual symbolism of the feminine foot or its coverings, and to regard them as a special sexual fascination, is not without significance for the interprétation of the sporadic manifestations of foot-fetichism among ourselves. Eccentric as foot-fetichism may appear to us, it is simply the re-emergence, by a pseudo-atavism or arrest of development, of a mental or emotional impulse which was probably experienced by our forefathers, and is often traceable among young children to-day.[1] The occasional reappearance of this bygone impulse and the stability which it may acquire are thus conditioned by the sensitive reaction of an abnormally nervous and usually precocious organism to influences which, among the average and ordinary population of Europe to-day, are either never felt, or quickly outgrown, or very strictly subordinated in the highly complex crystallizations which the course of love and the process of tumescence create within us.

It may be added that this is by no means true of foot-fetichism only. In some other fetichisms a seemingly congenital predisposition is even more marked. This is not only the case as regards hair-fetichism and fur-fetichism (see, *e.g.*, Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, English translation of tenth edition, pp. 233, 255, 262). In many cases of fetichisms of all kinds not only is there no record of any commencement in a definite episode (an absence which may be accounted for by the supposition that the original incident has been forgotten), but it would seem in some cases that the fetichism developed very slowly.

In this sense, it will be seen, although it is hazardous to speak of foot-fetichism as strictly an atavism, it may certainly be said to arise on a congenital basis. It represents the rare development of an inborn germ, usually latent among ourselves, which in earlier stages of civilization frequently reached a normal and general fruition.

[1] Jacoby (*loc. cit.* p. 797) appears to regard shoe-fetichism as a true atavism: "The sexual adoration of feminine foot-gear," he concludes, "perhaps the most enigmatic and certainly the most singular of degenerative insanities, is thus merely a form of atavism the return of the degenerate to the very ancient and primitive psychology which we no longer understand and are no longer capable of feeling."

It is of interest to emphasize this congenital element of foot symbolism, because more than any other forms of sexual perversion the fetichisms are those which are most vaguely conditioned by inborn states of the organism and most definitely aroused by seemingly accidental associations or shocks in early life. Inversion is sometimes so fundamentally ingrained in the individual's constitution that it arises and develops in spite of the very strongest influence in a contrary direction. But a fetichism, while it tends to occur in sensitive, nervous, timid, precocious individuals—that is to say, individuals of more or less neuropathic heredity—can usually, though not always, be traced to a definite starting point in the shock of some sexually emotional episode in early life.

A few examples of the influences of such association may here be given, referring miscellaneously to various forms of erotic symbolism. Magnan has recorded the case of a hair-fetichist, living in a district where the women wore their hair done up, who at the age of 15 experienced pleasurable feelings with erection at the sight of a village beauty combing her hair; from that time flowing hair became his fetich, and he could not resist the temptation to touch it and if possible sever it, thus becoming a hair-despoiler, for which he was arrested but not sentenced. (*Archives de l'Anthropologie Criminelle*, vol. v, No. 28.)

I have elsewhere recorded the history of a boy of 14, having already had imperfect connection with a grown-up woman, who associated much with a young married lady; he had no sexual relations with her, but one day she urinated in his presence, and he saw that her mons veneris was covered by very thick hair; from that time he worshiped this woman in secret and acquired a life-long fetichistic attraction to women whose pubic hair was similarly abundant (*Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vol. iii, Appendix B, History V).

Roubaud reported the case of a general's son, sexually initiated at the age of 14 by a blonde young lady of 21 who, in order to avoid detection, always retained her clothing: gaiters, a corset and a silk dress; when the boy's studies were completed and he was sent to a garrison where he could enjoy freedom he found that his sexual desires could only be aroused by blonde women dressed like the lady who had first aroused his sexual desires; consequently he gave up all thoughts of matrimony, as a woman in nightclothes produced impotence (*Traité de l'Impuissance*, p. 439). Krafft-Ebing records the somewhat similar case of a nervous Polish boy of old family seduced at the age of 17 by a French governess, who during several months practiced mutual mastur-

bation with him; in this way his attention became attracted by her very elegant boots, and in the end he became a confirmed boot-fetichist (*Psychopathia Sexualis*, English translation, p. 249).

A boy of 7, of bad heredity, was taught to masturbate by a servant girl; on one occasion she practiced this on him with her foot without taking off her shoe; it was the first time the manœuvre gave him any pleasure, and an association was thus established which led to shoe-fetichism (Hammond, *Sexual Impotence*, p. 44). A government official whose first coitus in youth took place on a staircase; the sound of his partner's creaking shoes against the stairs, produced by her efforts to accelerate orgasm, formed an association which developed into an auditory shoe-fetichism; in the streets he was compelled to follow ladies whose shoes creaked, ejaculation being thus produced, while to obtain complete satisfaction he would make a prostitute, otherwise naked, sit in front of him in her shoes, moving her feet so that the shoes creaked. (Moraglia, *Archivio di Psichiatria*, vol. xiii, p. 568.)

Bechterew, in St. Petersburg, has recorded the case of a man who when a child used to fall asleep at the knees of his nurse with his head buried in the folds of her apron; in this position he first experienced erection and voluptuous sensations; when a youth he had no attraction to naked women, and in real life and in dreams was only excited sexually under conditions recalling his early experience; in his relations with women he preferred them dressed, and was excited by the rustling sound of their skirts; in this case there was no traceable neuropathic taint nor any other personal peculiarity (Summarized in *Journal de Psychologie Normale et Pathologique*, January-February, 1904, p. 72.)

In a curious case recorded in detail by Moll, a philologist of sensitive temperament but sound heredity, who had always been fond of flowers, at the age of 21 became engaged to a young lady who wore large roses fastened in her jacket; from this time roses became to him a sexual fetich, to kiss them caused erection, and his erotic dreams were accompanied by visions of roses and the hallucination of their odor; the engagement was finally broken off and the rose-fetichism disappeared (*Untersuchungen über Libido Sexualis*, bd. i, p 540).

Such associations may naturally occur in the early experiences of even the most normal persons. The degree to which they will influence the subsequent life and thought and feeling depends on the degree of the individual's morbid emotional receptivity, on the extent to which he is hereditarily susceptible of abnormal deviation. Precocity is undoubtedly a condition which favors such deviation; a child who is precociously and

abnormally sensitive to persons of the opposite sex before puberty has established the normal channels of sexual desire, is peculiarly liable to become the prey of a chance symbolism. All degrees of such symbolism are possible. While the average insensitive person may fail to perceive them at all, for the more alert and imaginative lover they are a fascinating part of the highly charged crystallization of passion. A more nervously exceptional person, when once such a symbolism has become firmly implanted, may find it an absolutely essential element in the charm of a beloved and charming person. Finally, for the individual who is thoroughly unsound the symbol becomes generalized; a person is no longer desired at all, being merely regarded as an appendage of the symbol, or being dispensed with altogether; the symbol is alone desired, and is fully adequate to impart by itself complete sexual gratification. While it must be considered a morbid state to demand a symbol as an almost essential part of the charm of a desired person, it is only in the final condition, in which the symbol becomes all-sufficing, that we have a true and complete perversion. In the less complete forms of symbolism it is still the woman who is desired, and the ends of procreation may be served; when the woman is ignored and the mere symbol is an adequate and even preferred stimulus to detumescence the pathological condition becomes complete.

Krafft-Ebing regarded shoe-fetichism as, in large measure, a more or less latent form of masochism, the foot or the shoe being the symbol of the subjection and humiliation which the masochist feels in the presence of the beloved object. Möll is also inclined to accept such a connection.

"The very numerous class of boot-and-shoe-fetichists," Krafft-Ebing wrote, "forms the transition to the manifestations of another independent perversion, *i.e.*, fetichism itself; but it stands in closer relationship to the former. . . . It is highly probable, and shown by a correct classification of the observed cases, that the majority, and perhaps all of the cases of shoe-fetichism, rest upon a basis of more or less conscious masochistic desire for self-humiliation. . . . The majority

or all may be looked upon as instances of latent masochism (the motive remaining unconscious) in which the *female foot or shoe, as the masochist's fetich*, has acquired an independent significance" (*Psychopathia Sexualis*, English translation of tenth edition, pp 159, *et seq*) "Though Krafft-Ebing may not have cleared up the whole matter," Moll remarks, "I regard his deductions concerning the connection of foot-and-shoe fetichism to masochism as the most important progress that has been made in the theoretic study of sexual perversions. . . . In any case, the connection is very frequent." (*Kontrare Sexualempfindung*, third edition, p. 306.)

It is quite easy to see that this supposed identity of masochism and foot-fetichism forms a seductive theory. It is also undoubtedly true that a masochist may very easily be inclined to find in his mistress's foot an aid to the ecstatic self-abnegation which he desires to attain.[1] But only confusion is attained by any general attempt to amalgamate masochism and foot-fetichism. In the broad sense in which erotic symbolism is here understood, both masochism and foot-fetichism may be coordinated as symbolisms; for the masochist his self-humiliating impulses are the symbol of ecstatic adoration; for the foot-fetichist his mistress's foot or shoe is the concentrated symbol of all that is most beautiful and elegant and feminine in her personality. But if in this sense they are coördinated, they remain entirely distinct and have not even any necessary tendency to become merged. Masochism merely simulates foot-fetichism; for the masochist the boot is not strictly a symbol, it is only an instrument which enables him to carry out his impulse; the true sexual symbol for him is not the boot, but the emotion of self-subjection. For the foot-fetichist, on the other hand, the foot or the shoe is not a mere instrument, but a true symbol; the focus of his worship, an idealized object which he is content to contemplate or reverently touch. He has no necessary impulse to any self-degrading action, nor any constant emotion of subjec-

[1] Moll has reported in detail (*Untersuchungen über die Libido Sexualis*, bd. 1, Teil II, pp. 320-324) a case which both he and Krafft-Ebing regard as illustrative of the connection between boot-fetichism and masochism. It is essentially a case of masochism, though manifesting itself almost exclusively in the desire to perform humiliating acts in connection with the attractive person's boots.

tion. It may be noted that in the very typical case of foot-fetichism which is presented to us in the person of Restif de la Bretonne (*ante*, p. 18), he repeatedly speaks of "subjecting" the woman for whom he feels this fetichistic adoration, and mentions that even when still a child he especially admired a delicate and fairy-like girl in this respect because she seemed to him easier to subjugate. Throughout life Restif's attitude toward women was active and masculine, without the slightest trace of masochism.[1]

To suppose that a fetichistic admiration of his mistress's foot is due to a lover's latent desire to be kicked, is as unreasonable as it would be to suppose that a fetichistic admiration for her hand indicated a latent desire to have his ears boxed. In determining whether we are concerned with a case of foot-fetichism or of masochism we must take into consideration the whole of the subject's mental and emotional attitude. An act, however definite, will not suffice as a criterion, for the same act in different persons may have altogether different implications. To amalgamate the two is the result of inadequate psychological analysis and only leads to confusion.

It is, however, often very difficult to decide whether we are dealing with a case which is predominantly one of masochism or of foot-fetichism. The nature of the action desired, as we have seen, will not suffice to determine the psychological character of the perversion. Krafft-Ebing believed that the desire to be trodden on, very frequently experienced by masochists, is absolutely symptomatic of masochism.[2] This is scarcely the case. The desire to be trodden on may be fundamentally an

[1] Krafft-Ebing goes so far as to assert (*Psychopathia Sexualis*, English translation of tenth edition, p. 174) that "when in cases of shoe-fetichism the female shoe appears alone as the excitant of sexual desire one is justified in presuming that masochistic motives have remained latent. . . . Latent masochism may always be assumed as the unconscious motive." In this way he hopelessly misinterprets some of his own cases.

[1] Krafft-Ebing goes so far as to assert (*Psychopathia Sexualis*, English translation, pp. 159 and 174). Yet some of the cases he brings forward (*e.g.*, Coxe's as quoted by Hammond) show no sign of masochism, since, according to Krafft-Ebing's own definition (p. 116), the idea of subjugation by the opposite sex is of the essence of masochism.

erotic symbolism, closely approaching foot-fetichism, and such slight indications of masochism as appear may be merely a parasitic growth on the symbolism, a growth perhaps more suggested by the circumstances involved in the gratification of the abnormal desire than inherent in the innate impulse of the subject. This may be illustrated by the interesting case of a very intelligent man with whom I am well acquainted.

C. P., aged 38. Heredity good. Parents both healthy and normal. Several children of the marriage, all sexually normal so far as is known. C. P. is the youngest of the family and separated from the others by an interval of many years. He was a seven-months' child. He has always enjoyed good health and is active and vigorous, both mentally and physically.

From the age of 9 or 10 to 14 he masturbated occasionally for the sake of physical relief, having discovered the act for himself. He was, however, quite innocent and knew nothing of sexual matters, never having been initiated either by servants or by other boys.

"When I encounter a woman who very strongly attracts me and whom I very greatly admire," he writes, "my desire is never that I may have sexual connection with her in the ordinary sense, but that I may lie down upon the floor on my back and be trampled upon by her. This curious desire is seldom present unless the object of my admiration is really a lady, and of fine proportions. She must be richly dressed—preferably in an evening gown, and wear dainty high-heeled slippers, either quite open so as to show the curve of the instep, or with only one strap or 'bar' across. The skirts should be raised sufficiently to afford me the pleasure of seeing her feet and a liberal amount of ankle, but in no case above the knee, or the effect is greatly reduced. Although I often greatly admire a woman's intellect and even person, sexually no other part of her has any serious attraction for me except the leg, from the knee downwards, and the foot, and these must be exquisitely clothed. Given this condition, my desire amounts to a wish to gratify my sexual sense by contact with the (to me) attractive part of the woman. Comparatively few women have a leg or foot sufficiently beautiful to my mind to excite any serious or compelling desire, but when this is so, or I suspect it, I am willing to spend any time or trouble to get her to tread upon me and am anxious to be trampled on with the greatest severity.

"The treading should be inflicted for a few minutes all over the chest, abdomen and groin, and lastly on the penis, which is, of course, lying along the belly in a violent state of erection, and consequently too hard for the treading to damage it. I also enjoy being nearly strangled by a woman's foot.

"If the lady finally stands facing my head and places her slipper upon my penis so that the high heel falls about where the penis leaves the scrotum, the sole covering most of the rest of it and with the other foot upon the abdomen, into which I can *see* as well as feel it sink as she shifts her weight from one foot to the other, orgasm takes place almost at once. Emission under these conditions is to me an agony of delight, during which practically the lady's whole weight should rest upon the penis.

"One reason for my special pleasure in this method seems to be that first the heel and afterwards the sole of the slipper as it treads upon the penis greatly check the passage of the semen and consequently the pleasure is considerably prolonged. There is also a curious mental side to the affair. I love to imagine that the lady who is treading upon me is my mistress and I her slave, and that she is doing it to punish me for some fault, or to give *herself* (not me) pleasure.

"It follows that the greater the contempt and severity with which I am 'punished,' the greater becomes my pleasure. The idea of 'punishment' or 'slavery' is seldom aroused except when I have great difficulty in accomplishing my desire and the treader is more than usually handsome and heavy and the trampling mercilessly inflicted. I have been trampled so long and so mercilessly several times, that I have flinched each time the slipper pressed its way into my aching body and have been black and blue for days afterwards. I take the greatest interest in leading ladies on to do this for me where I think I will not offend, and have been surprisingly successful. I must have lain beneath the feet of quite a hundred women, many of them of good social position, who would never dream of permitting any ordinary sexual intercourse, but who have been so interested or amused by the idea as to do it for me—many of them over and over again. It is perhaps needless to say that none of my own or the ladies' clothing is ever removed, or disarranged, for the accomplishment of orgasm in this manner. After a long and varied experience, I may say that my favorite weight is 10 to 11 stone, and that black, very high-heeled slippers, in combination with tan silk stockings, seem to give me the greatest pleasure and create in me the strongest desires.

"Boots, or outdoor shoes, do not attract me to anything like the same degree, although I have, upon several occasions, enjoyed myself fairly well by their use. Nude women repel me, and I find no pleasure in seeing a woman in tights. I am not averse to normal sexual connection and occasionally employ it. To me, however, the pleasure is far inferior to that of being trampled upon. I also derive keen pleasure—and usually have a strong erection—from seeing a woman, dressed as I have described, tread upon anything which yields under her foot—such as the seat of a carriage, the cushions of a punt, a footstool, etc., and I enjoy seeing her crush flowers by treading upon them. I have often

strolled along in the wake of some handsome lady at a picnic or garden party, for the pleasure of seeing the grass upon which she has trodden rise slowly again after her foot has pressed it. I delight also to see a carriage sway as a woman leaves or enters it—anything which needs the pressure of the foot.

"To pass now to the origin of this direction of my feelings

"Even in early childhood I admired pretty feminine foot-gear, and in the contemplation of it experienced vague sensations which I now recognize as sexual. When a lad of 14 or so. I stayed a good deal at the house of some intimate friends of my parents, the daughter of the house —an only child—a beautiful and powerful girl, about six years my senior, being my special chum. This girl was always daintily dressed, and having most lovely feet and ankles not unnaturally knew it. Whenever possible she dressed so as to show off their beauty to the best advantage—rather short skirts and usually little high-heeled slippers—and was not averse to showing them in a most distractingly coquettish manner. She seemed to have a passion for treading upon things which would scrunch or yield under her foot, such as flowers, little windfallen apples and pears, acorns, etc., or heaps of hay, straw or cut grass. As we wandered about the gardens—for we were left to do exactly as we liked—I got quite accustomed to seeing her hunt out and tread upon such things, and used to chaff her about it. At that time I was—as I am still—fond of lying at full length on a thick hearthrug before a good fire. One evening as I was lying in this way and we were alone, A. crossed the room to reach a bangle from the mantelpiece. Instead of reaching over me, she playfully stepped upon my body, saying that she would show me how the hay and straw felt. Naturally I fell in with the joke and laughed. After standing upon me a few moments she raised her skirt slightly and, holding on to the mantelpiece for support, stretched out one dainty foot in its brown silk stocking and high-heeled slipper to the blaze to warm, while looking down and laughing at my scarlet, excited face She was a perfectly frank and charming girl, and I feel pretty certain that although she evidently enjoyed my excitement and the feeling of my body yielding under her feet, she did not on this first occasion clearly understand my condition: nor can I remember that, though the desire for sexual gratification drove me nearly mad, it appeared to awaken in her any reciprocal feeling. I took hold of her raised foot and, after kissing it, guided it by an absolutely irresistible impulse on to my penis, which was as hard as wood and seemed almost bursting Almost at the moment that her weight was thrown upon it, orgasm took place for the first time in my life thoroughly and effectively. No description can give any idea of what I felt—I only know that from that moment my distorted sexual focus was fixed forever. Numberless times, after that evening, I felt the weight of her dainty slippers, and nothing will ever

cause the memory of the pleasure she thus gave me to fade. I know that A. came to enjoy treading upon me, as much as I enjoyed having her do it. She had a liberal dress allowance and, seeing the pleasure they gave me, she was always buying pretty stockings and ravishing slippers with the highest and most slender Louis heels she could find and would show them to me with the greatest glee, urging me to lie down that she might try them on me. She confessed that she loved to see and feel them sink into my body as she trod upon me and enjoyed the crunch of the muscles under her heel as she moved about. After some minutes of this, I always guided her slipper on to my penis, and she would tread carefully, but with her whole weight—probably about 9 stone—and watch me with flashing eyes, flushed cheeks, and quivering lips, as she felt—as she must have done plainly—the throbbing and swelling of my penis under her foot as emission took place. I have not the smallest doubt that orgasm took place simultaneously with her, though we never at any time spoke openly of it. This went on for several years on almost every favorable opportunity we had, and after a month or two of separation sometimes four or five times during a single day. Several times during A.'s absence I masturbated by getting her slipper and pressing it with all my strength against the penis while imagining that she was treading upon me. The pleasure was, of course, very inferior to her attentions. There was never at any time between us any question of normal sexual intercourse, and we were both well content to let things drift as they were.

"A little after 20 I went abroad, and on my return about three years later I found her married. Although we met often, the subject was never alluded to, though we remained firm friends. I confess I often, when I could do so without being seen, looked longingly at her feet and would have gladly accepted the pleasure she could have given me by an occasional resumption of our strange practice—but it never came.

"I went abroad again, and now neither she nor her husband are alive and leave no issue. From time to time I have had occasional relations with prostitutes, but always in this manner, though I much prefer to find some lady of or above my own social position who will do the treading for me. This is, however, interestingly difficult.

"Out of say a hundred women (which at home and abroad is what I should estimate must have stood upon my body) I should say quite 80 or 85 were *not* prostitutes. Certainly not more than 10 to 12 shared any *sexual* excitement, but while they were evidently excited they were not gratified. A. alone, so far as I know, had complete sexual satisfaction of it. I have never asked a woman in so many words to tread upon me for the purpose of gratifying my sexual desires (prostitutes excepted), but have always tempted them to do it in a jocular or teasing manner, and it is very doubtful if more than a few (married) women

really understood, even after they had given me the extreme pleasure that they had done so, because any flushing and movement on my part under their feet was not unnaturally put down to the trampling to which they were subjecting me, and it was easy for me to guide the foot as often as was necessary on to the penis till orgasm took place, and even to keep it there by laying hold of the other one to kiss it or on some other pretext during emission. Of course many understood after once doing it (most have done it only once) what I was at, and, although they did not ever discuss it nor did I, they were not unwilling to give me as many treadings as I cared to playfully suggest. I don't think they got any pleasure sexually out of it themselves, though they could see plainly that I did, and they did not object to give it me. I have spent as long as twelve months with some women working gradually nearer and nearer to my desire—often getting what I want in the end, but more often failing. I *never* risk it till I am certain it would be safe to ask it, and have never had a serious rebuff. In very many cases I should say the doing of what I want has simply been regarded by the woman as gratifying a silly and perhaps amusing whim, in which beyond the novelty of treading on a man's body, she has taken but little interest.

"As in normal seduction, the endeavor to win the woman over to do what I want without arousing her antagonism is a great part of the charm to me, and naturally the better her social position the more difficult this becomes—and the more attractive. I have found that in three instances prostitutes have performed the same office for other men and knew all about it. It is not uninteresting to note that these three women were all of fine, massive build—one standing about 5 feet 10 inches and weighing nearly 14 stone—but with comparatively uninteresting faces. The weight, build and clothing count for a good deal in exciting me. I find that a sudden check to a man at the supreme moment of sexual pleasure tends to heighten and prolong the pleasure. My physical satisfaction is due to the fact that by getting the lady to stand with all her weight upon my penis (as it lies between her foot and the soft bed of my own body into which it is deeply pressed) the act of emission is enormously prolonged, with corresponding enjoyment. For this reason also I prefer a very high-heeled slipper. The seminal fluid has to be forced past two separate obstacles—the pressure of the heel close at the root of the penis and afterwards the ball of the foot which compresses the outer half, leaving a free portion between them under the arched sole of the slipper. I may add that the pleasure is greatly increased by the retention of the urine, and I always try to retain as much water as I dare. I have an unconquerable aversion to red in slippers or stockings; it will even cause impotence. Why, I know not. Strange as it may seem, although pain and bruising are often in-

flicted by a severe treading, I have never been in any way injured by the practice, and my pleasure in it seems not to diminish by constant repetition. The comparative difficulty of obtaining the pleasure from just the woman I want has a never-ending, if inexplicable, charm for me."

It will be observed that in this case special importance is attached to shoes with high heels, and the subject considers that the pressure of such shoes is for mechanical reasons most favorable for procuring ejaculation. Nearly all heterosexual shoe-fetichists seem, however, to be equally attracted by high heels. Restif de la Bretonne frequently referred to this point, and he gave a number of reasons for the attractiveness of high heels: (1) They are unlike men's boots and, therefore, have a sexual fascination; (2) they make the leg and foot look more charming; (3) they give a less bold and more sylph-like character to the walk; (4) they keep the feet clean. (Restif de la Bretonne, *Nuits de Paris*, vol. v, quoted in Preface to his *Mes Inscriptions*, p. ciii.) It is doubtless the first reason—the fact that high heels are a kind of secondary sexual character—which is most generally potent in this attraction.

The foregoing history, while it very distinctly brings before us a case of erotic symbolism, is not strictly an example of shoe-fetichism. The symbolism is more complex. The focus of beauty in a desirable woman is transferred and concentrated in the region below the knee; in that sense we have foot-fetichism. But the act of coitus itself is also symbolically transferred. Not only has the foot become the symbol of the vulva, but trampling has become the symbol of coitus; intercourse takes place symbolically *per pedem*. It is a result of this symbolization of the foot and of trampling that all acts of treading take on a new and symbolical sexual charm. The element of masochism—of pleasure in being a woman's slave—is a parasitic growth; that is to say, it is not founded in the subject's constitution, but chances to have found a favorable soil in the special circumstances under which his sexual life developed. It is not primary, but secondary, and remains an unimportant and merely occasional element.

It may be instructive to bring forward for comparison a case in which also we have a symbolism involving boot-fetichism, but extending beyond it. In this case there is a basis of inversion (as is not infrequent in erotic symbolisms), but from the present point of view the psychological significance of the case remains the same.

A. N., aged 29, unmarried, healthy, though not robust, and without any known hereditary taint. Has followed various avocations without taking great interest in them, but has shown some literary ability.

"I am an Englishman," his own narrative runs, "the third of three children. At my birth my father was 41 and my mother 34. My mother died of cancer when I was 15. My father is still alive, a reserved man, who still nurses his sorrow for his wife's death. I have no reason to believe my parents anything but normal and useful members of society. My sister is normal and happily married. My brother I have reason to believe to be an invert.

"A horoscope cast for me describes me in a way I think correct, and so do my friends: 'A mild, obliging, gentle, amiable person, with many fine traits of character; timid in nature, fond of society, loving peace and quietude, delighting in warm and close friendships. There is much that is firm, steadfast and industrious, some self-love, a good deal of diplomacy, a little that is subtle, or what is called finesse. You are reserved with those you dislike. There is a serious and sad side to your character; you are very thoughtful and contemplative when in these moods. But you are not pessimistic. You have superior abilities, for they are intuitively intellectual. There is a cold reticence which restrains generous impulses and which inclines to acquisitiveness; it will make you deliberate, inventive, adding self-esteem, some vanity.'

"At an early age I was left much alone in the nursery and there contracted the habit of masturbation long before the age of puberty. I use the word 'masturbation' for want of a better, though it may not quite describe my case. I have never used my hand to the penis. As far back as I can remember I have had what a Frenchman has described as 'le fetichisme de la chaussure,' and in those early days, before I was 6 years old, I would put on my father's boots, taken from a cupboard at hand, and then tying or strapping my legs together would produce an erection, and all the pleasurable feelings experienced, I suppose, by means of masturbation. I always did this secretly, but couldn't tell why. I continued this practice on and off all my boyhood and youth. When I discovered the first emission I was much surprised I always did this thing without loosening my trousers. As to how these feelings arose I am totally unable to say. I can't remember being without such feelings, and they seem to me perfectly normal. The sight, or even thought, of high boots, or leggings, especially if well polished or in patent leather, would set all my sexual passions aflame, and does yet. As a boy my great desire was to wear these things. A soldier in boots and spurs, a groom in tops, or even an errand-boy in patent leather leggings, fascinated me, and to this day, despite reason and everything else. The sight of such things produced an erection. An emission I could always produce by tightly tying my legs together, but only when wearing boots, and preferably leggings, which when I had pocket money

I bought for this purpose. (At the present moment I have five pairs in the house and two pairs of high boots, quite unjustified by ordinary use.) This habit I lapse into yet at times. The smell of leather affects me, but I never know how far this may be due to association with boots; the smell suggests the image. Restraint by a leather strap is more exciting than by cords. Erotic dreams always take the form of restraint on the limbs when booted.

"Uniforms and liveries have a great temptation for me, but only when of a tight-fitting nature and smart, as soldiers', grooms', etc., but not sailors'; most powerfully when the person is in boots or leggings and breeches.

"I was a quiet, sensitive boy, taking no part in games or sports. Have always been indifferent to them. I made few friends, but didn't want them. The craving for friendship came much later, after I was 21. I was a day boy at a private school, and never had any conversation with any boy on sexual matters, though I was dimly aware of much 'nastiness' about the school. I knew nothing of sodomy. But all these things were repulsive to me, notwithstanding my secret practices. I was a 'good boy.'

"Up to the age of 21 I was perfectly satisfied with my own society, something of a prig, fond of books and reading, etc. I was and ever have been absolutely insensible to the influence of the other sex. I am not a woman hater, and take intellectual pleasure in the society of certain ladies, but they are nearly all much older than myself. I have a strong repulsion from sexual relations with women. I should not mind being married for the sake of companionship and for the sake of having boys of my own. But the sexual act would frighten me. I could not in my present frame of mind go to bed with a woman. Yet I feel an immense envy of my married friends in that they are able to give out, and find satisfaction for, their affection in a way that is quite impossible for me. I picture certain boys in the place of the wife.

"I am now only happy in the society of men younger than myself, age 17 to (say) 23 or 24, youths with smooth faces, or first sign of hair on lip, well groomed, slightly effeminate in feature, of sympathetic, perhaps weak nature. I feel I want to help them, do something for them, devote myself entirely to their welfare.

"With such there is no fixed line between friendship and love. I yearn for intimacy with particular friends, but never dare express it. I find so many people object to any strong expression of feeling that I dare not run the risk of appearing ridiculous in the eyes of these desired intimates.

"I have no desire for *paedicatio*, but the idea itself does not repulse me or seem unnatural, though personally it repels me a little. But I think this to be mere prejudice on my part, which might be broken

down if the loved person showed a willingness to act a passive part. I should never dare to make an advance, however.

"I am restrained by moral and religious considerations from making my real feelings known, and I feel I should sink in my own estimation if I gave way, though my natural desire is to do so. In the face of opportunities (not I mean of *paedicatio*, but of expression of excessive affection, etc.), or what might be such, I always fail to speak lest I should forfeit the esteem of the other person. I have a feeling of surprise when any one I like evinces a liking for me. I feel that those I love are immeasurably my superiors, though my reason may tell me it is not so. I would grovel at their feet, do anything to win a smile from them, or to make them give me their company.

"Ordinary bodily contact with the boy I love gives me most exquisite pleasure, and I never lose an opportunity of bringing such contact about when it can be done naturally. I feel an immense desire to embrace, kiss, squeeze, etc., the person, to generally maul him, and say nice things—the kind of things a man usually says to a woman. A handshake, the mere presence of the person, makes me happy and content.

"I can say with the Albanian: 'If I find myself in the presence of the beloved, I rest absorbed in gazing on him. Absent, I think of nought but him. If the beloved unexpectedly appears I fall into confusion. My heart beats faster. I have eyes and ears only for the beloved.'

"I feel that my capacity of affection is finer and more spiritual than that which commonly subsists between persons of different sexes. And so, while trying to fight my instincts by religion, I find my natural feeling to be part of my religion, and its highest expression. In this sense I can speak from experience in my own case, and more especially in that of my brother, that what you have said about philanthropic activity resulting from repressed homosexuality is very true indeed. I can say with one of your female cases: 'Love is to me a religion. The very nature of my affection for my friends precludes the possibility of any element entering into it which is not absolutely pure and sacred.' I am, however, madly jealous. I want entire possession, and I can't bear for a moment that any one I do not care for should know the person I love.

"I am never attracted by men older than myself. The youths who attract me may be of any class, though preferably, I think, of a class a little lower than myself. I am not quite sure of this, however, as circumstances may have contributed more than deliberate choice to bring certain youths under my notice. Those who have exercised the most powerful influence on me have been an Oxford undergraduate, a barber's assistant, and a plumber's apprentice. Though naturally fond of intellectual society, I do not ask for intellect in those I love. It goes for nothing. I always prefer their company to that of the most educated persons. This preference has alienated me to some extent from more refined and educated circles that formerly I was intimate with.

"I have been led entirely out of my old habits by association with younger friends, and now do things which before I should never have dreamed of doing. My thoughts now are always with certain youths, and if they speak of leaving the town, or in any way talk of a future that I cannot share, I suffer horrid sinkings of the heart and depression of spirits."

This case, while it concerns a person of quite different temperament, with a more innate predisposition to specific perversions, is yet in many respects analogous to the previous case. There is boot-fetichism; nothing is felt to be so attractive as the foot-gear, and there is also at the same time more than this; there is the attraction of repression and constraint developed into a sexual symbol. In C. P.'s case that symbolism arises from the experience of an abnormal heterosexual relationship; in A. N.'s case it is founded on auto-erotic experiences associated with inversion; in both alike the entire symbolism has become diffused and generalized.

In the two cases just brought forward we have an erotic symbolism of act founded on, and closely associated with, an erotic symbolism of object. It may be instructive to bring forward another case in which no fetichistic feeling toward an object can be traced, but an erotic symbolism still clearly exists. In this case pain, even when self-inflicted, has acquired a symbolic value as a stimulus to tumescence, without any element of masochism. Such a case serves to indicate how the sexual attraction of pain is really a special case of the erotic symbolism with which we are here concerned.

A. W., aged 50, a writer and lecturer, physically and mentally energetic and enjoying good health. He is, however, very emotional and of nervous temperament, but self-controlled. Though physically well developed, the sexual organs are small. He is married to an attractive woman, to whom he is much attached, and has two healthy children

At 10 or 12 years of age he had a frequent desire to be whipped, his parents never having struck him, and on one occasion he asked a brother to go with him to the closet to get him to whip him on the posterior; but on arrival he was too shy to make the request. He did not recognize the cause of these desires, knowing nothing of such things

except from the misinformation of his schoolfellows' talk. As far as he can remember, he was an entirely normal, healthy boy up to the age of about 15, when his attention was arrested by an advertisement of a quack medicine for the results of "youthful excesses."

Being a city boy, he was unfamiliar with the coupling even of animals, had never had a conscious erection and did not know of frictional excitement. Experiment, however, resulted in an orgasm, and, though believing that it was wicked or at least weak and degrading, he indulged in masturbation at intervals, usually about six times a month, and has continued even up to the present.

He had an abnormally small opening in the prepuce, making the uncovering of the glans almost impossible. (At the age of about 37, he himself slit the prepuce by three or four cuts of a scissors at intervals of about ten days. This was followed by a marked decrease in desire, especially as he shortly afterwards learned the importance of local cleanliness.) While in college at about the age of 19 he began to have nocturnal emissions occasionally and once or twice a week when at stool. Alarmed by these, he consulted a physician, who warned him of the danger, gave him bromide and prescribed cold bathing of the parts, with a hard, cool bed. These stopped the emissions.

He never had connection with women until the age of about 25, and then only three times until his marriage at 30 years of age, being deterred partly by conscientious scruples, but more by shyness and convention, and deriving very little pleasure from these instances. Even since marriage he has derived more pleasure from sexual excitement than from coitus, and can maintain erection for as long as two hours.

He has always been accustomed to torture himself in various ingenious ways, nearly always connected with sex. He would burn his skin deeply with red hot wire in inconspicuous places. These and similar acts were generally followed by manual excitation nearly always brought to a climax.

He considers that he is attracted to refined and intellectual women. But he is without very ardent desires, having several times gone to bed with attractive women who stripped themselves naked, but without attempting any sexual intercourse with them. He became interested in the "Karezza" theory and has tried to practice it with his wife, but could never entirely control the emission.

He has hired a masseur to whip him, as children are whipped, with a heavy dog whip, which caused pleasurable excitement. During this time he had relations with his wife generally about once a week without any great ecstasy. She was cold and sexually slow, owing to conventional sex repression and to an idea that the whole thing was "like animals" and to fear of child-bearing, usually necessitating the use of a cover or withdrawal. It was only eight years after their marriage that she desired and obtained a child. During these years he would often stick

pins through his mammæ and tie them together by a string round the pins drawn so short as to cause great pain and then indulge himself in the sexual act. He used strong wooden clips with a tack fixed in them, so as to pierce and pinch the mammæ, and once he drove a pin entirely through the penis itself, then obtaining orgasm by friction. He was never able to get an automatic emission in this way, though he often tried, not even by walking briskly during an erection.

In another class of cases a purely ideal symbolism may be present by means of a fetich which acts as a powerful stimulus without itself being felt to possess any attraction. A good illustration of this condition is furnished by a case which has been communicated to me by a medical correspondent in New Zealand.

"The patient went out to South Africa as a trooper with the contingent from New Zealand, throwing up a good position in an office to do so. He had never had any trouble as regards connection with women before going out to South Africa. While in active service at the front he sustained a nasty fall from his horse, breaking his leg. He was unconscious for four days, and was then invalided down to Cape Town. Here he rapidly got well, and his accustomed health returning to him he started having what he terms 'a good time.' He repeatedly went to brothels, but was unable to have more than a temporary erection, and no ejaculation would take place. In one of these places he was in company with a drunken trooper, who suggested that they should perform the sexual act with their boots and spurs (only) on. My patient, who was also drunk, readily assented, and to his surprise was enabled to perform the act of copulation without any difficulty at all. He has repeatedly tried since to perform the act without any spurs, but is quite unable to do so; with the spurs he has no difficulty at all in obtaining all the gratification he desires. His general health is good. His mother was an extremely nervous woman, and so is his sister. His father died when he was quite young. His only other relation in the colony is a married sister, who seems to enjoy vigorous health."

The consideration of the cases here brought forward may suffice to show that beyond those fetichisms which find their satisfaction in the contemplation of a part of the body or a garment, there is a more subtle symbolism. The foot is a center of force, an agent for exerting pressure, and thus it furnishes a point of departure not alone for the merely static sexual fetich, but for a dynamic erotic symbolization. The energy of its move-

ments becomes a substitute for the energy of the sexual organs themselves in coitus, and exerts the same kind of fascination. The young girl (page 35) "who seemed to have a passion for treading upon things which would scrunch or yield under her foot," already possessed the germs of an erotic symbolism which, under the influence of circumstances in which she herself took an active part, developed into an adequate method of sexual gratification.[1] The youth who was her partner learned, in the same way, to find an erotic symbolism in all the pressure reactions of attractive feminine feet, the swaying of a carriage beneath their weight, the crushing of the flowers on which they tread, the slow rising of the grass which they have pressed. Here we have a symbolism which is altogether different from that fetichism which adores a definite object; it is a dynamic symbolism finding its gratification in the spectacle of movements which ideally recall the fundamental rhythm and pressure reactions of the sexual process.

We may trace a very similar erotic symbolism in an absolutely normal form. The fascination of clothes in the lover's eyes is no doubt a complex phenomenon, but in part it rests on the aptitudes of a woman's garments to express vaguely a dynamic symbolism which must always remain indefinite and elusive, and on that account always possess fascination. No one has so acutely described this symbolism as Herrick, often an admirable psychologist in matters of sexual attractiveness. Especially instructive in this respect are his poems, "Delight in Disorder," "Upon Julia's Clothes," and notably "Julia's Petticoat." "A sweet disorder in the dress," he tells us, "kindles in clothes a wantonness;" it is not on the garment itself, but on the

[1] Her actions suggest that there is often a latent sexual consciousness in regard to the feet in women, atavistic or pseudo-atavistic, and corresponding to the sexual attraction which the feet formerly aroused, almost normally, in men. This is also suggested by the case, referred to by Shufeldt, of an unmarried woman, belonging to a family exhibiting in a high degree both erotic and neurotic traits, who had "a certain uncontrollable fascination for shoes. She delights in new shoes, and changes her shoes all day long at regular intervals of three hours each. She keeps this row of shoes out in plain sight in her apartment." (R. W. Shufeldt, "On a Case of Female Impotency," 1896, p. 10.)

character of its movement that he insists; on the "erring lace," the "winning wave" of the "tempestuous petticoat;" he speaks of the "liquefaction" of clothes, their "brave vibration each way free," and of Julia's petticoat he remarks with a more specific symbolism still,

> "Sometimes 'twould pant and sigh and heave,
> As if to stir it scarce had leave;
> But having got it, thereupon,
> 'Twould make a brave expansion."

In the play of the beloved woman's garment, he sees the whole process of the central act of sex, with its repressions and expansions, and at the sight is himself ready to "fall into a swoon."

III.

Scatalogic Symbolism—Urolagnia—Coprolagnia—The Ascetic Attitude Towards the Flesh—Normal basis of Scatalogic Symbolism—Scatalogic Conceptions Among Primitive Peoples—Urine as a Primitive Holy Water—Sacredness of Animal Excreta—Scatalogy in Folk-lore—The Obscene as Derived from the Mythological—The Immature Sexual Impulse Tends to Manifest Itself in Scatalogic Forms—The basis of Physiological Connection Between the Urinary and Genital Spheres—Urinary Fetichism Sometimes Normal in Animals—The Urolagnia of Masochists—The Scatalogy of Saints—Urolagnia More Often a Symbolism of Act Than a Symbolism of Object—Only Occasionally an Olfactory Fetichism—Comparative Rarity of Coprolagnia—Influence of Nates Fetichism as a Transition to Coprolagnia—Ideal Coprolagnia—Olfactory Coprolagnia—Urolagnia and Coprolagnia as Symbols of Coitus.

We meet with another group of erotic symbolisms—akin symbolisms of object and of act—in connection with the two functions adjoining the anatomical sexual focus: the urinary and alvine excretory functions. These are sometimes termed the *scatalogical group, with the two subdivisions of urolagnia and* coprolagnia.[1] *Inter fæces et urinam nascimur* is an ancient text which has served the ascetic preachers of old for many discourses on the littleness of man and the meanness of that reproductive power which plays so large a part in man's life. "The stupid bungle of Nature," a correspondent writes, "whereby the generative organs serve as a means of relieving the bladder, is doubtless responsible for much of the disgust which those organs excite in some minds."

At the same time, it is necessary to point out, such reflex influence may act not in one direction only, but also in the reverse

[1] Fuchs (*Das Erotische Element in der Karikatur*, p. 26), distinguishing sharply between the "erotic" and the "obscene," reserves the latter term exclusively for the representation of excretory organs and acts. He considers that this is etymologically the most exact usage. However that may be, it seems to me that, in any case, "obscene" has become so vague a term that it is now impracticable to give it a restricted and precise sense.

direction. From the standpoint of ascetic contemplation eager to belittle humanity, the excretory centers may cast dishonor upon the genital center which they adjoin. From the more ecstatic standpoint of the impassioned lover, eager to magnify the charm of the woman he worships, it is not impossible for the excretory centers to take on some charm from the irradiating center of sex which they enclose.

Even normally such a process is traceable. The normal lover may not idealize the excretory functions of his mistress, but the fact that he finds no repulsion in the most intimate contacts and feels no disgust at the proximity of the excretory orifices or the existence of their functions, indicates that the idealization of love has exerted at all events a neutralizing influence; indeed, the presence of an acute sensibility to the disturbing influence of this proximity of the excretory orifices and their functions must be considered abnormal; Swift's "Strephon and Chloe"—with the conviction underlying it that it is an easy matter for the excretory functions to drown the possibilities of love—could only have proceeded from a morbidly sensitive brain.[1]

A more than mere neutralizing influence, a positively idealizing influence of the sexual focus on the excretory processes adjoining it, may take place in the lover's mind without the normal variations of sexual attraction being over-passed, and even without the creation of an excretory fetichism.

Reflections of this attitude may be found in the poets. In the *Song of Songs* the lover says of his mistress, "Thy navel is like a round goblet, wherein no mingled wine is wanting;" in his lyric "To Dianeme," Herrick says with clear reference to the mons veneris:—

> "Show me that hill where smiling love doth sit,
> Having a living fountain under it;"

and in the very numerous poems in various languages which have more

[1] In this connection we may profitably contemplate the hand and recall the vast gamut of functions, sacred and profane, which that organ exercises. Many savages strictly reserve the left hand to the lowlier purposes of life; but in civilization that is not considered necessary, and it may be wholesome for some of us to meditate on the more humble uses of the same hand which is raised in the supreme gesture of benediction and which men have often counted it a privilege to kiss.

or less obscurely dealt with the rose as the emblem of the feminine pudenda there are occasional references to the stream which guards or presides over the rose. It may, indeed, be recalled that even in the name *nymphæ* anatomists commonly apply to the *labia minora* there is generally believed to be a poetic allusion to the Nymphs who presided over streams, since the *labia minora* exert an influence on the direction of the urinary stream.

In *Wilhelm Meister*(Part I, Chapter XV), Goethe, on the basis of his own personal experiences, describes his hero's emotions in the humble surroundings of Marianne's little room as compared with the statelines and order of his own home. "It seemed to him when he had here to remove her stays in order to reach the harpsichord, there to lay her skirt on the bed before he could seat himself, when she herself with unembarrassed frankness would make no attempt to conceal from him many natural acts which people are accustomed to hide from others out of decency—it seemed to him, I say, that he became bound to her by invisible bands." We are told of Wordsworth (Findlay's *Recollections of De Quincey*, p. 36) that he read *Wilhelm Meister* till "he came to the scene where the hero, in his mistress's bedroom, becomes sentimental over her dirty towels, etc., which struck him with such disgust that he flung the book out of his hand, would never look at it again, and declared that surely no English lady would ever read such a work." I have, however, heard a woman of high intellectual distinction refer to the peculiar truth and beauty of this very passage.

In one of his latest novels, *Les Rencontres de M. de Bréot*, Henri de Régnier, one of the most notable of recent French novelists, narrates an episode bearing on the matter before us. A personage of the story is sitting for a moment in a dark grotto during a night fête in a nobleman's park, when two ladies enter and laughingly proceed to raise their garments and accomplish a natural necessity. The man in the background, suddenly overcome by a sexual impulse, starts forward; one lady runs away, the other, whom he detains, offers little resistance to his advances. To M. de Bréot, whom he shortly after encounters, he exclaims, abashed at his own actions: "Why did I not flee? But could I imagine that the spectacle of so disgusting a function would have any other effect than to give me a humble opinion of human nature?" M. de Bréot, however, in proceeding to reproach his interlocutor for his inconsiderate *temerity*, observes: "What you tell me, sir, does not entirely surprise me. Nature has placed very various instincts within us, and the impulse that led you to what you have just now done is not so peculiar as you think. One may be a very estimable man and yet love women even in what is lowliest in their bodies." In harmony with this passage from Régnier's novel are the remarks of a correspondent who writes to me of the function of urination that it "appeals sexually to most normal individuals. My own observations and inquiries prove this. Women

themselves instinctively feel it. The secrecy surrounding the matter lends, too, I think, a sexual interest."

The fact that scatalogic processes may in some degree exert an attraction even in normal love has been especially emphasized by Bloch (*Beiträge zur Ætiologie der Psychopathia Sexualis*, Teil II, pp. 222, *et seq.*): "The man whose intellect and æsthetic sense has been 'clouded by the sexual impulse' sees these things in an entirely different light from him who has not been overcome by the intoxication of love. For him they are idealized (sit venia verbo) since they are a part of the beloved person, and in consequence associated with love." Bloch quotes the *Memoiren einer Sängerin* (a book which is said to be, though this seems doubtful, genuinely autobiographical) in the same sense: "A man who falls in love with a girl is not dragged out of his poetic sphere by the thought that his beloved must relieve certain natural necessities every day. It seems, indeed, to him to be just the opposite. If one loves a person one finds nothing obscene or disgusting in the object that pleases me." The opposite attitude is probably in extreme cases due to the influence of a neurotic or morbidly sensitive temperament. Swift possessed such a temperament. The possession of a similar temperament is doubtless responsible for the little prose poem, "L'Extase," in which Huysmans in his first book, *Le Drageloir à Epices*, has written an attenuated version of "Strephon and Chloe" to express the disillusionment of love; the lover lies in a wood clasping the hand of the beloved with rapturous emotion; "suddenly she rose, disengaged her hand, disappeared in the bushes, and I heard as it were the rustling of rain on the leaves." His dream has fled.

In estimating the significance of the lover's attitude in this matter, it is important to realize the position which scatologic conceptions took in primitive belief. At certain stages of early culture, when all the emanations of the body are liable to possess mysterious magic properties and become apt for sacred uses, the excretions, and especially the urine, are found to form part of religious ritual and ceremonial function. Even among savages the excreta are frequently regarded as disgusting, but under the influence of these conceptions such disgust is inhibited, and those emanations of the body which are usually least honored become religious symbols.

Urine has been regarded as the original holy water, and many customs which still survive in Italy and various parts of Europe, involving the use of a fluid which must often be yellow and sometimes salt, possibly indicate the earlier use of urine. (The Greek water of aspersion,

according to Theocritus, was mixed with salt, as is sometimes the modern Italian holy water. J. J. Blunt, *Vestiges of Ancient Manners and Customs*, p. 173.) Among the Hottentots, as Kolbein and others have recorded, the medicine man urinated alternately on bride and bridegroom, and a successful young warrior was sprinkled in the same way. Mungo Park mentions that in Africa on one occasion a bride sent a bowl of her urine which was thrown over him as a special mark of honor to a distinguished guest. Pennant remarked that the Highlanders sprinkled their cattle with urine, as a kind of holy water, on the first Monday in every quarter. (Bourke, *Scatalogic Rites*, pp. 228, 239; Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, "Bride-Ales.")

Even the excreta of animals have sometimes been counted sacred. This is notably so in the case of the cow, of all animals the most venerated by primitive peoples, and especially in India. Jules Bois (*Visions de l'Inde*, p. 86) describes the spectacle presented in the temple of the cows at Benares: "I put my head into the opening of the holy stables. It was the largest of temples, a splendor of precious stones and marble, where the venerated heifers passed backwards and forwards. A whole people adored them. They take no notice, plunged in their divine and obscure unconsciousness. And they fulfil with serenity their animal functions; they chew the offerings, drink water from copper vessels, and when they are filled they relieve themselves. Then a stercoraceous and religious insanity overcomes these starry-faced women and venerable men; they fall on their knees, prostrate themselves, eat the droppings, greedily drink the liquid, which for them is miraculous and sacred." (*Cf.* Bourke, *Scatalogic Rites*, Chapter XVII.)

Among the Chevsurs of the Caucasus, perhaps an Iranian people, a woman after her confinement, for which she lives apart, purifies herself by washing in the urine of a cow and then returns home. This mode of purification is recommended in the Avesta, and is said to be used by the few remaining followers of this creed.

We have not only to take into account the frequency with which among primitive peoples the excretions possess a religious significance. It is further to be noted that in the folk-lore of modern Europe we everywhere find plentiful evidence of the earlier prevalence of legends and practices of a scatalogical character. It is significant that in the majority of cases it is easy to see a sexual reference in these stories and customs. The legends have lost their earlier and often mythical significance, and frequently take on a suggestion of obscenity, while the scatalogical practices have become the magical devices of love-lorn maidens or forsaken wives practiced in secrecy. It has hap-

pened to scatalogical rites to be regarded as we may gather from the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, that the sacred leathern phallus borne by the women in the Bacchanalia was becoming in his time, an object to arouse the amusement of little boys.

Among many primitive peoples throughout the world, and among the lower social classes of civilized peoples, urine possesses magic properties, more especially, it would seem, the urine of women and that of people who stand, or wish to stand, in sexual relationship to each other. In a legend of the Indians of the northwest coast of America, recorded by Boas, a woman gives her lover some of her urine and says: "You can wake the dead if you drop some of my urine in their ears and nose." (*Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie*, 1894, Heft IV, p. 293.) Among the same Indians there is a legend of a woman with a beautiful white skin who found on bathing every morning in the river that the fish were attracted to her skin and could not be driven off even by magical solutions. At last she said to herself: "I will make water on them and then they will leave me alone." She did so, and henceforth the fish left her. But shortly after fire came from Heaven and killed her. (*Ib.*, 1891, Heft V, p. 640.) Among both Christians and Mohammedans a wife can attach an unfaithful husband by privately putting some of her urine in his drink. (B. Stern, *Medizin in der Türkei*, vol. ii, p. 11.) This practice is world-wide; thus among the aborigines of Brazil, according to Martius, the urine and other excretions and secretions are potent for aphrodisiacal objects. (Bourke's *Scatalogic Rites of All Nations* contains many references to the folk-lore practices in this matter; a study of popular beliefs in the magic power of urine, published in Bombay by Professor Eugen Wilhelm in 1889, I have not seen.)

The legends which narrate scatalogic exploits are numerous in the literature of all countries. Among primitive peoples they often have a purely theological character, for in the popular mythologies of all countries (even, as we learn from Aristophanes, among the Greeks) natural phenomena such as the rain, are apt to be regarded as divine excretions, but in course of time the legends take on a more erotic or a more obscene character. In the Irish *Book of Leinster* (written down somewhere about the twelfth century, but containing material of very much older date) we are told how a number of princesses in Emain Macha, the seat of the Ulster Kings, resolved to find out which of them could by urinating on it melt a snow pillar which the men had made, the woman who succeeded to be regarded as the best among them. None of them succeeded, and they sent for Derbforgaill, who was in love with Cuchullain, and she was able to melt the pillar; whereupon the other women, jealous of the superiority she had thus shown, tore out her eyes. (Zimmer, "Keltische Beiträge," *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Alterthum*, vol.

xxxii, Heft II, pp. 216-219.) Rhys considers that Derbforgaill was really a goddess of dawn and dusk, "the drop glistening in the sun's rays," as indicated by her name, which means a drop or tear. (J. Rhys, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by Celtic Heathendom*, p. 466.) It is interesting to compare the legend of Derbforgaill with a somewhat more modern Picardy folk-lore *conte* which is clearly analogous but no longer seems to show any mythologic element, "La Princesse qui pisse par dessus les Meules." This princess had a habit of urinating over hay-cocks; the king, her father, in order to break her of the habit, offered her in marriage to anyone who could make a hay-cock so high that she could not urinate over it. The young men came, but the princess would merely laugh and at once achieve the task. At last there came a young man who argued with himself that she would not be able to perform this feat after she had lost her virginity. He therefore seduced her first and she then failed ignobly, merely wetting her stockings. Accordingly, she became his bride. (*Κρυπτάδια*, vol. i. p. 333.) Such legends, which have lost any mythologic elements they may originally have possessed and have become merely *contes*, are not uncommon in the folk-lore of many countries. But *in their earlier more religious forms and in their later more obscene* forms, they alike bear witness to the large place which scatalogic conceptions play in the primitive mind.

It is a notable fact in evidence of the close and seemingly normal association with the sexual impulse of the scatalogic processes, that an interest in them, arising naturally and spontaneously, is one of the most frequent channels by which the sexual impulse first manifests itself in young boys and girls.

Stanley Hall who has made special inquiries into the matter, remarks that in childhood the products of excretion by bladder and bowels are often objects of interest hardly less intense for a time than eating and drinking. ("Early Sense of Self," *American Journal of Psychology*, April, 1898, p. 361.) "Micturitional obscenities," the same writer observes again, "which our returns show to be so common before adolescence, culminate at 10 or 12, and seem to retreat into the background as sex phenomena appear." They are, he remarks, of two classes: "Fouling persons or things, secretly from adults, but openly with each other," and less often "ceremonial acts connected with the act or the product that almost suggest the scatalogical rites of savages, unfit for description here, but of great interest and importance." (G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence*, vol. i, p. 116.) The nature of such scatalogical phenomena in childhood—which are often clearly the in-

stinctive manifestations of an erotic symbolism—and their wide prevalence among both boys and girls, are very well illustrated in a narrative which I include in Appendix B, History II.

In boys as they approach the age of puberty, this attraction to the scatalogic, when it exists, tends to die out, giving place to more normal sexual conceptions, or at all events it takes a subordinate and less serious place in the mind. In girls, on the other hand, it often tends to persist. Edmond de Goncourt, a minute observer of the feminine mind, refers in *Chérie* to "those innocent and triumphant gaieties which scatalogic stories have the privilege of arousing in women who have remained still children, even the most distinguished women." The extent to which innocent young women, who would frequently be uninterested or repelled in presence of the sexually obscene are sometimes attracted by the scatalogically obscene, becomes intelligible, however, if we realize that a symbolism comes here into play. In women the more specifically sexual knowledge and experience of life frequently develop much later than in men or even remains in abeyance, and the specifically sexual phenomena cannot therefore easily lend themselves to wit, or humor, or imagination. But the scatalogic sphere, by the very fact that in women it is a specially intimate and secret region which is yet always liable to be unexpectedly protruded into consciousness, furnishes an inexhaustible field for situations which have the same character as those furnished by the sexually obscene. It thus happens that the sexually obscene which in men tends to overshadow the scatalogically obscene, in women—partly from inexperience and partly, it is probable, from their almost physiological modesty—plays a part subordinate to the scatalogical. In a somewhat analogous way scatalogical wit and humor play a considerable part in the work of various eminent authors who were clergymen or priests

In addition to the anatomical and psychological associations which contribute to furnish a basis on which erotic symbolisms may spring up, there are also physiological connections between the genital and urinary spheres which directly favor such symbolisms. In discussing the analysis of the sexual im-

pulse in a previous volume of these *Studies,* I have pointed out the remarkable relationship—sometimes of transference, sometimes of compensation—which exists between genital tension and vesical tension, both in men and women. In the histories of normal sexual development brought together at the end of that and subsequent volumes the relationship may frequently be traced, as also in the case of C. P. in the present study (p. 37). Vesical power is also commonly believed to be in relation with sexual potency, and the inability to project the urinary stream in a normal manner is one of the accepted signs of sexual impotency.[1] Féré, again, has recorded the history of a man with periodic crises of sexual desire, and subsequently sexual obsession without desire, which were always accompanied by the impulse to urinate and by increased urination.[2] In the case, recorded by Pitres and Régis, of a young girl who, having once at the sight of a young man she liked in a theater been overcome by sexual feeling accompanied by a strong desire to urinate, was afterward tormented by a groundless fear of experiencing an irresistible desire to urinate at inconvenient times,[3] we have an example of what may be called a physiological scatalogic symbolism of sex, an emotion which was primarily erotic becoming transferred to the bladder and then remaining persistent. From such a physiological symbolism it is but a step to the psychological symbolisms of scatalogic fetichism.

It is worthy of note, as an indication that such phenomena are scarcely abnormal, that a urinary symbolism, and even a strictly sexual fetichism, are normal among many animals.

[1] See, *e.g.*, Morselli, *Una Causa di Nullità del Matrimonio,* 1902, p. 39.

[2] Féré, *Comptes-Rendus Société de Biologie,* July 23, 1904.

[3] Transactions of the International Medical Congress, Moscow, vol. iv, p. 19. A similar symbolism may be traced in many of the cases in which the focus of modesty becomes in modest women centered in the excretory sphere and sometimes exaggerated to the extent of obsession. It must not be supposed, however, that every obsession in this sphere has a symbolical value of an erotic kind. In the case, for instance, which has been recorded by Raymond and Janet (*Les Obsessions,* vol. ii, p. 306) of a woman who spent much of her time in the endeavor to urinate perfectly, always feeling that she failed in some respect, the

The most familiar example of this kind is furnished by the dog, who is sexually excited in this manner by traces of the bitch and himself takes every opportunity of making his own path recognizable. "This custom," Espinas remarks (*Des Sociétés Animales*, p. 228), "has no other aim than to spread along the road recognizable traces of their presence for the benefit of individuals of the other sex, the odor of these traces doubtless causing excitement."

It is noteworthy, also, that in animals as well as in man, sexual excitement may manifest itself in the bladder. Thus Daumas states (*Chevaux de Sahara*, p. 49) that if the mare urinates when she hears the stallion neigh it is a sign that she is ready for connection.

It is in masochism, or passive algolagnia, that we may most frequently find scatalogic symbolism in its fully developed form. The man whose predominant impulse is to subjugate himself to his mistress and to receive at her hands the utmost humiliation, frequently finds the climax of his gratification in being urinated on by her, whether in actual fact or only in imagination.

In many such cases, however, it is evident that we have a mixed phenomenon; the symbolism is double. The act becomes desirable because it is the outward and visible sign of an inwardly experienced abject slavery to an adored person. But it is also desirable because of intimately sexual associations in the act itself, as a symbolical detumescence, a simulacrum of the sexual act, and one which proceeds from the sexual focus itself.

Krafft-Ebing records various cases of masochism in which the emission of urine on to the body or into the mouth formed the climax of sexual gratification, as, for instance (*Psychopathia Sexualis*, English translation, p. 183) in the case of a Russian official who as a boy had fancies of being bound between the thighs of a woman, compelled to sleep beneath her nates and to drink her urine, and in later life experienced the greatest excitement when practicing the last part of this early imagination.

In another case, recorded by Krafft-Ebing and by him termed "ideal masochism" (*Op. cit.*, pp. 127-130), the subject from childhood indulged in voluptuous day-dreams in which he was the slave of a beautiful mistress who would compel him to obey all her caprices, stand over him with one foot on his breast, sit on his face and body, make him

obsession seems to have risen fortuitously on a somewhat neurotic basis without reference to the sexual life.

wait on her in her bath, or when she urinated, and sometimes insist on doing this on his face; though a highly intellectual man, he was always too timid to attempt to carry any of his ideas into execution; he had been troubled by nocturnal enuresis up to the age of 20.

Neri, again (*Archivio delle Psicopatie Sessuali*, vol. i, fasc. 7 and 8, 1896), records the case of an Italian masochist who experienced the greatest pleasure when both urination and defecation were practiced in this manner by the woman he was attached to.

In a previous volume of these *Studies* ("Sexual Inversion," History XXVI) I have recorded the masochistic day-dreams of a boy whose impulses were at the same time inverted; in his reveries "the central fact," he states, "became the discharge of urine from my lover over my body and limbs, or, if I were very fond of him, I let it be in my face." In actual life the act of urination casually witnessed in childhood became the symbol, even the reality, of the central secret of sex: "I stood rooted and flushing with downcast eyes till the act was over, and was conscious for a considerable time of stammering speech and bewildered faculties. . . . I was overwhelmed with emotion and could barely drag my feet from the spot or my eyes from the damp herbage where he had deposited the waters of secrecy. Even to-day I cannot dissociate myself from the shuddering charm that moment had for me."

It is not only the urine and the fæces which may thus acquire a symbolic fascination and attractiveness under the influence of masochistic deviations of sexual idealization. In some cases extreme rapture has been experienced in licking sweating feet. There is, indeed, no excretion or product of the body which has not been a source of ecstasy: the sweat from every part of the body, the saliva and menstrual fluid, even the wax from the ears.

Krafft-Ebing very truly points out (*Psychopathia Sexualis*, English translation, p 178) that this sexual scatalogic symbolism is precisely paralleled by a religious scatalogic symbolism. In the excesses of devout enthusiasm the ascetic performs exactly the same acts as are performed in these excesses of erotic enthusiasm. To mix excreta with the food, to lick up excrement, to suck festering sores—all these and the like are acts which holy and venerated women have performed.

Not only the saint, but also the prophet and medicine-man have been frequently eaters of human excrement; it is only necessary to refer to the instance of the prophet Ezekiel, who declared that he was commanded to bake his bread with human dung, and to the practices of medicine-men at Torres Straits, in whose training the eating of human excrement takes a recognized part. (Deities, notably Baal-Phegor, were

sometimes supposed to eat excrement, so that it was natural that their messengers and representatives among men should do so. As regards Baal-Phegor, see Dulaure, *Des Divinités Génératrices*, Chapter IV, and J. G. Bourke, *Scatalogic Rites of All Nations*, p. 241. See also Ezekiel, Chapter IV, v. 12, and *Reports Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, p. 321.)

It must be added, however, that while the masochist is overcome by sexual rapture, so that he sees nothing disgusting in his act, the medicine-man and the ascetic are not so invariably overcome by religious rapture, and several ascetic writers have referred to the horror and disgust they experienced, at all events at first, in accomplishing such acts, while the medicine-men when novices sometimes find the ordeal too severe and have to abandon their career. Brénier de Montmorand, while remarking, not without some exaggeration, that "the Christian ascetics are almost all eaters of excrement" ("Ascétisme et Mysticisme," *Revue Philosophique*, March, 1904, p. 245), quotes the testimonies of Marguerite-Marie and Madame Guyon as to the extreme repugnance which they had to overcome. They were impelled by a merely intellectual symbolism of self-mortification rather than by the profoundly felt emotional symbolism which moves the masochist.

Coprophagic acts, whether under the influences of religious exaltation or of sexual rapture, inevitably excite our disgust. We regard them as almost insane, fortified in that belief by the undoubted fact that coprophagia is not uncommon among the insane. It may, therefore, be proper to point out that it is not so very long since the ingestion of human excrement was carried out by our own forefathers in the most sane and deliberate manner. It was administered by medical practitioners for a great number of ailments, apparently with entirely satisfactory results. Less than two centuries ago, Schurig, who so admirably gathered together and arranged the medical lore of his own and the immediately preceding ages, wrote a very long and detailed chapter, "De Stercoris Humani Usu Medico" (*Chylologia*, 1725, cap. XIII; in the Paris *Journal de Médecine* for February 10, 1905, there appeared an article, which I have not seen, entitled "Médicaments oubliées: l'urine et la fiente humaine.") The classes of cases in which the drug was found beneficial would seem to have been extremely various. It must not be supposed that it was usually ingested in the crude form. A common method was to take the fæces of boys, dry them, mix them with the best honey, and administer an an electuary. (At an earlier period such drugs appear to have met with some opposition from the Church, which seems to have seen in them only an application of magic: thus I note that in Burchard's remarkable Penitential of the fourteenth century, as reproduced by Wasserschleben, 40 days' penance is prescribed for the use of human urine or excrement as a medicine. Wasserschleben *Die Bussordnungen der Abendländlicher Kirche*, p. 651.)

V.

Exhibitionism—Illustrative Cases—A Symbolic Perversion of Courtship—The Impulse to Defile—The Exhibitionist's Psychic Attitude—The Sexual Organs as Fetichs—Phallus Worship—Adolescent Pride in Sexual Development—Exhibitionism of the Nates—The Classification of the Forms of Exhibitionism—Nature of the Relationship of Exhibitionism to Epilepsy.

THERE is a remarkable form of erotic symbolism—very definite and standing clearly apart from all other forms—in which sexual gratification is experienced in the simple act of exhibiting the sexual organ to persons of the opposite sex, usually by preference to young and presumably innocent persons, very often children. This is termed exhibitionism.[1] It would appear to be a not very infrequent phenomenon, and most women, once or more in their lives, especially when young, have encountered a man who has thus deliberately exposed himself before them.

The exhibitionist, though often a young and apparently vigorous man, is always satisfied with the mere act of self-exhibition and the emotional reaction which that act produces; he makes no demands on the woman to whom he exposes himself; he seldom speaks, he makes no effort to approach her; as a rule, he fails even to display the signs of sexual excitation. His desires are completely gratified by the act of exhibition and by the emotional reaction it arouses in the woman. He departs satisfied and relieved.

A case recorded by Schrenck-Notzing very well represents both the nature of the impulse felt by the exhibitionist and the way in which it may originate. It is the case of a business man of 49, of neurotic

[1] Lasègue first drew attention to this sexual perversion and gave it its generally accepted name, "Les Exhibitionistes," *L'Union Médicale*, May, 1877. Magnan, on various occasions (for example, "Les Exhibitionistes," *Archives de l'Anthropologie Criminelle*, vol v, 1890, p. 456), has given further development and precision to the clinical picture of the exhibitionist

heredity, an affectionate husband and father of a family, who, to his own grief and shame, is compelled from time to time to exhibit his sexual organs to women in the street. As a boy of 10 a girl of 12 tried to induce him to coitus; both had their sexual parts exposed. From that time sexual contacts, as of his own naked nates against those of a girl, became attractive, as well as games in which the boys and girls in turn marched before each other with their sexual parts exposed, and also imitation of the copulation of animals. Coitus was first practiced about the age of 20, but sight and touch of the woman's sexual parts were always necessary to produce sexual excitement. It was also necessary—and this consideration is highly important as regards the development of the tendency to exhibition—that the woman should be excited by the sight of his organs. Even when he saw or touched a woman's parts orgasm often occurred. It was the naked sexual organs in an otherwise clothed body which chiefly excited him. He was not possessed of a high degree of potency. Girls between the ages of 10 and 17 chiefly excited him, and especially if he felt that they were quite ignorant of sexual matters. His self-exhibition was a sort of psychic defloration, and it was accompanied by the idea that other people felt as he did about the sexual effects of the naked organs, that he was shocking but at the same time sexually exciting a young girl. He was thus gratifying himself through the belief that he was causing sexual gratification to an innocent girl. This man was convicted several times, and was finally declared to be suffering from impulsive insanity. (Schrenck-Notzing, *Kriminal-psychologische und Psycho-pathologische Studien*, 1902, pp. 50-57.) In another case of Schrenck-Notzing's, an actor and portrait painter, aged 31, in youth masturbated and was fond of contemplating the images of the sexual organs of both sexes, finding little pleasure in coitus. At the age of 24, at a bathing establishment, he happened to occupy a compartment next to that occupied by a lady, and when naked he became aware that his neighbor was watching him through a chink in the partition. This caused him powerful excitement and he was obliged to masturbate. Ever since he has had an impulse to exhibit his organs and to masturbate in the presence of women. He believes that the sight of his organs excites the woman (*Ib.*, pp. 57-68). The presence of masturbation in this case renders it untypical as a case of exhibitionism. Moll at one time went so far as to assert that when masturbation takes place we are not entitled to admit exhibitionism, (*Untersuchungen über die Libido Sexualis*, bd. i, p. 661), but now accepts exhibitionism with masturbation ("Perverse Sexualempfindung," *Krankheiten und Ehe*). The act of exhibition itself gratifies the sexual impulse, and usually it suffices to replace both tumescence and detumescence.

A fairly typical case, recorded by Krafft-Ebing, is that of a German factory worker of 37, a good, sober and intelligent workman. His

parents were healthy, but one of his mother's and also one of his father's sisters were insane; some of his relatives are eccentric in religion. He has a languishing expression and a smile of self-complacency. He never had any severe illness, but has always been eccentric and imaginative, much absorbed in romances (such as Dumas's novels) and fond of identifying himself with their heroes. No signs of epilepsy. In youth moderate masturbation, later moderate coitus. He lives a retired life, but is fond of elegant dress and of ornament. Though not a drinker, he sometimes makes himself a kind of punch which has a sexually exciting effect on him. The impulse to exhibitionism has only developed in recent years. When the impulse is upon him he becomes hot, his heart beats violently, the blood rushes to his head, and he is oblivious of everything around him that is not connected with his own act. Afterwards he regards himself as a fool and makes vain resolutions never to repeat the act. In exhibition the penis is only half erect and ejaculation never occurs. (He is only capable of coitus with a woman who shows great attraction to him.) He is satisfied with self-exhibition, and believes that he thus gives pleasure to the woman, since he himself receives pleasure in contemplating a woman's sexual parts. His erotic dreams are of self-exhibition to young and voluptuous women. He had been previously punished for an offense of this kind; medico-legal opinion now recognized the incriminated man's psychopathic condition. (Krafft-Ebing, *Op. cit.*, pp. 492-494.)

Trochon has reported the case of a married man of 33, a worker in a factory, who for several years had exhibited himself at intervals to shop-girls, etc., in a state of erection, but without speaking or making other advances. He was a hard-working, honest, sober man of quiet habits, a good father to his family and happy at home. He showed not the slightest sign of insanity. But he was taciturn, melancholic and nervous; a sister was an idiot. He was arrested, but on the report of the experts that he committed these acts from a morbid impulse he could not control he was released. (Trochon, *Archives de l'Anthropologie Criminelle*, 1888. p. 256.)

In a case of Freyer's (*Zeitschrift fur Medizinalbeamte*, third year, No. 8) the occasional connection of exhibitionism with epilepsy is well illustrated by a barber's assistant, aged 35, whose father suffered from chronic alcoholism and was also said to have committed the same kind of offense as his son. The mother and a sister suffered nervously. From ages of 7 to 18 the subject had epileptic convulsions. From 16 to 21 he indulged in normal sexual intercourse. At about that time he had often to pass a playground and at times would urinate there; it happened that the children watched him with curiosity. He noticed that when thus watched sexual excitement was caused, inducing erection and even ejaculation. He gradually found pleasure in this kind of

sexual gratification; finally he became indifferent to coitus. His erotic dreams, though still usually about normal coitus, were now sometimes concerned with exhibition before little girls. When overcome by the impulse he could see and hear nothing around him, though he did not lose consciousness. After the act was over he was troubled by his deed. In all other respects he was entirely reasonable. He was imprisoned many times for exhibiting himself to young schoolgirls, sometimes vaunting the beauty of his organs and inviting inspection. On one occasion he underwent mental examination, but was considered to be mentally sound. He was finally held to be a hereditarily tainted individual with neuropathic constitution. The head was abnormally broad, penis small, patellar reflex absent, and there were many signs of neurasthenia. (Krafft-Ebing, *Op. cit.*, pp. 490-492.)

The prevalence of epilepsy among exhibitionists is shown by the observations of Pelanda in Verona. He has recorded six cases of this perversion, all of which eventually reached the asylum and were either epileptics or with epileptic relations. One had a brother who was also an exhibitionist. In some cases the penis was abnormally large, in others abnormally small. Several had very weak sexual impulse; one, at the age of 62, had never effected coitus, and was proud of the fact that he was still a virgin, considering, he would say, the epoch of demoralization in which we live. (Pelanda, "Pornopatici," *Archivio di Psichiatria*, fasc. ii-iv, 1889.)

In a very typical case of exhibitionism which Garnier has recorded, a certain X., a gentleman engaged in business in Paris, had a predilection for exhibiting himself in churches, more especially in Saint-Roch. He was arrested several times for exposing his sexual organs here before ladies in prayer. In this way he finally ruined his commercial position in Paris and was obliged to establish himself in a small provincial town. Here again he soon exposed himself in a church and was again sent to prison, but on his liberation immediately performed the same act in the same church in what was described as a most imperturbable manner. Compelled to leave the town, he returned to Paris, and in a few weeks' time was again arrested for repeating his old offense in Saint Roch. When examined by Garnier, the information he supplied was vague and incomplete, and he was very embarrassed in the attempt to explain himself. He was unable to say why he chose a church, but he felt that it was to a church that he must go. He had, however, no thought of profanation and no wish to give offense. "Quite the contrary!" he declared. He had the sad and tired air of a man who is dominated by a force stronger than his will. "I know," he added, "what repulsion my conduct must inspire. Why am I made thus? Who will cure me?" (P. Garnier, "Perversions Sexuelles," *Comptes Rendus*, International Congress of Medicine at Paris in 1900, *Section de Psychiatrie*, pp. 433-435.)

In some cases, it would appear, the impulse to exhibitionism may be overcome or may pass away. This result is the more likely to come about in those cases in which exhibitionism has been largely conditioned by chronic alcoholism or other influences tending to destroy the inhibiting and restraining action of the higher centers, which may be overcome by hygiene and treatment. In this connection I may bring forward a case which has been communicated to me by a medical correspondent in London. It is that of an actor, of high standing in his profession and extremely intelligent, 49 years of age, married and father of a large family. He is sexually vigorous and of erotic temperament. His general health has always been good, but he is a high-strung, neurotic man, with quick mental reactions. His habits had for a long time been decidedly alcoholic, but two years ago, a small quantity of albumen being found in the urine, he was persuaded to leave off alcohol, and has since been a teetotaller. Though ordinarily very reticent about sexual matters, he began four or five years ago to commit acts of exhibitionism, exposing himself to servants in the house and occasionally to women in the country. This continued after the alcohol had been abandoned and lasted for several years, though the attention of the police was never attracted to the matter, and so far as possible he was quietly supervised by his friends. Nine months after, the acts of exhibitionism ceased, apparently in a spontaneous manner, and there has so far been no relapse.

Exhibitionism is an act which, on the face of it, seems nonsensical and meaningless, and as such, as an inexplicable act of madness, it has frequently been treated both by writers on insanity and on sexual perversion. "These acts are so lacking in common sense and intelligent reflection that no other reason than insanity can be offered for the patient," Ball concluded.[1] Moll, also, who defines exhibitionism somewhat too narrowly as a condition in which "the charm of the exhibition lies for the subject in the display itself," not sufficiently taking into consideration the imagined effect on the spectator, concludes that "the psychological basis of exhibitionism is at present by no means cleared up."[2]

We may probably best approach exhibitionism by regarding it as fundamentally a symbolic act based on a perversion of courtship. The exhibitionist displays the organ of sex to a

[1] B. Ball, *La Folie Erotique*, p 86.
[2] Moll, *Untersuchungen uber die Libido Sexualis*, bd. i, p. 661.

feminine witness, and in the shock of modest sexual shame by which she reacts to that spectacle, he finds a gratifying similitude of the normal emotions of coitus.[1] He feels that he has effected a psychic defloration.

Exhibitionism is thus analogous, and, indeed, related, to the impulse felt by many persons to perform indecorous acts or tell indecent stories before young and innocent persons of the opposite sex. This is a kind of psychic exhibitionism, the gratification it causes lying exactly, as in physical exhibitionism, in the emotional confusion which it is felt to arouse. The two kinds of exhibitionism may be combined in the same person: Thus, in a case reported by Hoche (p. 97), the exhibitionist an intellectual and highly educated man, with a doctor's degree, also found pleasure in sending indecent poems and pictures to women, whom, however, he made no attempt to seduce; he was content with the thought of the emotions he aroused or believed that he aroused.

It is possible that within this group should come the agent in the following incident which was lately observed by a lady, a friend of my own. An elderly man in an overcoat was seen standing outside a large and well-known draper's shop in the outskirts of London; when able to attract the attention of any of the shop-girls or of any girl in the street he would fling back his coat and reveal that he was wearing over his own clothes a woman's chemise (or possibly bodice) and a woman's drawers; there was no exposure The only intelligible explanation of this action would seem to be that pleasure was experienced in the mild shock of interested surprise and injured modesty which this vision was imagined to cause to a young girl. It would thus be a comparatively innocent form of psychic defloration.

It is of interest to point out that the sexual symbolism of active flagellation is very closely analogous to this symbolism of exhibitionism. The flagellant approaches a woman with the rod (itself a symbol of the penis and in some countries bearing names which are also applied to that organ) and inflicts on an

[1] "Exhibitionism in its most typical form is," Garnier truly says, "a *systematic act*, manifesting itself as the *strange equivalent of a sexual connection*, or its *substitution*." The brief account of exhibitionism (pp. 433-437) in Garnier's discussion of "Perversions Sexuelles" at the International Medical Congress at Paris in 1900 (*Section de Psychiatrie: Comptes-Rendus*) is the most satisfactory statement of the psychological aspects of this perversion with which I am acquainted. Garnier's unrivalled clinical knowledge of these manifestations, due to his position during many years as physician at the Depôt of the Prefecture of Police in Paris, adds great weight to his conclusions.

intimate part of her body the signs of blushing and the spasmodic movements which are associated with sexual excitement, while at the same time she feels, or the flagellant imagines that she feels, the corresponding emotions of delicious shame.[1] This is an even closer mimicry of the sexual act than the exhibitionist attains, for the latter fails to secure the consent of the woman nor does he enjoy any intimate contact with her naked body. The difference is connected with the fact that the active flagellant is usually a more virile and normal person than the exhibitionist. In the majority of cases the exhibitionist's sexual impulse is very feeble, and as a rule he is either to some degree a degenerate, or else a person who is suffering from an early stage of general paralysis, dementia, or some other highly enfeebling cause of mental disorganization, such as chronic alcoholism. Sexual feebleness is further indicated by the fact that the individuals selected as witnesses are frequently mere children

It seems probable that a form of erotic symbolism somewhat similar to exhibitionism is to be found in the rare cases in which sexual gratification is derived from throwing ink, acid or other defiling liquids on women's dresses. Thoinet has recorded a case of this kind (*Attentats aux Moeurs*, 1898, pp. 484, *et seq.*). An instructive case has been presented by Moll. In this case a young man of somewhat neuropathic heredity had as a youth of 16 or 17, when romping with his young sister's playfellows, experienced sexual sensations on chancing to see their white underlinen. From that time white underlinen and white dresses became to him a fetich and he was only attracted to women so attired. One day, at the age of 25, when crossing the street in wet weather with a young lady in a white dress, a passing vehicle splashed the dress with mud. This incident caused him strong sexual excitement, and from that time he had the impulse to throw ink, perchloride of iron, etc., on to ladies' white dresses, and sometimes to cut and tear them, sexual excitement and ejaculation taking place every time he effected this. (Moll, "Gutachten über einem Sexual Perversen [Besudelungstrieb]," *Zeitschrift für Medizinalbeamte*, Heft XIII, 1900). Such a case is of considerable psychological interest. Thoinet considers that in these cases the fleck is a fetich. That is an incorrect account of the matter. In this case the

[1] The symbolism of coitus involved in flagellation has been touched on by Eulenburg (*Sexuale Neuropathie*, p. 121), and is more fully developed by Dühren (*Geschlechtsleben in England*, bd. ii, pp. 366, *et seq.*).

white garments constituted the primary fetich, but that fetich becomes more acutely realized, and at the same time both parties are thrown into an emotional state which to the fetichist becomes a mimicry of coitus, by the act of defilement. We may perhaps connect with this phenomenon the attraction which muddy shoes often exert over the shoe-fetichist, and the curious way in which, as we have seen (p. 18), Restif de la Bretonne associates his love of neatness in women with his attraction to the feet, the part, he remarks, least easy to keep clean.

Garnier applied the term *sadi-fetichism* to active flagellation and many similar manifestations such as we are here concerned with, on the grounds that they are hybrids which combine the morbid adoration for a definite object with the impulse to exercise a more or less degree of violence. From the standpoint of the conception of erotic symbolism I have adopted there is no need for this term. There is here no hybrid combination of two unlike mental states. We are simply concerned with states of erotic symbolism, more or less complete, more or less complex.

The conception of exhibitionism as a process of erotic symbolism, involves a conscious or unconscious attitude of attention in the exhibitionist's mind to the psychic reaction of the woman toward whom his display is directed. He seeks to cause an emotion which, probably in most cases, he desires should be pleasurable. But from one cause or another his finer sensibilities are always inhibited or in abeyance, and he is unable to estimate accurately either the impression he is likely to produce or the general results of his action, or else he is moved by a strong impulsive obsession which overpowers his judgment. In many cases he has good reason for believing that his act will be pleasurable, and frequently he finds complacent witnesses among the low-class servant girls, etc.

It may be pointed out here that we are quite justified in speaking of a penis-fetichism and also of a vulva-fetichism. This might be questioned. We are obviously justified in recognizing a fetichism which attaches itself to the pubic hair, or, as in a case with which I am acquainted, to the clitoris, but it may seem that we cannot regard the central sexual organs as symbols of sex, symbols, as it were, of themselves. Properly regarded, however, it is the sexual act rather than the sexual organ which is craved in normal sexual desire; the organ is regarded merely as the means and not as the end. Regarded as a means the organ is indeed an object of desire, but it only becomes a fetich when it arrests and fixes the attention. An attention thus pleasurably fixed, a vulva-fetichism or a penis-fetichism, is within the normal range

of sexual emotion (this point has been mentioned in the previous volume when discussing the part played by the primary sexual organs in sexual selection), and in coarse-grained natures of either sex it is a normal allurement in its generalized shape, apart from any attraction to the person to whom the organs belong. In some morbid cases, however, this penis-fetichism may become a fully developed sexual perversion. A typical case of this kind has been recorded by Howard in the United States. Mrs. W., aged 39, was married at 20 to a strong, healthy man. but derived no pleasure from coitus, though she received great pleasure from masturbation practiced immediately after coitus, and nine years after marriage she ceased actual coitus, compelling her husband to adopt mutual masturbation. She would introduce men into the house at all times of the day or night, and after persuading them to expose their persons would retire to her room to masturbate. The same man never aroused desire more than once. This desire became so violent and persistent that she would seek out men in all sorts of public places and, having induced them to expose themselves, rapidly retreat to the nearest convenient spot for self-gratification. She once abstracted a pair of trousers she had seen a man wear and after fondling them experienced the orgasm. Her husband finally left her, after vainly attempting to have her confined in an asylum. She was often arrested for her actions, but through the intervention of friends set free again. She was a highly intelligent woman, and apart from this perversion entirely normal. (W. L. Howard, "Sexual Perversion," *Alienist and Neurologist*, January, 1896.) It is on the existence of a more or less developed penis-fetichism of this kind that the exhibitionist, mostly by an ignorant instinct, relies for the effects he desires to produce.

The exhibitionist is not usually content to produce a mere titillated amusement; he seeks to produce a more powerful effect which must be emotional whether or not it is pleasurable. A professional man in Strassburg (in a case reported by Hoche[1]) would walk about in the evening in a long cloak, and when he met ladies would suddenly throw his cloak back under a street lamp, or igniting a red-fire match, and thus exhibit his organs. There was an evident effort—on the part of a weak, vain, and effeminate man—to produce a maximum of emotional effect. The attempt to heighten the emotional shock is also seen in the fact that the exhibitionist frequently chooses a church as the scene of his exploits, not during service, for he

[1] A. Hoche, *Neurologische Centralblatt*, 1896, No. 2.

always avoids a concourse of people, but perhaps toward evening when there are only a few kneeling women scattered through the edifice. The church is chosen, often instinctively rather than deliberately, from no impulse to commit a sacrilegious outrage—which, as a rule, the exhibitionist does not feel his act to be—but because it really presents the conditions most favorable to the act and the effects desired. The exhibitionist's attitude of mind is well illustrated by one of Garnier's patients who declared that he never wished to be seen by more than two women at once, "just what is necessary," he added, "for an exchange of impressions." After each exhibition he would ask himself anxiously: "Did they see me? What are they thinking? What do they say to each other about me? Oh! how I should like to know!" Another patient of Garnier's, who haunted churches for this purpose, made this very significant statement: "Why do I like going to churches? I can scarcely say. *But I know that it is only there that my act has its full importance.* The woman is in a devout frame of mind, and she must see that such an act in such a place is not a joke in bad taste or a disgusting obscenity; *that if I go there it is not to amuse myself; it is more serious than that!* I watch the effect produced on the faces of the ladies to whom I show my organs. I wish to see them express a profound joy. I wish, in fact, that they may be forced to say to themselves: *How impressive Nature is when thus seen!*"

Here we trace the presence of a feeling which recalls the phenomena of the ancient and world-wide phallic worship, still liable to reappear sporadically. Women sometimes took part in these rites, and the osculation of the male sexual organ or its emblematic representation by women is easily traceable in the phallic rites of India and many other lands, not excluding Europe even in comparatively recent times. (Dulaure in his *Divinités Génératrices* brings together much bearing on these points; *cf.*: Ploss and Bartels, *Das Weib*, vol. i, Chapter XVII, and Bloch, *Beitrage zur Psychopathia Sexualis*, Teil I, pp. 115-117. Colin Scott has some interesting remarks on phallic worship and the part it has played in aiding human evolution, "Sex and Art," *American Journal of Psychology*, vol. vii, No. 2, pp. 191-197. Irving Rosse describes some modern phallic rites in which both men and women took part, similar to those practiced in vaudouism, "Sexual Hypochondriasis," *Virginia Medical Monthly*, October, 1892.)

Putting aside any question of phallic worship, a certain pride and more or less private feeling of ostentation in the new expansion and development of the organs of virility seems to be almost normal at adolescence. "We have much reason to assume," Stanley Hall remarks, "that in a state of nature there is a certain instinctive pride and ostentation that accompanies the new local development. I think it will be found that exhibitionists are usually those who have excessive growth here, and that much that modern society stigmatizes as obscene is at bottom more or less spontaneous and perhaps in some cases not abnormal. Dr. Seerley tells me he has never examined a young man largely developed who had the usual strong instinctive tendency of modesty to cover himself with his hands, but he finds this instinct general with those whose development is less than the average." (G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence*, vol. ii, p. 97.) This instinct of ostentation, however, so far as it is normal, is held in check by other considerations, and is not, in the strict sense, exhibitionism. I have observed a full-grown telegraph boy walking across Hampstead Heath with his sexual organs exposed, but immediately he realized that he was seen he concealed them. The solemnity of exhibitionism at this age finds expression in the climax of the sonnet, "Oraison du Soir," written at 16 by Rimbaud, whose verse generally is a splendid and insolent manifestation of rank adolescence:—

"Doux comme le Seigneur du cèdre et des hysopes,
Je pisse vers les cieux bruns très haut et très loin,
Avec l'assentiment des grands héliotropes."

(J. A. Rimbaud, *Œuvres*, p. 68.)

In women, also, there would appear to be traceable a somewhat similar ostentation, though in them it is complicated and largely inhibited by modesty, and at the same time diffused over the body owing to the absence of external sexual organs. "Primitive woman," remarks Madame Renooz, "proud of her womanhood, for a long time defended her nakedness which ancient art has always represented. And in the actual life of the young girl to-day there is a moment when by a secret atavism she feels the pride of her sex, the intuition of her moral superiority, and cannot understand why she must hide its cause. At this moment, wavering between the laws of Nature and social conventions, she scarcely knows if nakedness should or should not affright her. A sort of confused atavistic memory recalls to her a period before clothing was known, and reveals to her as a paradisiacal ideal the customs of that human epoch." (Celine Renooz, *Psychologie Comparée de l'Homme et de la Femme*, p. 85.) It may be added that among primitive peoples, and even among some remote European populations to-day, the exhibition of feminine nudity has sometimes been regarded as a spectacle with religious or magic operation. Ploss, *Das Weib*, seventh edition, vol. ii,

pp. 663-680; Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman*, fourth edition, p. 304.) It is stated by Gopcevic that in the long struggle between the Albanians and the Montenegrians the women of the former people would stand in the front rank and expose themselves by raising their skirts, believing that they would thus insure victory. As, however, they were shot down, and as, moreover, victory usually fell to the Montenegrians, this custom became discredited. (Quoted by Bloch, *Op. cit.*, Teil II, p. 307.)

With regard to the association, suggested by Stanley Hall, between exhibitionism and an unusual degree of development of the sexual organs, it must be remarked that both extremes—a very large and a very small penis—are specially common in exhibitionists. The prevalence of the small organ is due to an association of exhibitionism with sexual feebleness. The prevalence of the large organ may be due to the cause suggested by Hall. Among Mahommedans the sexual organs are sometimes habitually exposed by religious penitents, and I note that Bernhard Stern, in his book on the medical and sexual aspects of life in Turkey, referring to a penitent of this sort whom he saw on the Stamboul bridge at Constantinople, remarks that the organ was very largely developed. It may well be in such a case that the penitent's religious attitude is reinforced by some lingering relic of a more fleshly ostentation.

It is by a pseudo-atavism that this phallicism is evoked in the exhibitionist. There is no true emergence of an ancestrally inherited instinct, but by the paralysis or inhibition of the finer and higher feelings current in civilization, the exhibitionist is placed on the same mental level as the man of a more primitive age, and he thus presents the basis on which the impulses belonging to a higher culture may naturally take root and develop.

Reference may here be made to a form of primitive exhibitionism, almost confined to women, which, although certainly symbolic, is absolutely non-sexual, and must not, therefore, be confused with the phenomena we are here occupied with. I refer to the exhibition of the buttocks as a mark of contempt. In its most primitive form, no doubt, this exhibitionism is a kind of exorcism, a method of putting evil spirits, primarily, and secondarily evil-disposed persons, to flight. It is the most effective way for a woman to display sexual centers, and it shares in the magical virtues which all unveiling of the sexual centers is believed by primitive peoples to possess. It is recorded that the women of some peoples in the Balkan peninsula formerly used this gesture against enemies in battle. In the sixteenth century so distinguished a theologian as Luther when assailed by the Evil One at night was able to put the adversary to flight by protruding his uncovered buttocks

from the bed. But the spiritual significance of this attitude is lost with the decay of primitive beliefs. It survives, but merely as a gesture of insult. The symbolism comes to have reference to the nates as the excretory focus, the seat of the anus. In any case it ignores any sexual attractiveness in this part of the body. Exhibitionism of this kind, therefore, can scarcely arise in persons of any sensitiveness or æsthetic perception, even putting aside the question of modesty, and there seems to be little trace of it in classic antiquity when the nates were regarded as objects of beauty. Among the Egyptians, however, we gather from Herodotus (Bk. II, Chapter LX) that at a certain popular religious festival men and women would go in boats on the Nile, singing and playing, and when they approached a town the women on the boats would insult the women of the town by injurious language and by exposing themselves. Among the Arabs, however, the specific gesture we are concerned with is noted, and a man to whom vengeance is forbidden would express his feelings by exposing his posterior and strewing earth on his head (Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums*, 1897, p. 195). It is in Europe and in mediæval and later times that this emphatic gesture seems to have flourished as a violent method of expressing contempt. It was by no means confined to the lower classes. and Kleinpaul, in discussing this form of "speech without words," quotes examples of various noble persons, even princesses, who are recorded thus to have expressed their feelings. (Kleinpaul, *Sprache ohne Worte*, pp. 271-273.) In more recent times the gesture has become merely a rare and extreme expression of unrestrained feeling in coarse-grained peasants. Zola, in the figure of Mouquette in *Germinal*, may be said to have given a kind of classic expression to the gesture. In the more remote parts of Europe it appears to be still not altogether uncommon. This seems to be notably the case among the South Slavs, and Krauss states that "when a South Slav woman wishes to express her deepest contempt for anyone she bends forward, with left hand raising her skirts, and with the right slapping her posterior, at the same time exclaiming: 'This for you!'" (*Κρυπτάδια*, vol. vi, p. 200.)

A verbal survival of this gesture, consisting in the contemptuous invitation to kiss this region, still exists among us in remote parts of the country, especially as an insult offered by an angry woman who forgets herself. It is said to be commonly used in Wales. ("Welsh Ædœology," *Κρυπτάδια*, vol. ii, pp. 358, *et seq.*) In Cornwall, when addressed by a woman to a man it is sometimes regarded as a deadly insult, even if the woman is young and attractive, and may cause a life-long enmity between related families. From this point of view the nates are a symbol of contempt, and any sexual significance is excluded. (The distinction is brought out by Diderot in *Le Neveu de Rameau:* "*Lui:*— Il y a d'autres jours où il ne m'en coûterait rien pour être vil tant

qu'on voudrait; ces jours-là, pour un liard, je baiserais le cul à la petite Hus. *Moi:*—Eh! mais, l'ami, elle est blanche, jolie, douce, potelée, et c'est un acte d'humilité auquel un plus delicat que vous pourrait quelquefois s'abaisser. *Lui:*—Entendons-nous; c'est qu'il y a baiser le cul au simple, et baiser le cul au figuré.")

It must be added that a sexual form of exhibitionism of the nates must still be recognized. It occurs in masochism and expresses the desire for passive flagellation. Rousseau, whose emotional life was profoundly affected by the castigations which as a child he received from Mlle Lambercier, has in his *Confessions* told us how, when a youth, he would sometimes expose himself in this way in the presence of young women. Such masochistic exhibitionism seems, however, to be rare.

While the manifestations of exhibitionism are substantially the same in all cases, there are many degrees and varieties of the condition. We may find among exhibitionists, as Garnier remarks, dementia, states of unconsciousness, epilepsy, general paralysis, alcoholism, but the most typical cases, he adds, if not indeed the cases to which the term properly belongs, are those in which it is an impulsive obsession. Krafft-Ebing[1] divides exhibitionists into four clinical groups: (1) acquired states of mental weakness, with cerebral or spinal disease clouding consciousness and at the same time causing impotence; (2) epileptics, in whom the act is an abnormal organic impulse performed in a state of imperfect consciousness; (3) a somewhat allied group of neurasthenic cases; (4) periodical impulsive cases with deep hereditary taint. This classification is not altogether satisfactory. Garnier's classification, placing the group of obsessional cases in the foreground and leaving the other more vaguely defined groups in the background, is probably better. I am inclined to consider that most of the cases fall into one or other of two mixed groups. The first class includes cases in which there is more or less congenital abnormality, but otherwise a fair or even complete degree of mental integrity; they are usually young adults, they are more or less precisely conscious of the end they wish to attain, and it is often only with a severe struggle that they yield to their impulses. In the second class the

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 478, *et seq.*

beginnings of mental or nervous disease have diminished the sensibility of the higher centers; the subjects are usually old men whose lives have been absolutely correct; they are often only vaguely aware of the nature of the satisfaction they are seeking, and frequently no struggle precedes the manifestation; such was the case of the overworked clergyman described by Hughes,[1] who, after much study, became morose and absent-minded, and committed acts of exhibitionism which he could not explain but made no attempt to deny; with rest and restorative treatment his health improved and the acts ceased. It is in the first class of cases alone that there is a developed sexual perversion. In the cases of the second class there is a more or less definite sexual intention, but it is only just conscious, and the emergence of the impulse is due not to its strength but to the weakness, temporary or permanent, of the higher inhibiting centers.

Epileptic cases, with loss of consciousness during the act, can only be regarded as presenting a pseudo-exhibitionism. They should be excluded altogether. It is undoubtedly true that many cases of real or apparent exhibitionism occur in epileptics.[2] We must not, however, too hastily conclude that because these acts occur in epileptics they are necessarily unconscious acts. Epilepsy frequently occurs on a basis of hereditary degeneration, and the exhibitionism may be, and not infrequently is, a stigma of the degeneracy and not an indication of the occurrence of a minor epileptic fit. When the act of pseudo-exhibitionism is truly epileptic, it will usually have no psychic sexual content, and it will certainly be liable to occur under all sorts of circumstances, when the patient is alone or in a miscellaneous concourse of people. It will be on a level with the acts of the highly respectable young woman who, at the conclusion of an attack of *petit mal*, consisting chiefly of a sudden desire to pass urine, on

[1] C. H. Hughes, "Morbid Exhibitionism," *Alienist and Neurologist*, August, 1904. Another somewhat similar American case, also preceded by overwork, and eventually adjudged insane by the courts, is recorded by D. S. Booth, *Alienist and Neurologist*, February, 1905.

[2] Exhibitionism in epilepsy is briefly discussed by Féré, *L'Instinct Sexuel*, second edition, pp. 194-195.

one occasion lifted up her clothes and urinated at a public entertainment, so that it was with difficulty her friends prevented her from being handed over to the police.[1] Such an act is automatic, unconscious, and involuntary; the spectators are not even perceived; it cannot be an act of exhibitionism. Whenever, on the other hand, the place and the time are evidently chosen deliberately,—a quiet spot, the presence of only one or two young women or children,—it is difficult to admit that we are in the presence of a fit of epileptic unconsciousness, even when the subject is known to be epileptic.

Even, however, when we exclude those epileptic pseudo-exhibitionists who, from the legal point of view, are clearly irresponsible, it must still be remembered that in every case of exhibitionism there is a high degree of either mental abnormality on a neuropathic basis, or else of actual disease. This is true to a greater extent in exhibitionism than in almost any other form of sexual perversion. No subject of exhibitionism should be sent to prison without expert medical examination.

[1] W. S. Colman, "Post-Epileptic Unconscious Automatic Actions," *Lancet*, July 5, 1890.

VI.

The Forms of Erotic Symbolism are Simulacra of Coitus—Wide Extension of Erotic Symbolism—Fetichism Not Covering the Whole Ground of Sexual Selection—It is Based on the Individual Factor in Selection—Crystallization—The Lover and the Artist—The Key to Erotic Symbolism to be Found in the Emotional Sphere—The Passage to Pathological Extremes.

We have now examined several very various and yet very typical manifestations in all of which it is not difficult to see how, in some strange and eccentric form—on a basis of association through resemblance or contiguity or both combined—there arises a definite mimicry of the normal sexual act together with the normal emotions which accompany that act. It has become clear in what sense we are justified in recognizing erotic symbolism.

The symbolic and, as it were, abstracted nature of these manifestations is shown by the remarkable way in which they are sometimes capable of transference from the object to the subject. That is to say that the fetichist may show a tendency to cultivate his fetich in his own person. A foot-fetichist may like to go barefoot himself; a man who admired lame women liked to halt himself; a man who was attracted by small waists in women found sexual gratification in tight-lacing himself; a man who was fascinated by fine white skin and wished to eat it found satisfaction in cutting his own skin. Moll's coprolagnic fetichist found a voluptuous pleasure in his own acts of defecation. (See, *e.g.*, Krafft-Ebing, *Op. cit.*, p. 221, 224, 226; Hammond, *Sexual Impotence*, p. 74; *cf.* ante, p. 68.) Such symbolic transference seems to have a profoundly natural basis, for we may see a somewhat similar phenomenon in the well-known tendency of cows to mount a cow in heat. This would appear to be, not so much a homosexual impulse, as the dynamic psychic action of an olfactory sexual symbol in a transformed form.

We seem to have here a psychic process which is a curious reversal of that process of *Einfuhlung*—the projection of one's own activities into the object contemplated—which Lipps has so fruitfully developed as the essence of every æsthetic condition. (T. Lipps, *Æsthetik*, Teil I, 1903.) By *Einfühlung* our own interior activity becomes the activity

of the object perceived, a thing being beautiful in proportion as it lends itself to our *Einfühlung*. But by this action of erotic symbolism, on the other hand, we transfer the activity of the object into ourselves.

When the idea of erotic symbolism as manifested in such definite and typical forms becomes realized, it further becomes clear that the vaguer manifestations of such symbolism are exceedingly widespread. When in a previous volume we were discussing and drawing together the various threads which unite "Love and Pain," it will now be understood that we were standing throughout on the threshold of erotic symbolism. Pain itself, in the sense in which we slowly learned to define it in this relationship—as a state of intense emotional excitement—may, under a great variety of special circumstances, become an erotic symbol and afford the same relief as the emotions normally accompanying the sexual act. Active algolagnia or sadism is thus a form of erotic symbolism; passive algolagnia or masochism is (in a man) an inverted form of erotic symbolism. Active flagellation or passive flagellation are, in exactly the same way, manifestations of erotic symbolism, the imaginative mimicry of coitus.

Binet and also Krafft-Ebing[1] have argued in effect that the whole of sexual selection is a matter of fetichism, that is to say, of erotic symbolism of object. "Normal love," Binet states, "appears as the result of a complicated fetichism." Tarde also seems to have regarded love as normally a kind of fetichism. "We are a long time before we fall in love with a woman," he remarks; "we must wait to see the detail which strikes and delights us, and causes us to overlook what displeases us. Only in normal love the details are many and always changing. Constancy in love is rarely anything else but a voyage around the beloved person, a voyage of exploration and ever new discoveries. The most faithful lover does not love the same woman in the same way for two days in succession."[2]

[1] Binet, *Etudes de Psychologie Expérimentale*, esp., p. 84; Krafft-Ebing, *Op. cit.*, p 18.

[2] G. Tarde, "L'Amour Morbide," *Archives de l'Anthropologie Criminelle*, 1890, p. 585.

From that point of view normal sexual love is the sway of a fetich—more or less arbitrary, more or less (as Binet terms it) polytheistic—and it can have little objective basis. But, as we saw when considering "Sexual Selection in Man" in the previous volume, more especially when analyzing the notion of beauty, we are justified in believing that beauty has to a large extent an objective basis, and that love by no means depends simply on the capricious selection of some individual fetich. The individual factor, as we saw, is but one of many factors which constitute beauty. In the study of sexual selection that individual factor was passed over very lightly. We now see that it is often a factor of great importance, for in it are rooted all these outgrowths—normal in their germs, highly abnormal in their more extreme developments—which make up erotic symbolism.

Erotic symbolism is therefore concerned with all that is least generic, least specific, all that is most intimately personal and individual, in sexual selection. It is the final point in which the decreasing circle of sexual attractiveness is fixed. In the widest and most abstract form sexual selection in man is merely human, and we are atttracted to that which bears most fully the marks of humanity; in a less abstract form it is sexual, and we are attracted to that which most vigorously presents the secondary sexual characteristics; still narrowing, it is the type of our own nation and people that appeals most strongly to us in matters of love; and still further concentrating we are affected by the ideal—in civilization most often the somewhat exotic ideal—of our own day, the fashion of our own city. But the individual factor still remains, and amid the infinite possibilities of erotic symbolism the individual may evolve an ideal which is often, as far as he knows and perhaps in actuality, an absolutely unique event in the history of the human soul.

Erotic symbolism works in its finer manifestations by means of the idealizing aptitudes; it is the field of sexual psychology in which that faculty of crystallization, on which Stendhal loved to dwell, achieves its most brilliant results. In the solitary passage in which we seem to see a smile on the face of the austere

poet of the *De Rerum Naturâ*, Lucretius tells us how every lover, however he may be amused by the amorous extravagances of other men, is himself blinded by passion: if his mistress is black she is a fascinating brunette, if she squints she is the rival of Pallas, if too tall she is majestic, if too short she is one of the Graces, *tota merum sal;* if too lean it is her delicate refinement, if too fat then a Ceres, dirty and she disdains adornment, a chatterer and brilliantly vivacious, silent and it is her exquisite modesty.[1] Sixteen hundred years later Robert Burton, when describing the symptoms of love, made out a long and appalling list of the physical defects which the lover is prepared to admire.[2]

Yet we must not be too certain that the lover is wrong in this matter. We too hastily assume that the casual and hasty judgment of the world is necessarily more reliable, more conformed to what we call "truth," than the judgment of the lover which is founded on absorbed and patient study. In some cases where there is lack of intelligence in the lover and dissimulation in the object of his love, it may be so. But even a poem or a picture will often not reveal its beauty except by the expenditure of time and study. It is foolish to expect that the secret beauty of a human person will reveal itself more easily. The lover is an artist, an artist who constructs an image, it is true, but only by patient and concentrated attention to nature: he knows the defects of his image, probably better than anyone, but he knows also that art lies, not in the avoidance of defects, but in the realization of those traits which swallow up defects and so render them non-existent. A great artist, Rodin, after a life spent in the study of Nature, has declared that for art there is no ugliness in Nature. "I have arrived at this belief by the study of Nature," he said; "I can only grasp the beauty of the soul by the beauty of the body, but some day one will come who will explain what I only catch a glimpse of and will declare how the whole earth is beautiful, and all human beings beautiful. I have never been able to say this in sculpture so well as I wish

[1] Lucretius, Lib. IV, vv. 1150-1163.
[2] Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part III, Section II, Mem. III, Subs. I.

and as I feel it affirmed within me. For poets Beauty has always been some particular landscape, some particular woman; but it should be all women, all landscapes. A negro or a Mongol has his beauty, however remote from ours, and it must be the same with their characters. There is no ugliness. When I was young I made that mistake, as others do; I could not undertake a woman's bust unless I thought her pretty, according to my particular idea of beauty; to-day I should do the bust of any woman, and it would be just as beautiful. And however ugly a woman may look, when she is with her lover she becomes beautiful; there is beauty in her character, in her passions, and beauty exists as soon as character or passion becomes visible, for the body is a casting on which passions are imprinted. And even without that, there is always the blood that flows in the veins and the air that fills the lungs."[1]

The saint, also, is here at one with the lover and the artist. The man who has so profoundly realized the worth of his fellow men that he is ready even to die in order to save them, feels that he has discovered a great secret. Cyples traces the "secret delights" that have thus risen in the hearts of holy men to the same source as the feelings generated between lovers, friends, parents, and children. "A few have at intervals walked in the world," he remarks, "who have, each in his own original way, found out this marvel. . . . Straightway man in general has become to them so sweet a thing that the infatuation has seemed to the rest of their fellows to be a celestial madness. Beggars' rags to their unhesitating lips grew fit for kissing, because humanity had touched the garb; there were no longer any menial acts, but only welcome services. . . . Remember by how much man is the subtlest circumstance in the world; at how many points he can attach relationships; how manifold and perennial he is in his results. All other things are dull, meager, tame beside him."[1]

[1] Judith Cladel, *Auguste Rodin Pris sur la Vie*, 1903, pp 103-104. Some slight modifications have been made in the translation of this passage on account of the conversational form of the original.

[1] W. Cyples, *The Process of Human Experience*, p. 462. Even if (as we have already seen, *ante*, p. 58) the saint cannot always feel actual

It may be added that even if we still believe that lover and artist and saint are drawing the main elements of their conceptions from the depths of their own consciousness, there is a sense in which they are coming nearer to the truth of things than those for whom their conceptions are mere illusions. The *aptitude for realizing beauty has involved an adjustment of the* nerves and the associated brain centers through countless ages that began before man was. When the vision of supreme beauty is slowly or suddenly realized by anyone, with a reverberation that extends throughout his organism, he has attained to something which for his species, and for far more than his species, is truth, and can only be illusion to one who has artificially placed himself outside the stream of life.

In an essay on "The Gods as Apparitions of the Race-Life," Edward Carpenter, though in somewhat Platonic phraseology, thus well states the matter: "The youth sees the girl; it may be a chance face, a chance outline, amid the most banal surroundings. But it gives the cue. There is a memory, a confused reminiscence. The mortal figure without penetrates to the immortal figure within, and there rises into consciousness a shining form, glorious, not belonging to this world, but vibrating with the agelong life of humanity, and the memory of a thousand love-dreams. The waking of this vision intoxicates the man; it glows and burns within him; a goddess (it may be Venus herself) stands in the sacred place of his temple; a sense of awe-struck splendor fills him, and the world is changed." "He sees something" (the same writer continues in a subsequent essay, "Beauty and Duty") "which, in a sense, is more real than the figures in the street, for he sees something that has lived *and moved for hundreds of years in the heart of the race*; *something* which has been one of the great formative influences of his own life, and which has done as much to create those very figures in the street as qualities in the circulation of the blood may do to form a finger or other limb. He comes into touch with a very real Presence or Power—one of those organic centers of growth in the life of humanity—and feels this larger life within himself, subjective, if you like, and yet intensely objective. And more. For is it not also evident that the woman, the mortal woman who excites his Vision, *has* some closest relation to it, and is, indeed, far more than a mere mask or empty formula which reminds him of it? For she indeed has within her, just as much as the

physical pleasure in the intimate contact of humanity. the ardor of devoted service which his vision of humanity arouses remains unaffected.

man has, deep subconscious Powers working; and the ideal which has dawned so entrancingly on the man is in all probability closely related to that which has been working most powerfully in the heredity of the woman, and which has most contributed to mold *her* form and outline. No wonder, then, that her form should remind him of it. Indeed, when he looks into her eyes he sees *through* to a far deeper life even than she herself may be aware of, and yet which is truly hers—a life perennial and wonderful. The more than mortal in him beholds the more than mortal in her; and the gods descend to meet." (Edward Carpenter, *The Art of Creation*, pp. 137, 186.)

It is this mighty force which lies behind and beneath the aberrations we have been concerned with, a great reservoir from which they draw the life-blood that vivifies even their most fantastic shapes. Fetichism and the other forms of erotic symbolism are but the development and the isolation of the crystallizations which normally arise on the basis of sexual selection. Normal in their basis, in their extreme forms they present the utmost pathological aberrations of the sexual instinct which can be attained or conceived. In the intermediate space all degrees are possible. In the slightest degree the symbol is merely a specially fascinating and beloved feature in a person who is, in all other respects, felt to be lovable; as such its recognition is a legitimate part of courtship, an effective aid to tumescence. In a further degree the symbol is the one arresting and attracting character of a person who must, however, still be felt as a sexually attractive individual. In a still further degree of perversion the symbol is effective, even though the person with whom it is associated is altogether unattractive. In the final stage the person and even all association with a person disappear altogether from the field of sexual consciousness; the abstract symbol rules supreme.

Long, however, before the symbol has reached that final climax of morbid intensity we may be said to have passed beyond the sphere of sexual love. A person, not an abstracted quality, must be the goal of love. So long as the fetich is subordinated to the person it serves to heighten love. But love must be based on a complexus of attractive qualities, or it has no

stability.[1] As soon as the fetich becomes isolated and omnipotent, so that the person sinks into the background as an unimportant appendage of the fetich, all stability is lost. The fetichist now follows an impersonal and abstract symbol whithersoever it may lead him.

It has been seen that there are an extraordinary number of forms in which erotic symbolism may be felt. It must be remembered, and it cannot be too distinctly emphasized, that the links that bind together the forms of erotic symbolism are not to be found in objects or even in acts, but in the underlying emotion. A feeling is the first condition of the symbol, a feeling which recalls, by a subtle and unconscious automatic association of resemblance or of contiguity, some former feeling. It is the similarity of emotion, instinctively apprehended, which links on a symbol only partially sexual, or even apparently not sexual at all, to the great central focus of sexual emotion, the great dominating force which brings the symbol its life-blood.[2]

The cases of sexual hyperæsthesia, quoted at the beginning of this study, do but present in a morbidly comprehensive and sensitive form those possibilities of erotic symbolism which, in some degree, or at some period, are latent in most persons. They are genuinely instinctive and automatic, and have nothing in common with that fanciful and deliberate play of the intelligence around sexual imagery—not infrequently seen in abnormal and insane persons—which has no significance for sexual psychology.

It is to the extreme individualization involved by the developments of erotic symbolism that the fetichist owes his morbid and perilous isolation. The lover who is influenced by all the elements of sexual selection is always supported by the fellow-feeling of a larger body of other human beings; he has behind him his species, his sex, his nation, or at the very least a fashion. Even the inverted lover in most cases is soon able to create

[1] "To love," as Stendhal defined it (*De l'Amour*, Chapter I), "is to have pleasure in seeing, touching, and feeling by all the senses, and as near as possible, a beloved object by whom one is oneself loved."

[2] Pillon's study of "La Mémoire Affective" (*Revue Philosophique*, February, 1901) helps to explain the psychic mechanism of the process.

around him an atmosphere constituted by persons whose ideals resemble his own. But it is not so with the erotic symbolist. He is nearly always alone. He is predisposed to isolation from the outset, for it would seem to be on a basis of excessive shyness and timidity that the manifestations of erotic symbolism are most likely to develop. When at length the symbolist realizes his own aspirations—which seem to him for the most part an altogether new phenomenon in the world—and at the same time realizes the wide degree in which they deviate from those of the rest of mankind, his natural secretiveness is still further reinforced. He stands alone. His most sacred ideals are for all those around him a childish absurdity, or a disgusting obscenity, possibly a matter calling for the intervention of the policeman. We have forgotten that all these impulses which to us seem so unnatural—this adoration of the foot and other despised parts of the body, this reverence for the excretory acts and products, the acceptance of congress with animals, the solemnity of self-exhibition—were all beliefs and practices which, to our remote forefathers, were bound up with the highest conceptions of life and the deepest ardors of religion.

A man cannot, however, deviate at once so widely and so spontaneously in his impulses from the rest of the world in which he himself lives without possessing an aboriginally abnormal temperament. At the very least he exhibits a europathic sensitiveness to abnormal impressions. Not infrequently there is more than this, the distinct stigmata of degeneration, sometimes a certain degree of congenital feeble-mindedness or a tendency to insanity.

Yet, regarded as a whole, and notwithstanding the frequency with which they witness to congenital morbidity, the phenomena of erotic symbolism can scarcely fail to be profoundly impressive to the patient and impartial student of the human soul. They often seem absurd, sometimes disgusting, occasionally criminal; they are always, when carried to an extreme degree, abnormal. But of all the manifestations of sexual psychology, normal and abnormal, they are the most specifically human. More than any others they involve the

potently plastic force of the imagination. They bring before us the individual man, not only apart from his fellows, but in opposition, himself creating his own paradise. They constitute the supreme triumph of human idealism.

THE MECHANISM OF DETUMESCENCE.

I.

The Psychological Significance of Detumescence—The Testis and the Ovary—Sperm Cell and Germ Cell—Development of the Embryo—The External Sexual Organs—Their Wide Range of Variation—Their Nervous Supply—The Penis—Its Racial Variations—The Influence of Exercise—The Scrotum and Testicles—The Mons Veneris—The Vulva—The Labia Majora and their Varieties—The Pubic Hair and Its Characters—The Clitoris and Its Functions—The Anus as an Erogenous Zone—The Nymphæ and their Function—The Vagina—The Hymen—Virginity—The Biological Significance of the Hymen.

In analyzing the sexual impulse we have seen that the process whereby the conjunction of the sexes is achieved falls naturally into two phases: the first phase, of tumescence, during which force is generated in the organism, and the second phase, of detumescence, in which that force is discharged during conjugation.[1] Hitherto we have been occupied mainly with the first phase, that of tumescence, and with its associated psychic phenomena. It was inevitable that this should be so, for it is during the slow process of tumescence that sexual selection is decided, the crystallizations of love elaborated, and, to a large extent, the individual erotic symbols determined. But we can by no means altogether pass over the final phase of detumescence. Its consideration, it is true, brings us directly into the field of anatomy and physiology; while tumescence is largely under control of the will, when the moment of detumescence arrives the reins slip from the control of the will: the more fundamental and uncontrollable impulses of the organ-

[1] "Analysis of the Sexual Impulse," in vol. iii of these *Studies*.

ism gallop on unchecked; the chariot of Phaëthon dashes blindly down into a sea of emotion.

Yet detumescence is the end and climax of the whole drama; it is an anatomico-physiological process, certainly, but one that inevitably touches psychology at every point.[1] It is, indeed, the very key to the process of tumescence, and unless we understand and realize very precisely what it is that happens during detumescence, our psychological analysis of the sexual impulse must remain vague and inadequate.

From the point of view we now occupy, a man and a woman are no longer two highly sensitive organisms vibrating, voluptuously it may indeed be, but vaguely and indefinitely, to all kinds of influences and with fluctuating impulses capable of being directed into any channel, even in the highest degree divergent from the proper ends of procreation. They are now two genital organisms who exist to propagate the race, and whatever else they may be, they must be adequately constituted to effect the act by which the future of the race is ensured. We have to consider what are the material conditions which ensure the most satisfactory and complete fulfillment of this act, and how those conditions may be correlated with other circumstances in the organism. In thus approaching the subject we shall find that we have not really abandoned the study of the psychic aspects of sex.

The two most primary sexual organs are the testis and the ovary; it is the object of conjugation to bring into contact the sperm from the testis with the germ from the ovary. There is no reason to suppose that the germ-cell and the sperm-cell are essentially different from each other. Sexual conjugation thus remains a process which is radically the same as the non-sexual mode of propagation which preceded it. The fusion of the nuclei of the two cells was regarded by Van Beneden, who in 1875 first accurately described it, as a process of conjugation comparable to that of the protozoa and the protophyta. Boveri.

[1] "The accomplishment of no other function," Hurtl remarks, "is so intimately connected with the mind and yet so independent of it."

who has further extended our knowledge of the process, considers that the spermatozoon removes an inhibitory influence preventing the commencement of development in the ovum; the spermatozoon replaces a portion of the ovum which has already undergone degeneration, so that the object of conjugation is chiefly to effect the union of the properties of two cells in one, sexual fertilization achieving a division of labor with reciprocal inhibition; the two cells have renounced their original faculty of separate development in order to attain a fusion of qualities and thus render possible that production of new forms and qualities which has involved the progress of the organized world.[1]

While in fishes this conjugation of the male and female elements is usually ensured by the female casting her spawn into an artificial nest outside the body, on to which the male sheds his milt, in all animals (and, to some extent, birds, who occupy an intermediate position) there is an organic nest, or incubation chamber as Bland Sutton terms it, the womb, in the female body, wherein the fertilized egg may develop to a high degree of maturity sheltered from those manifold risks of the external world which make it necessary for the spawn of fishes to be so enormous in amount. Since, however, men and women have descended from remote ancestors who, in the manner of aquatic creatures, exercised functions of sperm-extrusion and germ-extrusion that were exactly analogous in the two sexes, without any specialized female uterine organization, the early stages of human male and female fœtal development still display the comparatively undifferentiated sexual organization of those remote ancestors, and during the first months of fœtal life it is practically impossible to tell by the inspection of the genital regions whether the embryo would have developed into a man or into a woman. If we examine the embryo at an early stage of development we see that the hind end is the body stalk, this stalk in later stages becoming part of the umbilical cord

[1] The process is still, however, but imperfectly understood: see Art. "Fécondation," by Ed. Retterer, in Richet's *Dictionnaire de Physiologie*, vol. vi. 1905.

The urogenital region, formed by the rapid extension of the hind end beyond its original limit, which corresponds to what is later the umbilicus, develops mainly by the gradual differentiation of structures (the Wolffian and Müllerian bodies) which originally exist identically in both sexes. This process of sexual differentiation is highly complex, so that it cannot yet be said that there is complete agreement among investigators as to its details. When some irregularity or arrest of development occurs in the process we have one or other of the numerous malformations which may affect this region. If the arrest occurs at a very early stage we may even find a condition of things which seems to approximate to that which normally exists in the adult reptilia.[1] Owing to the fact that both male and female organs develop from more primitive structures which were sexually undifferentiated, a fundamental analogy in the sexual organs of the sexes always remains; the developed organs of one sex exist as rudiments in the other sex; the testicles correspond to the ovaries; the female clitoris is the homologue of the male penis; the scrotum of one sex is the labia majora in the other sex, and so throughout, although it is not always possible at present to be quite certain in regard to these homologies.

Since the object to be attained by the sexual organs in the human species is identical with that which they subserve in their pre-human ancestors, it is not surprising to find that these structures have a clear resemblance to the corresponding structures in the apes, although on the whole there would appear to be in man a higher degree of sexual differentiation. Thus the uterus of various species of *semnopithecus* seems to show a noteworthy correspondence with the same organ in woman.[2] The somewhat less degree of sexual differentiation is well shown in the gorilla; in the male the external organs are in the passive state covered by the wrinkled skin of the abdomen, while in the

[1] Thus a male fœtus showing reptilian characters in sexual ducts was exhibited by Shattock at the Pathological Society of London, February 19, 1895.

[2] J. Kohlbrugge, "Die Umgestaltung des Uterus der Affen nach der Geburt." *Zeitschrift für Morphologie*, bd. iv, p. 1, 1901.

longed process. But it is always necessary to remember that every repetition of the act of coitus, to be normally and effectively carried out on both sides, demands a similar double process; detumescence must be preceded by an abbreviated courtship.

This abbreviated courtship by which tumescence is secured or heightened in the repetition of acts of coitus which have become familiar, is mainly tactile.[1] Since the part of the man in coitus is more active and that of the woman more passive, the sexual sensitivity of the skin seems to be more pronounced in women. There are, moreover, regions of the surface of a woman's body where contact, when sympathetic, seems specially liable to arouse erotic excitement. Such erogenous zones are often specially marked in the breasts, occasionally in the palm of the hand, the nape of the neck, the lobule of the ear, the little finger; there is, indeed, perhaps no part of the surface of the body which may not, in some individuals at some time, become normally an erogenous zone. In hysteria the erotic excitability of these zones is sometimes very intense. The lips are, however, without doubt, the most persistently and poignantly sensitive region of the whole body outside the sphere of the sexual organs themselves. Hence the significance of the kiss as a preliminary of detumescence.[2]

The importance of the lips as a normal erogenous zone is shown by the experiments of Gualino. He applied a thread, folded on itself several times, to the lips, thus stimulating them in a simple mechanical manner. Of 20 women, between the ages of 18 and 35, only 5 felt this as a merely mechanical operation, 4 felt a vaguely erotic element in the proceeding, 3 experienced a desire for coitus and in 5 there was actual sexual excitement with emission of mucus. Of 25 men between the ages of 20 and 30, in 15 all sexual feeling was absent, in 7 erotic ideas were suggested with congestion of the sexual organs without erection, and in 3 there was the beginning of erection. It should be added that both the women and the men in whom this sexual reflex was more especially

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that is the [illegible]

amounts the b[illegible]ments furnished by the sense of touch in sexual selection etc. I have [illegible]cussed in the first section of the previous volume of these mother to u[illegible]

[1] *Parthes*[illegible]

[2] The con[illegible]pendix A. "The Origins of the Kiss," in the previous

marked were of somewhat nervous temperament; in such persons erotic reactions of all kinds generally occur most easily. (Gualino, "Il Riflesso Sessuale nell' eccitamento alle labbre," *Archivio di Psichiatria*, 904, p. 341.)

As tumescence, under the influence of sensory stimulation, proceeds toward the climax when it gives place to detumescence, the physical phenomena become more and more acutely localized in the sexual organs. The process which was at first predominantly nervous and psychic now becomes more prominently vascular. The ancient sexual relationship of the skin asserts itself; there is marked surface congestion showing itself in various ways. The face tends to become red, and exactly the same phenomenon is taking place in the genital organs; "an erection," it has been said, "is a blushing of the penis." The difference is that in the genital organs this heightened vascularity has a definite and specific function to accomplish—the erection of the male organ which fits it to enter the female parts—and that consequently there has been developed in the penis that special kind of vascular mechanism, consisting of veins in connective tissue with unstriped muscular fibers, termed erectile tissue.[1]

It is not only the man who is supplied with erectile tissue which in the process of tumescence becomes congested and swollen. The woman also, in the corresponding external genital region, is likewise supplied with erectile tissue now also charged with blood, and exhibits the same changes as have taken place in her partner, though less conspicuously visible. In the anthropoid apes, as the gorilla, the large clitoris and the nymphæ become prominent in sexual excitement, but the less development of the clitoris in women, together with the specifically human evolution of the mons veneris and larger lips, renders this sexual turgescence practically invisible, though it is perceptible to touch in an increased degree of spongy and elastic tension. The whole feminine genital canal, including the uterus, indeed, is richly supplied with blood-vessels, and is ca-

[1] See, *e.g.*, Art. "Erection," by Retterer, in Richet's *Dictionnaire de Physiologie*, vol. v.

pable during sexual excitement of a very high degree of turgescence, a kind of erection.

The process of erection in woman is accompanied by the pouring out of fluid which copiously bathes all parts of the vulva around the entrance to the vagina. This is a bland, more or less odorless mucus which, under ordinary circumstances, slowly and imperceptibly suffuses the parts. When, however, the entrance to the vagina is exposed and extended, as during a gynæcological examination which occasionally produces sexual excitement, there may be seen a real ejaculation of the fluid which, as usually described, comes largely from the glands of Bartholin, situated at the mouth of the vagina. Under these circumstances it is sometimes described as being emitted in a jet which is thrown to a distance.[1] This mucous ejaculation was in former days regarded as analogous to the seminal ejaculation in man, and hence essential to conception. Although this belief was erroneous the fluid poured out in this manner whenever a high degree of tumescence is attained, and before the onset of detumescence, certainly performs an important function in lubricating the entrance to the genital canal and so facilitating the intromission of the male organ.[2] Menstruation has a similar influence in facilitating coitus, as Schurig long since pointed out.[3] A like process takes place during parturition when the same parts are being lubricated and stretched in preparation for the protrusion of the fœtal head. The occurrence of the mucous flow in tumescence always indicates that that process is actively affecting the central sexual organs, and that voluptuous emotions are present.[4]

[1] Guibaut, *Traité Clinique des Maladies des Femmes*, p. 242. Adler discusses the sexual secretions in women and their significance, *Die Mangelhafte Geschlechtsempfindung des Weibes*, pp. 19-26.

[2] In some parts of the world this is further aided by artificial means. Thus it is stated by Riedel (as quoted by Ploss and Bartels) that in the Gorong Archipelago the bridegroom, before the first coitus, anoints the bride's pudenda with an ointment containing opium, musk, etc. I have been told of an English bride who was instructed by her mother to use a candle for the same purpose.

[3] *Parthenologia*, pp. 302, *et seq.*

[4] The connection of this mucous flow with sexual emotion was dis-

The secretions of the genital canal and outlet in women are somewhat numerous. We have the odoriferous glands of sebaceous origin, and with them the prepuce of the clitoris which has been described as a kind of gigantic sebaceous follicle with the clitoris occupying its interior. (Hyrtl.) There is the secretion from the glands of Bartholin. There is again the vaginal secretion, opaque and albuminous, which appears to be alkaline when secreted, but becomes acid under the decomposing influence of bacteria, which are, however, harmless and not pathogenic. (Gow, *Obstetrical Society of London*, January 3, 1894.) There is, finally, the mucous uterine secretion, which is alkaline, and, being poured out during orgasm, is believed to protect the spermatozoa from destruction by the acid vaginal secretion.

The belief that the mucus poured out in women during sexual excitement is feminine semen and therefore essential to conception had many remarkable consequences and was widespread until the seventeenth century. Thus, in the chapter "De Modo coeundi et de regimine eorum qui coeunt" of *De Secretis Mulierum*, there is insistence on the importance of the proper mixture of the male semen with the female semen and of arranging that it shall not escape from the vagina. The woman must lie quiet for several hours at least, not rising even to urinate, and when she gets up, be very temperate in eating and drinking, and not run or jump, pretending that she has a headache. It was the belief in feminine semen which led some theologians to lay down that a woman might masturbate if she had not experienced orgasm in coitus Schurig in his *Muliebria* (1729, pp. 159, *et seq.*) discusses the opinions of old authors regarding the nature, source, and uses of the female genital secretions, and quotes authorities against the old view that it was female semen. In a subsequent work (*Syllepsiologia*, 1731, pp. 3, *et seq.*) he returns to the same question, quotes authors who accept a feminine semen, shows that Harvey denied it any significance, and himself decides against it. It has not seriously been brought forward since.

When erection is completed in both the man and the woman the conditions necessary for conjugation have at last been fulfilled. In all animals, even those most nearly allied to man, coitus is effected by the male approaching the female posteriorly. In man the normal method of male approach is anteriorly, face to face. Leonardo da Vinci, in a well-known drawing representing a sagittal section of a man and a woman connected in this position of so-called Venus obversa, has shown how well

cussed early in the eighteenth century by Schurig in his *Gynæcologia*, pp. 8-11; it is frequently passed over by more modern writers.

adapted the position is to the normal position of the organs in the human species.[1]

Among monkeys, it is stated, congress is sometimes performed when the female is on all fours; at other times the male brings the female between his thighs when he is sitting, holding her with his fore-paws. Froriep informed Lawrence that the male sometimes supported his feet on the female's calves. (Sir W. Lawrence, *Lectures on Physiology*, 1823, p. 186.) A summary of the methods of congress practiced by the various animals below mammals will be found in the article "Copulation" by H. de Varigny in Richet's *Dictionnaire de Physiologie*, vol. iv.

The anterior position in coitus, with the female partner lying supine, is so widespread throughout the world that it may fairly be termed the most typically human attitude in sexual congress. It is found represented in Egyptian graves at Benihassan, belonging to the Twelfth Dynasty; it is regarded by Mohammedans as the normal position, although other positions are permitted by the Prophet: "Your wives are your tillage: go in unto your tillage in what manner soever you will;" it is that adopted in Malacca: it appears, from Peruvian antiquities, to have been the position generally, though not exclusively, adopted in ancient Peru; it is found in many parts of Africa, and seems also to have been the most usual position among the American aborigines.

Various modifications of this position are, however, found. Thus, in some parts of the world, as among the Suahelis in Zanzibar, the male partner adopts the supine position. In Loango, according to Pechuel-Loesche, coitus is performed lying on the side. Sometimes, as on the west coast of Africa, the woman is supine and the man more or less erect; or, as among the Queenslanders (as described by Roth) the woman is supine and the man squats on his heels with her thighs clasping his flanks, while he raises her buttocks with his hands.

The position of coitus in which the man is supine is without doubt a natural and frequent variation of the specifically human obverse method of coitus. It was evidently familiar to the Romans. Ovid mentions it (*Ars Amatoria*, III, 777-8), recommending it to little women, and saying that Andromache was too tall to practice it with Hector. Aristophanes refers to it, and there are Greek epigrams in which women boast of their skill in riding their lovers. It has sometimes been viewed with a certain disfavor because it seems to confer a superiority on the woman. "Cursed be he," according to a Mohammedan saying, "who maketh woman heaven and man earth."

[1] The drawing is reproduced by Ploss and Bartels, *Das Weib*, vol. i. Chapter XVII; many facts bearing on the ethnography of coitus are brought together in this chapter.

Of special interest is the wide prevalence of an attitude in coitus recalling that which prevails among quadrupeds. The frequency with which on the walls of Pompeii coitus is represented with the woman bending forward and her partner approaching her posteriorly has led to the belief that this attitude was formerly very common in Southern Italy. However that may be, it is certainly normal at the present day among various more or less primitive peoples in whom the vulva is often placed somewhat posteriorly. It is thus among the Soudanese, as also, in an altogether different part of the world, among the Eskimo Innuit and Koniaga. The New Caledonians, according to Foley, cohabit in the quadrupedal manner, and so also the Papuans of New Guinea (Bongu), according to Vahness. The same custom is also found in Australia, where, however other postures are also adopted. In Europe the quadrupedal posture would seem to prevail among some of the South Slavs, notably the Dalmatians. (The different methods of coitus practiced by the South Slavs are described in *Κυπριάδια* vol. vi, pp. 220, *et seq.*)

This method of coitus was recommended by Lucretius (lib. iv) and also advised by Paulus Æginetus as favorable to conception. (The opinions of various early physicians are quoted by Schurig, *Spermatologia*, 1720, pp. 232, *et seq.*). It seems to be a position that is not infrequently agreeable to women, a fact which may be brought into connection with the remarks of Adler already quoted (p. 131) concerning the comparative lack of adjustment of the feminine organs to the obverse position. It is noteworthy that in the days of witchcraft hysterical women constantly believed that they had had intercourse with the Devil in this manner. This circumstance, indeed, probably aided in the very marked disfavor in which coitus *a posteriori* fell after the decay of classic influences. The mediæval physicians described it as *mos diabolicus* and mistakenly supposed that it produced abortion (Hyrtl, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 87). The theologians, needless to say, were opposed to the *mos diabolicus*, and already in the Anglo-Saxon Penitential of Theodore, at the end of the seventh century, 40 days' penance is prescribed for this method of coitus.

From the frequency with which they have been adopted by various peoples as national customs, most of the postures in coitus here referred to must be said to come within the normal range of variation. It is a mistake to regard them as vicious perversions.

Up to the point to which we have so far considered it, the process of detumescence has been mainly nervous and vascular in character; it has, in fact, been but the more acute stage of a process which has been going on throughout tumes-

cence. But now we reach the point at which a new element comes in: muscular action. With the onset of muscular action, which is mainly involuntary, even when it affects the voluntary muscles, detumescence proper begins to take place. Henceforward purposeful psychic action, except by an effort, is virtually abolished. The individual, as a separate person, tends to disappear. He has become one with another person, as nearly one as the conditions of existence ever permit; he and she are now merely an instrument in the hands of a higher power—by whatever name we may choose to call that Power—which is using them for an end not themselves.

The decisive moment in the production of the instinctive and involuntary orgasm occurs when, under the influence of the stimulus applied to the penis by friction with the vagina, the tension of the seminal fluid poured into the urethra arouses the ejaculatory center in the spinal cord and the bulbo-cavernosus muscle surrounding the urethra responsively contracts in rhythmic spasms. Then it is that ejaculation occurs.[1]

"The circulation quickens, the arteries beat strongly,' wrote Roubaud in a description of the physical state during coitus which may almost be termed classic; "the venous blood, arrested by muscular contraction, increases the general heat, and this stagnation, more pronounced in the brain by the contraction of the muscles of the neck and the throwing of the head backward, causes a momentary cerebral congestion, during which intelligence is lost and the faculties abolished. The eyes, violently injected, become haggard, and the look uncertain, or, in the majority of cases, the eyes are closed spasmodically to

[1] Onanoff (Paris Société de Biologie, May 3, 1890) proposed the name of bulbo-cavernous reflex for the smart contraction of the ischio- and bulbo-cavernosus muscles (erector penis and accelerator urinæ) produced by mechanical excitation of the glans. This reflex is clinically elicited by placing the index-finger of the left hand on the region of the bulb while the right hand rapidly rubs the dorsal surface of the glands with the edge of a piece of paper or lightly pinches the mucous membrane; a twitching of the region of the bulb is then perceived. This reflex is always present in healthy adult subjects and indicates the integrity of the physical mechanism of detumescence. It has been described by Hughes. (C. H. Hughes, "The Virile or Bulbo cavernous Reflex," *Alienist and Neurologist*, January, 1898.)

avoid the contact of the light. The respiration is hurried, sometimes interrupted, and may be suspended by the spasmodic contraction of the larynx, and the air, for a time compressed, is at last emitted in broken and meaningless words. The congested nervous centers only communicate confused sensations and volitions; mobility and sensation show extreme disorder; the limbs are seized by convulsions and sometimes by cramps, or are thrown wildly about or become stiff like iron bars. The jaws, tightly pressed, grind the teeth, and in some persons the delirium is carried so far that they bite to bleeding the shoulders their companions have imprudently abandoned to them. This frantic state of epilepsy lasts but a short time, but it suffices to exhaust the forces of the organism, especially in man. It is, I believe, Galen, who said: 'Omne animal post coitum triste præter mulierem gallumque.'"[1] Most of the elements that make up this typical picture of the state of coitus are not absolutely essential to that state, but they all come within the normal range of variation. There can be no doubt that this range is considerable. There would appear to be not only individual, but also racial, differences; there is a remarkable passage in Vatsyayana's *Kama Sutra* describing the varying behavior of the women of different races in India under the stress of sexual excitement—Dravidian women with difficulty attaining erethism, women of the Punjaub fond of being caressed with the tongue, women of Oude with impetuous desire and profuse flow of mucus, etc.—and it is highly probable, P'oss and Bartels remark, that these characterizations are founded on exact observations.[2]

The various phenomena included in Roubaud's description of the condition during coitus may all be directly or indirectly reduced to two groups: the first circulatory and respiratory, the second motor. It is necessary to consider both these aspects of the process of detumescence in somewhat greater detail, although while it is most convenient to discuss them separately,

[1] Roubaud, *Traité de l'Impuissance*, 1855, p. 39.
[2] *Das Weib*, seventh edition, vol. i, p. 510.

it must be borne in mind that they are not really separable; the circulatory phenomena are in large measure a by-product of the involuntary motor process.

With the approach of detumescence the respiration becomes shallow, rapid, and to some extent arrested. This characteristic of the breathing during sexual excitement is well recognized; so that in, for instance, the *Arabian Nights*, it is commonly noted of women when gazing at beautiful youths whose love they desired, that they ceased breathing.[1] It may be added that exactly the same tendency to superficial and arrested respiration takes place whenever there is any intense mental concentration, as in severe intellectual work.[2]

The arrest of respiration tends to render the blood venous, and thus aids in stimulating the vasomotor centers, raising the blood-pressure in the body generally, and especially in the erectile tissues. High blood-pressure is one of the most marked features of the state of detumescence. The heart beats are stronger and quicker, the surface arteries are more visible, the conjunctivæ become red. The precise degree of blood-pressure attained during coitus has been most accurately ascertained in the dog. In Bechterew's laboratory in St. Petersburg a manometer was introduced into the central end of the carotid artery of a bitch; a male dog was then introduced, and during coitus observations were made on the blood-pressure at the peripheral and central ends of the artery. It was found that there was a great general elevation of blood-pressure, intense hyperæmia of the brain, rapid alternations, during the act, of vasoconstriction and vasodilatation of the brain, with increase and diminution of the general arterial tension in relation with the various phases of the act, the greatest cerebral vasodilatation and hyperæmia coinciding with the moment following the intromission of the penis; the end of the act is followed by a considerable

[1] The influence of impeded respiration in exciting more or less perverted forms of sexual gratification has been discussed in a section of "Love and Pain" in the third volume of these *Studies*.

[2] See, *e.g.*, the experiments of Obici on this point, *Revista Sperimentale di Freniatria*, 1903, pp. 689, *et seq.*

fall in the blood-pressure.[1] I am not acquainted with any precise observations on the blood-pressure in human subjects during detumescence, and there are obvious difficulties in the way of such observations. It is probable, however, that the conditions found would be substantially the same. This is indicated, so far as the very marked increase of blood-pressure is concerned, by some observations made by Vaschide and Vurpas with the sphygmanometer on a lady under the influence of sexual excitement. In this case there was a relationship of sympathy and friendly tenderness between the experimenter and the subject, Madame X, aged 25. Experimenter and subject talked sympathetically, and finally, we are told, while the latter still had her hands in the sphygmanometer, the former almost made a declaration of love. Madame X was greatly impressed, and afterward admitted that her emotions had been genuine and strong. The blood-pressure, which was in this subject habitually 65 millimeters, rose to 150 and even 160, indicating a very high pressure, which rarely occurs; at the same time Madame X looked very emotional and troubled.[2]

Some authorities are of opinion that irregularities in the accomplishment of the sexual act are specially liable to cause disturbances in the circulation. Thus Kisch, of Prague, refers to the case of a couple practising coitus interruptus—the husband withdrawing before ejaculation—in which the wife, a vigorous woman, became liable after some years to attacks termed by Kisch *neurasthenia cordis vasomotoria*, in which there was at daily or longer intervals palpitation, with feelings of anxiety, headache, dizziness, muscular weakness and tendency to faint. He regards coitus as a cause of various heart troubles in women: (1) Attacks of tachycardia in very excitable and sexually inclined women; (2) attacks of tachycardia with dyspnœa in young women, with vaginismus; (3) cardiac symptoms with lowered vascular tone in women who for a long time have practised coitus interruptus without complete sexual gratification (Kisch, "Herzbeschwerden der Frauen verursacht

[1] Summarized in *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, March, 1903, p. 188. The tendency to closure of the eyes noted by Roubaud, to avoid contact of the light, indicates dilatation of the pupils, for which we need not seek other explanation than the general tendency of all peripheral stimulation, according to Schiff's law, to produce such dilatation.

[2] Vaschide and Vurpas, "Du Coefficient Sexuel de l'Impulsion Musicale," *Archives de Neurologie*, May, 1904.

durch den Cohabitationsact," *Münchener Medizinisches Wochenschrift*, 1897, p. 617). In this connection, also, reference may probably be made to those attacks of anxiety which Freud associates with psychic sexual lesions of an emotional character.

Associated with this vascular activity in detumescence we find a general tendency to glandular activity. Various secretions are formed abundantly. Perspiration is copious, and the ancient relationship between the cutaneous and sexual systems seems to evoke a general activity of the skin and its odoriferous secretions. Salivation, which also occurs, is very conspicuous in many lower animals, as for instance in the donkey, notably the female, who just before coitus stands with mouth open, jaws moving, and saliva dribbling. In men, corresponding to the more copious secretion in women, there is, during the latter stages of tumescence, a slight secretion of mucus—Fürbringer's *urethrorrhœa ex libidine*—which appears in drops at the urethral orifice. It comes from the small glands of Littré and Cowper which open into the urethra. This phenomenon was well known to the old theologians, who called it *distillatio*, and realized its significance as at once distinct from semen and an indication that the mind was dwelling on voluptuous images; it was also known in classic times[1]; more recently it has often been confused with semen and has thus sometimes caused needless anxiety to nervous persons. There is also an increased secretion of urine, and it is probable that if the viscera were more accessible to observation we might be able to demonstrate that the glands throughout the body share in this increased activity.

The phenomena of detumescence culminate, however, and have their most obvious manifestation in motor activity. The genital act, as Vaschide and Vurpas remark, consists essentially

[1] In the *Priapeia* is an inscription which has thus been translated:—

"You see this organ, after which I'm called
And which is my certificate, is humid;
This moisture is not dew nor drops of rain,
It is the outcome of sweet memory,
Recalling thoughts of a complacent maid."

The translator supposes that semen is referred to, but without doubt the allusion is to the theologians' *distillatio*.

in "a more and more marked tension of the motor state which, reaching its maximum, presents a short tonic phase, followed by a clonic phase, and terminates in a period of adynamia and repose." This motor activity is of the essence of the impulse of detumescence, because without it the sperm cells could not be brought into the neighborhood of the germ cell and be propelled into the organic nest which is assigned for their conjunction and incubation.

The motor activity is general as well as specifically sexual. There is a general tendency to more or less involuntary movement, without any increase of voluntary muscular power, which is, indeed, decreased, and Vaschide and Vurpas state that dynamometric results are somewhat lower than normal during sexual excitement, and the variations greater.[1] The tendency to diffused activity of involuntary muscle is well illustrated by the contraction of the bladder associated with detumescence. While this occurs in both sexes, in men erection produces a mechanical impediment to any evacuation of the bladder. In women there is not only a desire to urinate but, occasionally, actual urination. Many quite healthy and normal women have, as a rare accident supervening on the coincidence of an unusually full bladder with an unusual degree of sexual excitement, experienced a powerful and quite involuntary evacuation of the bladder at the moment of orgasm. In women with less normal nervous systems this has, more rarely, been almost habitual. Brantôme has perhaps recorded the earliest case of this kind in referring to a lady he knew who "quand on lui faisait cela

[1] A woman of 30, normal and intelligent, after conversing on love and passion, and then listening to the music of Grieg and Schumann, felt real and strong sexual excitement, increased by memories recalled by the presence of a sympathetic person. When then tested by the dynamometer the average of ten efforts with the right hand was found to be 28.2 (her normal average being 31.1) and with the left hand 28.0 (the normal being 30.0). There was, however, great variability in the individual pressures which sometimes equaled and even exceeded the subject's normal efforts. The voluntary muscles are thus in harmony with the approaching general sexual avalanche. (Vaschide and Vurpas, "Quelques Données Expérimentales sur l'Influence de l'Excitation Sexuelle," *Archivio di Psichiatria*, 1903, fasc. v-vi.)

elle se compissait à bon escient."[1] The tendency to trembling, constriction of throat, sneezing, emission of internal gas, and the other similar phenomena occasionally associated with detumescence, are likewise due to diffusion of the motor disturbance. Even in infancy the motor signs of sexual excitement are the most obvious indications of orgasm; thus West, describing masturbation in a child of six or nine months who practiced thigh-rubbing, states that when sitting in her high chair she would grasp the handles, stiffen herself, and stare, rubbing her thighs quickly together several times, and then come to herself with a sigh, tired, relaxed, and sweating, these seizures, which lasted one or two minutes, being mistaken by the relations for epileptic fits.[2]

The essentially motor character of detumescence is well shown by the extreme forms of erotic intoxication which sometimes appear as the result of sexual excitement. Féré, who has especially called attention to the various manifestations of this condition, presents an instructive case of a man of neurotic heredity and antecedents, in whom it occasionally happened that sexual excitement, instead of culminating in the normal orgasm, attained its climax in a fit of uncontrollable muscular excitement. He would then sing, dance, gesticulate, roughly treat his partner, break the objects around him, and finally sink down exhausted and stupefied. (Féré, *L'Instinct Sexuel*, Chapter X.) In such a case a diffused and general detumescence has taken the place of the normal detumescence which has its main focus in the sexual sphere.

The same relationship is shown in a case of impotence accompanied by cramps in the calves and elsewhere, which has been recorded by Brügelmann ("Zur Lehre vom Perversen Sexualismus," *Zeitschrift für Hypnotismus*, 1900, Heft I). These muscular conditions ceased for several days whenever coitus was effected.

An instructive analogy to the motor irradiations preceding the moment of sexual detumescence may be found in the somewhat similar motor irradiations which follow the delayed expulsion of a highly distended bladder. These sometimes become very marked in a child or

[1] *Cf.* MacGillicuddy, *Functional Disorders of the Nervous System in Women*, p. 110; Féré, *L'Instinct Sexuel*, second edition, p. 238; *id.*, "Note sur une Anomalie de l'instinct Sexuel," *Belgique Médicale*, 1905; also "Analysis of the Sexual Impulse," in an earlier volume of these *Studies*.

[2] J. P. West, "Masturbation in Early Childhood," *Medical Standard*, November, 1895.

young woman unable to control the motor system absolutely. The legs are crossed, the foot swung, the thighs tightly pressed together, the toes curled. The fingers are flexed in rhythmic succession. The whole body slowly twists as though the seat had become uncomfortable. It is difficult to concentrate the mind; the same remark may be automatically repeated; the eyes search restlessly, and there is a tendency to count surrounding objects or patterns. When the extreme degree of tension is reached it is only by executing a kind of dance that the explosive contraction of the bladder is restrained.

The picture of muscular irradiation presented under these circumstances differs but slightly from that of the onset of detumescence. In one case the explosion is sought, in the other case it is dreaded; but in both cases there is a retarded muscular tension,—in the one case involuntary, in the other case voluntary—maintained at a point of acute intensity, and in both cases the muscular irradiations of this tension spread over the whole body.

The increased motor irritability of the state of detumescence somewhat resembles the conditions produced by a weak anæsthetic and there is some interest in noting the sexual excitement liable to occur in anæsthesia. I am indebted to Dr. J. F. W. Silk for some remarks on this point:—

"I. Sexual emotions may apparently be aroused during the stage of excitement preceding or following the administration of any anæsthetic; these emotions may take the form of mere delirious utterances, or may be associated with what is apparently a sexual orgasm. Or reflex phenomena connected with the sexual organs may occasionally be observed under special circumstances; or, to put it in another way, such reflex possibilities are not always abolished by the condition of narcosis or anæsthesia.

"II. Of the particular anæsthetics employed I am inclined to think that the possibility of such conditions arising is inversely proportionate to their strength, *e.g.*, they are more frequently observed with a weak anæsthetic like nitrous oxide than with chloroform.

"III. Sexual emotions I believe to be rarely observable in men, and this is remarkable, or, I should say, particularly noticeable, for the presence of nurses, female students, etc., might almost have led one to expect that the contrary would have been the case. On the other hand, it is among men that I have frequently observed a reflex phenomenon which has usually taken the shape of an erection of the penis when the structures in the neighborhood of the spermatic cord have been handled.

"IV. Among females the emotional sexual phenomena most frequently obtrude themselves, and I believe that if it were possible to induce people to relate their dreams they would very often be found to be of a sexual character."

Much more important than the general motor phenomena more purposive though involuntary, are the specifically sexual muscular movements. From the very beginning of detumescence, indeed, muscular activity makes itself felt, and the peripheral muscles of sex act, according to Kobelt's expression, as a peripheral sexual heart. In the male these movements are fairly obvious and fairly simple. It is required that the semen should be expressed from the vesiculæ seminales, propelled along the urethra, in combination with the prostatic fluid which is equally essential, and finally ejected with a certain amount of force from the urethral orifice. Under the influence of the stimulation furnished by the contact and friction of the vagina, this process is effectively caried out, mainly by the rhythmic contractions of the bulbo-cavernosus muscle, and the semen is emitted in a jet which may be ejaculated to a distance varying from a few centimeters to a meter or more.

With regard to the details of the psychic sides of this process a correspondent, a psychologist, writes as follows:—

"I have never noticed in my reading any attempt to analyze the sensations which accompany the orgasm, and, as I have made a good many attempts to make such an analysis myself, I will append the results on the chance that they may be of some value I have checked my results so far as possible by comparing them with the experience of such of my friends as had coitus frequently and were willing to tell me as much as they could of the psychology of the process

"The first fact that I hit upon was the importance of pressure. As one of my informants picturesquely phrases it—'the tighter the fit the greater the pleasure.' This agrees, too, with their unanimous testimony that the pleasurable sensations were much greater when the orgasm occurred simultaneously in the man and woman Their analysis seldom went further than this, but a few remarked that the distinctive sensations accompanying the orgasm seem to begin near the root of the penis or in the testes, and that they are qualitatively different from the tickling sensations which precede them.

"These tickling sensations are caused, I think, by the friction of the glands against the vaginal walls, and are supplemented by other sensations from the urethra, whose nerves are stimulated by pressure of the vaginal walls and sphincter The specific sensation of the orgasm begins, I believe, with a strong contraction of the muscles of the urethral walls along the entire length of the canal, and is felt as a peculiar

ache starting from the base of the penis and quickly becoming diffused through the whole organ. This sensation reaches its climax with the expulsion of the semen into the urethra and the consequent feeling of distention, which is instantly followed by the rhythmic peristaltic contractions of the urethral muscles which mark the climax of the orgasm.

"The most careful introspection possible under the circumstances seems to show that these sensations arise almost wholly from the urethra and in a far less degree from the corona. During periods of great sexual excitement the nerves of the urethra and corona seem to possess a peculiar sensitivity and are powerfully stimulated by the violent peristaltic contractions of the muscles in the urethral walls during ejaculation. It seems possible that the intensity and volume of sensation felt at the glans may be due in part to the greater area of sensitive surface presented in the fossa as well as to the sensitivity of the corona, and in part to the fact that during the orgasm the glans is more highly congested than at any other time, and the nerve endings thus subjected to additional pressure.

"If the foregoing statements are true, it is easy to see why the pleasure of the man is much increased when the orgasm occurs at the same time in his partner and himself, for the contractions of the vagina upon the penis would increase the stimulation of all the nerve endings in that organ for which a mechanical stimulus is adequate, and the prominence of the corpus spongiosum and corona would ensure them the greatest stimulation. It seems not improbable that the specific sensation of orgasm rises from the stimulation of the peculiar form of nerve end-bulbs which Krause found in the corpus spongiosum and in the glans.

"The characteristic massiveness of the experience is probably due largely to the great number of sensations of strain and pressure caused by the powerful reflex contraction of so many of the voluntary muscles.

"Of course, the foregoing analysis is purely tentative, and I offer it only on the chance that it may suggest some line of inquiry which may lead to results of value to the student of sexual psychology."

In man the whole process of detumescence, when it has once really begun, only occupies a few moments. It is so likewise in many animals; in the genera Bos, Ovis, etc., it is very short, almost instantaneous, and rather short also in the Equidæ (in a vigorous stallion, according to Colin, ten to twelve seconds). As Disselhorst has pointed out, this is dependent on the fact that these animals, like man, possess a vas deferens which broadens into an ampulla serving as a receptacle which holds the semen ready for instant emission when required. On the other hand, in the dog, cat, boar, and the Canidæ, Felidæ, and Suidæ generally, there is no receptacle of this kind, and coitus is slow, since a longer time is required for the peristaltic action of the vas to bring the semen

to the urogenital sinus. (R. Disselhorst, *Die Accessorischen Geschlechtsdrusen der Wirbelthiere*, 1897, p. 212.)

In man there can be little doubt that detumescence is more rapidly accomplished in the European than in the East, in India, among the yellow races, or in Polynesia. This is probably in part due to a deliberate attempt to prolong the act in the East, and in part to a greater nervous erethism among Westerns.

In the woman the specifically sexual muscular process is less visible, more obscure, more complex, and uncertain. Before detumescence actually begins there are at intervals involuntary rhythmic contractions of the walls of the vagina, seeming to have the object of at once stimulating and harmonizing with those that are about to begin in the male organ. It would appear that these rhythmic contractions are the exaggeration of a phenomenon which is normal, just as slight contraction is normal and constant in the bladder. Jastreboff has shown, in the rabbit, that the vagina is in constant spontaneous rhythmic contraction from above downward, not peristaltic, but in segments, the intensity of the contractions increasing with age and especially with sexual development. This vaginal contraction which in women only becomes well marked just before detumescence, and is due mainly to the action of the sphincter cunni (analogous to the bulbo-cavernosus in the male), is only a part of the localized muscular process. At first there would appear to be a reflex peristaltic movement of the Fallopian tubes and uterus. Dembo observed that in animals stimulation of the upper anterior wall of the vagina caused gradual contraction of the uterus, which is erected by powerful contraction of its muscular fiber and round ligaments while at the same time it descends toward the vagina, its cavity becoming more and more diminished and mucus being forced out. In relaxing, Aristotle long ago remarked, it aspirates the seminal fluid.

Although the active participation of the sexual organs in woman, to the end of directing the semen into the womb at the moment of detumescence, is thus a very ancient belief, and harmonizes with the Greek view of the womb as an animal in

the body endowed with a considerable amount of activity,[1] precise observation in modern times has offered but little confirmation of the reality of this participation. Such observations as have been made have usually been the accidental result of sexual excitement and orgasm occurring during a gynæcological examination. As, however, such a result is liable to occur in erotic subjects, a certain number of precise observations have accumulated during the past century. So far as the evidence goes, it would seem that in women, as in mares, bitches, and other animals, the uterus becomes shorter, broader, and softer during the orgasm, at the same time descending lower into the pelvis, with its mouth open intermittently, so that, as one writer remarks, spontaneously recurring to the simile which commended itself to the Greeks, "the uterus might be likened to an animal gasping for breath."[2] This sensitive, responsive mobility of the uterus is, indeed, not confined to the moment of detumescence, but may occur at other times under the influence of sexual emotion.

It would seem probable that in this erection, contraction, and descent of the uterus, and its simultaneous expulsion of mucus, we have the decisive moment in the completion of detumescence in woman, and it is probable that the thick mucus, unlike the earlier more limpid secretion, which women are sometimes aware of after orgasm, is emitted from the womb at this time. This is, however, not absolutely certain. Some authorities regard detumescence in women as accomplished in the pouring out of secretions, others in the rhythmic genital contractions; the sexual parts may, however, be copiously bathed in mucus for an indefinitely long period before the final stage of detumescence is achieved, and the rhythmic contractions are also taking place at a somewhat early period; in neither respect is there any obvious increase at the final moment of orgasm. In women this would seem to be more conspicuously a nervous manifestation than in men. On the subjective side it is very

[1] *Cf.* the discussion of hysteria in "Auto-Erotism," vol. i of these *Studies*.

[2] Hirst, *Text-Book of Obstetrics*, 1899, p. 67.

pronounced, with its feeling of relieved tension and agreeable repose—a moment when, as one woman expresses it, together with intense pleasure, there is, as it were, a floating up into a higher sphere, like the beginning of chloroform narcosis—but on the objective side this culminating moment is less easy to define.

Various observations and remarks made during the past two or three centuries by Bond, Valsmeri, Dionis, Haller, Gunther, and Bischoff, tending to show a sucking action of the uterus in both women and other female animals, have been brought together by Lutzmann in R. Wagner's *Handwörterbuch der Physiologie* (1846, vol. iii. p. 33). Lutzmann added an experience of his own: "I had an opportunity lately, while examining a young and very erethic woman, to observe how suddenly the uterus assumed a more erect position, and descended deeper in the pelvis: the lips of the womb became equal in length, the cervix rounded, softer, and more easily reached by the finger, and at the same time a high state of sexual excitement was revealed by the respiration and voice."

The general belief still remained, however, that the woman's part in conjugation is passive, and that it is entirely by the energy of the male organ and of the male sexual elements, the spermatozoa, that conjunction with the germ cell is attained. According to this theory it was believed that the spermatozoa were, as Wilkinson expresses it, in a history of opinion on this question, "endowed with some sort of intuition or instinct; that they would turn in the direction of the os uteri, wading through the acid mucus of the vagina; travel patiently upward and around the vaginal portion of the uterus; enter the uterus and proceed onward in search of the waiting ovum." (A. D. Wilkinson, "Sterility in the Female." *Transactions of the Lincoln Medical Society*, Nebraska, 1896.)

About the year 1859 Fichstedt seems to have done something to overthrow this theory by declaring his belief that the uterus was not, as commonly supposed, a passive organ in coitus, but was capable of sucking in the semen during the brief period of detumescence. Various authorities then began to bring forward arguments and observations in the same sense. Wernich, especially, directed attention to this point in 1872 in a paper on the erectile properties of the lower segment of the uterus ("Die Erectionsfahigkeit des untern Uterus-Abschnitts," *Beitrage zur Geburtshülfe und Gynækologie*, vol. i. p. 296). He made precise observations and came to the conclusion that owing to erectile properties in the neck of the uterus, this part of the womb elongates during congress and reaches down into the pelvis with an aspiratory movement, as if to meet the glans of the male. A little later, in a case of partial prolapse, Beck, in ignorance of Wernich's theory, was enabled to make

a very precise observation of the action of the uterus during excitement. In this case the woman was sexually very excitable even under ordinary examination, and Beck carefully noted the phenomena that took place during the orgasm. "The os and cervix uteri," he states, "had been about as firm as usual, moderately hard and, generally speaking, in a natural and normal condition, with the external os closed to such an extent as to admit of the uterine probe with difficulty; but the instant that the height of excitement was at hand, the os opened itself to the extent of fully an inch, as nearly as my eye can judge, made five or six successive gasps as if it were drawing the external os into the cervix, each time powerfully, and, it seemed to me, with a regular rhythmical action, at the same time losing its former density and hardness and becoming quite soft to the touch. Upon the cessation of the action, as related, the os suddenly closed, the cervix again hardened itself, and the intense congestion was dissipated." (J. R. Beck, "How do the Spermatozoa Enter the Uterus?" *American Journal of Obstetrics*, 1874.) It would appear that in the early part of this final process of detumescence the action of the uterus is mainly one of contraction and ejaculation of any mucus that may be contained; Dr. Paul Mundé has described "the gushing, almost in jets," of this mucus which he has observed in an erotic woman under a rather long digital and specular examination. (*American Journal of Obstetrics*, 1893.) It is during the latter part of detumescence, it would seem, and perhaps for a short time after the orgasm is over, that the action of the uterus is mainly aspiratory.

While the active part played by the womb in detumescence can no longer be questioned, it need not too hastily be assumed that the belief in the active movements of the spermatozoa must therefore be denied. The vigorous motility of the tadpole-like organisms is obvious to anyone who has ever seen fresh semen under the microscope; and if it is correct, as Clifton Edgar states, that the spermatozoa may retain their full activity in the female organs for at least seventeen days, they have ample time to exert their energies. The fact that impregnation sometimes occurs without rupture of the hymen is not decisive evidence that there has been no penetration, as the hymen may dilate without rupturing; but there seems no reason to doubt that conception has sometimes taken place when ejaculation has occurred without penetration; this is indicated in a fairly objective manner when, as has been occasionally observed, conception has occurred in

women whose vaginas were so narrow as scarcely to admit the entrance of a goose-quill; such was the condition in the case of a pregnant woman brought forward by Roubaud. The stories, repeated in various books, of women who have conceived after homosexual relations with partners who had just left their husbands' beds are not therefore inherently impossible.[1] Janke quotes numerous cases in which there has been impregnation in virgins who have merely allowed the penis to be placed in contact with the vulva, the hymen remaining unruptured until delivery.[2]

It must be added, however, that even if the semen is effused merely at the mouth of the vagina, without actual penetration, the spermatozoa are still not entirely without any resource save their own motility in the task of reaching the ovum. As we have seen, it is not only the uterus which takes an active part in detumescence; the vagina also is in active movement, and it seems highly probable that, at all events in some women and under some circumstances, such movement favoring aspiration toward the womb may be communicated to the external mouth of the vagina.

Riolan (*Anthropographia*, 1626, p. 294) referred to the constriction and dilation of the vulva under the influence of sexual excitement. It is said that in Abyssinia women can, when adopting the straddling posture of coitus, by the movements of their own vaginal muscles alone, grasp the male organ and cause ejaculation, although the man remains passive. According to Lorion the Annamites, adopting the normal posture of coitus, introduce the penis when flaccid or only half erect, the contraction of the vaginal walls completing the process; the penis is very small in this people. It is recognized by gynæcologists that the condition of vaginismus, in which there is spasmodic contraction of the vagina, making intercourse painful or impossible, is but a morbid exaggeration of the normal contraction which occurs in sexual excitement. Even in the absence of sexual excitement there is a vague affection, occurring in both married and unmarried women, and not, it would seem,

[1] The earliest story of the kind with which I am acquainted, that of a widow who was thus impregnated by a married friend, is quoted in Schurig's *Spermatologia* (p. 224) from Amatus Lusitanus, *Curationum Centuriæ Septem*, 1620.

[2] Janke, *Die Willkürliche Hervorbringen des Geschlechts*, p. 238.

necessarily hysterical, characterized by quivering or twitching of the vulva; I am told that this is popularly termed "flackering of the shape" in Yorkshire and "taittering of the lips" in Ireland. It may be added that quivering of the gluteal muscles also takes place during detumescence, and that in Indian medicine this is likewise regarded as a sign of sexual desire in women, apart from coitus.

A non-medical correspondent in Australia, W. J. Chidley, from whom I have received many communications on this subject, is strongly of opinion from his own observations that not only does the uterus take an active part in coitus, but that under natural conditions the vagina also plays an active part in the process. He was led to suspect such an action many years ago, as well by an experience of his own, as also by hearing from a young woman who met her lover after a long absence that by the excitement thus aroused a tape attached to the underclothes had been drawn into the vagina. Since then the confidences of various friends, together with observations of animals, have confirmed him in the view that the general belief that coitus must be effected by forcible entry of the male organ into a passive vagina is incorrect. He considers that under normal circumstances coitus should take place but rarely, and then only under the most favorable circumstances, perhaps exclusively in spring, and, most especially, only when the woman is ready for it. Then, when in the arms of the man she loves, the vagina, in sympathy with the active movements of the womb, becomes distended at the touch of the turgescent, but not fully erect, penis, "flashes open and draws in the male organ." "All animals," he adds, "have sexual intercourse by the male organ being *drawn*, not forced, into the female. I have been borne out in this by friends who have seen horses, camels, mules and other large animals in the coupling season. What is more absurd, for instance, than to say that an entire *penetrates* the mare? His penis is a sensitive, beautiful piece of mechanism, which brings its light head here and there till it touches the right spot, when the mare, *if ready*, takes it in. An entire's penis could not penetrate anything; it is a curve, a beautiful curve which would easily bend. A bull's, again, is turned down at the end and, more palpably still, would fold on itself if pressed with force. The womb and vagina of a beautiful and healthy woman constitute a living, vital, moving organ, sensitive to a look, a word, a thought, a hand on the waist."

A well-known American author thus writes in confirmation of the foregoing view: "In nature the woman wooes. When impassioned her vagina becomes erect and dilated, and so lubricated with abundant mucus to the lips that entrance is easy. This dilatation and erectile expansion of vagina withdraws the hymen so close to the walls that penetration need not tear it or cause pain. The more muscular, primitive and healthy the woman the tougher and less sensitive the hymen,

and the less likely to break or bleed. I think one great function of the foreskin also is to moisten the glans, so that it can be lubricated for entrance, and then to retract, moist side out, to make entrance still easier. I think that in nature the glans penetrates within the labia, is withstood a moment, vibrating, and then all resistance is withdrawn by a sudden 'flashing open' of the gates, permitting easy entrance, and that the sudden giving up of resistance, and substitution of welcome, with its instantaneous deep entrance, causes an almost immediate male orgasm (the thrill being irresistibly exciting). Certainly this is the process as observed in horses, cattle, goats, etc., and it seems likely something analogous is natural in man."

While it is easily possible to carry to excess a view which would make the woman rather than the man the active agent in coitus (and it may be recalled that in the Cebidæ the penis, as also the clitoris, is furnished with a bone), there is probably an element of truth in the belief that the vagina shares in the active part which, there can now be little doubt, is played by the uterus in detumescence. Such a view certainly enables us to understand how it is that semen effused on the exterior sexual organs can be conveyed to the uterus.

It was indeed the failure to understand the vital activity of the semen and the feminine genital canal, co-operating together towards the junction of sperm cell and germ cell, which for so long stood in the way of the proper understanding of conception. Even the genius of Harvey, which had grappled successfully with the problem of the circulation, failed in the attempt to comprehend the problem of generation. Mainly on account of this difficulty, he was unable to see how the male element could possibly enter the uterus, although he devoted much observation and study to the question. Writing of the uterus of the doe after copulation, he says: "I began to doubt, to ask myself whether the semen of the male could by any possibility make its way by attraction or injection to the seat of conception, and repeated examination led me to the conclusion that none of the semen reached this seat." (*De Generatione Animalium*, Exercise lxvii.) "The woman," he finally concluded, "after contact with the spermatic fluid *in coitu*, seems to receive an influence and become fecundated without the co-operation of any sensible corporeal agent, in the same way as iron touched by the magnet is endowed with its powers."

Although the specifically sexual muscular process of detumescence in women—as distinguished from the general muscular phenomena of sexual excitement which may be fairly obvious—is thus seen to be somewhat complex and obscure, in women as well as in men detumescence is a convulsion which

discharges a slowly accumulated store of nervous force. In women also, as in men, the motor discharge is directed to a specific end—the intromission of the semen in the one sex, its reception in the other. In both sexes the sexual orgasm and the pleasure and satisfaction associated with it, involve, as their most essential element, the motor activity of the sexual sphere.[1]

The active co-operation of the female organs in detumescence is probably indicated by the difficulty which is experienced in achieving conception by the artificial injection of semen. Marion Sims stated in 1866, in *Clinical Notes on Uterine Surgery*, that in 55 injections in six women he had only once been successful; he believed that that was the only case at that time on record. Jacobi had, however, practiced artificial fecundation in animals (in 1700) and John Hunter in man. See Gould and Pyle, *Anomalies and Curiosities of Medicine*, p. 43; also Janke *(Die Willkurliche Hervorbringen des Geschlechts*, pp. 230 *et seq.)* who discusses the question of artificial fecundation and brings together a mass of data.

The facial expression when tumescence is completed is marked by a high degree of energy in men and of loveliness in women. At this moment, when the culminating act of life is about to be accomplished, the individual thus reaches his supreme state of radiant beauty. The color is heightened, the eyes are larger and brighter, the facial muscles are more tense, so that in mature individuals any wrinkles disappear and youthfulness returns.

At the beginning of detumescence the features are frequently more discomposed. There is a general expression of eager receptivity to sensory impressions. The dilatation of the pupils, the expansion of the nostrils, the tendency to salivation and to movements of the tongue, all go to make up a picture which indicates an approaching gratification of sensory desires; it is significant that in some animals there is at this moment erection of the ears.[2] There is sometimes a tendency to utter broken and meaningless words, and it is noted that sometimes

[1] *Cf.* Adler, *Die Mangelhafte Geschlechtsempfindung des Weibes*, pp. 29-38.

[2] Féré, *Pathologie des Emotions*, p. 51.

women have called out on their mothers.[1] The dilatation of the pupils produces photophobia, and in the course of detumescence the eyes are frequently closed from this cause. At the beginning of sexual excitement, Vaschide and Vurpas have observed, tonicity of the eye-muscles seems to increase; the elevators of the upper lids contract, so that the eyes look larger and their mobility and brightness are heightened; with the increase of muscular tonicity strabismus occurs, owing to the greater strength of the muscles that carry the eyes inward.[2]

The facial expression which marks the culmination of tumescence, and the approach of detumescence is that which is generally expressive of joy. In an interesting psycho-physical study of the emotion of joy, Dearborn thus summarizes its characteristics: "The eyes are brighter and the upper eyelid elevated, as also are the brows, the skin over the glabella, the upper lip and the corners of the mouth, while the skin at the outer canthi of the eye is puckered. The nostrils are moderately dilated, the tongue slightly extended and the cheeks somewhat expanded, while in persons with largely developed pinnal muscles the ears tend somewhat to incline forwards. The whole arterial system is dilated, with consequent blushing from this effect on the dermal capillaries of the face, neck, scalp and hands, and sometimes more extensively even; from the same cause the eyes slightly bulge. The whole glandular system likewise is stimulated, causing the secretions,—gastric, salivary, lachrymal, sudoral, mammary, genital, etc.—to be increased, with the resulting rise of temperature and increase in the katobolism generally. Volubility is almost regularly increased, and is, indeed, one of the most sensitive and constant of the correlations in emotional delight. . . . Pleasantness is correlated in living organisms by vascular, muscular and glandular extension or expansion, both literal and figurative." (G. Dearborn, "The Emotion of Joy," *Psychological Review Monograph Supplements*, vol. ii, No. 5, p. 62.) All these signs of joy appear to occur at some stage of the process of sexual excitement.

In some monkeys it would seem that the muscular movement which in man has become the smile is the characteristic facial expression of sexual tumescence or courtship. Discussing the facial expression of pleasure in children, S. S. Buckman has the following remarks: "There

[1] This is an instinctive impulse under all strong emotion in primitive persons. "The Australian Dieri," says A. W. Howitt (*Journal Anthropological Institute*, August, 1890), "when in pain or grief cry out for their father or mother."

[2] Vaschide and Vurpas, *Archives de Neurologie*, May, 1904.

is one point in such expression which has not received due consideration, namely, the raising of lumps of flesh each side of the nose as an indication of pleasure. Accompanying this may be seen small furrows, both in children and adults, running from the eyes somewhat obliquely towards the nose. What these characters indicate may be learned from the male mandril, whose face, particularly in the breeding season, shows colored fleshy prominences each side of the nose, with conspicuous furrows and ridges. In the male mandril these characters have been developed because, being an unmistakable sign of sexual ardor, they gave the female particular evidence of sexual feelings. Thus such characters would come to be recognized as habitually symptomatic of pleasurable feelings. Finding similar features in human beings, and particularly in children, though not developed in the same degree, we may assume that in our monkey-like ancestors facial characters similar to those of the mandril were developed, though to a less extent, and that they were symptomatic of pleasure, because connected with the period of courtship. Then they became conventionalized as pleasurable symptoms." (S. S. Buckmann, "Human Babies: What They Teach," *Nature*, July 5, 1900.) If this view is accepted, it may be said that the smile, having in man become a generalized sign of amiability, has no longer any special sexual significance. It is true that a faint and involuntary smile is often associated with the later stages of tumescence, but this is usually lost during detumescence, and may even give place to an expression of ferocity.

When we have realized how profound is the organic convulsion involved by the process of detumescence, and how great the general motor excitement involved, we can understand how it is that very serious effects may follow coitus. Even in animals this is sometimes the case. Young bulls and stallions have fallen in a faint after the first congress; boars may be seriously affected in a similar way; mares have been known even to fall dead.[1] In the human species, and especially in men—probably, as Bryan Robinson remarks, because women are protected by the greater slowness with which detumescence occurs in them—not only death itself, but innumerable disorders and accidents have been known to follow immediately after coitus, these results being mainly due to the vascular and muscular excitement involved by the processes of detumescence. Fainting, vomiting,

[1] F. B. Robinson, *New York Medical Journal*, March 11, 1893.

urination, defæcation have been noted as occurring in young men after a first coitus. Epilepsy has been not infrequently recorded. Lesions of various organs, even rupture of the spleen, have sometimes taken place. In men of mature age the arteries have at times been unable to resist the high blood-pressure, and cerebral hæmorrhage with paralysis has occurred. In elderly men the excitement of intercourse with strange women has sometimes caused death, and various cases are known of eminent persons who have thus died in the arms of young wives or of prostitutes.[1]

These morbid results, are, however, very exceptional. They usually occur in persons who are abnormally sensitive, or who have imprudently transgressed the obvious rules of sexual hygiene. Detumescence is so profoundly natural a process: it is so deeply and intimately a function of the organism, that it is frequently harmless even when the bodily condition is far from absolutely sound. Its usual results, under favorable circumstances, are entirely beneficial. In men there normally supervenes, together with the relief from the prolonged tension of tumescence, with the muscular repose and falling blood-pressure,[2] a sense of profound satisfaction, a glow of diffused well-being,[3] perhaps an agreeable lassitude, occasionally also a sense of mental liberation from an overmastering obsession. Under reasonably

[1] Féré deals fully with the various morbid results which may follow coitus, *L'Instinct Sexuel*, Chapter X; *id. Pathologie des Emotions*, p. 90.

[2] With regard to the relationship of detumescence to the blood-pressure Haig remarks: "I think that as the sexual act produces low and falling blood pressure, it will of necessity relieve conditions which are due to high and rising blood-pressure, such, for instance, as mental depression and bad temper; and, unless my observation deceives me, we have here a connection between conditions of high blood-pressure, with mental and bodily depression, and the act of masturbation, for this act will relieve those conditions, and will tend to be practiced for this purpose." (A. Haig, *Uric Acid*, sixth edition, p. 154.)

[3] A medical correspondent speaks of subjective feelings of temperature coming over the body from 20 to 24 hours after congress, and marked by sensations of cooling of body and glow of cheeks. In another case, though lassitude appears on the second day after congress, the first day after is marked by a notable increase in mental and physical activity.

happy circumstances there is no pain, or exhaustion, or sadness, or emotional revulsion. The happy lover's attitude toward his partner is not expressed by the well-known Sonnet (CXXIX) of Shakespeare:—

> "Past reason hunted, and no sooner had
> Past reason hated."

He feels rather with Boccaccio that the kissed mouth loses not its charm,

> "Bocca baciata non perde ventura."

In women the results of detumescence are the same, except that the tendency to lassitude is not marked unless the act has been several times repeated; there is a sensation of repose and self-assurance, and often an accession of free and joyous energy. After completely satisfactory detumescence she may experience a feeling as of intoxication, lasting for several hours, an intoxication that is followed by no evil reaction.

Such, so far as our present vague and imperfect knowledge extends, are the main features in the process of detumescence. In the future, without doubt, we shall learn to know more precisely a process which has been so supremely important in the life of man and of his ancestors.

III.

The Constituents of Semen—Function of the Prostate—The Properties of Semen—Aphrodisiacs—Alcohol, Opium, etc.—Anaphrodisiacs—The Stimulant Influence of Semen in Coitus—The Internal Effects of Testicular Secretions—The Influence of Ovarian Secretion.

THE germ cell never comes into the sphere of consciousness and cannot therefore concern us in the psychological study of the phenomena of the sexual instinct. But it is otherwise with the sperm cell, and the seminal fluid has a relationship, both direct and indirect, to psychic phenomena which it is now necessary to discuss.

While the spermatozoa are formed in the glandular tissue of the testes, the seminal fluid as finally emitted in detumescence is not a purely testicular product, but is formed by mixture with the fluids poured out at or before detumescence by various glands which open into the urethra, and notably the prostate.[1] This is a purely sexual gland, which in animals only becomes large and active during the breeding season, and may even be hardly distinguishable at other times; moreover, if the testes are removed in infancy, the prostate remains rudimentary, so that during recent years removal of the testes has been widely advocated and practiced for that hypertrophy of the prostate which is sometimes a distressing ailment of old age. It is the prostatic fluid, according to Furbringer, which imparts its characteristic odor to semen. It appears, however, to be the main function of the prostatic fluid to arouse and maintain the motility of the spermatozoa; before meeting the prostatic fluid the spermatozoa are motionless; that fluid seems to fur-

[1] The composite character of the semen was recognized by various old authors, some of whom said, (*e.g.*, Wharton) that it had three constituents, which they usually considered to be: (1) The noblest and most essential part, from the testicles; (2) a watery element from the vesiculæ; (3) an oily element from the prostate. Schurig, *Spermatologia*, 1720, p. 17.

nish a thinner medium in which they for the first time gain their full vitality.[1]

When at length the semen is ejaculated, it contains various substances which may be separated from it,[2] and possesses various qualities, some of which have only lately been investigated, while others have evidently been known to mankind from a very early period. "When held for some time in the mouth," remarked John Hunter, "it produces a warmth similar to spices, which lasts some time."[3] Possibly this fact first suggested that semen might, when ingested, possess valuable stimulant qualities, a discovery which has been made by various savages, notably by the Australian aborigines, who, in many parts of Australia, administer a potion of semen to dying or feeble members of the tribe.[4] It is perhaps noteworthy that in Central Africa the testes of the goat are consumed as an aphrodisiac.[5] In eighteenth century Europe, Schurig, in his *Spermatologia,* still found it necessary to discuss at considerable length the possible medical properties of human semen, giving many prescriptions which contained it.[6] The stimulation produced by the ingestion of semen would appear to form in some cases a part of the attraction exerted by *fellatio;* De Sade emphasized this point, and in a case recorded by Howard semen appears to have acted as a stimulant for which the craving was as irresistible as is that for alcohol in dipsomania.[7]

It must be remembered that the early history of this subject is more or less inextricably commingled with folk-lore practices of magical

[1] See, *e.g.*, C. Mansell Moulin, "A Contribution to the Morphology of the Prostate," *Journal of Anatomy and Physiology*, January, 1895; G. Walker, "A Contribution to the Anatomy and Physiology of the Prostate Gland, and a Few Observations on Ejaculation," *Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin*, October, 1900.

[2] For a study of the semen and its constituents, see Florence, "Du Sperme." *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, 1895

[3] J. Hunter, *Essays and Observations*, vol. i, p. 189.

[4] As regards one part of Australia, Walter Roth, *Ethnological Studies Among the Queensland Aborigines*, p. 174.

[5] Sir H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, p. 438

[6] Cap. VII, pp. 327-357, "De Spermaticis virilis usu Medico."

[7] W. L. Howard, "Sexual Perversion," *Alienist and Neurologist*, January, 1896.

origin, not necessarily founded on actual observation of the physiological effects of consuming the semen or testes. Thus, according to W. H. Pearse (*Scalpel*, December, 1897), it is the custom in Cornwall for country maids to eat the testicles of the young male lambs when they are castrated in the spring, the survival, probably, of a very ancient religious cult. (I have not myself been able to hear of this custom in Cornwall.) In Burchard's Penitential (Cap. CLIV. Wasserschleben, *op. cit.*, p. 660) seven years' penance is assigned to the woman who swallows her husband's semen to make him love her more. In the seventeenth century (as shown in William Salmon's *London Dispensatory*, 1678) semen was still considered to be good against witchcraft and also valuable as a love-philter, in which latter capacity its use still survives. (Bourke, *Scatalogic Rites*, pp. 343, 355.) In an earlier age (Picart, quoted by Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, p. 109) the Manichæans, it is said, sprinkled their eucharistic bread with human semen, a custom followed by the Albigenses.

The belief, perhaps founded in experience, that semen possesses medical and stimulant virtues was doubtless fortified by the ancient opinion that the spinal cord is the source of this fluid. This was not only held by the highest medical authorities in Greece, but also in India and Persia.

The semen is thus a natural stimulant, a physiological aphrodisiac, the type of a class of drugs which have been known and cultivated in all parts of the world from time immemorial. (Dufour has discussed the aphrodisiacs used in ancient Rome, *Histoire de la Prostitution*, vol. II. ch. 21.) It would be vain to attempt to enumerate all the foods and medicaments to which has been ascribed an influence in heightening the sexual impulse. (Thus, in the sixteenth century, aphrodisiacal virtues were attributed to an immense variety of foods by Liébault in his *Thresor des Remèdes Secrets pour les Maladies des Femmes*, 1585, pp. 104, *et seq.*) A large number of them certainly have no such effect at all, but have obtained this credit either on some magical ground or from a mistaken association. Thus the potato, when first introduced from America, had the reputation of being a powerful aphrodisiac, and the Elizabethan dramatists contain many references to this supposed virtue. As we know, potatoes, even when taken in the largest doses, have not the slightest aphrodisiac effect, and the Irish peasantry, whose diet consists very largely of potatoes, are even regarded as possessing an unusually small measure of sexual feeling. It is probable that the mistake arose from the fact that potatoes were originally a luxury, and luxuries frequently tend to be regarded as aphrodisiacs, since they are consumed under circumstances which tend to arouse the sexual desires. It is possible also that, as has been plausibly suggested, the misunderstanding may have been due to sailors—the first to be familiar with the potato—

who attributed to this particular element of their diet ashore the generally stimulating qualities of their life in port. The eryngo *(Eryngium maritimum)*, or sea holly, which also had an erotic reputation in Elizabethan times, may well have acquired it in the same way. Many other vegetables have a similar reputation, which they still retain. Thus onions are regarded as aphrodisiacal, and were so regarded by the Greeks, as we learn from Aristophanes. It is notewhorthy that Marro, a reliable observer, has found that in Italy, both in prisons and asylums, lascivious people are fond of onions (*La Pubertà*, p. 297), and it may perhaps be worth while to recall the observation of Sérieux that in a woman in whom the sexual instinct only awoke in middle age there was a horror of leeks. In some countries, and especially in Belgium, celery is popularly looked upon as a sexual stimulant. Various condiments, again, have the same reputation, perhaps because they are hot and because sexual desire is regarded, rightly enough, as a kind of heat. Fish—skate, for instance, and notably oysters and other shellfish—are very widely regarded as aphrodisiacs, and Kisch attributes this property to caviar. It is probable that all these and other foods which have obtained this reputation, in so far as they have any action whatever on the sexual appetite, only possess it by virtue of their generally nutritious and stimulating qualities, and not by the presence of any special principle having a selective action on the sexual sphere. A beefsteak is probably as powerful a sexual stimulant as any food; a nutritious food, however, which is at the same time easily digestible, and thus requiring less expenditure of energy for its absorption, may well exert a specially rapid and conspicuous stimulant effect. But it is not possible to draw a line, and, as Aquinas long since said, if we wish to maintain ourselves in a state of purity we shall fear even an immoderate use of bread and water.

More definitely aphrodisiacal effects are produced by drugs, and especially by drugs which in large doses are poisons. The aphrodisiac with the widest popular reputation is cantharides, but its sexually exciting effects are merely an accidental result of its action in causing inflammation of the genito-urinary passage, and it is both an uncertain and a dangerous result, except in skillful hands and when administered in small doses. Nux vomica (with its alkaloid strychnia), by virtue of its special action on the spinal cord, has a notably pronounced effect in heightening the irritability of the spinal ejaculatory center, though it by no means necessarily exerts any strengthening influence. Alcohol exerts a sexually exciting effect, but in a different manner; it produces little stimulation of the cord and, indeed, even paralyzes the lumbar sexual center in large doses, but it has an influence on the peripheral nerve-endings and on the skin, and also on the cerebral centers, tending to arouse desire and to diminish inhibition. In this latter way, as Adler remarks, it may, in small doses, under some circumstances, be

beneficial in men with an excessive nervousness or dread of coitus, and women, in whom orgasm has been difficult to reach, have frequently found this facilitated by some previous indulgence in alcohol. The aphrodisiac effect of alcohol seems specially marked on women. But against the use of alcohol as an aphrodisiac it must be remembered that it is far from being a tonic to detumescence, at all events in men, and that there is much evidence tending to show that not only chronic alcoholism, but even procreation during intoxication is perilous to the offspring (see, *e.g.*, Andriezen, *Journal of Mental Science*, January, 1905, and *cf.* W. C. Sullivan, "Alcoholism and Suicidal Impulses," *ib.*, April, 1898, p. 268); it may be added that Bunge has found a very high proportion of cases of immoderate use of alcohol in the fathers of women unable to suckle their infants (G. von Bunge, *Die Zunehmende Unfahigkeit der Frauen ihre Kinder zu Stillen*, 1903) while even an approximation to the drunken state is far from being a desirable prelude to the creation of a new human being. It is obvious that those who wish for any reason, to cultivate a strict chastity of thought and feeling would do well to avoid alcohol altogether, or only in its lightest forms and in moderation. The aphrodisiacal effects of wine have long been known, Ovid refers to them (*e.g.*, *Ars Am.*, Bk. III, 765). Clement of Alexandria, who was something of a man of science as well as a Christian moralist, points out the influence of wine in producing lasciviousness and sexual precocity. (*Pædagogus*, Bk. II, Chapter II). Chaucer makes the Wife of Bath say in the Wife of Bath's Prologue:—

> "And, after wyn, on Venus moste [needs] I thinke:
> For al so siken as cold engendreth hayl,
> A likerous mouth moste have a likerous tayl,
> In womman vinolent is no defense,
> This knowen lechours by experience."

Alcohol, as Chaucer pointed out, comes to the aid of the man, who is unscrupulous in his efforts to overcome a woman, and this not merely by virtue of its aphrodisiacal effects, and the apparently special influence which it seems to exert on women, but also because it lulls the mental and emotional characteristics which are the guardians of personality. A correspondent who has questioned on this point a number of prostitutes he has known, writes: "Their accounts of the first fall were nearly always the same. They got to know a 'gentleman,' and on one occasion they drank too much; before they quite realized what was happening they were no longer virgins." "In the mental areas, under the influence of alcohol," Schmiedeberg remarks (in his *Elements of Pharmacology*), "the finer degrees of observation, judgment, and reflection are the first to disappear, while the remaining mental functions remain in a normal condition. The soldier acts more boldly because he notices

dangers less and reflects over them less; the orator does not allow himself to be influenced by any disturbing side-considerations as to his audience, hence he speaks more freely and spiritedly; self-consciousness is lost to a very great extent, and many are astounded at the ease with which they can express their thoughts, and at the acuteness of their judgment in matters which, when they are perfectly sober, with difficulty reach their minds; and then afterwards they are ashamed at their mistakes."

The action of opium in small doses is also to some extent aphrodisiacal; it slightly stimulates both the brain and the spinal cord, and has sensory effects on the skin like alcohol; these effects are favored by the state of agreeable dreaminess it produces. In the seventeenth century Venette (*La Génération de l'Homme*, Part II, Chapter V) strongly recommended small doses of opium, then little known, for this purpose; he had himself, he says, in illness experienced its joys, "a shadow of those of heaven." In India opium (as well as cannabis indica) has long been a not uncommon aphrodisiac; it is specially used to diminish local sensibility, delaying the orgasm and thus prolonging the sexual act. (W. D. Sutherland, "De Impotentia," *Indian Medical Gazette*, January, 1900). Its more direct and stimulating influence on the sexual emotions seems indicated by the statement that prostitutes are found standing outside the opium-smoking dens of Bombay, but not outside the neighboring liquor shops. (G. C. Lucas, *Lancet*, February 2, 1884.) Like alcohol, opium seems to have a marked aphrodisiacal effect on women. The case is recorded of a mentally deranged girl, with no nymphomania though she masturbated, who on taking small doses of opium at once showed signs of nymphomania, following men about, etc. (*American Journal Obstetrics*, May, 1901, p 74.) It may well be believed that opium acts beneficially in men when the ejaculatory centers are weak but irritable; but its actions are too widespread over the organism to make it in any degree a valuable aphrodisiac. Various other drugs have more or less reputation as aphrodisiacs; thus bromide of gold, a nervous and glandular stimulant, is said to have as one of its effects a heightening of sexual feeling. Yohimbin, an alkaloid derived from the West African Yohimbehe tree, has obtained considerable repute during recent years in the treatment of impotence; in some cases (see, *e.g*, Toff's results, summarized in *British Medical Journal*, February 18, 1905) it has produced good results, apparently by increasing the blood supply to the sexual organs, but has not been successful in all cases or in all hands. It must always be remembered that in cases of psychical impotence suggestion necessarily exerts a beneficial influence, and this may work through any drug or merely with the aid of bread pills. All exercise, often even walking, may be a sexual stimulant, and it is scarcely necessary to add that powerful stimulation of the skin in the sexual sphere,

and more especially of the nates, is often a more effective aphrodisiac than any drug, whether the irritation is purely mechanical, as by flogging, or mechanico-chemical, as by urtication or the application of nettles. Among the Malays (with whom both men and women often use a variety of plants as aphrodisiacs, according to Vaughan Stevens) Breitenstein states (*21 Jahre in India*, Theil I, p. 228) that both massage and gymnastics are used to increase sexual powers. The local application of electricity is one of the most powerful of aphrodisiacs and McMordie found on applying one pole to a uterine sound in the uterus and the other to the abdominal wall that in the majority of healthy women the orgasm occurred.

Among anaphrodisiacs, or sexual sedatives, bromide of potassium by virtue of its antidotal relationship to strychnia, is one of the drugs whose action is most definite, though, while it dulls sexual desire, it also dulls all the nervous and cerebral activities. Camphor has an ancient reputation as an anaphrodisiac, and its use in this respect was known to the Arabs (as may be seen by a reference to it in the *Perfum d Garden*): while, as Hyrtl mentions (*loc. cit.* ii, p 94), rue (*Ruta graveolens*) was considered a sexual sedative by the monks of old, who on this account assiduously cultivated it in their cloister gardens to make *vinum rutæ*. Recently heroin in large doses (see, *e.g.* Becker, *Berliner Klinische Wochenschrift*, November 23, 1903) has been found to have a useful effect in this direction. It may be doubted, however whether there is any satisfactory and reliable anaphrodisiac. Charcot indeed, it is said, used to declare that the only anaphrodisiac in which he had any confidence was that used by the uncle of Heloïse in the case of Abelard. "*Cela* (he would add with a grim smile) *tranche la difficulté.*"

If semen is a stimulant when ingested, it is easy to suppose that it may exert a similar action on the woman who receives it into the vagina in normal sexual congress. It is by no means improbable that, as Mattei argued in 1878, this is actually the case. It is known that the vagina possesses considerable absorptive power. Thus Coen and Levi, among others, have shown that if a tampon soaked in a solution of iodine is introduced into the vagina, iodine will be found in the urine within an hour. And the same is true of various other substances.[1] If the vagina absorbs drugs it probably absorbs semen. Toff, of Braila (Roumania), who attaches much importance to such absorption, considers that it must be analogous to the ingestion of organic extractives. It is due to this influence, he believes,

[1] *Zentralblatt für Gynakologie*, 1894, No. 49.

that weak and anæmic girls so often become full-blooded and robust after marriage, and lose their nervous tendencies and shyness.[1]

It is, however, most certainly a mistake to suppose that the beneficial influence of coitus on women is exclusively, or even mainly, dependent upon the absorption of semen. This is conclusively demonstrated by the fact that such beneficial influence is exerted, and in full measure, even when all precautions have been taken to avoid any contact with the semen. In so far as *coitus reservatus* or *interruptus* may lead to haste or discomfort which prevents satisfactory orgasm on the part of the woman, it is without doubt a cause of defective detumescence and incomplete satisfaction. But if orgasm is complete the beneficial effects of coitus follow even if there has been no possibility of the absorption of semen. Even after *coitus interruptus*, if it can be prolonged for a period long enough for the woman to attain full and complete satisfaction, she is enabled to experience what she may describe as a feeling of intoxication, lasting for several hours. It is in the action of the orgasm itself, and the vascular, secretory, and metabolic activities set up by the psychic and nervous influence of coitus with a beloved person, that we must seek the chief key to the effects produced by coitus on women, however these effects may possibly be still further heightened by the actual absorption of semen.[1]

The positive action of semen, or rather of the testicular products, has been much investigated during recent years, and appears on the whole to be demonstrated. The notable dis-

[1] E. Toff, "Uber Imprägnierung," *Zentralblatt für Gynäkologie*, April, 1903. In a similar but somewhat more precise manner Dufougère has argued ("La Chlorose, ses rapports avec le marriage, son traitement par le liquide orchitique," Thèse de Bordeaux, 1902) that semen when absorbed by the vagina stimulates the secretion of the ovaries and thus exerts an influence over the blood in anæmia; in this way he seeks to explain why it is that coitus is the best treatment for chlorosis.

[1] In this connection I may refer to an interesting and suggestive paper by Harry Campbell on "The Craving for Stimulants" (*Lancet*, October 21, 1899). No reference is made to coitus, but the author discusses stimulants as normal and beneficial products of the organism, and deals with the nature of the "physiological" intoxication" they produce.

covery by Brown-Séquard, a quarter of a century ago, that the ingestion of the testicular juices in states of debility and senility acted as a beneficial stimulant and tonic, opened the way to a new field of therapeutics. Many investigators in various countries have found that testicular extracts, and more especially the spermin as studied by Poehl,[1] and by him regarded as a positive katalysator or accelerator of metabolic processes, exert a real influence in giving tone to the heart and other muscles, and in improving the metabolism of the tissues even when all influences of mental suggestion have been excluded.[2]

As the ovaries are strictly analogous to the testes, it was surmised that ovarian extract might prove a drug equally valuable with testicular products. As a matter of fact, ovarian extract, in the form of ovarin, etc., would seem to have proved beneficial in various disorders, more especially in anæmia and in troubles due to the artificial menopause. In most conditions, however, in which it has been employed the results are doubtful or uncertain, and some authorities believe that the influence of suggestion plays a considerable part here.

There is, however, another use which is subserved by the testicular products, a use which may indeed be said to be implied in those uses to which reference has already been made, but is yet historically the latest to be realized and studied. It was not until 1869 that Brown-Séquard first suggested that an important secretion was elaborated by the ductless glands and received into the circulation, but that suggestion proved to be epoch-making. If these glandular secretions are so valuable when administered as drugs to other persons, must they not be of far greater value when naturally secreted and poured out into the circulation in the living body? It is now generally

[1] Spermin was first discovered in the sperm by Schreiner in 1878: it has also been found in the thyroid, ovaries and various other glands. "The spermin secreting and elaborating organs," Howard Kelly remarks (*British Medical Journal*, January 29, 1898), "may be called the 'apothecaries' of the body, secreting many important medicaments, much more active and more accurately representing its true wants than artificially administered drugs."

[2] See, *e.g.*, a summary of Buschan's comprehensive discussion of the subject of organotherapy (Eulenburg's *Real-Encyclopædie der Gesammten Heilkunde*) in *Journal of Mental Science*, April, 1899, p. 355.

believed, on the basis of a large and various body of evidence, that this is undoubtedly so. In a very crude form, indeed, this belief is by no means modern. In opposition to the old writers who were inclined to regard the semen as an excretion which it was beneficial to expel, there were other ancient authorities who argued that it was beneficial to retain it as being a vital fluid which, if reabsorbed, served to invigorate the body. The great physiologist, Haller, in the middle of the eighteenth century, came very near to the modern doctrine when he stated in his *Elements of Physiology* that the sperm accumulated in the seminical vesicles is pumped back into the blood, and thus produces the beard and the hair together with the other surprising changes of puberty which are absent in the eunuch. The reabsorption of semen can scarcely be said to be a part of the modern physiological doctrine, but it is at least now generally held that the testes secrete substances which pass into the circulation and are of immense importance in the development of the organism.

The experiments of Shattock and Seligmann indicate that the semen and its reabsorption in the seminal vesicles, or the nervous reactions produced by its presence, can have no part in the formation of secondary sexual characters. These investigators occluded the vas deferens in sheep by ligature, at an early age, rendering them later sterile though not impotent. The secondary sexual characters appeared as in ordinary sheep. Spermatogenesis, these inquirers conclude, may be the initial factor, but the results must be attributed to the elaboration by the testicles of an internal secretion and its absorption into the general circulation.[1]

When animals are castrated there is enlargement of the ductless glands in the body, notably the thyroid and the suprarenal capsules.[2] It is evident, therefore, that the secretions of

[1] "Observations Upon the Acquirement of Secondary Sexual Characters, Indicating the Formation of an Internal Secretion by the Testicles," *Proceedings Royal Society*, vol. lxxiii, p. 49.

[2] See, *e.g.*, the experiments of Cecca and Zappi, summarized in *British Medical Journal*, July 9, 1904.

these ductless glands are in some degree compensatory to those of the testes. But this compensatory action is inadequate to produce any sexual development in the absence of the testes.

We see, therefore, how extremely important is the function of the testis. Its significance is not alone for the race, it is not simply concerned with the formation of the spermatozoa which share equally with the ova the honor of making the mankind of the future. It also has a separate and distinct function which has reference to the individual. It elaborates those internal secretions which stimulate and maintain the physical and mental characters, constituting all that is most masculine in the male animal, all that makes the man in distinction from the eunuch. Among various primitive peoples, including those of the European race whence we ourselves spring, the most solemn form of oath was sworn by placing the hand on the testes, dimly recognized as the most sacred part of the body. A crude and passing phase of civilization has ignorantly cast ignominy upon the sexual organs; the more primitive belief is now justified by our advancing knowledge.

In these as in other respects the ovaries are precisely analogous to the testes. They not only form the ova, but they elaborate for internal use a secretion which develops and maintains the special physical and mental qualities of womanhood, as the testicular secretion those of manhood. Moreover, as Cecca and Zappi found, removal of the ovaries has exactly the same effect on the abnormal development of the other ductless glands as has removal of the testes. It is of interest to point out that the internal secretion of the ovaries and its important functions seem to have been suggested before any other secretion than the sperm was attributed to the testes. Early in the nineteenth century Cabanis argued ("De l'Influence des Sexes sur le Caractère des Idées et des Affections Morales," *Rapport du Physique et du Moral de l'Homme*, 1824, vol. ii, p 18) that the ovaries are secreting glands, forming a "particular humor" which is reabsorbed into the blood and imparts excitations which are felt by the whole system and all its organs.

IV.

The Aptitude for Detumescence—Is There an Erotic Temperament?—The Available Standards of Comparison—Characteristics of the Castrated—Characteristics of Puberty—Characteristics of the State of Detumescence—Shortness of Stature—Development of the Secondary Sexual Characters—Deep Voice—Bright Eyes—Glandular Activity—Everted Lips—Pigmentation—Profuse Hair—Dubious Significance of Many of These Characters.

WHAT, if any, are the indications which the body generally may furnish as to the individual's aptitude and vigor for the orgasm of detumescence? Is there an erotic temperament outwardly and visibly displayed? That is a question which has often occupied those who have sought to penetrate the more intimate mysteries of human nature, and since we are here concerned with human beings in their relationship to the process of detumescence, we cannot altogether pass over this question, difficult as it is to discuss it with precision.

The old physiognomists showed much confidence in dealing with the matter. Possibly they had more opportunities for observation than we have, since they often wrote in days when life was lived more nakedly than among ourselves, but their descriptions, while sometimes showing much insight, are inextricably mixed up with false science and superstition.

In the *De Secretis Mulierum*, wrongly attributed to Albertus Magnus, we find a chapter entitled "Signa mulieris calidæ naturæ et quæ coit libenter," which may be summarized here. "The signs," we are told, "of a woman of warm temperament, and one who willingly cohabits are these: youth, an age of over 12, or younger, if she has been seduced, small, high breasts, full and hard, hair in the usual positions; she is bold of speech, with a delicate and high voice, haughty and even cruel of disposition, of good complexion, lean rather than stout, inclined to like drinking. Such a woman always desires coitus, and receives satisfaction in the act. The menstrual flow is not abundant nor always regular. If she becomes pregnant the milk is not abundant. Her perspiration is less odorous than that of the woman of opposite

temperament; she is fond of singing, and of moving about, and delights in adornments if she has any."

Polemon, in his *Sulla Physionomia*, has given among the signs of libidinous impulse: knees turned inwards, abundance of hairs on the legs, squint, bright eyes, a high and strident voice, and in women length of leg below the knee. Aristotle had mentioned among the signs of wantonness: paleness, abundance of hair on the body, thick and black hair, hairs covering the temples, and thick eyelids.

In the seventeenth century Bouchet, in his *Serées* (Troisième Serée), gave as the signs of virility which indicated that a man could have children: a great voice, a thick rough black beard, a large thick nose.

G. Tourdes (Art. "Aphrodisie," *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique des Sciences Médicales*) thus summarized the ancient beliefs on this subject: "The erotic temperament has been described as marked by a lean figure, white and well-ranged teeth, a developed hairy system, a characteristic voice, air, and expression, and even a special odor."

In approaching the question of the general physical indications of a special aptitude to the manifestation of vigorous detumescence, the most obvious preliminary would seem to be a study of the castrated. If we know the special peculiarities of those who by removal of the sexual glands at a very early age have been deprived of all ability to present the manifestations of detumescence, we shall probably be in possession of a type which is the reverse of that which we may expect in persons of a vigorously erotic temperament.

The most general characteristics of eunuchs would appear to be an unusual tendency to put on fat, a notably greater length of the legs, absence of hair in the sexual and secondary sexual regions, a less degree of pigmentation, as noted both in the castrated negro and the white man, a puerile larynx and puerile voice. In character they are usually described as gentle, conciliatory, and charitable.

There can be little doubt that castration in man tends to lead to lengthening of the legs (tibia and fibula) at puberty, from delayed ossification of the epiphyses. The hands and feet are also frequently longer and sometimes the forearms. At the same time the bones are more slender. The pelvis also is narrower. The eunuchs of Cairo are said to be easily seen in a crowd from their tall stature. (Collineau, quoting Lortet, *Revue Mensuelle de l'Ecole d'Anthropologie*, May, 1896) The

castrated Skoptzy show increased stature, and, it seems, large ears, with decreased chest and head (L. Pittard, *Revue Scientifique*, June 20, 1903.) Féré shows that in most of these respects the eunuch resembles beardless and infantile subjects. ("Les Proportions des Membres et les Caractères Sexuels," *Journal de l'Anatomie et de la Physiologie*, November-December, 1897.) Similar phenomena are found in animals generally. Sellheim, carefully investigating castrated horses, swine, oxen and fowls, found retardation of ossification, long and slender extremities, long, broad, but low skull, relatively smaller pelvis and small thorax. ("Zur Lehre von den Sekundären Geschlechtscharakteren," *Beiträge zur Geburtshulfe und Gynäcologie*, 1898, summarized in *Centralblatt für Anthropologie*, 1900, Heft IV.)

As regards the mental qualities and moral character of the castrated, Griffiths considers that there is an undue prejudice against eunuchs, and refers to Narses, who was not only one of the first generals of the Roman Empire, but a man of highly estimable character. (*Lancet*, March 30, 1895.) Matignon, who has carefully studied Chinese eunuchs, points out that they occupy positions of much responsibility, and, though regarded in many respects as social outcasts, possess very excellent and amiable moral qualities (*Archives Cliniques de Bordeaux*, May, 1896.) In America Everett Flood finds that epileptics and feeble-minded boys are mentally and morally benefited by castration. ("Notes on the Castration of Idiot Children," *American Journal of Psychology*, January, 1899.) It is often forgotten that the physical and psychic qualities associated with and largely dependent on the ability to experience the impulse of detumescence, while essential to the perfect man, involve many egoistic, aggressive and acquisitive characteristics which are of little intellectual value, and at the same time inimical to many moral virtues.

We have a further standard—positive this time rather than negative—to aid us in determining the erotic temperament: the phenomena of puberty. The efflorescence of puberty is essentially the manifestation of the ability to experience detumescence. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the individuals in whom the special phenomena of puberty develop most markedly are those in whom detumescence is likely to be most vigorous. If such is the case we should expect to find the erotic temperament marked by developed larynx and deep voice, a considerable degree of pigmentary development in hair and skin,

and a marked tendency to hairiness; while in women there should be a pronounced growth of the breasts and pelvis.[1]

There is yet another standard by which we may measure the individual's aptitude for detumescence: the presence of those activities which are most prominently brought into play during the process of detumescence. The individual, that is to say, who is organically most apt to manifest the physiological activities which mainly make up the process of detumescence, is most likely to be of pronounced erotic temperament.

"Erotic persons are of motor type," remark Vaschide and Vurpas, "and we may say generally that nearly all persons of motor type are erotic." The state of detumescence is one of motor and muscular energy and of great vascular activity, so that habitual energy of motor response and an active circulation may reasonably be taken to indicate an aptitude for the manifestation of detumescence.

These three types may be said, therefore, to furnish us valuable though somewhat general indications. The individual who is farthest removed from the castrated type, who presents in fullest degree the characters which begin to emerge at the period of puberty, and who reveals a physiological aptitude for the vigorous manifestation of those activities which are called into action during detumescence, is most likely to be of erotic temperament. The most cautious description of the characteristics of this temperament given by modern scientific writers, unlike the more detailed and hazardous descriptions of the early physiognomists, will be found to be fairly true to the standards thus presented to us.

The man of sexual type, according to Biérent (*La Puberté*, p. 148), is hairy, dark and deep-voiced.

"The men most liable to satyriasis," Bouchereau states (art. "Satyriasis," *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique des Sciences Médicales*), "are those with vigorous nervous system, developed muscles, abundant hair on body, dark complexion, and white teeth."

[1] See Biérent, *La Puberté;* Marro, *La Pubertà* (and enlarged French translation, *La Puberté*), and portions of G. S. Hall's *Adolescence;* also Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman* (fourth edition, revised and enlarged).

Mantegazza, in his *Fisiologia del Piacere*, thus describes the sexual temperament: "Individuals of nervous temperament, those with fine and brown skins, rounded forms, large lips and very prominent larynx enjoy in general much more than those with opposite characteristics. A universal tradition," he adds, "describes as lascivious humpbacks, dwarfs, and in general persons of short stature and with long noses."

In a case of nymphomania in a young woman, described by Alibert (and quoted by Laycock, *Nervous Diseases of Women*, p. 28) the hips, thighs and legs were remarkably plump, while the chest and arms were completely emaciated. In a somewhat similar case described by Marc in his *De la Folie* a peasant woman, who from an early age had experienced sexual hyperæsthesia, so that she felt spasmodic voluptuous feelings at the sight of a man, and was thus the victim of solitary excesses and of spasmodic movements which she could not repress, the upper part of the body was very thin, the hips, legs and thighs highly developed.

In his work on *Uterine and Ovarian Inflammation* (1862, p. 37) Tilt observes: "The restless, bashful eye, and changing complexion, in presence of a person of the opposite sex, and a nervous restlessness of body, ever on the move, turning and twisting on sofa or chair, are the best indications of sexual temperament."

An extremely sensual little girl of 8, who was constantly masturbating when not watched, although brought up by nuns, was described by Busdraghi (*Archivio di Psichiatria*, fas. i, 1888, p. 53) as having chestnut hair, bright black eyes, an elevated nose, small mouth, pleasant round face, full colored cheeks, and plump and healthy aspect.

A highly intelligent young Italian woman with strong and somewhat perverted sexual impulses is described as of attractive appearance, with olive complexion, small black almond-shaped eyes, dilated pupils, oblique thin eyebrows, very thick black hair, rather prominent cheek-bones, largely developed jaw, and with abundant down on lower part of cheeks and on upper lip. (*Archivio di Psichiatria*, 1899, fasc. v-vi.)

As the type of the sensual woman in word and act, led by her passions to commit various sexual offenses, Ottolenghi describes (*Archivio di Psichiatria*, vol. xii, fasc. v-vi, p. 496) a woman of 32 who attempted to kill her lover. The daughter of parents who were neurotic and themselves very erotic, she was a highly intelligent and vivacious woman, with a pleasing and open face, very thick dark chestnut hair, large cheek-bones, adipose buttocks almost resembling those of a Hottentot, and very thick pubic hair. She was very fond of salt things. Sexual inclination began at the age of 7.

Adler and Moll remark, very truly, that, so far at least as women are concerned, sexual anæsthesia or sexual proclivity

cannot be unfailingly read on the features. Every woman desires to please, and coquetry is the sign of a cold, rather than of an erotic temperament.[1] It may be added that a considerable degree of congenital sexual anæsthesia by no means prevents a woman from being beautiful and attractive, though it must probably still always be said that, as Roubaud points out,[2] the woman of cold and intellectual temperament, the "femme de tête," however beautiful and skillful she may be, cannot compete in the struggle for love with the woman whose qualities are of the heart and of the emotions. But it seems sufficiently clear that the practical observations of skilled and experienced observers agree in attributing to persons of erotic type certain general characteristics which accord with those negative and positive standards we may frame on the basis of castration, of puberty, and of detumescence. It may be worth while to note a few of these characteristics briefly.

The abnormal lengthening of the long bones at the age of puberty in the castrated is, as we have seen, very pronounced. There is little tendency to associate length of limb with an erotic temperament, and a certain amount of data as well as of more vague opinion points in the opposite direction. The Arabs would appear to believe that it is short rather than tall people in whom the sexual instinct is strongly developed, and we read in the *Perfumed Garden:* "Under all circumstances little women love coitus more and evince a stronger affection for the virile member than women of a large size." In his elaborate investigation of criminals Marro found that prostitutes and women guilty of sexual offenses, as also male sexual offenders, tend to be short and thick set.[3] In European folk-lore the thick, bull neck is regarded as a sign of strong sexuality.[4] Mantegazza refers to a strong sexual temperament as being associated with arrest or disorder of bony development, and Marro suggests that

[1] Adler, *Die Mangelhafte Geschlechtsempfindung des Weibes*, p. 174; Moll, "Perverse Sexualempfindung, Psychische Impotenz und Ehe" (Section II), in Senator and Kaminer, *Krankheiten und Ehe.*

[2] Roubaud, *Traité de l'Impuissance*, p. 324.

[3] Marro, *Caratteri dei Delinquenti*, p. 374.

[4] Κουρτάδια, vol ii, p. 258.

the proverbial salacity of rachitic individuals may be due to an increased activity of the sexual organs.[1] It may be added that acromegaly, with its excessive bony growths tends to be associated with premature sexual involution.

A further point which is frequently mentioned in the case of women is the development of the chief secondary sexual regions: the pelvis and the breasts. It is, indeed, almost inevitable that there should be some degree of correlation between the aptitude for bearing children and the aptitude for experiencing detumescence. The reality of such a connection is not only evidenced by medical observations, but receives further testimony in popular beliefs. In Italy women with large buttocks are considered wanton, and among the South Slavs they are regarded as especially fruitful.[2] Blumenbach asserted that precocious venery will enlarge the breasts, and believed that he had found evidence of this among young London prostitutes.[3]

The association of the aptitude for detumescence with a tendency to a deep rather than to a high voice, both in men and women, has frequently been noted and has seldom been denied. The onset of puberty always affects the voice; in general, Biérent states, the more bass the voice is the more marked is the development of the sexual apparatus; "a very robust man, with very developed sexual organs, and very dark and abundant hairy system, a man of strong puberty in a word, is nearly always a bass."[4] The influence of sexual excitement in deepening the voice is shown by the rules of sexual hygiene prescribed to tenors, while a bass has less need to observe similar precautions. In women every phase of sexual life—puberty, menstruation, coitus, pregnancy—tends to affect the voice and always by giving it a deeper character. The deepening of the voice by sexual intercourse was an ancient Greek observation, and Martial refers to a woman's good or bad singing as an index to her recent

[1] Marro, *La Pubertà*, p. 196. In Italy, the sensuality of the lame is the subject of proverbs.

[2] *Archivio di Psichiatria*, 1896, p. 515; Κρυπτάδια, vol. vi, p. 212. Blumenbach, *Anthropological Treatises*, p. 248.

[3] Biérent, *La Puberté*, p. 148.

sexual habits. Prostitutes tend to have a deep voice. Venturi points out that married women preserve a fresh voice to a more advanced age than spinsters, this being due to the precocious senility in the latter of an unused function. Such a phenomenon indicates that the relationship of detumescence to the deepening of the voice is not quite simple. This is further indicated by the fact that in robust men abstinence still further deepens the voice (the monk of melodrama always has a bass voice), while excessive or precocious sexual indulgence tends to be associated with the same kind of puerile voice as is found in those persons in whom pubertal development has not been carried very far, or who are of what Griffiths terms eunuchoid type. Idiot boys, who are often sexually undeveloped, tend to have a high voice, while idiot girls (who often manifest marked sexual proclivities) not infrequently have a deep voice.[1]

Bright dilated eyes are among the phenomena of detumescence, and are very frequently noted in persons of a pronounced erotic temperament. This is, indeed, an ancient observation, and Burton says of people with a black, lively, and sparkling eye, "without question they are most amorous," drawing his illustrations mostly from classic literature.[2] Tardieu described the erotic woman as having bright eyes, and Heywood Smith states that the eyes of lascivious women resemble, though in a less degree, those of the insane.[3] Sexual excitement is one among many causes—intellectual excitement, pain, a loud noise, even any sensory irritation—which produce dilatation of the pupils and enlargement of the palpebral fissure, with some protrusion of the eyeball. The influence of the sexual system upon the eye appears to be far less potent in men than in women.[4] Sexual desire is, however, by no means the only irritant within the sexual sphere which may thus influence the eye; morbid irritations may produce the same effect. Milner Fothergill in his book on *Indigestion*, vividly describes the appearance of the

[1] Venturi, *Degenerazioni Psico-sessuali* pp. 108-110.
[2] *Anatomy of Melancholy* Part III, Section II Mem II, Sub II.
[3] *British Gynæcological Journal* February, 1887, p. 305.
[4] Power *Lancet*, November 26, 1887.

eyes sometimes seen in ovarian disorder: "The glittering flash which glances out from some female irides is the external indication of ovarian irritation, and 'the ovarian gleam' has features quite its own. The most marked instance which ever came under my notice was due to irritation in the ovaries, which had been forced down in front of the uterus and been fixed there by adhesions. Here there was little sexual proclivity, but the eyes were very remarkable. They flashed and glittered unceasingly, and at times perfect lightning bolts shot from them. Usually there is a bright glittering sheen in them which contrasts with the dead look in the irides of sexual excess or profuse uterine discharges."

The activity of the glandular secretions, and especially those of the skin, during detumescence, would lead us to expect that such secretory activity is an index to an aptitude for detumescence. As a matter of fact it is occasionally, though not frequently, noted by medical observers. It is stated that the erotic temperament is characterized by a special odor.[1] The activity of the sweat-glands is seldom referred to by medical observers in describing persons of erotic temperament, although the descriptions of novelists not infrequently contain allusions to this point, and the literature of an earlier age shows that the tendency to perspiration, especially the moist hand, was regarded as a sure sign of a sensual temperament. "The moist-handed Madonna Imperia, a most rare and divine creature," remarks Lazarillo in Middleton's comedy *Blurt, Master-Constable,* to quote one of many allusions to this point in the Elizabethan drama.

The lips are sometimes noted as red and everted, perhaps thick[1]; Tardieu remarked that the typically erotic woman has thick red lips. This corresponds with the characteristic type of the satyr in classic statues as in later paintings; his lips are

[1] With regard to the sexual relationships of personal odor, see the previous volume of these *Studies*, "Sexual Selection in Man," section on Smell.

[1] In European folk-lore thick lips in a woman are sometimes regarded as a sign of sensuality, *Κυνηγέσια*. vol. ii, p. 258.

always thick and everted. Fullness, redness, and eversion of the lips are correlated with good breathing, the absence of anæmia, laughter, a well-fleshed face.

This kind of mouth indicates, perhaps, not so much a congenitally erotic temperament, as an abandonment to impulse. The opposite type of mouth—with inverted, thin, and retracted lips—would appear to be found with especial frequency in persons who habitually repress their impulses on moral grounds. Any kind of effort to restrain involuntary muscular action may lead to retraction of the lips: the effort to overcome anger or fear, or even the resistance to a strong desire to urinate or defecate. In religious young men, however, it becomes habitual and fixed. I recall a small band of medical students, gathered together from a large medical school, who were accustomed to meet together for prayer and Bible-reading; the majority showed this type of mouth to a very marked degree: pale faces, with drawn, retracted lips. It may be termed the Christian or pious *facies*. It is much less frequently seen in religious women (unless of masculine type), doubtless because religion for women is in a much less degree than for men a moral discipline.

It may be added that an interesting form of this contraction of the lips, and one that is not purely repressive, is that which indicates the state of muscular tension associated with the impulse to guard and protect. In this form the contracted mouth is the index of tenderness, and is characteristic of the mother who is watching over the infant she is suckling at her breast. I have observed precisely the same expression in the face of a boy of 14 with a large congenital scrotal hernia: when the tumor was being examined his lower lip became retracted, well marked lines appearing from the angles downwards, though the upper lip retained its normal expression. It was precisely the tender look we may see in the faces of mothers who are watching anxiously over their offspring, and the emotion is evidently the same in both cases: solicitude for a sensitive and tenderly guarded object.

The degree of pigmentation is clearly correlated with sexual vigor. "In general," Heusinger laid down, in 1823, "the quantity of pigment is proportional to the functional effectiveness of the genital organs." This connection is so profound that it may be traced very widely throughout the organic world.

The connection between pigmentation and sexual activity is very ancient. Even leaving out of account the wedding apparel of animals, nearly always gorgeous in scales and plumage and hair, the sexual orifice shows a more or less marked ten-

dency to pigmentation during the breeding season from fishes upward, while in mammals the darker pigmentation of this region is a constant phenomenon in sexually mature individuals.[1]

In the human species both the negative standard of castration and the positive standard of puberty alike indicate a correlation of this kind. Those individuals in whom puberty never fully develops and who are consequently said to be affected by infantilism, reveal a relative absence of pigment in the sexual centers which are normally pigmented to a high degree.[2] Among those Asiatic races who extirpate the ovaries in young girls the skin remains white in the perineum, round the anus, and in the armpits.[3] Even in mature women who undergo ovariotomy, as Kepler found, the pigmentation of the nipples and areola disappears, as well as of the perineum and anus, the skin taking on a remarkable whiteness.

Normally the sexual centers, and in a high degree the genital orifice, represent the maximum of pigmentation, and under some circumstances this is clearly visible even in infancy. Thus babies of mixed black and white blood may show no traces of negro ancestry at birth, but there will always be increased pigmentation about the external genitalia.[4] The linea fusca, which reaches from the pubes to the navel and occasionally to the ensiform cartilage, is a line of sexual pigmentation sometimes regarded as characteristic of pregnancy, but as Andersen, of Copenhagen, has found by the examination of several hundred children of both sexes, it exists in a slight form in about 75 per cent. of young girls, and in almost as large a proportion of boys. But there is no doubt that it tends to increase with age as well as to become marked at pregnancy. At puberty there is a general tendency to changes in pigmentation; thus Godin found

[1] The direct dependence of sexual pigmentation on the primary sexual glands is well illustrated by a true hermaphroditic adult finch exhibited at the Academy of Sciences of Amsterdam (May 31, 1890); this bird had a testis on the right side and an ovary on the left, and on the right side its plumage was of the male's colors, on the left of the female's color.

[2] See. *e.g.*, Papillault, *Bulletin Société d'Anthropologie*, 1899, p. 446.

[3] Guinard, Art. "Castration," Richet's *Dictionnaire de Physiologie.*

[4] J. Whitridge Williams, *Obstetrics*, 1903, p. 132.

that in 28 per cent. adolescent changes occurred in the eyes and hair at this period, the hair becoming darker, though the eyes sometimes become lighter. Ammon, in his investigation of conscripts at the age of 20 (*post*, p. 196), discovered the significant fact that the eyes and hair darken *pari passu* with sexual development. In women, during menstruation, there is a general tendency to pigmentation; this is especially obvious around the eyes, and in some cases black rings of true pigment form in this position. Even the skin of the negro women of Loango sometimes becomes a few shades darker during menstruation.[1] During pregnancy this tendency to pigmentation reaches its climax. Pregnancy constantly gives rise to pigmentation of the face, the neck, the nipples, the abdomen, and this is especially marked in brunettes.

This association of pigmentation and sexual aptitudes has been recognized in the popular lore of some peoples. Thus the Sicilians, who admire brown skin and have no liking either for a fair skin or light hair, believe that a white woman is incapable of responding to love. It is the brown woman who feels love; as it is said in Sicilian dialect: "Fimmina scura, fimmina amurusa."[2]

The dependence of pigmentation upon the sexual system is shown by the fact that irritation of the genital organs by disease will frequently suffice to produce a high degree of pigmentation. This may appear on the face, the neck, the trunk, the hands. Simpson long since noted that uterine irritation apart from pregnancy may produce pigmentation of the areolæ of the nipples (*Obstetric Works*, vol. i, p. 345). Engelmann discussed the subject and gave cases, "The Hystero Neuroses," pp. 124-139, in *Gynecological Transactions*, vol. xii, 1887; and a summary of a memoir by Fouquet on this subject in *La Gynécologie*, February, 1903, will be found in *British Medical Journal*, March 28, 1903,

[1] *Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie*, 1878, p. 19.

[2] C. Pitre, *Medicina Populare Siciliana*, p. 47. In England, from notes sent to me by one correspondent, it would appear that the proportion of dark and sexually apt women to fair and sexually apt women is as 3 to 1. The experience of others would doubtless give varying results, and in any case the fallacies are numerous. See, in the previous volume of these *Studies*, "Sexual Selection in Man," Section IV.

Of all physical traits vigor of the hairy system has most frequently perhaps been regarded as the index of vigorous sexuality. In this matter modern medical observations are at one with popular belief and ancient physiognomical assertions.[1] The negative test of castration and the positive test of puberty point in the same direction.

It is at puberty that all the hair on the body, except that on the head, begins to develop; indeed, the very word "puberty" has reference to this growth as the most obvious sign of the whole process. When castration takes place at an early age all this development of pubescent hair is arrested. When the primary sexual organs are undeveloped the sexual hair is also undeveloped, as in a case, recorded by Plant,[2] of a girl with rudimentary uterus and ovaries who had little or no axilliary and pubic hair, although the hair of the head was long and strong.[3]

The pseudo-Michael Scot among the *Signa mulieris calidæ naturæ et quæ coit libenter* stated that her hair, both on the head and body, is thick and coarse and crisp, and Della Porta, the greatest of the physiognomists, said that thickness of hair in women meant wantonness. Venette, in his *Génération de l'Homme*, remarked that men who have much hair on the body are most amorous. At a more recent period Roubaud has said that pubic hair in its quantity, color and curliness is an index of genital energy. A poor pilous system, on the other hand. Roubaud regarded as a probable though not an irrefragable proof of sexual frigidity in women. "In the cold woman the pilous system is remarkable for the languor of its vitality; the hairs are fair, delicate, scarce and smooth, while in ardent natures there are little curly tufts about the temples." (*Traité de l'Impuissance*, pp. 124, 523.) Martineau declared (*Leçons sur les Déformations Vulvaires*, p. 40) that "the more developed the genital organs the more abundant the hair covering them;

[1] In Japan the same belief would appear to be held. In a nude figure representing the typical voluptuous woman by the Japanese painter Marugama Okio (reproduced in Ploss's *Das Weib*) the pubic and axillary hair is profuse, though usually sparse in Japan.

[2] *Centralblatt fur Gynäkologie*, No. 9, 1896.

[3] It is important to remember that there is little correlation in this matter between the hair of the head and the sexual hair, if not a certain opposition. (See *ante*, p 127.) According to one of the aphorisms of Hippocrates, repeated by Buffon, eunuchs do not become bald, and Aristotle seems to have believed that sexual intercourse is a cause of baldness in men. (Laycock, *Nervous Diseases of Women*, p. 23.)

abundance of hair appears to be in relation to the perfect development of the organs." Tardieu described the typically erotic woman as very hairy.

Bergh found that among 2200 young Danish prostitutes those who showed an unusual extension and amount of pubic hair included several women who were believed to be libidinous in a very high degree. (Bergh, "Symbolæ," etc., *Hospitalstidende*, August, 1894.) Moragha, again, in Italy, in describing various women, mostly prostitutes, of unusually strong sexual proclivities, repeatedly notes very thick hair, with down on the face. (*Archivio di Psichiatria*, vol. xvi, fasc. iv-v.)

Marro, also, in Italy found that abundance of hair and down is especially marked in women who are guilty of infanticide (as also Pasini has found), though criminal women generally, in his experience, tend to have abnormally abundant hair. (*Caratteri dei Delinquenti*, cap. XXII.) Lombroso finds that prostitutes generally tend to be hairy (*Donna Delinquente*, p. 320.)

A lad of 14, guilty of numerous crimes of violence having a sexual source, is described by Arthur Macdonald in America as having hair on the chest as well as all over the pubes. (A. Macdonald, *Archives de L'Anthropologie Criminelle*, January, 1893, p. 55.) The association of hairiness with abnormal sexuality in the weak-minded has been noted at Bicêtre (*Recherches Cliniques sur l'Epilepsie*, vol. xix, pp. 69, 77.)

Hypertrichosis universalis, a general hairiness of body, has been described by Cascella in a woman with very strong sexual desires, who eventually became insane. (*Revista Mensile di Psichiatria*, 1903, p. 408.) Bucknill and Tuke give the case of a religiously minded girl, with very strong and repressed sexual desires, who became insane; the only abnormal feature in her physical development was the marked growth of hair over the body.

Brantôme refers to a great lady known to him whose body was very hairy, and quotes a saying to the effect that hairy people are either rich or wanton; the lady in question, he adds, was both. (Brantôme, *Vie des Dames Galantes*, Discours II.)

De Sade, whose writings are now regarded as a treasure house of true observations in the domain of sexual psychology, makes the Rodin of *Justine* dark, with much hair and thick eyebrows, while his very sexual sister is described as dark, thin and very hairy. (Dühren, *Der Marquis de Sade*, third edition, p. 440.)

A correspondent who has always taken a special interest in the condition as regards hairiness of the women to whom he has been attracted, has sent me notes concerning a series of 12 women. It may be gathered from these notes that 5 women were neither markedly sexual nor markedly hairy (either as regards head or pubes), 6 cases both hairy and sexual, 1 was sexual and not hairy, none were hairy

and not sexual. My correspondent remarks: "There may be women with scanty pubic hair possessing very strong sexual emotions. My own experience is quite the opposite." He has also independently reached the conclusion, arrived at by many medical observers and clearly suggested by some of the facts here brought together, that profuse hair frequently denotes a neurotic temperament.

It may be added that Mirabeau, as we learn from an anecdote told by an eye-witness and recorded by Legouvé, had a very hairy chest, while the same is recorded of Restif de la Bretonne.

It is a very ancient and popular belief that if a hairy man is not sensual he is strong: *vir pilosus aut libidinosus aut fortis.* The Greeks insisted on the hairy nates of Hercules, and Ninon de l'Enclos, when the great Condé shared her bed without touching her, remarked, on seeing his hairy body: "Ah, Monseigneur, que vous devez être fort!" It may be doubted whether there is any exact parallelism between muscular strength and hairiness, for strength is largely a matter of training, but there can be no doubt that hairiness really tends to be associated with a generally vigorous development of the body.

Although the observations concerning hairiness of body as an index of vigor, whether sexual or only generally physical, are so ancient, until recent years no attempts have been made to demonstrate on a large scale whether there is actually a correlation between hairiness and sexual or general development of the body. Some importance, therefore, attaches to Ammon's careful observations of many thousand conscripts in Baden. These observations fully justify this ancient belief, since they show that on the one hand the size of the testicles, and on the other hand girth of chest and stature, are correlated with hairiness of body.

Ammon's observations were made on nearly 4000 conscripts of the age of 20. From the point of view of the hairy system he divided them into four classes:—

I. To which 6.1 per cent. of the men belonged, with smooth bodies.

II. Including 25.3 per cent., only slight hairiness.

III. 53.8 per cent., more developed hairy system, but belly, breast and back smooth.

IV. 14.7 per cent., hair all over body.

V. 0.1 per cent., extreme cases of hairiness.

The beardless were 12.1 per cent., those with no axillary hair 9 per cent., those with no hair on pubis 0.4 per cent. This corresponds with the fact that hair appears first on the pubis and last on the chin.

In the first class 69 per cent. were beardless, 54 per cent. without any axillary hair and 6 per cent. without pubic hair. In the second class 24 per cent. were beardless, 17 per cent. without axillary hair. In the third class 3 per cent. were beardless and 3 per cent without axillary hair.

Below puberty the diameter of testicles is below 14 millimeters. There were 13 conscripts having a testicular diameter of less than 14 millimeters. These infantile individuals all belonged to the first three classes and mostly to the first. The average testicular diameter in the first class was nearly 24 millimeters, and progressively rose in the succeeding classes to over 26 millimeters in the fourth.

While there was not much difference in height, the first class was the shortest, the fourth the tallest. The fourth class also showed the greatest chest perimeter. The cephalic index of all classes was 84. (O. Ammon, "L'Infantilisme et le Feminisme au Conseil de Révision," *L'Anthropologie*, May-June, 1896.)

We thus see that it is quite justifiable to admit a type of person who possesses a more than average aptitude for detumescence. Such persons are more likely to be short than tall; they will show a full development of the secondary sexual characters; the voice will tend to be deep and the eyes bright; the glandular activity of the skin will probably be marked, the lips everted; there is a tendency to a more than average degree of pigmentation, and there is frequently an abnormal prevalence of hair on some parts of the body. While none of these signs, taken separately, can be said to have any necessary connection with the sexual impulse, taken altogether they indicate an organism that responds to the instinct of detumescence with special aptitude or with marked energy. In these respects observation, both scientific and popular, concords with the probabilities suggested by the three standards in this matter which have already been set forth.

No generalization, however, can here be set down in an absolute and unqualified manner. There are definite reasons why this should be so. There is, for instance, the highly important consideration that the sexual impulse of the individual

may be conspicuous in two quite distinct ways. It may assume prominence because the individual possesses a highly vigorous and well-nourished organism, or its prominence may be due to mental irritation in a very morbid individual. In the latter case—although occasionally the two sets of conditions are combined—most of the signs we might expect in the former case may be absent. Indeed, the sexual impulses which proceed from a morbid psychic irritability do not in most cases indicate any special aptitude for detumescence at all; in that largely lies their morbid character.

Again, just in the same way that the exaggerated impulse itself may either be healthy or morbid, so the various characters which we have found to possess some value as signs of the impulse may themselves either be healthy or morbid. This is notably the case as regards an abnormal growth of hair on the body, more especially when it appears on regions where normally there is little or no hair. Such hypertrichosis is frequently degenerative in character, though still often associated with the sexual system. When, however, it is thus a degenerative character of sexual nature, having its origin in some abnormal fœtal condition or later atrophy of the ovaries, it is no necessary indication of any aptitude for detumescence.

Idiots, more especially it would seem idiot girls, tend to show a highly developed hairy system. Thus Voisin, when investigating 150 idiot and imbecile girls, found the hair long and thick and tending to occupy a large surface; one girl had hair on the areolæ of the mamma. (J. Voisin, "Conformation des organes génitaux chez les Idiots," *Annales d'Hygiène Publique*, June, 1894.) It should be said that in idiot boys puberty is late, and the sexual organs as well as the sexual instinct frequently undeveloped, while in idiot girls there is no delay in puberty, and the sexual organs and instinct are frequently fully and even abnormally developed.

Hegar has described an interesting case showing an association, of fœtal origin, between sexual anomaly and abnormal hairness. In this case a girl of 16 had a uterus duplex, an infantile pelvis, very slight menstruation and undeveloped breasts. She was very hairy on the face, the anterior aspects of the chest and abdomen, the sexual regions, and the thighs, but not specially so on the rest of the body. The hairs were of lanugo-like character, but dark in color. (A. Hegar, *Beitrage zur*

Geburtshülfe und Gynäkologie, vol. 1, p. 111, 1898.) Sometimes hirsuties of the face and abdomen begin to appear during pregnancy, apparently from disease or degeneration of the ovaries. (A case is noted in *British Medical Journal*, August 2 and 16, pp. 375 and 436, 1902.) Laycock many years ago referred to the popular belief that women who have hair on the upper lip seldom bear children, and regarded this opinion as "questionless founded on fact." (Laycock, *Nervous Diseases of Women*, p. 22.) When this is so, we may suppose that the abnormal hairy growth is associated with degeneration of the ovaries.

There is another factor which enters into this question and renders the definition of a physical sexual type less precise than it would otherwise be. The sexual instinct is common to all persons, and while it seems probable that there is a type of person in whom sexual energies are predominant, it would also appear that the people who otherwise show a very high level of energy in life usually exhibit a more than average degree of energy in matters of love. The predominantly sexual type, as we have seen, tends to be associated with a high degree of pigmentation; the person specially apt for detumescence inclines to belong to the dark rather than to the purely fair group of the population. On the other hand, the active, energetic, practical man, the man who is most apt for the achievement of success in life, tends to belong to the fair rather than to the dark type.[1] Thus we have a certain conflict of tendencies, and it becomes possible to assert that while persons with pronounced aptitude for sexual detumescene tend to be dark, persons whose pronounced energy in sexual matters tends to ensure success are most likely to be fair.

The tendency of the fair energetic type, the type of the northern European man, to sexuality may be connected with the fact that the violent and criminal man who commits sexual crimes tends to be fair even amid a dark population. Criminals on the whole would appear to tend to be dark rather than fair, but Marro found in Italy that the group of sexual offenders differed from all other groups of criminals in that their hair was predominantly fair. (*Caratteri dei Delinquenti*,

[1] For some of the evidence on this point, see Havelock Ellis, "The Comparative Abilities of the Fair and the Dark," *Monthly Review*, August, 1901; *cf. id. A Study of British Genius*, Chapter X.

p. 374.) Ottolenghi, in the same way, in examining 100 sexual offenders, found that they showed 17 per cent. of fair hair, though criminals generally (on a basis of nearly 2000) showed only 6 per cent., and normal persons (nearly 1000) 9 per cent. Similarly while the normal persons showed only 20 per cent. of blue eyes and criminals generally 36 per cent., the sexual offenders showed 50 per cent. of blue eyes. (Ottolenghi, *Archivio di Psichiatria*, fasc. vi, 1888, p. 573.) Burton remarked (*Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part III, Section II, Mem. II, Subs. II) that in all ages most amorous young men have been yellow-haired, adding, "Synesius holds every effeminate fellow or adulterer is fair-haired." In folk-lore, it has been noted (*Κρητικά*, vol. ii, p. 258), red or yellow hair is sometimes regarded as a mark of sexuality.

In harmony with this fairness, sexual offenders would appear to be more dolichocephalic than other criminals. In Italy Marro found the foreheads of sexual offenders to be narrow, and in California Drähms found that while murderers had an average cephalic index of 83.5, and thieves of 80.5, that of sexual offenders was 79.

On the other hand, high cheek-bones and broad faces—a condition most usually found associated with brachycephaly—have sometimes been noted as associated with undue or violent sexuality. Marro noted the excess of prominent cheek-bones in sexual offenders, and in America it has been found that unchaste girls tend to have broad faces. (*Pedagogical Seminary*, December, 1896, pp. 231, 235.)

It will be seen that, when we take a comprehensive view of the facts and considerations involved, it is possible to obtain a more definite and coherent picture of the physical signs of a marked aptitude for detumescence than has hitherto been usually supposed possible. But we also see that while the *ensemble* of these signs is probably fairly reliable as an index of marked sexuality, the separate signs have no such definite significance, and under some circumstances their significance may even be reversed.

THE PSYCHIC STATE IN PREGNANCY.

The Relationship of Maternal and Sexual Emotion—Conception and Loss of Virginity—The Anciently Accepted Signs of This Condition—The Pervading Effects of Pregnancy on the Organism—Pigmentation—The Blood and Circulation—The Thyroid—Changes in the Nervous System—The Vomiting of Pregnancy—The Longings of Pregnant Women—Maternal Impressions—Evidence for and Against Their Validity—The Question Still Open—Imperfection of Our Knowledge—The Significance of Pregnancy.

In analyzing the sexual impulse I have so far deliberately kept out of view the maternal instinct. This is necessary, for the maternal instinct is specific and distinct; it is directed to an aim which, however intimately associated it may be with that of the sexual impulse proper, can by no means be confounded with it. Yet the emotion of love, as it has finally developed in the world, is not purely of sexual origin; it is partly sexual, but it is also partly parental.[1]

[1] See, *e g.*, Groos, *Æsthetische Genuss*, p. 249. "We have to admit," Groos observes, "the entrance of another instinct, the impulse to tend and foster, so closely connected with the sexual life. It is seemingly due to the co-operation of this impulse that the little female bird during courtship is so often fed by the male like a young fledgling. In man 'love' from the biological standpoint is also an amalgamation of two needs; when the tender need to protect and foster and serve is lacking the emotion is not quite perfect. Heine's expression, 'With my mantle I protect you from the storm,' has always seemed to me very characteristic." Sometimes the sexual impulse may undergo a complete transformation in this direction. "I believe there is really a tendency in women," a lady writes in a letter, "to allow maternal feeling to take the place of sexual feeling. Very often a woman's feeling for her husband becomes this (though he may be twenty years older than herself); sometimes it does not, remaining purely sex feeling. Sometimes it is for some other man she has this curious self-obliterating maternal feeling. It is not necessarily connected with sex intercourse. A prostitute, who has relations with dozens of men, may have it for some feeble drunken fool, who perhaps goes after other women. I once saw the change from sex feeling to mother feeling, as I call it, come almost suddenly over a woman after she had lived about four years

In so far as it is parental it is certainly mainly maternal. There is a drawing by Bronzino in the Louvre of a woman's head gazing tenderly down at some invisible object; is it her child or her lover? Doubtless her child, yet the expression is equally adequate to the emotion evoked by a lover. If we were here specifically dealing with the emotion of love as a complex whole, and not with the psychology of the sexual impulse, it would certainly be necessary to discuss the maternal instinct and its associated emotions. In any case it seems desirable to touch on the psychic state of pregnancy, for we are here concerned not only with emotions very closely connected with the sexual emotions in the narrower sense, but we here at last approach that state which it is the object of the whole sexual process to achieve.

In civilized life a period of weeks, months, even years, may elapse between the establishment of sexual relations and the oc-

with a man who was unfaithful to her. Then, when all real sex feeling, the hatred of the woman he followed, the desire he should give her love and tenderness, had all gone, came the other feeling, and she said to me, 'You don't understand at all; he's only my little baby; nothing he does can make any difference to me now.' As I grow older and understand women's natures better, I can see almost at once which relation it is a woman has to her husband, or any given man. It is this feeling, and not sex passion, that keeps woman from being free." Not only is there a sexual association in the impulse to foster and protect, there would appear to be a similar element also in the response to that impulse. Freud has especially insisted on the partly sexual character of the child's feelings for those who care for it and tend it and satisfy its needs. It is begun in earliest infancy; "whoever has seen the sated infant sink back from the breast, to fall asleep with flushed cheeks and happy smile, must say that the picture is adequate to the expression of the sexual satisfaction of later life." The lips, moreover, are the earliest erogenous zone. "There will, perhaps, be some opposition," Freud remarks (*Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*, pp. 36, 64), "to the identification of the child's feelings of tenderness and appreciation for those who tend it with sexual love, but I believe that exact psychological analysis will place the identity beyond doubt The relationship of the child with the person who tends it is for it a continual source of sexual excitement and satisfaction flowing from the erogenous zones, especially since the fostering person—as a rule the mother—regards the child with emotions which proceed from her sexual life; strokes it, kisses it, rocks it, and very plainly treats it as a compensation for a fully valid sexual object." Freud remarks that girls who retain the childish character of their love for their parents to adult age are apt to make cold wives and to be sexually anæsthetic.

currence of conception. Under primitive conditions the loss of the virginal condition practically involves the pregnant condition, so that under primitive conditions very little allowance is made for the state, so common among civilized peoples, of the woman who is no longer a virgin, yet not about to become a mother.

There is some interest in noting the signs of loss of virginity chiefly relied upon by ancient authors. In doing this it is convenient to follow mainly the full summary of authorities given by Schurig in his *Parthenologia* early in the eighteenth century. The ancient custom, known in classic times, of measuring the neck the day after marriage was frequently practiced to ascertain if a girl was or was not a virgin. There were various ways of doing this. One was to measure with a thread the circumference of the bride's neck before she went to bed on the bridal night. If in the morning the same thread would not go around her neck it was a sure sign that she had lost her virginity during the night; if not, she was still a virgin or had been deflowered at an earlier period Catullus alluded to this custom, which still exists, or existed until lately, in the south of France. It is perfectly sound, for it rests on the intimate response by congestion of the thyroid gland to sexual excitement. (*Parthenologia*, p 283; Bicrent, *La Puberte*, p. 150; Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman*, fourth edition, p. 267.)

Some say, Schurig tells us, that the voice, which in the virgin is shrill, becomes rougher and deeper after the first coitus. He quotes Riolan's statement that it is certain that the voice of those who indulge in venery is changed. On that account the ancients bound down the penis of their singers, and Martial said that those who wish to preserve their voices should avoid coitus. Democritus who one day had greeted a girl as "maiden" on the following day addressed her as "woman," while in the same way it is said that Albertus Magnus, observing from his study a girl going for wine for her master, knew that she had had sexual intercourse by the way because on her return her voice had become deeper. Here, again, the ancient belief has a solid basis, for the voice and the larynx are really affected by sexual conditions. (*Parthenologia*, p. 286; Marro, *La Puberté*, p 303; Havelock Ellis, *op. cit.*, pp. 271, 289.)

Others, again, Schurig proceeds, have judged that the goaty smell given out in the armpits during the venereal act is also no uncertain sign of defloration, such odor being perceptible in those who use much venery, and not seldom in harlots and the newly married, while, as Hippocrates said, it is not perceived in boys and girls. (*Parthenologia*, p. 286; *cf* the previous volume of these *Studies*, "Sexual Selection in Man," p. 64.)

In virgins, Schurig remarks, the pubic hair is said to be long and not twisted, while in women accustomed to coitus it is crisper. But it is only after long and repeated coitus, some authors add, that the pubic hairs become crisp. Some recent observers, it may be remarked, have noted a connection between sexual excitation and the condition of the pubic hair in women. (*Cf.* the present volume, *ante* p. 127.)

A sign to which the old authors often attached much importance was furnished by the urinary stream. In the *De Secretis Mulierum*, wrongly attributed to Albertus Magnus, it is laid down that "the virgin urinates higher than the woman." Riolan, in his *Anthropographia*, discussing the ability of virgins to ejaculate urine to a height, states that Scaliger had observed women who were virgins emit urine in a high jet against a wall, but that married women could seldom do this. Bonaciolus also stated that the urine of virgins is emitted in a small stream to a distance with an acute hissing sound. (*Parthenologia*, p. 281.) A folk-lore belief in the reality of this influence is evidenced by the Picardy *conte* referred to already (*ante*, p. 53), "La Princesse qui pisse au dessus les Meules." There is no doubt a tendency for the various stresses of sexual life to produce an influence in this direction, though they act far too slowly and uncertainly to be a reliable index to the presence or the absence of virginity.

Another common ancient test of virginity by urination rests on a psychic basis, and appears in a variety of forms which are really all reducible to the same principle. Thus we are told in *De Secretis Mulierum* that to ascertain if a girl is seduced she should be given to eat of powdered crocus flowers, and if she has been seduced she immediately urinates. We are here concerned with auto-suggestion, and it may well be believed that with nervous and credulous girls this test often revealed the truth.

A further test of virginity discussed by Schurig is the presence of modesty of countenance. If a woman blushes her virtue is safe. In this way girls who have themselves had experience of the marriage bed are said to detect the virgin. The virgin's eyes are cast down and almost motionless, while she who has known a man has eyes that are bright and quick. But this sign is equivocal, says Schurig, for girls are different, and can simulate the modesty they do not feel. Yet this indication also rests on a fundamentally sound psychological basis. (See "The Evolution of Modesty," in the first volume of these *Studies*.)

In his *Syllepsilogia* (Section V, cap. I-II), published in 1731, Schurig discusses further the anciently recognized signs of pregnancy. The real or imaginary signs of pregnancy sought by various primitive peoples of the past and present are brought together by Ploss and Bartels, *Das Weib*, bd. i, Chapter XXVII.

Both physically and psychically the occurrence of pregnancy is, however, a distinct event. It marks the beginning of a continuous physical process, which cannot fail to manifest psychic reactions. A great center of vital activity—practically a new center, for only the germinal form of it in menstruation had previously existed—has appeared and affects the whole organism. "From the moment that the embryo takes possession of the woman," Robert Barnes puts it, "every drop of blood, every fiber, every organ, is affected."[1]

A woman artist once observed to Dr. Stratz, that as the final aim of a woman is to become a mother and pregnancy is thus her blossoming time, a beautiful woman ought to be most beautiful when she is pregnant. That is so, Stratz replied, if her moment of greatest physical perfection corresponds with the early months of pregnancy, for with the beginning of pregnancy metabolism is increased, the color of the skin becomes more lively and delicate, the breasts firmer.[2] Pregnancy may, indeed, often become visible soon after conception by the brighter eye, the livelier glance, resulting from greater vascular activity, though later, with the increase of strain, the face may tend to become somewhat thin and distorted. The hair, Barnes states, assumes a new vigor, even though it may have been falling out before. The temperature rises; the weight increases, even apart from the growth of the fœtus. The efflorescence of pregnancy shows itself, as in the blossoming and fecundated flower, by increased pigmentation.[3] The nipples with their areolæ, and the mid-line of the belly, become darker; brown flecks (lentigo) tend to appear on the forehead, neck, arms, and body; while striæ—at first blue-red, then a brilliant white—appear on the belly and thighs.

[1] Esbach (in his *Thèse de Paris*, published in 1876) showed that even the finger nails are affected in pregnancy and become measurably thinner.

[2] C. H. Stratz, *Die Schönheit des Weiblichen Körpers*, Chapter VI.

[3] Iron appears to be liberated in the maternal organism during pregnancy, and Wyehgel has shown (*Zeitschrift fur Geburtshülfe und Gynäkologie*, bd. xlvii, Heft II) that the pigment of pregnant women contains iron, and that the amount of iron in the urine is increased.

though these are scarcely normal, for they are not seen in women with very elastic skins and are rare among peasants and savages.[1] The whole carriage of the woman tends to become changed with the development of the mighty seed of man planted within her; it simulates the carriage of pride with the arched back and protruded abdomen.[2] The pregnant woman has been lifted above the level of ordinary humanity to become the casket of an inestimable jewel.

It is in the blood and the circulation that the earliest of the most prominent symptoms of pregnancy are to be found. The ever increasing development of this new focus of vascular activity involves an increased vascular activity in the whole organism. This activity is present almost from the first—a few days after the impregnation of the ovum—in the breasts, and quickly becomes obvious to inspection and palpation. Before a quite passive organ, the breast now rapidly increases in activity of circulation and in size, while certain characteristic changes begin to take place around the nipples.[3] As a result of the additional work imposed upon it the heart tends to become slightly hypertrophied in order to meet the additional strain; there may be some dilatation also.[4]

[1] recent investigations of Stengel and Stanton tend to show that the increase of the heart's work during pregnancy is less considerable that has generally been supposed, and that beyond some enlargement and dilatation of the right ventricle there is not usually any hypertrophy of the heart.

[1] Vinay, *Maladies de la Grossesse*, Chapter VIII; K. Hennig, "Exploratio Externa," *Comptes-rendus du XIIe. Congrès International de Médecine*, vol. vi, Section XIII, pp. 144-166. A bibliography of the literature concerning the physiology of pregnancy, extending to ten pages, is appended by Pinard to his article "Grossesse," *Dictionnaire encyclopédique des Sciences médicales*.

[2] Stratz, *op. cit.*, Chapter XII.

[3] W. S. A. Griffith, "The Diagnosis of Pregnancy," *British Medical Journal*, April 11, 1903.

[4] J. Mackenzie and H. O. Nicholson, "The Heart in Pregnancy," *British Medical Journal*, October 8, 1904; Stengel and Stanton, "The Condition of the Heart in Pregnancy," *Medical Record*, May 10. 1902 and *University Pennsylvania Medical Bulletin*, Sept., 1904 (summarized in *British Medical Journal*, August 16, 1902, and Sept. 23, 1905.)

The total quantity of blood is raised. While increased in quantity, the blood appears on the whole to be somewhat depreciated in quality, though on this point there are considerable differences of opinion. Thus, as regards hæmoglobin, some investigators have found that the old idea as to the poverty of hæmoglobin in pregnancy is quite unfounded; a few have even found that the hæmoglobin is increased. Most authorities have found the red cells diminished, though some only slightly, while the white cells, and also the fibrin, are increased. But toward the end of pregnancy there is a tendency, perhaps due to the establishment of compensation, for the blood to revert to the normal condition.[1]

It would appear probable, however, that the vascular phenomena of pregnancy are not altogether so simple as the above statement would imply. The activity of various glands at this time—well illustrated by the marked salivation which sometimes occurs—indicates that other modifying forces are at work, and it has been suggested that the changes in the maternal circulation during pregnancy may best be explained by the theory that there are two opposing kinds of secretion poured into the blood in unusual degree during pregnancy: one contracting the vessels, the other dilating them, one or the other sometimes gaining the upper hand. Suprarenal extract, when administered, has a vaso-constricting influence, and thyroid extract a vaso-dilating influence; it may be surmised that within the body these glands perform similar functions.[2]

The important part played by the thyroid gland is indicated by its marked activity at the very beginning of pregnancy. We may probably associate the general tendency to vaso-dilatation during early pregnancy with the tendency to goitre; Freund found an increase of the thyroid in 45 per cent. of 50 cases. The thyroid belongs to the same class of ductless glands as the

[1] J. Henderson, "Maternal Blood at Term," *Journal of Obstetrics and Gynæcology*, February, 1902; C. Douglas, "The Blood in Pregnant Women," *British Medical Journal*, March 26, 1904; W. L. Thompson, "The Blood in Pregnancy," *Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin*, June, 1904.

[2] H. O. Nicholson, "Some Remarks on the Maternal Circulation in Pregnancy," *British Medical Journal*, October 3, 1903.

ovary, and, as Bland Sutton and others have insisted, the analogies between the thyroid and the ovary are very numerous and significant. It may be added that in recent years Armand Gautier has noted the importance of the thyroid in elaborating nucleo-proteids containing arsenic and iodine, which are poured into the circulation during menstruation and pregnancy. The whole metabolism of the body is indeed affected, and during the latter part of pregnancy study of the ingesta and egesta has shown that a storage of nitrogen and even of water is taking place.[1] The woman, as Pinard puts it, forms the child out of her own flesh, not merely out of her food; the individual is being sacrificed to the species.

The changes in the nervous system of the pregnant woman correspond to those in the vascular system. There is the same increase of activity, a heightening of tension. Bruno Wolff, from experiments on bitches, concluded that the central nervous system in women is probably more easily excited in the pregnant than in the non-pregnant state, though he was not prepared to call this cerebral excitability "specific."[2] Direct observations on pregnant women have shown, without doubt, a heightened nervous irritability. Reflex action generally is increased. Neumann investigated the knee-jerk in 500 women during pregnancy, labor, and the puerperium, and in a large number found that there was a progressive exaggeration with the advance of pregnancy, little or no change being observed in the early months; sometimes when no change was observed during pregnancy the knee-jerk still increased during labor, reaching its maximum at the moment of the expulsion of the fœtus; the return to the normal condition took place gradually during the puerperium. Tridandani found in pregnant women that though the superficial reflexes, with the exception of the abdominal, were diminished, the deep and tendon reflexes were markedly increased, especially that of the knee, these changes being more marked in primiparæ than in multiparæ, and more pronounced as pregnancy advanced, the normal condition returning with

[1] J. Morris Slemans, "Metabolism During Pregnancy," *Johns Hopkins Hospital Reports*, vol xii, 1904.

[2] B. Wolff, *Zentralblatt fur Gynäkologie*, 1904, No. 26.

ten days after labor. Electrical excitability was sensibly diminished.[1].

One of the first signs of high nervous tension is vomiting. As is well known, this phenomenon commonly appears early in pregnancy, and it is by many considered entirely physiological. Barnes regards it as a kind of safety valve, a regulating function, letting off excessive tension and maintaining equilibrium.[2] Vomiting is, however, a convulsion, and is thus the simplest form of a kind of manifestation—to which the heightened nervous tension of pregnancy easily lends itself—that finds its extreme pathological form in eclampsia. In this connection it is of interest to point out that the pregnant woman here manifests in the highest degree a tendency which is marked in women generally, for the female sex, apart altogether from pregnancy, is specially liable to convulsive phenomena.[3]

There is some slight difference of opinion among authorities as to the precise nature and causation of the sickness of pregnancy. Barnes, Horrocks and others regard it as physiological; but many consider it pathological; this is, for instance, the opinion of Giles. Graily Hewitt attributed it to flexion of the gravid uterus, Kaltenbach to hysteria, and Zaborsky terms it a neurosis. Whitridge Williams considers that it may be (1) reflex, or (2) neurotic (when it is allied to hysteria and amenable to suggestion), or (3) toxæmic. It really appears to lie on the borderland between healthy and diseased manifestations. It is said to be unknown to farmers and veterinary surgeons. It appears to be little known among savages; it is comparatively infrequent among women of the lower social classes, and, as Giles has found, women who habitually menstruate in a painless and normal manner suffer comparatively little from the sickness of pregnancy.

We owe a valuable study of the sickness of pregnancy to Giles who analyzed the records of 300 cases. He concluded that about one-third of the pregnant women were free from sickness throughout pregnancy, 45 per cent. were free during the first three months. When sickness occurred it began in 70 per cent. of cases in the first month, and was most frequent during the second month. The duration varied from

[1] Tridandani, *Annali di Ostetrica*, March, 1900.

[2] R. Barnes, "The Induction of Labor," *British Medical Journal*, December 22, 1894.

[3] See, *e.g.*, Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman*, fourth edition, pp. 344, *et seq.*

a few days to all through. Between the ages of 20 and 25 sickness was least frequent, and there was less sickness in the third than in any other pregnancy. (This corresponds with the conclusion of Matthews Duncan that 25 is the most favorable age for pregnancy.) To some extent in agreement with Guéniot, Giles believes that the vomiting of pregnancy is "one form of manifestation of the high nervous irritability of pregnancy." This high nervous tension may overflow into other channels, into the vascular and excretory system, causing eclampsia; into the muscular system, causing chorea, or, expending itself in the brain, give rise to hysteria when mild or insanity when severe. But the vagi form a very ready channel for such overflow, and hence the frequency of sickness in pregnancy. There are thus three main factors in the causation of this phenomenon: (1) An increased nervous irritability; (2) a local source of irritation; (3) a ready efferent channel for nervous energy. (Arthur Giles, "Observations on the Ætiology of the Sickness of Pregnancy," *Transactions Obstetrical Society of London*, vol. xxv, 1894.)

Martin, who regards the phenomenon as normal, points out that when nausea and vomiting are absent or suddenly cease there is often reason to suspect something wrong, especially the death of the embryo. He also remarks that women who suffer from large varicose veins are seldom troubled by the nausea of pregnancy. (J. M. H. Martin, "The Vomiting of Pregnancy," *British Medical Journal*, December 10, 1904.) These observations may be connected with those of Evans (*American Gynecological and Obstetrical Journal*, January, 1900), who attributes primary importance to the undoubtedly active factor of the irritation set up by the uterus, more especially the rhythmic uterine contractions; stimulation of the breasts produces active uterine contractions, and Evans found that examination of the breasts sufficed to bring on a severe attack of vomiting, while on another occasion this was produced by a vaginal examination. Evans believes that the purpose of these contractions is to facilitate the circulation of the blood through the large venous sinuses, the surcharging of the relatively stagnant pools with effete blood producing the irritation which leads to rhythmic contractions.

It is on the basis of the increased vascular and glandular activity and the heightened nervous tension that the special psychic phenomena of pregnancy develop. The best known, and perhaps the most characteristic of these manifestations, is that known as "longings." By this term is meant more or less irresistible desires for some special food or drink, which may be digestible or indigestible, sometimes a substance which the

woman ordinarily likes, such as fruit, and occasionally one which, under ordinary circumstances, she dislikes, as in one case known to me of a young country woman who, when bearing her child, was always longing for tobacco and never happy except when she could get a pipe to smoke, although under ordinary circumstances, like other young women of her class, she was without any desire to smoke. Occasionally the longings lead to actions which are more unscrupulous than is common in the case of the same person at other times: thus in one case known to me a young woman, pregnant with her first child, insisted to her sister's horror on entering a strawberry field and eating a quantity of fruit. These "longings" in their extreme form may properly be considered as neurasthenic obsessions, but in their simple and less pronounced forms they may well be normal and healthy.

The old medical authors abound in narratives describing the longings of pregnant women for natural and unnatural foods. This affection was commonly called *pica*, sometimes *citra* or *malatia*. Schurig, whose works are a comprehensive treasure house of ancient medical lore, devotes a long chapter (cap. II) of his *Chylologia*, published in 1725, to pica as manifested mainly, though not exclusively, in pregnant women. Some women, he tells us, have been compelled to eat all sorts of earthy substances, of which sand seems the most common, and one Italian woman when pregnant ate several pounds of sand with much satisfaction, following it up with a draught of her own urine. Lime, mud chalk, charcoal, cinders, pitch are also the desired substances in other cases detailed. One pregnant woman must eat bread fresh from the oven in very large quantities, and a certain noble matron ate 140 sweet cakes in one day and night. Wheat and various kinds of corn as well as of vegetables were the foods desired by many longing women. One woman was responsible for 20 pounds of pepper, another ate ginger in large quantities, a third kept mace under her pillow; cinnamon, salt, emulsion of almonds, treacle, mushrooms were desired by others. Cherries were longed for by one, and another ate 30 or 40 lemons in one night. Various kinds of fish—mullet, oysters, crabs, live eels, etc.—are mentioned, while other women have found delectation in lizards, frogs, spiders and flies, even scorpions, lice and fleas. A pregnant woman, aged 33, of sanguine temperament, ate a live fowl completely with intense satisfaction. Skin, wool, cotton, thread, linen, blotting paper have been desired as well as more repulsive substances, such as nasal mucus and feces (eaten with bread). Vinegar, ice, and snow occur in

other cases. One woman stilled a desire for human flesh by biting the nates of children or the arms of men. Metals are also swallowed, such as iron, silver, etc. One pregnant woman wished to throw eggs in her husband's face, and another to have her husband throw eggs in her face.

In the next chapter of the same work Schurig describes cases of acute antipathy which may arise under the same circumstances (cap. III, "De Nausea seu Antipathia certorum ciborum"). The list includes bread, meat, fowls, fish, eels (a very common repulsion), crabs, milk, butter (very often), cheese (often), honey, sugar, salt, eggs, caviar, sulphur, apples (especially their odor), strawberries, mulberries, cinnamon, mace, capers, pepper, onions, mustard, beetroot, rice, mint, absinthe, roses (many pages are devoted to this antipathy), lilies, elder flowers, musk (which sometimes caused vomiting), amber, coffee, opiates, olive oil, vinegar, cats, frogs, spiders, wasps, swords.

More recently Gould and Pyle (*Anomalies and Curiosities of Medicine*, p. 80) have briefly summarized some of the ancient and modern records concerning the longings of pregnant women.

Various theories are put forward concerning the causation of the longings of pregnant women, but none of these seems to furnish by itself a complete and adequate explanation of all cases. Thus it is said that the craving is the expression of a natural instinct, the system of the pregnant woman really requiring the food she longs for. It is quite probable that this is so in many cases, but it is obviously not so in the majority of cases, even when we confine ourselves to the longings for fairly natural foods, while we know so little of the special needs of the organism during pregnancy that the theory in any case is insusceptible of clear demonstration.

Allied to this theory is the explanation that the longings are for things that counteract the tendency to nausea and sickness. Giles, however, in his valuable statistical study of the longings of a series of 300 pregnant women, has shown that the percentage of women with longings is exactly the same (33 per cent.) among women who had suffered at some time during pregnancy from sickness as among the women who had not so suffered. Moreover, Giles found that the period of sickness frequently bore no relation to the time when there were cravings, and the patient often had cravings after the sickness had ceased.

According to another theory these longings are mainly a

matter of auto-suggestion. The pregnant woman has received the tradition of such longings, persuades herself that she has such a longing, and then becomes convinced that, according to a popular belief, it will be bad for the child if the longing is not gratified. Giles considers that this process of auto-suggestion takes place "in a certain number, perhaps even in the majority of cases."[1]

The Duchess d'Abrantès, the wife of Marshal Junot, in her *Mémoires* gives an amusing account of how in her first pregnancy a longing was apparently imposed upon her by the anxious solicitude of her own and her husband's relations. Though suffering from constant nausea and sickness, she had no longings. One day at dinner after the pregnancy had gone on for some months her mother suddenly put down her fork, exclaiming: "I have never asked you what longing you have!" She replied with truth that she had none, her days and her nights being occupied with suffering. "No *envie!*" said the mother, "such a thing was never heard of. I must speak to your mother-in-law." The two old ladies consulted anxiously and explained to the young mother how an unsatisfied longing might produce a monstrous child, and the husband also now began to ask her every day what she longed for. Her sister-in-law, moreover, brought her all sorts of stories of children born with appalling mother's marks due to this cause. She became frightened and began to wonder what she most wanted, but could think of nothing. At last, when eating a pastille flavored with pineapple, it occurred to her that pineapple is an excellent fruit, and one, moreover, which she had never seen, for at that time it was extremely rare. Thereupon she began to long for pineapple, and all the more when she was told that at that season they could not be obtained. She now began to feel that she must have pineapple or die, and her husband ran all over Paris, vainly offering twenty louis for a pineapple. At last he succeeded in obtaining one through the kindness of Mme. Bonaparte, and drove home furiously just as his wife, always talking of pineapples, had gone to bed. He entered the room with the pineapple, to the great satisfaction of the Duchess's mother. (In one of her own pregnancies, it appears, she longed in vain for cherries in January, and the child was born with a mark on her body resembling a cherry—in scientific terminology, a *nævus*.) The Duchess effusively thanked her husband and wished to eat of the fruit immediately, but her husband stopped her and said that Corvisart, the famous physician, had told him that she must on no

[1] Arthur Giles, "The Longings of Pregnant Women," *Transactions Obstetrical Society of London*, vol. xxxv, 1893.

account touch it at night, as it was extremely indigestible. She promised not to do so, and spent the night in caressing the pineapple. In the morning the husband came and cut up the fruit, presenting it to her in a porcelain bowl. Suddenly, however, there was a revulsion of feeling; she felt that she could not possibly eat pineapple; persuasion was useless; the fruit had to be taken away and the windows opened, for the very smell of it had become odious. The Duchess adds that henceforth, throughout her life, though still liking the flavor, she was only able to eat pineapple by doing a sort of violence to herself. (*Mémories de la Duchesse d'Abrantès*, vol. iii, Chapter VIII.) It should be added that, in old age, the Duchess d'Abrantès appears to have become insane.

The influence of suggestion must certainly be accepted as, at all events, increasing and emphasizing the tendency to longings. It can scarcely, however, be regarded as a radical and adequate explanation of the phenomenon generally. If it is a matter of auto-suggestion due to a tradition, then we should expect to find longings most frequent and most pronounced in multiparous women, who are best acquainted with the tradition and best able to experience all that is expected of a pregnant woman. But, as a matter of fact, the women who have borne most children are precisely those who are least likely to be affected by the longings which tradition demands they should manifest. Giles has shown that longings occur much more frequently in the first than in any subsequent pregnancy; there is a regular decrease with the increase in number of pregnancies until in women with ten or more children the longings scarcely occur at all.

We must probably regard longings as based on a physiological and psychic tendency which is of universal extension and almost or quite normal. They are known throughout Europe and were known to the medical writers of antiquity. Old Indian as well as old Jewish physicians recognized them. They have been noted among many savage races to-day: among the Indians of North and South America, among the peoples of the Nile and the Soudan, in the Malay archipelago.[1] In Europe they are most

[1] Ploss and Bartels, *Das Weib*, Chapter XXX.

common among the women of the people, living simple and natural lives.[1]

The true normal relationship of the longings of pregnancy is with the impulsive and often irresistible longings for food delicacies which are apt to overcome children, and in girls often persist or revive through adolescence and even beyond. Such sudden fits of greediness belong to those kind of normal psychic manifestations which are on the verge of the abnormal into which they occasionally pass. They may occur, however, in healthy, well-bred, and well-behaved children who, under the stress of the sudden craving, will, without compunction and apparently without reflection, steal the food they long for or even steal from their parents the money to buy it. The food thus seized by a well-nigh irresistible craving is nearly always a fruit. Fruit is usually doled out to children in small quantities as a luxury, but we are descended from primitive human peoples and still more remote ape-like ancestors, by whom fruit was in its season eaten copiously, and it is not surprising that when that season comes round the child, more sensitive than the adult to primitive influences, should sometimes experience the impulse of its ancestors with overwhelming intensity, all the more so if, as is probable, the craving is to some extent the expression of a physiological need.

Sanford Bell, who has investigated the food impulses of children in America, finds that girls have a greater number of likes and dislikes in foods than boys of the same age, though at the same time they have less dislikes to some foods than boys. The proclivity for sweets and fruits shows itself as soon as a child begins to eat solids. The chief fruits liked are oranges, bananas, apples, peaches, and pears. This strong preference for fruits lasts till the age of 13 or 14, though relatively weaker from 10 to 13. In girls, however, Bell notes the significant fact from our present point of view that at mid-adolescence there is a revived taste for sweets and fruits. He believes that the growth of children in taste in foods recapitulates the experience of the race. (S. Bell, "An Introductory Study of the Psychology of Foods." *Pedagogical Seminary*, March, 1904.)

[1] Thus, in Cornwall, "to be in the longing way" is a popular synonym for pregnancy.

The heightened nervous impressionability of pregnancy would appear to arouse into activity those primitive impulses which are liable to occur in childhood and in the unmarried girl continue to the nubile age. It is a significant fact that the longings of pregnant women are mainly for fruit, and notably for so wholesome a fruit as the apple, which may very well have a beneficial effect on the system of the pregnant woman. Giles, in his tabulation of the foods longed for by 300 pregnant women, found that the fruit group was by far the largest, furnishing 79 cases; apples were far away at the head, occurring in 34 cases out of the 99 who had longings, while oranges followed at a distance (with 13 cases), and in the vegetable group tomatoes came first (with 6 cases). Several women declared "I could have lived on apples," "I was eating apples all day," "I used to sit up in bed eating apples."[1] Pregnant women appear seldom to long for the possession of objects outside the edible class, and it seems doubtful whether they have any special tendency to kleptomania. Pinard has pointed out that neither Lasègue nor Lunier, in their studies of kleptomania, have mentioned a single shop robbery committed by a pregnant woman.[2] Brouardel has indeed found such cases, but the object stolen was usually a food.

A further significant fact connecting the longings of pregnant women with the longings of children is to be found in the fact that they occur mainly in young women. We have, indeed, no tabulation of the ages of pregnant women who have manifested longings, but Giles has clearly shown that these chiefly

[1] The apple, wherever it is known, has nearly always been a sacred or magic fruit (as J. F. Campbell shows, *Popular Tales of West Highlands*, vol. I, p. lxxv. *et seq.*), and the fruit of the forbidden tree which tempted Eve is always popularly imagined to be an apple. One may perhaps refer in this connection to the fact that at Rome and elsewhere the testicles have been called apples. I may add that we find a curious proof of the recognition of the feminine love of apples in an old Portuguese ballad, "Donna Guimar," in which a damsel puts on armour and goes to the wars; her sex is suspected and as a test, she is taken into an orchard, but Donna Guimar is too wary to fall into the trap, and turning away from the apples plucks a citron.

[2] A. Pinard, Art. "Grossesse," *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique des Sciences Médicales*, p. 138. On the subject of violent, criminal and abnormal impulses during pregnancy, see Cumston, "Pregnancy and Crime," *American Journal Obstetrics*, December, 1903.

occur in primiparæ, and steadily and rapidly decrease in each successive pregnancy. This fact, otherwise somewhat difficult of explanation, is natural if we look upon the longings of pregnancy as a revival of those of childhood. It certainly indicates also that we can by no means regard these longings as exclusively the expression of a physiological craving, for in that case they would be liable to occur in any pregnancy unless, indeed, it is argued that with each successive pregnancy the woman becomes less sensitive to her own physiological state.

There has been a frequent tendency, more especially among primitive peoples, to regard a pregnant woman's longings as something sacred and to be indulged, all the more, no doubt, as they are usually of a simple and harmless character. In the Black Forest, according to Ploss and Bartels, a pregnant woman may go freely into other people's gardens and take fruit, provided she eats it on the spot, and very similar privileges are accorded to her elsewhere. Old English opinion, as reflected, for instance, in Ben Jonson's plays (as Dr. Harriet C. B. Alexander has pointed out), regards the pregnant woman as not responsible for her longings, and Kiernan remarks ("Kleptomania and Collectivism," *Alienist and Neurologist*, November, 1902) that this is in "a most natural and just view." In France at the Revolution a law of the 28th Germinal, in the year III, to some extent admitted the irresponsibility of the pregnant woman generally,—following the classic precedent, by which a woman could not be brought before a court of justice so long as she was pregnant,—but the Napoleonic code, never tender to women, abrogated this. Pinard does not consider that the longings of pregnant women are irresistible, and, consequently, regards the pregnant woman as responsible. This is probably the view most widely held. In any case these longings seldom come up for medico-legal consideration.

The phenomena of the longings of pregnancy are linked to the much more obscure and dubious phenomena of the influence of maternal impressions on the child within the womb. It is true, indeed, that there is no real connection whatever between these two groups of manifestations, but they have been so widely and for so long closely associated in the popular mind that it is convenient to pass directly from one to the other. The same name is sometimes given to the two manifestations; thus in France a pregnant longing is an *envie*, while a mother's mark on the child is also called an *envie*, because it is supposed to be due to the mother's unsatisfied longing.

The conception of a "maternal impression" (the German *Versehen*) rests on the belief that a powerful mental influence working on the mother's mind may produce an impression, either general or definite, on the child she is carrying. It makes a great deal of difference whether the effect of the impression on the child is general, or definite and circumscribed. It is not difficult to believe that a general effect—even, as Sir Arthur Mitchell first gave good reason for believing, idiocy—may be produced on the child by strong and prolonged emotional influence working on the mother, because such general influence may be transmitted through a deteriorated blood-stream. But it is impossible at present to understand how a definite and limited influence working on the mother could produce a definite and limited effect on the child, for there are no channels of nervous communications for the passage of such influences. Our difficulty in conceiving of the process must, however, be put aside if the fact itself can be demonstrated by convincing evidence.

In order to illustrate the nature of maternal impressions, I will summarize a few cases which I have collected from the best medical periodical literature during the past fifteen years. I have exercised no selection and in no way guarantee the authenticity of the alleged facts or the alleged explanation. They are merely examples to illustrate a class of cases published from time to time by medical observers in medical journals of high repute.

Early in pregnancy a woman found her pet rabbit killed by a cat which had gnawed off the two forepaws, leaving ragged stumps; she was for a long time constantly thinking of this. Her child was born with deformed feet, one foot with only two toes, the other three, the os calcis in both feet being either absent or little developed. (G. B. Beale, Tottenham, *Lancet*, May 4, 1889).

Three months and a half before birth of the child the father, a glazier, fell through the roof of a hothouse, severely cutting his right arm, so that he was lying in the infirmary for a long time, and it was doubtful whether the hand could be saved. The child was healthy, but on the flexor surface of the radial side of the right forearm just above the wrist—the same spot as the father's injury—there was a nævus the size of a sixpence. (W. Russell, Paisley, *Lancet*, May 11, 1889.)

At the beginning of pregnancy a woman was greatly scared by being kicked over by a frightened cow she was milking; she hung on to the animal's teats, but thought she would be trampled to death, and

was ill and nervous for weeks afterwards. The child was a monster, with a fleshy substance—seeming to be prolonged from the spinal cord and to represent the brain—projecting from the floor of the skull. Both doctor and nurse were struck by the resemblance to a cow's teats before they knew the woman's story, and this was told by the woman immediately after delivery and before she knew to what she had given birth. (A. Ross Paterson, Reversby, Lincolnshire, *Lancet*, September 20, 1890.)

During the second month of pregnancy the mother was terrified by a bullock as she was returning from market. The child reached full term and was a well-developed male, stillborn. Its head "exactly resembled a miniature cow's head;" the occipital bone was absent, the parietals only slightly developed, the eyes were placed at the top of the frontal bone, which was quite flat, with each of its superior angles twisted into a rudimentary horn. (J. T. Hislop, Tavistock, Devon, *Lancet*, November 1, 1890.)

When four months pregnant the mother, a multipara of 30, was startled by a black and white collie dog suddenly pushing against her and rushing out when she opened the door. This preyed on her mind, and she felt sure her child would be marked. The whole of the child's right thigh was encircled by a shining black mole, studded with white hairs; there was another mole on the spine of the left scapula. (C. F. Williamson, Horley, Surrey, *Lancet*, October 11, 1890.)

A lady in comfortable circumstances, aged 24, not markedly emotional, with one child, in all respects healthy, early in her pregnancy saw a man begging whose arms and legs were "all doubled up." This gave her a shock, but she hoped no ill effects would follow. The child was an encephalous monster, with the extremities rigidly flexed and the fingers clenched, the feet almost sole to sole. In the next pregnancy she frequently passed a man who was a partial cripple, but she was not unduly depressed; the child was a counterpart of the last, except that the head was normal. The next child was strong and well formed. (C. W. Chapman, London, *Lancet*, October 18, 1890.)

When the pregnant mother was working in a hayfield her husband threw at her a young hare he had found in the hay; it struck her on the cheek and neck. Her daughter has on the left cheek an oblong patch of soft dark hair, in color and character clearly resembling the fur of a very young hare. (A. Mackay, Port Appin, N. B., *Lancet*, December 19, 1891. The writer records also four other cases which have happened in his experience.)

When the mother was pregnant her husband had to attend to a sow who could not give birth to her pigs; he bled her freely, cutting a notch out of both ears. His wife insisted on seeing the sow. The helix of each ear of her child at birth was gone, for nearly or quite half an inch, as if cut purposely. (R. P. Roons, *Medical World*, 1894.)

A lady when pregnant was much interested in a story in which one of the characters had a supernumerary digit, and this often recurred to her mind. Her baby had a supernumerary digit on one hand. (J. Jenkyns, Aberdeen, *British Medical Journal*, March 2, 1895. The writer also records another case.)

When pregnant the mother saw in the forest a new-born fawn which was a double monstrosity. Her child was a similar double monstrosity (*cephalothora copagus*). (Hartmann, *Münchener Medicinisches Wochenschrift*, No. 9, 1895.)

A well developed woman of 30, who had ten children in twelve years, in the third month of her tenth pregnancy saw a child run over by a street car, which crushed the upper and back part of its head. Her own child was anencephalic and acranial, with entire absence of vault of skull. (F. A. Stahl, *American Journal of Obstetrics*, April, 1896.)

A healthy woman with no skin blemish had during her third pregnancy a violent appetite for sunfish. During or after the fourth month her husband, as a surprise, brought her some sunfish alive, placing them in a pail of water in the porch. She stumbled against the pail and the shock caused the fish to flap over the pail and come in violent contact with her leg. The cold wriggling fish produced a nervous shock, but she attached no importance to this. The child (a girl) had at birth a mark of bronze pigment resembling a fish with the head uppermost (photograph given) on the corresponding part of the same leg. Daughter's health good; throughout life she has had a strong craving for sunfish, which she has sometimes eaten till she has vomited from repletion. (C. F. Gardiner, Colorado Springs, *American Journal Obstetrics*, February, 1898.)

The next case occurred in a bitch. A thoroughbred fox terrier bitch strayed and was discovered a day or two later with her right foreleg broken. The limb was set under chloroform with the help of Röntgen rays, and the dog made a good recovery. Several weeks later she gave birth to a puppy with a right foreleg that was ill-developed and minus the paw. (J. Booth, Cork, *British Medical Journal*, September 16, 1899.)

Four months before the birth of her child a woman with four healthy children and no history of deformity in the family fell and cut her left wrist severely against a broken bowl; she had a great fright and shock. Her child, otherwise perfect, was born without left hand and wrist, the stump of arm terminating at lower end of radius and ulna. (G. Ainslie Johnston, Ambleside, *British Medical Journal*, April 18, 1903.)

The belief in the reality of the transference of strong mental or physical impressions on the mother into phy-

sical changes in the child she is bearing is very ancient and widespread. Most writers on the subject begin with the book of Genesis and the astute device of Jacob in influencing the color of his lambs by mental impressions on his ewes. But the belief exists among even more primitive people than the early Hebrews, and in all parts of the world.[1] Among the Greeks there is a trace of the belief in Hippocrates, the first of the world's great physicians, while Soranus, the mose famous of ancient gynæcologists, states the matter in the most precise manner, with instances in proof. The belief continued to persist unquestioned throughout the Middle Ages. The first author who denied the influence of maternal impressions altogether appears to have been the famous anatomist, Realdus Columbus, who was a professor at Padua, Pisa, and Rome at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the same century, however, another and not less famous Neapolitan, Della Porta, for the first time formulated a definite theory of maternal impressions. A little later, early in the seventeenth century, a philosophic physician at Padua, Fortunatus Licetus, took up an intermediate position which still finds, perhaps reasonably, a great many adherents. He recognized that a very frequent cause of malformation in the child is to be found in morbid antenatal conditions, but at the same time was not prepared to deny absolutely and in every case the influence of maternal impression on such conditions. Malebranche, the Platonic philosopher, allowed the greatest extension to the power of the maternal imagination. In the eighteenth century, however, the new spirit of free inquiry, of radical criticism, and unfettered logic, led to a sceptical attitude toward this ancient belief then flourishing vigorously.[2] In 1727, a few years after Malebranche's death, James Blondel, a physician of extreme acuteness, who had

[1] See especially Ploss and Bartels, *Das Weib*, vol. i, Chapter XXXI. Ballantyne in his work on the pathology of the fœtus adds Loango negroes, the Eskimo and the ancient Japanese.

[2] In 1731 Schurig, in his *Syllepsilogia*, devoted more than a hundred pages (cap. IX) to summarizing a vast number of curious cases of maternal impressions leading to birth-marks of all kinds.

been born in Paris, was educated at Leyden, and practiced in London, published the first methodical and thorough attack on the doctrine of maternal impressions, *The Strength of Imagination of Pregnant Women Examined,* and exercised his great ability in ridiculing it. Haller, Roederer, and Sömmering followed in the steps of Blondel, and were either sceptical or hostile to the ancient belief. Blumenbach, however, admitted the influence of maternal impressions. Erasmus Darwin, as well as Goethe in his *Wahlverwandtshaften,* even accepted the influence of paternal impressions on the child. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the majority of physicians were inclined to relegate maternal impressions to the region of superstition. Yet the exceptions were of notable importance. Burdach, when all deductions were made, still found it necessary to retain the belief in maternal impressions, and Von Baer, the founder of embryology, also accepted it, supported by a case, occurring in his own sister, which he was able to investigate before the child's birth. L. W. T. Bischoff, also, while submitting the doctrine to acute criticism, found it impossible to reject maternal impressions absolutely, and he remarked that the number of adherents to the doctrine was showing a tendency to increase rather than diminish. Johannes Müller, the founder of modern physiology in Germany, declared himself against it, and his influence long prevailed; Valentin, Rudolf Wagner, and Emil du Bois-Reymond were on the same side. On the other hand various eminent gynæcologists—Litzmann, Roth, Hennig, etc.—have argued in favor of the reality of maternal impressions.[1]

The long conflict of opinion which has taken place over this opinion has still left the matter unsettled. The acutest critics

[1] J. W. Ballantyne has written an excellent history of the doctrine of maternal impressions, reprinted in his *Manual of Antenatal Pathology: The Embryo,* 1904, Chapter IX; he gives a bibliography of 381 items. In Germany the history of the question has been written by Dr. Iwan Bloch (under the pseudonym of Gerhard von Welsenburg), *Das Versehen der Frauen,* 1899. *Cf.,* in French, G. Variot, "Origine des Préjugés Populaires sur les Envies," *Bulletin Société d'Anthropologie,* Paris, June 18, 1891. Variot rejects the doctrine absolutely, Bloch accepts it, Ballantyne speaks cautiously.

of the ancient belief constantly conclude the discussion with an expression of doubt and uncertainty. Even if the majority of authorities are inclined to reject maternal impressions, the scientific eminence of those who accept them makes a decisive opinion difficult. The arguments against such influence are perfectly sound: (1) it is a primitive belief of unscientific origin; (2) it is impossible to conceive how such influence can operate since there is no nervous connection between mother and child; (3) comparatively few cases have been submitted to severe critical investigation; (4) it is absurd to ascribe developmental defects to influences which arise long after the fœtus had assumed its definite shape[1]; (5) in any case the phenomenon must be rare, for William Hunter could not find a coincidence between maternal impressions and fœtal marks through a period of several years, and Bischoff found no case in 11,000 deliveries. These statements embody the whole of the argument against maternal impressions, yet it is clear that they do not settle the matter. Edgar, in a manual of obstetrics which is widely regarded as a standard work, states that this is "yet a mooted question."[2] Ballantyne, again, in a discussion of this influence at the Edinburgh Obstetrical Society, summarizing the result of a year's inquiry, concluded that it is still *"sub judice."* In a subsequent discussion of the question he has somewhat modified his opinion, and is inclined to deny that definite impressions on the pregnant woman's mind can cause similar defects in the fœtus; they are "accidental coincidences," but he adds that a few of the

[1] J. G. Kiernan has shown how many of the alleged cases are negatived by the failure to take this fact into consideration. (*Journal of American Medical Association*, December 9, 1899.)

[2] J. Clifton Edgar, *The Practice of Obstetrics*, second edition, 1904, p. 296. In an important discussion of the question at the American Gynæcological Society in 1886, introduced by Fordyce Barker, various eminent gynæcologists declared in favor of the doctrine, more or less cautiously. *Transactions of the American Gynæcological Society*, vol. xi, 1886, pp. 152-196.) Gould and Pyle, bringing forward some of the data on the question (*Anomalies and Curiosities of Medicine*, pp. 81, *et seq.*) state that the reality of the influence of maternal impressions seems fully established. On the other side, see G. W. Cook, *American Journal of Obstetrics*, September, 1889, and H. F. Lewis, *ib.*, July, 1899.

[3] *Transactions Edinburgh Obstetrical Society*, vol. xvii, 1892.

cases are difficult to explain away. At the same time he fully believes that prolonged and strongly marked mental states of the mother may affect the development of the fœtus in her uterus, causing vascular and nutritive disturbances, irregularities of development, and idiocy.[1]

Whether and in how far mental impressions on the mother can produce definite mental and emotional disposition in the child is a special aspect of the question to which scarcely any inquiry has been devoted. So distinguished a biologist as Mr. A. W. Wallace has, however, called attention to this point, bringing forward evidence on the question and emphasizing the need of further investigation. "Such transmission of mental influence," he remarks, "will hardly be held to be impossible or even very improbable." (A. W. Wallace, "Prenatal Influences on Character," *Nature*, August 24, 1893.)

It has already been pointed out that a large number of cases of fœtal deformities, supposed to be due to maternal impressions, cannot possibly be so caused because the impression took place at a period when the development of the fœtus must already have been decided. In this connection, however, it must be noted that Dabney has observed a relationship between the time of supposed mental impressions and the nature of the actual defect which is of considerable significance as an argument in favor of the influence of mental impressions. He tabulated 90 carefully reported cases from recent medical literature, and found that 21 of them were concerned with defects of structure of the lips and palate. In all but 2 of these 21 the defect was referred to an impression occurring within the first three months of pregnancy. This is an important point as showing that the assigned cause really falls within a period when a defect of development actually could produce the observed result, although the person reporting the cases was in many instances manifestly ignorant of the details of embryology and teratology. There was no such preponderance of early impressions among the defects of skin and hair which might well, so far as development is concerned, have been caused at a later period; here, in 7 out

[1] J. W. Ballantyne, *Manual of Antenatal Pathology: The Embryo*, 45.

of 15 cases, it was distinctly stated that the impression was made later than the fourth month.[1]

It would seem, on the whole, that while the influence of maternal impressions in producing definite effects on the child within the womb has by no means been positively demonstrated, we are not entitled to reject it with any positive assurance. Even if we accept it, however, it must remain, for the present, an inexplicable fact; the *modus operandi* we can scarcely even guess at. General influences from the mother on the child we can easily conceive of as conveyed by the mother's blood; we can even suppose that the modified blood might act specifically on one particular kind of tissue. We can, again, as suggested by Féré, very well believe that the maternal emotions act upon the womb and produce various kinds and degrees of pressure on the child within, so that the apparently active movements of the fœtus may be really consecutive on unconscious maternal excitations.[2] We may also believe that, as suggested by John Thomson, there are slight incoördinations *in utero*, a kind of developmental neurosis, produced by some slight lack of harmony of whatever origin, and leading to the production of malformations.[3] We know, finally, that, as Féré and others have repeatedly demonstrated during recent years by experiments on chickens, etc., very subtle agents, even odors, may profoundly affect embryonic development and produce deformity. But how the mother's psychic disposition can, apart from heredity, affect specifically the physical conformation or even the psychic disposition of the child within her womb must remain for the present an insoluble mystery, even if we feel disposed to conclude that in some cases such action seems to be indicated.

In comprehending such a connection, however at present undemonstrated, it may well be borne in mind that the relationship of the mother to the child within her womb is of a uniquely intimate character. It is

[1] W. C. Dabney, "Maternal Impressions," *Keating's Cyclopædia of Diseases of Children*, vol. i, 1889, pp. 191-218.

[2] *Féré, Sensation et Mouvement*, Chapter XIV, "Sur la Psychologie du Fœtus."

[3] J. Thomson, "Defective Co-ordination in Utero," *British Medical Journal*, September 6, 1902.

of interest in this connection to quote some remarks by an able psychologist, Dr. Henry Rutgers Marshall; the remarks are not less interesting for being brought forward without any connection with the question of maternal impressions: "It is true that, so far as we know, the nervous system of the embryo never has a direct connection with the nervous system of the mother: nevertheless, as there is a reciprocity of reaction between the physical body of the mother and its embryonic parasite, the relation of the embryonic nervous system to the nervous system of the mother is not very far removed from the relation of the pre-eminent part of the nervous system of a man to some minor nervous system within his body which is to a marked extent dissociated from the whole neural mass.

"Correspondingly, then, and within the consciousness of the mother, there develops a new little minor consciousness which, although but lightly integrated with the mass of her consciousness, nevertheless has its part in her consciousness taken as a whole, much as the psychic correspondents of the action of the nerve which govern the secretions of the glands of the body have their part in her consciousness taken as a whole.

"It is very much as if the optic ganglia developed fully in themselves, without any closer connection with the rest of the brain than existed at their first appearance. They would form a little complex nervous system almost but not quite apart from the brain system; and it would be difficult to deny them a consciousness of their own; which would indeed form part of the whole consciousness of the individual, but which would be in a manner self-dependent." It must, if this is so, be said that before birth, on the psychic side, the embryo's activities "form part of a complex consciousness which is that of the mother and embryo together." "Without subscribing to the strange stories of telepathy, of the solemn apparition of a person somewhere at the moment of his death a thousand miles away, of the unquiet ghost haunting the scenes of its bygone hopes and endeavors, one may ask" (with the author of the address in medicine at the Leicester gathering of the British Medical Association, *British Medical Journal*, July 29, 1905) "whether two brains cannot be so tuned in sympathy as to transmit and receive a subtile transfusion of mind without mediation of sense. Considering what is implied by the human brain with its countless millions of cells, its complexities of minute structure, its innumerable chemical compositions, and the condensed forces in its microscopic and ultramicroscopic elements—the whole a sort of microcosm of cosmic forces to which no conceivable compound of electric batteries is comparable; considering, again, that from an electric station waves of energy radiate through the viewless air to be caught up by a fit receiver a thousand miles distant, it is not inconceivable that the human brain may send off still more sub-

tile waves to be accepted and interpreted by the fitly tuned receiving brain. Is it, after all, mere fancy that a mental atmosphere or effluence emanates from one person to affect another, either soothing sympathetically or irritating antipathically?" These remarks (like Dr. Marshall's) were made without reference to maternal impressions, but it may be pointed out that under no conceivable circumstance could we find a brain in so virginal and receptive a state as is the child's in the womb.

On the whole we see that pregnancy induces a psychic state which is at once, in healthy persons, one of full development and vigor, and at the same time one which, especially in individuals who are slightly abnormal, is apt to involve a state of strained or overstrained nervous tension and to evoke various manifestations which are in many respects still imperfectly understood. Even the specifically sexual emotions tend to be heightened, more especially during the earlier period of pregnancy. In 24 cases of pregnancy in which the point was investigated by Harry Campbell, sexual feeling was decidedly increased in 8, in one case (of a woman aged 31 who had had four children) being indeed only present during pregnancy, when it was considerable; in only 7 cases was there diminution or disappearance of sexual feeling.[1] Pregnancy may produce mental depression;[2] but on the other hand it frequently leads to a change of the most favorable character in the mental and general well-being. Some women indeed are only well during pregnancy. It is remarkable that some women who habitually suffer from various nervous troubles—neuralgias, gastralgia, headache, insomnia—are only free from them at this moment. This "paradox of gestation," as Vinay has termed it, is specially marked in the hysterical and those suffering from slight nervous disorders, but it is by no means universal, so that although it is possible, Vinay states, to confirm the opinion of the ancients as

[1] H. Campbell, *Nervous Organization of Man and Woman*, p. 206; *cf.* Moll, *Untersuchungen über die Libido Sexualis*, bd i. p. 264. Many authorities, from Soranus of Ephesus onward, consider, however, that sexual relations should cease during pregnancy, and certainly during the later months. *Cf.* Brenot, *De l'influence de la copulation pendant la grossesse*, 1903.

[2] Bianchi terms this fairly common condition the neurasthenia of pregnancy.

to the beneficial action of marriage on hysteria, that is only true of slight cases and scarcely enables us to counsel marriage in hysteria.[1] Even a woman's intelligence is sometimes heightened by pregnancy, and Tarnier, as quoted by Vinay, knew many women whose intelligence, habitually somewhat obtuse, has only risen to the normal level during pregnancy.[2] The pregnant woman has reached the climax of womanhood; she has attained to that state toward which the periodically recurring menstrual wave has been drifting her at regular intervals throughout her sexual life[3]; she has achieved that function for which her body has been constructed, and her mental and emotional disposition adapted, through countless ages.

And yet, as we have seen, our ignorance of the changes effected by the occurrence of this supremely important event—even on the physical side—still remains profound. Pregnancy, even for us, the critical and unprejudiced children of a civilized age, still remains, as for the children of more primitive ages, a mystery. Conception itself is a mystery for the primitive man, and may be produced by all sorts of subtle ways apart from sexual connection, even by smelling a flower.[4] The pregnant woman

[1] Vinay, *Traité des Maladies de la Grossesse*, 1894, pp. 51, 577: Mongeri, "Nervenkrankungen und Schwangerschaft," *Allegemeine Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie*, bd. LVIII, Heft 5. Haig remarks (*Uric Acid*, sixth edition, p. 151) that during normal pregnancy diseases with excess of uric acid in the blood (headaches, fits, mental depression, dyspepsia, asthma) are absent, and considers that the common idea that women do not easily take colds, fevers, etc., at this time is well founded.

[2] Founding his remarks on certain anatomical changes and on a suggestion of Engel's, Donaldson observes: "It is impossible to escape the conclusion that in women natural education is complete only with maternity, which we know to effect some slight changes in the sympathetic system and possibly the spinal cord, and which may be fairly laid under suspicion of causing more structural modifications than are at present recognized." H. H. Donaldson, *The Growth of the Brain*, p. 352.

[3] The state of menstruation is in many respects an approximation to that of pregnancy; see, *e.g.*, Edgar's *Practice of Obstetrics*, plates 6 and 7, showing the resemblance of the menstrual changes in the breasts and the external sexual parts to the changes of pregnancy; *cf.* Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman*, fourth edition, Chapter XI, "The Functional Periodicity of Woman."

[4] Thus the gypsies say of an unmarried woman who becomes pregnant, "She has smelt the moon-flower"—a flower believed to grow on the so-called moon-mountain and to possess the property of impregnating by its smell. Ploss and Bartels, *Das Weib*, bd. I, Chapter XXVII.

was surrounded by ceremonies, by reverence and fear, often shut up in a place apart.[1] Her presence, her exhalations, were of extreme potency; even in some parts of Europe to-day, as in the Walloon districts of Belgium, a pregnant woman must not kiss a child for her breath is dangerous, or urinate on plants for she will kill them.[2] The mystery has somewhat changed its form; it still remains. The future of the race is bound up with our efforts to fathom the mystery of pregnancy. "The early days of human life," it has been truly said, "are entirely one with the mother. On her manner of life—eating, drinking, sleeping, and thinking—what greatness may not hang?"[3] Schopenhauer observed, with misapplied horror, that there is nothing a woman is less modest about than the state of pregnancy, while Weininger exclaims: "Never yet has a pregnant woman given expression in any form—poem, memoirs, or gynæcological monograph—to her sensations or feelings."[4] Yet when we contemplate the mystery of pregnancy and all that it involves, how trivial all such considerations become! We are here lifted into a region where our highest intelligence can only lead us to adoration, for we are gazing at a process in which the operations of Nature become one with the divine task of Creation.

[1] This was a sound instinct, for it is now recognized as an extremely important part of puericulture that a woman should rest at all events during the latter part of pregnancy; see, *e.g.*, Pinard, *Gazette des Hôpitaux*, November 28, 1895, and *Annales de Gynécologie*, August, 1898.

[2] Ploss and Bartels, *op. cit.*, Chapter XXIX; Κρυπτάδια, vol. viii. p. 143.

[3] Griffith Wilkin, *British Medical Journal*, April 8, 1905.

[4] Weininger, *Geschlecht und Charakter*, p. 107. I may remark that a recent book, Ellis Meredith's *Heart of My Heart*, is devoted to a seemingly autobiographical account of a pregnant woman's emotions and ideas. The relations of maternity to intellectual work have been carefully and impartially investigated by Adèle Gerhard and Helena Simon, who seem to conclude that the conflict between the inevitable claims of maternity and the scarcely less inevitable claims of the intellectual life cannot be avoided.

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PART TWO

Eonism and Other Supplementary Studies

PREFACE

This supplementary volume of Studies is made up of what Schopenhauer would have called paralipomena and parerga. That is to say, it consists, in part, of essays and fragments left over from the main volumes because dealing with subjects which had not yet assumed sufficient importance or taken clear and definite shape; and in still larger part of studies that are by-products of my investigation, lying on the borderland of the field of sex, partly in and partly out of it, but suitable to discuss here because here we are able to attempt to determine their precise sexual aspects.

To the first class belong notably the study of Eonism, as I term the anomaly which Hirschfeld inadequately named "Transvestism," and the summary of observations of Kleptolagnia, as I would term an anomaly which would formerly have been ranged in the ancient and highly disputable group of Kleptomanias. To the second class belong most typically the studies of dreaming and of vesical psychology, subjects having fields of their own, which yet at times pass over neighboring frontiers of sex.

It may seem that some of the lines of investigation here followed lead away from familiarly recognizable paths generally accepted as profitable. But as one of our greatest masters in the exploration of the living organism, William Harvey, wrote a few weeks before his death: "Nature is nowhere accustomed more openly to display her secret mysteries than when she shows traces of her workings apart from the beaten path." That which is true of Nature in general is true of the impulse of sex in particular, and none of the explorations, however unfamiliar, recorded in this volume will be devoid of instruction.

I had proposed to include as an appendix to this volume the detailed life-history of a Russian correspondent communicated to me in French. This lengthy narrative I regard as of much interest, both as presenting an intimate picture of social life in Russia before the Revolution and as illustrating various points of sexual psychology. It is not, however, essential to my work, and on grounds unconnected with its intrinsic interest it has been considered desirable to omit it from the English edition of these Studies. It is included in its original form in the French edition published by the Mercure de France, *Etudes de Psychologie Sexuelle* (Vol. 6, pp. 101-208), to which I would refer those who may like to consult it.

In now finally drawing together the last threads of Studies which have occupied so large a part of my life I wish to restore an acknowledgment which was made in the Preface to what is now the first volume, when it was originally published in London in 1900 (1899), of "my indebtedness for the assistance and sympathy which, here and always, I have received from my wife." I removed that acknowledgment from later editions because in the stormy period my work had to pass through in those days I feared that to some persons any association with it might not seem creditable. It was not by my wife's wish that I made the omission, for it was her pride to stand loyally and helpfully by my side in even the most dangerous situations. In now restoring this acknowledgment I know with what satisfaction she would have accepted even so small a recognition of her comradeship in my life-work.

HAVELOCK ELLIS.

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I.

EONISM.

MANY years ago, when exploring the phenomena of sexual inversion, I was puzzled by occasional cases I met with of people who took pleasure in behaving and dressing like the opposite sex and yet were not sexually inverted; that is, their sexual feelings were not directed towards persons of their own sex.

Such cases had, indeed, often been noted, both among men and women, and it is on record that various prominent people, some of high ability, have shown this peculiarity and sometimes thereby greatly intrigued the curiosity alike of their contemporaries and of posterity. The Chevalier d'Eon is probably the most conspicuous of these historical personages.

Charles-Geneviève, the Chevalier d'Eon de Beaumont, was the son of Louis d'Eon de Beaumont, who belonged to the petty nobility, and was director of the King's demesnes in Burgundy. He was born in 1728 in the delightful Burgundian town of Tonnerre. A house in the main street, nearly opposite the railway station, is traditionally regarded as his birthplace, but a local antiquary has in recent years found reason to believe that he was born in a house of more aristocratic character (the former Hôtel d'Uzès) which is the architectural gem of Tonnerre. He was short, slight, delicate in shape, and in early life not robust in health. As a child he was dressed as a girl, and he stated that he had worn the robe of the Sisterhood of the Virgin Mary until his seventh year. He was of nervous disposition but restless and adventurous, courageous and full of energy, even quarrelsome and irascible. He became one of the best swordsmen of his time and when nearly seventy he was more than a match for the English champion fencer. He was also an accomplished musician, and he accumulated a large library.

Though sometimes lacking in judgment, he was of high intelligence and sagacity, and his face in old age, while finely and delicately moulded, is, in some of the portraits, powerful and intellectual rather than feminine. But "his virility was all in his brain." He appears to have had no known sexual relationships either with women or men, notwithstanding various romantic legends which circulated concerning him, and there is (according to Telfer) no truth in the story of a *liaison* with the youthful Catherine Woronzoff, later Princess Dashkoff, although he was on friendly terms with many women, both before and after his outward transformation. He played an important part as a secret diplomatic agent of the French Government in various countries, especially England (where he attained a certain popularity and succeeded in being on good terms with the Government), and became a conspicuous figure in the international political world. With the accession of Louis XVI his fortunes declined. He had adopted feminine dress on his own initiative, and became commonly regarded as a woman, the result being that, on account of his prominent position, it would not later have been easy for him to resume masculine dress. He was still playing the part of a woman and occupied in little feminine avocations, regarded by all as really a woman, even by the English woman friend with whom he lived and the doctor who attended him in his fatal illness, when he died in London in 1810. The autopsy showed that he was in all essential physical respects a completely normal man.

A quarter of a century earlier this discovery would have produced a public sensation. But in the storm of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars the large part played by the Chevalier d'Eon in European public affairs had been forgotten; he had sunk into oblivion and poverty, reduced to pawn his Cross of St. Louis and his jewels.

Pettow regards the Chevalier d'Eon as a "pseudo-transvestist," who merely used feminine garments to aid his secret diplomatic missions, and his biographers, ignorant of psychological considerations, refer to his "masquerade." But this

theory will hardly work out. A man who "plays a part" during the greater part of his active life and continues to play it long after the active phase of his life is over, plays it, moreover, with such ability and success that no one suspects the "masquerade," is; we may be sure, fulfilling a deep demand of his own nature. He clearly had a constitutional predisposition for the life he adopted, aided by an almost asexual disposition, so that we might place him with the asexual group of transvests in Hirschfeld's classification. It is to be noted, however, that in people with this psychic anomaly physical sexual vigor seems often subnormal.

There are many books on the Chevalier d'Eon both in French and English. Most of them are imperfectly reliable and by authors who were without psychological equipment. Reference may be made to Gaillardet, *Mémoires de la Chevalière d'Eon,* 1866 (but not the romancing book written by the same author thirty years before and afterwards frankly withdrawn by him); J. B. Telfer, *The Strange Career of the Chevalier d'Eon de Beaumont,* 1885; E. A. Vizetelly, *The True Story of the Chevalier d'Eon,* 1895 (a little book by J. B. Telfer, *Chevalier d'Eon de Beaumont: A Treatise,* 1896, is mainly a correction of inaccuracies in Vizetelly's work); G. Letainturier-Fradin, *La Chevalière d'Eon,* 1901; O. Homberg and F. Jousselin, *Un Aventurier au XVIII^e Siècle,* 1904, translated into English as *D'Eon de Beaumont His Life and Times,* in 1911. A German writer, Adolf Paul, has used the Chevalier's story, with much freedom, as the subject of a novel, *Excellenz Unterrock* (1916).

While the Chevalier d'Eon, by his abilities and his public prominence, stands out as the protagonist of transvestism, he is not its earliest representative of note. His fellow-countryman the Abbé de Choisy (François Timoléon de Choisy) takes precedence not only in time but by virtue of the record he has himself left of his adventures in woman's garb. Like the Chevalier d'Eon, he was of good birth and high ability, though he never attained the same conspicuous international reputation. But he mixed in the best aristocratic and intellectual circles of eighteenth century France, and notwithstanding the feminine disguises of his early life he became a distinguished

ecclesiastic, the historian of the Church, and the Doyen of the French Academy.

De Choisy was the son of the Chancellor of the King's brother, and was born in Paris in 1644. He was educated by his mother who belonged to the family of Hurault de l'Hospital and was the great grand-daughter of the famous Chancellor. She was over forty at her son's birth and a woman of much mental vigor, possibly of a rather masculine type, "une maîtresse femme," her son called her, who was treated as a friend by Louis XIV, and she is reported to have given that monarch good advice with much directness. It is said that she brought up her son "on the very breast of the Muses." He himself refers to her without affection, but it was she who cultivated or implanted his taste for transvestism, for she had a fancy to dress him when a child as a girl. Physically he seems to have been well adapted for the part. He was of small size, and plump, with breasts that were like those of a girl of fifteen, he says, on account of the tight stays he wore in early life; his skin was soft and well cared for, and he had much dark hair. He not only possessed a facile, delicate, and expressive literary style, but was an accomplished musician on the harpsichord, and in comedy he was skilful in playing women's parts. He had abandoned feminine garments at the age of 18; but while still a young man a little over twenty, in 1666, at the suggestion, it seems, of no less distinguished a woman than Madame de la Fayette, he returned to a costume for which he seemed so peculiarly adapted, and for which his predilection was so strong. All his adventures in that shape of which we have definite knowledge took place before the age of thirty.

They helped to inspire Louvet to write a once famous novel, *Faublas,* and they are narrated in the fragments of Choisy's *Mémoires* which have come to us, written at the instigation of another distinguished woman, Madame de Lambert, for he was happy in his women friends. These *Mémoires* are written with much charm and skilful facility, in the best eighteenth century manner, the manner of the younger Crébillon, and while they

have not the artist's touch which marks Crébillon at his best, they have a much greater precision of interesting detail and the additional attraction that they present real adventure. If we possessed them in full, Choisy's *Mémoires* would rank among the chief literary treasures of that fascinating century, and, as it is, they constitute a cherished fragment. Moreover they are typical of the Eonist's attitude, and in their ingenuous vanity, their constant complacent absorption in all the smallest details of feminine costume, they curiously resemble the narratives written by Eonists of today. The Abbé de Choisy also resembled the main Eonist type in sexual temperament, being definitely heterosexual, so that even in an age when hemosexuality was conspicuous not a rumor of that tendency is associated with him, and also in uniting a great devotion to women with a less than average degree of physical passion, so that he was able to find satisfaction in simple affectionate intimacy, though on occasion he went beyond this and, at least once, became the father of a child. In 1676 he accompanied the Cardinal de Bouillon to Rome in an official capacity. Later, after a serious illness in which his life was despaired of, he became serious, was converted, and, in retirement at the Seminary of Foreign Missions, occupied himself for a time in writing on the existence of a God and the evidence for immortality.

In 1685 he went as coadjutor-ambassador to Siam and on the voyage became a priest, returning, with fine words from the King of Siam and beautiful presents, to receive a splendid reception in Paris. He translated the *De Imitatione Christi* and wrote the History of the Church in many volumes. But, notwithstanding, he seems always to have remained on good terms with his past life, while at the same time his amiable and indeed high character, aided no doubt by wealth and position, enabled him to preserve both general esteem and the friendship of many of the best and most intellectual people of his time. He died in 1724 at the age of eighty and D'Alembert pronounced his Eloge.[1]

[1] An edition of the *Aventures de l'Abbé de Choisy Habillé en Femme* was put forth in Paris in 1870 with a Preface by M. P. L. (Paul

During the life-time of the Chevalier d'Eon (1795) a woman was born who became to some extent his feminine counterpart and had a long and distinguished professional career in masculine garments as James Barry, Senior Inspector-General of the English Army Medical Department. She was said to be the grand-daughter of a Scottish laird and entered the army, attired as a man, at the age of 18, to become a hospital assistant, passing through all grades, in male costume, to the rank she finally attained, and serving in various parts of the world. The Inspector-General was said to be quarrelsome in temper, once fighting a duel, and often guilty of breaches of discipline, but the offence was always condoned at headquarters. Barry was described as "the most skilful of physicians and the most wayward of men," in appearance a beardless lad of unmistakably Scotch type, with reddish hair and high cheek bones; there was a certain effeminacy of manner which he was always striving to overcome; his conversation was greatly superior to that usually heard at a mess-table in those days. Barry died in 1865. There is no indication of any sexual tendency in her history, whether heterosexual or homosexual, and we may believe that, as is fairly common in this psychic anomaly, the sexual impulse was not strong, and, therefore, easy to divert and sublimate in this transformation.

Rather earlier than Barry, a much more famous and romantic woman of the same type appeared in English aristocratic circles, Lady Hester Stanhope.[1] On the death of her father, the third Earl Stanhope, who was highly eccentric, but a remarkable and able man and a notable inventor, she was

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Lacroix), and the same work, under the title of *Mémoires de l'Abbé de Choisy Habillé en Femme*, was published in Paris in 1920 with a somewhat longer introduction.

[1] *The Life and Letters of Lady Hester Stanhope*, by her niece the Duchess of Cleveland, 1897 and 1924. This is regarded as the authoritative biography, though the Duchess never saw her aunt. There are many other lives, both in English and French, some of them superficial and inaccurate, merely serving up the old material afresh. Among the best, perhaps, may be reckoned Frank Hamel, *Lady Hester Lucy Stanhope*, 1913; Julia Roundell, *Lady Hester Stanhope*, 1909. There is a brilliant little sketch of her in half a dozen pages of Lytton Strachey's *Books and Characters*, 1922.

adopted by her uncle, the great statesman William Pitt, and presided at his table with much brilliance. Her mother had died when she was a child but she was greatly devoted to a half-brother, and his death was "the crowning sorrow of her life." After Pitt's death she nearly, it appears, married Sir John Moore. Then she set out on a tour in the East, lost all her clothes in a shipwreck, and put on a male Turkish costume, which she found so convenient that she adopted it. Her transvestism was thus apparently due to an accident, but the significant fact was that she clung to it for the rest of her life and also adopted many other male habits, though there seems no reason to suppose that she was sexually inverted. So that, as sometimes happens, an accident had served to reveal an innate disposition. She dressed sometimes as an Albanian Chief, sometimes as a Syrian soldier, sometimes a Bedouin, sometimes like a Pasha's son. For the Moslems she became a prophetess, almost a queen. She died in old age in her castle hermitage on the summit of Lebanon, and was described by one who knew her as "wholly and magnificently unique."

Numerous distinguished or capable women seem to have exhibited this peculiarity in the eighteenth century and earlier. Näcke briefly refers to Ulrike Kleist, the faithful and beloved sister of the poet, as a typical example of the heterosexual form of this anomaly. He brings forward no precise evidence. When we turn to Kleist's correspondence and poems, it seems clear, at all events, that Ulrike possessed masculine elements in her composition. Her brother sends her a New Year's Wish poem in 1800 in which he addresses her as an "amphibian," living at once both in air and water, and begs her to make sure of her sex, to leave the water and shake her wings and fly. This may perhaps be explained by a letter addressed to her in the same year in which he tells her how deeply he has often wished that she were a man. This hardly suffices, however, to indicate transvestism.

A much more genuine example is furnished in low life at an earlier date in England by Mary Frith, who was

commonly called Moll Cutpurse and became the heroine, in a rather attractive guise, of Middleton's delightful play, *The Roaring Girl*. She was a kind of feminine Jonathan. Wild and possessed great natural ability; she was also the first woman to adopt the habit of smoking. She seems clearly to have been the subject of sexo-aesthetic inversion, perhaps with latent homosexuality.[1]

Of all these people we have no precise scientific knowledge, even of their exact psychic state, to say nothing of the explanation of it. Toward the end of the nineteenth century they at last began to come under psychological observation. Westphal, a great pioneer in this field, briefly described the anomaly and brought forward examples.[2] Some years later the case was published in America of a highly cultured man of good moral character, happily married and a father, who cherished a passion for wearing very tightly laced corsets and women's high-heeled French boots; he derived sexual excitement and gratification from this practice; there was a tendency to masochistic algolagnia; the taste, and allied feminine habits, began to develop in early childhood; this is a form of the anomaly of which later much was to be heard.[3]

But the earliest full and scientifically described case, to my knowledge, was that of a Hungarian doctor whose history, written in 1890, was given by Krafft-Ebing in the later editions of his *Psychopathia Sexualis*. The subject was a physician

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[1] See the brilliant account of her in Whibley's *Book of Scoundrels*. *The Roaring Girl* is included in vol. ii of Middleton's Plays, Mermaid Series.

[2] *Archiv für Psychologie*, 1876. The first was the case of a young man arrested in woman's clothes and other feminine articles of toilet he was accustomed to wear and frequently stole. The tendency began in childhood. There was no sexual inversion, but he was slightly feminine in appearance and the testicles were incompletely descended. Westphal had a similar case in a woman. He regarded them as showing mental weakness.

[3] "Gynomania: a curious case of Masturbation," *Medical Record* March 19, 1881; quoted also by Hammond, *Sexual Impotence*, 1887, pp 74-78. Later examples of the same type will be found, for instance, in Moll's edition of Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathic Sexualis* (1924) pp. 612-613; a case will be brought forward in the present study. Emile Laurent had in 1896 recognized both inborn and acquired "psychic hermaphroditism."

who wrote his own fully detailed history. He was married and not homosexual, but his feelings were feminine and he felt to himself like a woman. He was really somewhat feminine in appearance. There were no actual delusions. Krafft-Ebing considered the case to represent a stage of transition to *metamorphosis sexualis paranoica,* that is to say a stage on the road to insanity. This manner of regarding the case is not now acceptable. It was merely the schematic classification of an alienist and threw no light on the anomaly. To describe a mental condition which, though abnormal, is sane, by its relation to an insane state it never reaches, although such a method may be the most obvious to an alienist, is to assume too pathological a standpoint. The case itself, however, as described by the expert subject, may still perhaps be regarded as the most typical and complete on record.[1]

A few years later, Lombroso, another great pioneer in the realms of abnormal psychology, described what he called "a strange psychopathic form of sexuality." It was that of a man of 30, belonging to Romagna, a good artist, small, timid, very kind to animals, who had from the age of seven a kind of passion for feminine ornaments, especially ear-rings. At an early age he pierced the lobes of his ears and rather enjoyed the pain. He wanted to be a woman, he said to himself as a child, because women are nicer than men. He much admired women who wore large ear-rings, and when about twelve, though quite innocent in sexual matters, he used to have erections in thinking about this subject. Beauty in women consisted for him in the shape of the ears. He was not addicted to masturbation and seems to have had no relations with women. He carefully concealed his peculiarity and usually wore his ear-rings in secret.[2] Lombroso made no attempt to classify this anomaly, but a case I shall here bring forward indicates that it probably belongs to this group.

[1] It will be found in the 16th and 17th edition of Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis,* as edited and remoulded by Moll (1924), pp. 595-610.

[2] *Archivio di Psichiatria,* 1896, fasc. 1-2, p. 163.

A little before Lombroso (in 1895), Austin Flint, the distinguished professor of Physiology at Cornell University, had carefully investigated and photographed a case belonging to this group, though he neglected to publish it until sixteen years later.[1] This was a youth of 21, who had always preferred women's dress and occupations, and had been lady's maid in a Boston family, where he attended his mistress in her bath and slept with the servant girls. He denied sexual feelings for either sex; nor had he ever had any erotic dreams, seminal emissions, or erections. But his physical development was entirely and fully masculine and the external genital organs were generously developed. His ways, however, were rather feminine, and he had a high voice, which in singing was a pure adult soprano and not a boy's voice. This was his most remarkable peculiarity. He might now be fairly considered a case of eunuchoidism. But at that time all such anomalies were confused and obscure, still awaiting differentiation and adequate explanation.

Another example, that of a teacher, not vigorous in physical health but well endowed intellectually, was published as a case of "effemination with fetichism."[2] He was referred to as an invert, but in reality he was attracted not to men but to women. It was clearly a typical case of what Hirschfeld later termed "transvestism" and what I would call "sexo-aesthetic inversion," or, more simply, "Eonism."

In my own early attempts to classify the cases of this kind I met with I had similarly been inclined to regard them as representing a combination of feminism with fetichism and as occupying a sort of annex to inversion proper. But this was

[1] A. Flint, "A Case of Sexual Inversion, probably with Complete Sexual Anæsthesia," *New York Medical Journal*, Dec. 2, 1911. The name applied to the case is wrong, for, in the psychological sense in which the words are usually employed, "sexual inversion" and "sexual anæsthesia" are incompatible. Emile Laurent, who towards the end of the last century was a pioneer in the study of bisexual manifestations, suggested the rather better name of psychic hermaphroditism.

[2] *Jahrbuch für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, Bd. ii, 1900, pp. 324-344. Some further account of the early bibliography is given by Dr. E. Wilhelm, *Sexual-Probleme*, July, 1914, pp. 495-502.

unsatisfactory, though it avoided some errors previously made, for not only is there usually no real primary inversion in these cases, but there is no true fetichism, the garment possessing no marked dynamic erotic power in itself, or when worn by another person, but only when worn by the subject himself; in some cases, moreover, clothing played little or no part. So I left the matter over for further consideration.

It may be worth while to note that, about this time, C. G. Leland, a well-known and prolific American man of letters, wrote towards the end of a long life a book which had some bearing on the phenomena we are here concerned with. He argued that the "subconscious self" is of the opposite sex, asserting itself when it can and especially in dreams. He seems to have had an intuition of the class of facts included under "transvestism" (though he made no reference to cross-dressing) · we shall indeed meet with a case in which this impulse is confined to dream-life, and one is inclined to suppose that Leland had found such phenomena in himself and was tempted to unduly generalize them; but his book was vague and unscientific.[1]

In the meanwhile Magnus Hirschfeld of Berlin, whose acquaintance with all the phenomena in any way related to homosexuality is so vast, had become impressed by these cases of persons who take pleasure in assuming the attributes of the opposite sex and yet are not sexual inverts and seldom even tend to become inverted. He put forth a substantial volume concerning what he called "transvestism"—"An Investigation into the Erotic Impulse of Disguise," as he termed it in the subtitle—in which the historical aspects of the subject were discussed and seventeen new cases fully described and analyzed.[2] This book placed the subject at once on a solid basis, for Hirschfeld clearly distinguished the anomaly from homosexuality and all other recognized groups of sexual aberration, and for the first time conceived of it as a simple and

[1] C. G. Leland, *The Alternate Sex and the Female Intellect in Man and the Masculine in Women*, 1904.

[2] Magnus Hirschfeld, *Die Transvestiten · Eine Untersuchung über den Erotischen Verkleidungstrieb*, 1910.

not compound perversion.[1] But Hirschfeld's conception of the anomaly scarcely appeared to me altogether satisfactory. Transvestism or cross-dressing[2] fails to cover the whole of the ground; it may even be a negligible element in the psychological anomaly, while the other name proposed, "impulse of disguise," (*Verkleidungstrieb*), though approved by Näcke,[3] seems to me even more open to objection, since the subject of this anomaly, far from seeking disguise by adopting the garments of the opposite sex, feels on the contrary that he has thereby become emancipated from disguise and is at last really himself.

From the first, however, Hirschfeld had realized the great difficulty of naming this anomaly. In *Die Transvestiten* (p. 300) he had proposed and rejected the term "sexual metamorphosis," and he admits that "transvestism" by no means exhausts the contents of the phenomena. That may be the reason why for a time he preferred the equally unsatisfactory term approved by Näcke.[4] More recently[5] he has returned to

[1] Stekel, in an interesting review of Hirschfeld's book (*Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse*, vol. i, Heft. 1-2) thought that he unduly minimized the tendency to homosexuality and more recently in various volumes of his *Storungen* (as Bd. ii. p. 183 *et seq.*, and Bd. vii, pp. 534 and 570) is inclined to deny heterosexuality altogether in Eonism. More recently, Sadger, also from the psycho-analytic side (*Die Lehre von den Geschlechtsverirrungen*, 1921, p. 167), is inclined, on the contrary, to think that Hirschfeld related transvestism too nearly to inversion, whereas, at all events in its slighter forms, it is associated with a normal direction of the sex impulse. As we shall see, inversion, when it appears in such cases, seems usually to be secondary and not of primary appearance. Rohleder (*Vorlesungen*, 4th ed., 1920, p. 389) finds all his own cases heterosexual.

[2] "Cross-dressing," as suggested by Edward Carpenter (*American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education*, vol. iv, 1911), is probably the best English equivalent of "Transvestism." According to Hirschfeld's terminology, a cross-dressed man is a "transvestit"; a cross-dressed woman a "transvestitin."

[3] P. Nacke, "Zun Kapitel der Transvestiten," *Archiv für Kriminal-anthropologie*, vol. xlvii, 1912, p. 237.

[4] Hirschfeld and Max Tilke, *Der Erotische Verkleidungstrieb* (*Die Transvestiten*). This is an interesting collection of pictures and portraits, ethnographic, historical, and clinical.

[5] *Sexualpathologie*, 1918, vol. ii, ch 3. He here (p. 140) further introduced the term "androgynous delusion" to express the tendency to believe that the body actually has a feminine or masculine build opposite to the apparent sex. The necessity for such a term, however, only arises from the use of the term "transvestism." The Eonist (though sometimes emphatically of the apparent sex) sometimes shows real physical

"transvestism" and defines it as "the impulse to assume the external garb of a sex which is not apparently that of the subject as indicated by the sexual organs." He adds that the name refers only to the most obvious of the phenomena concerned, and not to the inner psychological core.

Still more recently[1] Hirschfeld has stated the chief varieties of transvestism which he would accept as follows:

1. The Heterosexual variety.

2. The Bisexual variety, with an attraction to virile women and feminine men.

3. The Homosexual variety.

4. The Narcisstic variety (regarded as common) in which the feminine components of the subject's nature give satisfaction to his masculine components.

5. The Asexual variety, often impotent and finding full satisfaction in some feminine occupation, as that of a domestic servant.

Since Hirschfeld's book, *Die Transvestiten,* was published in 1910, Dr. Ralph Pettow of Berlin has occupied himself with the subject and finally published a small volume with a title accepting Hirschfeld's names for the anomaly.[2] Pettow made no definite forward step in the study of the anomaly, and he regarded it as morbid, but he stressed its psychological significance, and brought forward a number of suggestive though not always original considerations, and many examples from the by-ways of literature and journalism. Pettow defined the aberration as being, "on the foundations of a psychological compulsion, a perpetual or periodic laying aside of the garb pertaining to sex and age and the adoption of another not so pertaining." And he divided the individuals belonging to the class into three groups: (1) Men adopting women's garb, (2)

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approximations towards the opposite sex, and is naturally apt to exaggerate these. We must be cautious as to terming this exaggeration a "delusion."

[1] *Jahrbuch für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen,* Jahrgang, xxiii, 1923, pp. 12-14.

[2] Ralph Pettow, *Der Krankhafte Verkleidungstrieb: Beitrage zur Erforschung der Transvestie,* 1922. Johannes Baum, Pfullingen in Württemberg.

women adopting men's, and (3) adults adopting the garb of childhood. He attached some importance to the last anomaly, which he dealt with in detail under the heading of the *Retour à l'Enfance*. This was the name given to it by Pierre Janet who seems first to have called attention to it as a psychic anomaly; he treated it as an emotional disturbance but failed to note the associated tendency to revert to the garments of childhood.[1] Pettow was also careful to distinguish pseudo-transvestism, in which cross-dressing is adopted, not out of psychic compulsion but from convenience or interest or occupational grounds.

It is true, as Pettow claims, that the *Retour à l'Enfance* has not usually been given any important place in the study of transvestism. It is well recognized but has been frequently otherwise classed. Thus, Laquer of Frankfort, in his study of shop-thieves in 1907, brought forward the case of a youth of 18, having really a rather childish appearance, who twice stole money from a shop-till to buy clothes of child type and stood about the street wearing them, to be petted and kissed as a child; and Stekel, who quotes the case,[2] regards it as one of psychosexual infantilism combined with kleptomania from sexual motives (kleptolagnia, as I should term it), without any reference to transvestism. He brings forward a rather similar case of his own in a married man.

The subject has still more recently been dealt with rather fully by Moll in a chapter of his remoulded and rewritten edition of Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis*, entitled "Contrary Sexuality Outside the Sexual Impulse."[3] He accepts, for a certain number of cases, the conception I had put forward, that they are due to "aesthetic inversion," an exaggerated sympathy with the object of affection leading to imitation and empathy, the "Einfuhlung" of Lipps. He points out (as I had already done) that many such cases really are linked on to the fetichism with which they were originally identified, and

[1] P. Janet, *Les Obsessions et la Psychasthénie*, 1903, p. 391.
[2] W Stekel, *Der Fetischismus*, 1923, p. 42.
[3] Krafft-Ebing and Moll, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 1924, pp. 572-632.

that the fetichist may easily be tempted to wear the garments he is attracted to; and further that an effeminate inverted fetichist may in consequence of such empathy wear masculine garments, even though he otherwise prefers feminine dress. Moll's own classification (first put forward in 1921) is as follows:

(1) A class of cases, which possibly may not belong to the psychosexual sphere at all, but in which there is simply an obsession taking the form of an impulse to wear the garments of the opposite sex.

(2) Homosexual cases in which cross-dressing constitutes part of the contrary sexual psychic state.[1]

(3) Heterosexual cases in which, though the sexual impulse is normal, cross-dressing constitutes part of a contrary sexual state.

(4) Cases to be explained in the sense of Havelock Ellis as due to a pronounced heterosexual desire to imitate and enter into the feelings of the opposite sex.

(5) Cases in which other grounds for the practice, such as concealment or professional occupation, must be sought, that is to say, cases which other investigators have called "pseudo-transvestism."

He refers, also, to the further cases, in which the *retour à l'enfance* occurs, and the adult subject finds pleasure in feeling and acting like a child, and is wearing a child's garments; but many of these cases on close examination, Moll considers, are found to represent forms of masochism.

Moll's conception shows a real grasp of the subject by his realization that the mere cross-dressing seldom constitutes the core of the anomaly, but it seems doubtful whether the classification will be found permanently to hold good and he omits the Narcisstic and asexual groups. The cases put down to obsession were not analyzed in a manner which would ex-

[1] *The Autobiography of an Androgyne* (1918) and *Female-Impersonators* (1922) by Ralph Werther (also known as Earl Lind and Jennie June) are an interesting exhibition of this condition from the subjective side. They were published by the New York *Medico-legal Journal* and introduced by its editor, Dr. A. W. Herzog.

clude the possibility of a more definite explanation, and it is not clear that there is any decided line of demarcation between cases of the second and third groups and those of the fourth. But some of the cases brought forward are valuable, not only the memorable case of Krafft-Ebing's but another (No. 353) which presents the anomaly in a marked form, clearly revealing that constitutional basis which induced Hirschfeld to regard such cases as representing a special stage of intermediate sexuality, though, it may be noted, Moll himself fails to find such a conception acceptable.

Since Hirschfeld's work in this field, the most important effort to carry the investigation further has been that made by the psycho-analysts. Accepting the anomaly in the way understood by Hirschfeld, and usually adopting for it his name of Transvestism, they explain it, in a totally different way, as largely or mainly a disturbance in the psycho-sexual mechanism, due to influences traceable in early life, and involving a persistence into later life of infantile traits. This explanation is not presented as the psychic view of a situation which may also be viewed constitutionally, but sometimes (though not by more cautious psycho-analysts) as overthrowing the constitutional view altogether and putting it out of court. It seems often assumed by the psycho-analyst that the anomaly appears on a normal constitutional basis and is completely explained by psycho-sexual disturbance.

It scarcely appears that Freud has given any special attention to this anomaly. Karl Abraham, in dealing with "hysterical" conditions, brought forward a case which I should now regard as primarily an example of Eonism. It was that of a man who, without apparently any desire to wear feminine clothes, desired to be a woman and in his day-dreams imagined himself physically changed to a woman. There was a tendency to identification with his mother, and, like her, he had attacks of headache every month which he called his "periods." Abraham attributed this to a homosexual impulse-component.[1]

[1] K. Abraham, "Ueber hysterische Traumzustande," *Jahrbuch f psychoanal. Forsch.*, Bd. ii, 1910, and reprinted in the author's *Klinische Beitrage*, 1921, pp. 71-74.

Sadger has brought forward several cases, and he would explain them exclusively on psycho-genetic grounds: the subject, as a child, wishes he were a girl, and, therefore, he tries to be a girl, and thinks he will thereby become more pleasing and more like his mother, or more attractive to his father, since his father admires his mother; it is usually the mother's or sister's garments that he first seeks to put on; whether in heterosexual or homosexual subjects, the desire is to be the mother or the father.[1]

It is Stekel among psycho-analysts who has most often discussed the nature of cross-dressing, besides bringing forward new cases.[2] While accepting Hirschfeld's clinical histories, he is completely opposed to his biological conception and refuses to regard these cases as representing one of the intermediate stages of sexuality in the way in which Hirschfeld has been inclined to class them, in a group by themselves, although passing into other groups, and with subdivisions. Hirschfeld, Stekel declares, has overlooked the fact that cross-dressing is really a latent homosexuality, and believes that he has proved that the "so-called sexually normal" Eonists are really masked sexual inverts. When we remember that Hirschfeld undoubtedly possesses a wider knowledge of homosexuality than any other investigator of his own or earlier times, it requires some courage to assert that he has here "overlooked" its existence. It is hardly likely that he would overlook the anomaly of which he is the chief expert in a class of cases which he was the first to study with care on a large scale. It is more likely that his critic has overlooked some consideration. And that consideration seems to be that we are not entitled to classify a group of cases in relation to a condition which for the most part they never reach. To do so is a regression to precisely the same kind of error as Krafft-Ebing made when

[1] Sadger, *Die Lehre von den Geschlechtsverirrungen*, 1921, p. 171 Sadger somewhat misunderstands the view of Hirschfeld, who regards the group of transvestists as co-ordinate with that of inverts, and not, as Sadger supposes, subordinate.

[2] Successively in *Onanie und Homosexualitat*, *Die Geschlechtskälte der Frau*, and *Der Fetischismus*.

he classified his interesting case of Eonism in relation to insanity. We all, however normal, possess latent possibilities. But it is quite unprofitable, however correct, to classify the general population under the three heads of masked thieves, masked murderers, and masked adulterers, especially when we have to add that the same person may belong to all three groups. On another point—the distinction of Eonism from fetichism—Stekel agrees with Hirschfeld, though not on Hirschfeld's ground. Hirschfeld finds the distinction in the tendency of the fetichist to love the fetich for its own sake, and not as part of himself, while Gutheil (putting forward Stekel's view) finds this distinction superficial, and considers that it is the system-formation of the fetichist which is absent; the garment for the Eonist is the expression of a strong wish, the wish to be a man (or woman), and the garment is used, under pressure of an ugliness-complex, to secure a flight into the other sex.

An elaborate analysis of a female Eonist has been made by Emil Gutheil, Stekel's assistant, under his general direction (W. Stekel, *Der Fetischismus,* 1923, "Analyse eines Falles von Transvestitismus," pp. 534-70).

The case is that of Elsa B., a woman of 34, Government Official, who did not come for treatment but for medical investigation in view of an application to the police for permission to wear masculine clothes, which was in due course secured.

She was a seven months child and delicate in early life At the present time she is in all general respects normal and with no notable stigmata of degeneration. She is of slender figure with small asthenic chest, but the primary and secondary sexual characteristics are normal and feminine, and menstruation is regular and painless. But in her bearing and walk and ways generally she is masculine. She wears her short hair like a man's. Urination is effected in the standing posture. She wears a skirt but her dress, so far as possible, is approximated to that of a man, so that at a first glance it is not always easy to recognize her sex, and she is thus liable to attract unpleasant attention in the street and several times aroused suspicion during the War. But she cannot bear to wear ordinary feminine things; they have made her feel, she says, even from childhood, "like a dressed-up monkey." She has artistic tastes and plays the violin.

As a child she did not care for girls' playthings and would hide them away. She made no friends among other little girls but played

with boys and found her best friends in books. The question of dress became to her, from early years, more and more a "catastrophe." She was, however, much left to herself. Her father, a solid and serious man, a teacher, who died when she was 2, was 68 at her birth, and her mother was more than twenty years younger. The parents did not get on well together, and the mother was "master" in the house. She was lively and fond of dress and pleasure; she married again, and the child, who detested her stepfather, was brought up by grandparents who did not occupy themselves much with her. This neglect led to mental depression; she felt her inferiority and dreaded the future. She felt, too, that she was unwelcome as her mother had wanted a boy. Her obstinacy and grief over feminine garments caused much trouble with her relations, who could not understand this strange child At the age of about 12 she received enlightenment on sexual matters from a servant; up to the age of 9 she had not discovered that there were any sexual differences beyond those of clothing, so that to adopt boy's clothing was to become a boy. At the age of 14 or 15 she was much attached to another girl and gratified her affection by kisses and embraces. Her erotic thoughts are exclusively directed towards women, but she believes in an ideal expression of such affection.

She has never had any but a comradely relation with men, and the thought of anything sexual in connection with a man is disgusting to her. A castration complex is the chief sign of any erotic attitude to the opposite sex. But the impulse of transvestism is itself erotic for her. She denies that it depends on any homosexual impulse or on the attraction of the forbidden. The putting on of men's clothing is itself a source of sexual pleasure to her and can suffice to produce orgasm, so that transvestism enables her to dispense with any other source of sexual gratification. She states that she is content with her feelings about transvestism and with auto-erotic practices; she has scruples about homosexual practices and could not bear to think that she might injure the lives of others. It was not until the age of 22 that she cut her hair short and began putting on men's clothes in secret. But it was much earlier, at the age of 13, when still wearing ear-rings and feminine garments, that she first definitely expressed an open wish for men's clothes

By analysis of dreams Gutheil believed he had detected mother-fixation and a religious complex (Madonna worship). He also found a degree of Narcissism which he finds significant Her step-father used to tell her she was ugly; she was very sensitive to this reproach and came to believe it; but dressed as a man she considered she looked handsome and this was a main cause of her attachment

to masculine garments. She found in the mirror that in men's clothes she had a great resemblance to her father. She has in course of time come to hate her mother. She has a younger brother Edward. It was when trying on his clothes that the putting on of masculine garments first caused orgasm. Gutheil finds in her dreams indications of sexual fixation on this brother.

In his final analysis of Elsa B.'s case, Gutheil concludes that the dominant element in her sexual attitude is the Electra complex of which the neurotic expression is identification with the father. In the relations of the girl to her brother Edward there is a new edition of the primary incest-constellation. This identification—an introjection of the object into the ego—takes place when the Electra relationship has to be given up. It is because no substitute, outside the family, presents itself for the incest object which is being given up that identification with the object takes place, and the foundation stone for a homosexual neurosis is thus laid. But as the father died when she was still a small child this identification took place early. In the meanwhile it was becoming clear to the child that she was not wanted by her mother because she was not a boy, that is to say because she was not clothed in the right kind of garments, and later her stepfather made it clear that she was thought ugly. She wanted to be beautiful, and her infantile Narcissism was thus wounded. Then she discovered, in relation to her brother, the real nature of sexual difference, and that it was the absence of certain physical appendages which accounted for her mother's attitude towards her. So arose the castration complex: "There is the thing you lack; cut it off." Whence sadistic impulses and wishes for her brother's death, which had to be repressed. But she still hoped she might develop a penis, until, with the appearance of menstruation, she realized that all hope of this must be abandoned That was a turning-point in her psycho-sexual development. But she gradually reacted against the resulting depression, borne up by the exhilaration of youth. The fiction of masculinity arose within her, bound up with the desire for beauty and resemblance to her father and her brother, and led to a new sense of well-being. (This "fiction of masculinity" is obviously the same thing as Adler's "masculine protest," and Stekel remarks that Gutheil is quite unacquainted with Adler's work.) Enormous weight is attached to the fact that after *on* various occasions putting on men's garments, the first orgasm occurred when in her brother's clothes at the age of 15. (As a matter of fact, however, Elsa, as reported, had not said it was "the first orgasm" but "the first orgasm in masculine garments.") The scene has a pronounced fetichistic character and is the expression of a subconscious fantasy that she is now the equal of her brother and

fully entitled to her mother's love, while these are her bridges to a religious complex, supposed to be indicated by a dream in which she seems the son of the Madonna and also her lover. She struggled against her mother's second marriage, and hence she must have wished to take the husband's place She wears a wedding ring which she bought, she says, because it pleased her.

Elsa B.'s sexuality is thus anchored in her cross-dressing. Clothing has become the symbol of the rejected incest-object. The disposition to homosexuality arises out of identification with a sexual object of the opposite sex. Stekel regards homosexuality as a flight from the opposite sex, determined by perversities ("paraphilias" in Stekel's terminology) and hate-attitudes, especially sadism. So in this case, says Gutheil; and the chief cause of the flight is here a castration-complex; and the full bearing of the complex becomes clear when we realize that the castration thoughts are closely associated with the sight of the sexual organs, so that direct contact with the penis becomes unthinkable, and anxiety at her own criminal thought leads to repression of heterosexual impulses. Sexuality in the homosexual direction is, however, also subject to inhibition in Elsa B., so that we may speak of a diminished need of sexual intercourse. A religious-ascetic complex is detected here, as indicated by a dream in which the cross-dressing seems to be effected in the name of the "Father," the "Son" (Edward), and the "Holy Ghost" (the great miracle of sexual metamorphosis she is awaiting) We are to see in Elsa an apparently free-thinking but really deeply religious nature in whom the polar tension between impulse and inhibition has a fatal operation on the psychic mechanism. A *fellatio* fantasy and exhibitionary impulses are also detected. Sadism and masochism are, further, held to be involved. Hirschfeld had devoted a chapter to Masochism in association with Eonism, but Gutheil and Stekel rightly point out that masochism and sadism are allied; as I have elsewhere sought to show (*Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, Vol III) they are best regarded as two aspects of the same phenomenon, that is to say, algolagnia, or the influence of pain in stimulating sexual emotion. Stekel, more dubiously, regards the relationship as one of "polarity."

Masochism is thus a reversal of sadism, the sadism being directed towards the subject himself It is, Stekel thinks, hate towards others turned into hate towards oneself. Elsa's castration complex had impelled her to wish her young brother dead, or at least to cut off the penis she envied. But she repressed that impulse and converted it into an impulse of harshness towards herself. This, however, while it is a partially true statement for this particular case seems to fall into the common error of regarding algolagnia as a manifestation of cruelty. The impulse to inflict pain, whether on others or on oneself,

whenever it arises from a sexual motive, must never be regarded as a manifestation of hate and cruelty. Whenever it so arises we can safely eliminate any genuinely sexual impulse. The real motive is to show love, not hate, and even if possible to give pleasure. And the reason so unlikely a method of manifesting this motive is adopted is simply that the stimulus of pain, when the sexual impulse is weak (as it often is in Eonism)—whether inflicted or suffered or even merely witnessed—does actually operate as a stimulus to the sexual emotions, and no cruelty is really involved, merely the appearance of it. The evidence on this point is overwhelming. Sadism and masochism cannot be understood unless this is realized, and to bring in the motive of hate, obscures the phenomena altogether.

On the whole, it would appear to Gutheil and Stekel—to conclude this summary of a summary—the peculiar impulse to cross-dressing first appeared in Elsa B. about the twelfth or thirteenth year, following on the depression felt by the lack of a penis. In this cross-dressing incestuous sexual feeling was blended with an acquired feeling of beauty. She had become a "man," in the image of the beloved father and brother, and therein the deepest significance of the transvestism is reached.

This analysis is presented as fairly as possible in a very condensed statement in order to make clear the strictly psycho-analytic explanation of cross-dressing, when put forward as completely adequate and as overthrowing every other possible explanation. (It must, of course, be understood that there is no necessary agreement with Gutheil and Stekel on these points among other psycho-analysts.) Certainly it would hardly be possible to pile up a greater number of complexes and perverse fantasies on to Elsa B.'s devoted head. They seem to be plentiful enough to account for anything. Yet one can well understand the sceptic feeling that the psycho-analyst is a kind of spider who spins his pathological web-complex so widely and so elaborately only in the hope that somewhere, at all events, the fly must become entangled. For it is certainly true that these threads are very slight and vague. When we remember how every living being is in perpetual slight movement and perpetually throwing off evanescent thoughts and feelings we realize how careful we need to be before deciding that there is a significance in these tiny facts strong enough to bear one's

big labels. Moreover, with all his readiness to find significance in phenomena that are very slight or very vague, Gutheil passes over, without any notice at all, very definite facts in which he might well have found a grave significance if he had not felt bound to reject altogether the possibility of any constitutional element in the case.

Elsa's father was old at her conception, and the mother comparatively young. That is a known cause of deviations in the offspring. She was, again, a seven months child, and that also is a recognized source of anomalies in development, sometimes even favorable as well as unfavorable when we recall how many men of high ability have been thus premature. Then we are told that Elsa's mother had the temperament of a "master," which Elsa may well have inherited. And we might further observe that the neglect which was Elsa's lot in early life, the absence of parental care and guidance, furnished exactly the favoring conditions demanded by any perverse innate germs. The diminished impulse to sexual intercourse which Gutheil recognizes, and which frequently appears in other cases, completely harmonizes with the view that we are concerned with individuals who are constitutionally abnormal. On such a view, Gutheil believes, it is impossible to account for Elsa B.'s experience of orgasm when in her brother's clothes. But the experience is scarcely well explained on his own view, while it is easily conceivable that the excitement of the long desired assumption of male clothing, especially when associated with the garments of her brother who had evidently been an object of sexual interest to her, should produce a sudden involuntary gush of physical emotion. Stekel and Gutheil believe, and they emphasize and italicise the statement, that an "incest-fixation" is the primary and driving motive of Elsa's cross-dressing, implying that no inborn predisposition is necessary. This incest-attitude (in Elsa B.'s case the desire to take the mother's place with the father)—Freud's Oedipus complex and Electra complex—they regard as the driving infantile motive to the cross-dressing and to the other symptoms associated with it.

The term "incest" (as I have on other occasions pointed out) should never be used in this connection. It can, correctly, only have relation to adults; in the psychology of childhood it has no meaning. For children there is only love for an object of affection, not incestuous desire; in that love the as yet undifferentiated impulse of sex is blended and lost. To introduce here from criminology a legal term which belongs to the law-courts may be a sensational method for arousing the horrified attention of innocent minds, but it brings its own revenge. We are really concerned with a perfectly simple and natural impulse, not necessarily a complex at all, and almost universal, though in degree it varies greatly in different individuals.

Needless to say, it was known long before the psychoanalysts called attention to it, as they were perfectly justified in doing, however illegitimate the name they chose. I know of no better example of it in a well-marked form than Stendhal supplies in his autobiographical book, *Vie de Henri Brulard,* written in 1832, when in middle life, with a rapid pen and complete sincerity, because he was not writing for immediate publication, and only anticipated, vaguely, that what he wrote might possibly reach the eyes of "a reader of 1880." As a matter of fact the *Vie de Henri Brulard* was not published until 1890. In Chapter III, Stendhal describes how he lost his mother when 7 years of age:—

"My mother was a charming woman and I was in love with my mother. In loving her at perhaps the age of 6 (1789) I showed absolutely the same character as in 1828 when loving Madame Alberte de Rubempré (Madame Azur) to madness My way of hunting happiness had in no way changed at bottom though on the physical side of love there was the difference that Caesar would have found if he had returned to the world to discover cannons and small arms in war. I could quickly learn that and it meant no fundamental change in my tactics

"I wished to cover my mother with kisses, and when she had no clothes on. She loved me wildly and often embraced me, and I returned her kisses with such fire that she was as though obliged to go away. I hated my father when he came and interrupted our

kisses, I always wished to kiss her on the breast—but please remember that I lost her, when I was scarcely seven, in childbirth.

"She was plump, of perfect freshness, very pretty, though I believe hardly tall enough. There was a fine nobility in her features. She perished, in the flower of youth and beauty, in 1790, when she could scarcely have been 28 or 30 years of age. Thus it was that, forty-five years ago, I lost what I have loved most in the world.

"She cannot be offended at the liberty I am taking with her in revealing that I loved her; if I ever meet her again I would tell her once more. Besides, she never in any way shared that love. As for me, I was as criminal as possible; I loved her charming favors. One evening, when by some chance I had been put to bed on the floor in her room on a mattress, this lively woman, light as a goat, jumped over my mattress to reach her own bed more quickly." (Here Stendhal interrupted the narrative and placed a cross, which was his custom when he intended to revise or complete a passage; we may conclude that this incident had a significance which he has not fully explained.)

Later (Chapter XI) he mentions that some years afterwards he heard his aunt remark that his mother had no inclination for his father at marriage: "That remark had for me an immense bearing I was still. at the bottom of my soul, jealous of my father."

We could scarcely have a more definite example, in its fully developed shape, of what is improperly called the "incest-attitude" of the child. Yet it is the perfectly simple, natural, and—though Stendhal uses the term "criminal"—innocent expression of a child's whole-hearted affection for his mother. It happened to be a child of unusually vivid sensibilities and unusually acute intellect who was, by his own inborn nature, predestined to genius, and to the troubles which beset genius; such emotional precocity is sometimes found in genius and thus may even be of its essence. But, although we know Stendhal's life fairly well, there seem no pathological problems to solve beyond those due to excessive nervous sensibility. There is no "Oedipus Complex" to pervert his existence and lead to tragedy. We know that love played an important part in his existence, that he wrote a famous book about its psychology, and that he was devoted to a succession of women, not all of whom returned his love. We may regard his mother as the first of these beloved women, but, so far as can be seen, his

love-life in later years would not have been sensibly different even if he had never known his mother. For the details of psycho-sexual experience such as the analyst investigates may be of high importance, but if there is no morbid constitutional foundation which they express they may be of no importance at all.

These considerations are not brought forward in any controversial sense. Properly considered, they should have no controversial bearing. Those investigators who concentrate on the constitutional foundations of psycho-sexual anomalies, and those investigators who explore the mechanisms revealed by psycho-analysis are alike performing necessary tasks. Nothing is now more certain than the influence of the varying balance of the internal secretions in building up the psycho-sexual constitution. Nothing also is more illuminating than the mechanisms which the masters of psycho-analysis have revealed in unravelling the varied experiences of the individual. Both are essential to a complete interpretation of the varied cases that arise. Evil only ensues when, in one party or the other party, there is a failure to realize the immense services which the opposite party is rendering.

Realization of the need to recognize alike the hereditary and innate factors, the acquired and psycho-genetic factors, in the constitution of this anomaly may be noted among the most recent investigations. Thus Dr. Ernest Jones clearly assumes the existence of both sets of factors in all psycho-analytic investigations. Dr. Lothar Goldmann of New York (though his observations seem to have been made chiefly in Berlin) is quite ready to accept both, as regards transvestism.[1] He points out that in many cases the subject shared the room of a sister in childhood, the period to which the aberration may so often be traced back, but as we know that the close association of brothers and sisters is commonly without significance for later life we are compelled to seek for a congenital predisposition.

[1] L. Goldmann, "Ueber das Wesen des Umkleidungstriebes," with many illustrations, *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, Bd. xii. Heft 9-12, 1924-5.

Goldmann sees in transvestism "a variety of sexual disposition of high biological and cultural significance." He is inclined to regard it as a form of auto-erotism, but seeks to distinguish between an erotic and a more permanent psychic form of the anomaly. He points out, like other investigators, its comparative rarity in women, and finds that in men when it is homosexual it tends to become less marked with years or with gratification of the homosexual impulses, but in the more prevalent heterosexual cases it became pronounced with age; this distinction seems just. He also remarks how, in the case of a distinguished musical composer, the bisexual constitution involved by the anomaly aided him to reach his highest musical possibilities. On the whole, he concludes that the hormonic explanation of this peculiar and many-sided anomaly is often, without question, the signpost pointing to the right road, but that there are also numerous cases where we need psychology in order to attain a completely satisfying answer to the thousandfold questions involved.

It was by Hirschfeld's important work in this field that I was stimulated to return to the subject and to bring forward my own small contribution. In a study published in the *Alienist and Neurologist* (May and August, 1913), describing four cases of the anomaly, I proposed for it the term "Sexo-Aesthetic Inversion," which I used as the title of the study, and I also suggested as an alternative the name "Eonism" after the Chevalier d'Eon, the most famous historical subject of this anomaly, to be used as comparable to the terms "sadism" and "masochism." ("Aesthetic inversion," I should say, was the name suggested to me by a man of scientific and scholarly distinction who was himself the subject of this anomaly in a pronounced form.) I pointed out the propriety of invoking aesthetic emotion in this connection since the main characteristic of these people—the impulse to project themselves by sympathetic feeling into the object to which they are attracted, or the impulse of inner imitation—is precisely the tendency which various recent philosophers of aesthetics have regarded as the essence of all aesthetic feeling. It now, however, seems to me

undesirable to use the word "inversion" in this connection as it is too apt to arouse suggestions of homosexuality, which may be quite absent, though it remains true that the phenomenon we are concerned with is one of erotic empathy, of a usually heterosexual inner imitation, which frequently tends to manifest itself in the assumption of the habits and garments of the desired sex; for the important point is that this impulse springs out of admiration and affection for the opposite sex, therefore the subject of it is not usually tempted to carry the inner imitation so far as to imitate the sexual desires of that sex and so to become unlike it by being homosexual; that is how it is that, to superficial view, he seems less logical, less thorough-going, than the sexual invert.

Moreover, "sexo-aesthetic inversion," even if acceptable as a descriptive term, still remains one of those hybrid Græco-Latin compounds which it is best if possible to avoid. "Aesthetic sexual inversion" is misleading, since it would apparently be equivalent to "aesthetic homosexuality." The same subject of the anomaly who suggested "aesthetic inversion" also independently proposed Laurent's term, "psychical hermaphroditism"; but that is not accurate since these people are not always conscious of possessing the psychic disposition of both sexes, but sometimes only of one, the opposite sex, the sex to which they are attracted. Hirschfeld regretted that the difficulty cannot be solved by adopting the name of some well-known subject of the condition as in the terms "sadism" and "masochism," but thought none sufficiently well-known. He overlooked the well-known Chevalier d'Eon who exhibited this impulse very definitely, and I am now inclined to think best the term I had more tentatively suggested in my first contribution to the subject and to call this anomaly "Eonism."[1]

Some years ago a man was found drowned off the Cornish coast dressed in women's clothes and with his hands fastened

[1] I have already used it as the title of an article on the subject in the New York *Medical Review of Reviews* (Jan., 1920). Wilhelm in 1914 (*Sexual-Probleme*, July, 1914, p. 500) regarded my proposed name of Eonism as probably the best.

together. Among his effects at the hotel he was staying at were numerous refinements of the feminine toilette and feminine articles of dress. He was a lawyer, practising as a solicitor near London, and regarded by his acquaintances (of whom one is known to me) as an ordinary and normal man of quiet habits. There was no suggestion that his death was due to violence. It was evident that he had sought what was from the point of view of the Eonist (apparently with masochistic tendencies) the most voluptuous death possible.[1]

Such a case reveals some of the peculiarities of Eonism. It tends to occur among people who are often educated, refined, sensitive, and reserved. It is for the most part successfully concealed from the subject's friends and acquaintances, even from the nearest members of his own family. It is sometimes associated with manifestations which recall masochism or passive algolagnia. Thus it is in some aspects a form of erotic symbolism which, while it might be classified under inversion, in the wider sense of that term, yet has resemblances to erotic fetichism and occurs in the kind of people who tend to be subject to fetichism. It also resembles, in some of its features, the kind of auto-erotism called Narcissism or erotic self-admiration. Aesthetic inversion cannot, however, be identified either with fetichism or with Narcissism; the subject is not really in love either with a fetich or, except in one special type, with himself.

Although this psychic peculiarity is so difficult both to name and to define, it is, strange as that may seem, the commonest of all sexual anomalies to attain prominence in the public newspapers. There are several reasons why that should be. There is not only the real frequency of the condition, but the fact that it is so striking and so intriguing a violation of our most obvious conventional rules and regulations of social

[1] An imperfectly investigated case (Brand, *Practitioner*, Oct., 1917) of a robust married man found dead in his bedroom in a tightly laced corset and a weak electric battery with one pole to the base of abdomen, indicates an Eonist attempting to heighten voluptuous emotion, but may not indicate a voluptuous suicide, as the corset could hardly produce asphyxia and the battery was harmless.

life. There is the further consideration that, since in its simple uncomplicated form it constitutes no violation of our moral feelings and laws, it is easily possible to discuss it plainly in the most reputable public prints.

It may be worth while to quote a typical case thus reported in the press. In the *Alienist and Neurologist* for July, 1895, is found the following quotation from the *Journal* of Lewiston, Maine: "Commander James Robbins, of Cooper's Mills, in this State, is one of the prominent men of his community, a citizen generally esteemed as a man of integrity and intelligence. Mr. Robbins has a brilliant war record. He has lived in the village since 1883, and is a jeweler. His house is a neat cottage house on the brow of the hill as one drives into the Mills. In the narrow front hallway is Mr. Robbins' bench, lathe, and tools, and here you will find him placidly working away at the tiny wheels and springs.

"If you are on sufficiently intimate terms with Mr. Robbins you will find him indulging in his hobby. He has one, like most of us. In his case the hobby is startlingly picturesque, and it may be safely said that he is the most original man in the State of Maine, so far as his curious fancy is concerned. He wears petticoats. Not when he goes down the street for the mail and to do his marketing. At these times he slips on the masculine pantaloons. Yet he does not wear his trousers even like the ordinary masculinity. No suspenders for him. He wears a sort of dress about his hips. He always wears a woman's No. 6 shoe with high heels and graceful, slender shape. Mr. Robbins weighs something like 180 pounds, and the effect produced by those shoes peeping coyly out from beneath manly trouser legs is startling, to say the least. Mr. Robbins doesn't mince or toddle, and his shoes seem to fit him pretty well.

"He reserves his petticoats for the sanctity of the home circle, for the partial retirement of his orchard, and for calls upon neighbors with whom his acquaintance is close. Mr. Robbins isn't squeamish about showing himself in petticoats. He enjoys wearing them; he has worn them when opportunity has presented all his life long, and he wears them scientifically,

too. In the first place, there's no half-way business about it. Every detail of feminine attire is there, and Mr. Robbins is rightly fussy about the details.

"There is no woman in Cooper's Mills who owns so many dresses of such excellent material as does the commander of the Cooper's Mills Post. He takes pride in having only the best. His lingerie is elaborately tucked and ruffled, edged with lace and fashioned according to the most approved models of any lady's wardrobe. The material is of the finest quality, and when Mr. Robbins lifts his skirts the eye gets a vision of ruffles, lace and 'all such like' of dazzling whiteness and immaculate smoothness.

"He is very particular about his ironing. Everything must be starched 'up to the handle,' whatever that is, and sometimes Mrs. Robbins finds her hands full and her clothes horse loaded down like a pack donkey. Amazed neighbors, who were not fully aware of the extent of Mr. Robbins' hobby, have been obliged to ask for more details when Mrs. Robbins has laconically informed them that 'it is Jim's ironing.' Mr. Robbins' hosiery is of the long sort and it is currently rumored that the stockings are hitched up at the sides. His corsets he has made especially for his girth, and these he wears continually. His shape is fairly good, especially when he dresses up for afternoons. In the morning he wears print gowns, for he assists in the housework. Almost every morning Mr. Robbins in his print gown is seen sweeping off the piazza and whisking about the kitchen. He wears petticoats at home almost exclusively, putting on the garb as soon as he enters the house. For afternoon wear his gowns are elaborate. Some of them are made by Mr. Robbins and some are fashioned by local dressmakers. One cashmere dress is quite a favorite, and this is frequently worn by Mr. Robbins when he promenades in the orchard. He has lots of these good clothes, all of fashionable cut, puffed sleeves, and all the fixin's that go to lend grace and dignity. Usually he wears an apron, and especially so when at his bench. The apron is white, ordinarily, and has a bib with ruffled straps and pockets. Therefore, does Mr. Robbins present a somewhat

unique appearance as he works away of afternoons, or sits and converses with his wife.

"Look at the gown and you see a stylishly attired woman. But the face is very manly indeed. Mr. Robbins would be marked in any crowd. His face is full and he wears a mustache that possibly owes a colour to art. His hair is long, black and curly, his voice deep and full, and there's nothing effeminate about him except his attire."

It may be added, however, that this case, if representative of one type of Eonist, is not typical as regards the favorable response of the social environment. This is more usually one of petty persecution, so that the history of the Eonist, when less robust and jovial than Commander Robbins, may sometimes turn out pathetically.

Examples of women strictly belonging to the same group cannot so easily and so certainly be found in public records. Most of those thus brought before the world have either adopted men's dress and ways for the sake of greater facility in earning a living, or they are in reality sexually inverted. This is illustrated by the numerous references to women in Pettow's *Krankhafte Verkleidungstrieb*. The genuine Eonist type can be more easily discovered in women who are never brought prominently to public attention, but even then often obscurely. Thus Stekel (*Die Geschlechtskalte der Frau*, 1921, pp. 429-457), gives long fragments of analysis of a woman, anxious to be like a man and unlike a woman; it was rather a complicated case with conflict, and an element of homosexuality, but finally the feminine element conquered and she became reconciled to being a woman.

If Eonism is a deeply rooted natural instinct, of which the possibilities are always latent, we should expect to find it wide-spread over the world among peoples of all stages of culture. We might also expect to find it emerging from time to time even among the general population. Both these expectations are fulfilled even with our present imperfect knowledge.

"That was the beginning. She took her favorite sister into her confidence; her sister must see me dressed as a woman, and I was nothing loth! For a time it was regarded as a joke. Then I think I betrayed my extreme content in woman's dress and her instincts turned. We came to a sort of understanding; I might do what I chose when she was not in the house, and she was to hear nothing of my doings. We did not adhere strictly to this agreement, but it served its purpose inasmuch as our good relations remained undisturbed. On one occasion she took a dislike to a dress when it came home from the dressmaker; she allowed me to buy it from her and I had it altered a little 'for my sister,' to fit me. I took over other gowns from time to time, bought underclothing, shoes, etc, and finally, after experiment, had a woman's wig made. *A propos* those experiments, among others hired 'for private theatricals' I tried a black one. That was the only time I ever was dissatisfied with my appearance 'habillé en femme'; black hair gave me so markedly the look of a prostitute, I was filled with disgust. On the other hand, the first wig I ever tried created an effect exactly the reverse; it was one of the moments of my life when I saw myself completely transformed for the first time. I was then 43 years of age. My wife and her sister are the only people who have seen me in skirts, save occasional messengers coming when I have been alone in the house I used to prepare for such occasions; wearing hat and veil to justify gloves—I always feared my hands would betray—I would make sure it was not a visitor, then open the door acting my part. To be called 'Ma'am' delighted me. I do not think I was ever suspected. Health compelled my wife to winter abroad; I made the most of it, sending the maids out that I might be free. As already said, my sister-in-law was my only confidante. I once asked if it offended to have me dress as a woman. She reflected: 'It would in anyone else I know, but somehow it doesn't in you.' And, after a pause, a laugh· 'It seems natural for you to be a woman!"

"1 made my first essay in fiction some years ago. The first novel I wrote was laid aside for a few months, that I might consider it with a more impartial mind I read it again, and I suppose in masculine mood, for it struck me forcibly as the work of a woman. I had been wholly unconscious of sex while writing it, was absorbed in character drawing Indeed the habitual train of thought had been displaced in idle hours by the congenial task of devising character touch, situation, turn of phrase. The book was published under a name that might be that of woman or man; and the reviewers who concerned themselves with the sex of the author at all assigned it to a woman. The next novel I wrote was, I thought, more masculine, but it also was accepted as a woman's work. Two

others I deliberately wrote from the feminine standpoint. Long passages of these I drafted while dressed and made up as a woman, often before the glass. I tried to think this helped me to assume the mental attitude I intended, but doubt it. I was not sufficiently accustomed to woman's dress not to be partly distracted by satisfaction with myself. It may have helped, but I have found that when writing of a man and a woman I am not even an impartial onlooker; inevitably I assume mentally the female character.

"When first I began to dress as a woman, I was offended by the fact that it induced erection; this irritated me greatly, but before very long, as I became more used to skirts, there was no disagreeable effect. I could entirely forget I am a man.

"I have worked much with men and with women during the war, and my conviction that the differences between the sexes is exaggerated has been confirmed. Man merges into woman, woman into man. I prefer working with intelligent women; I find myself in closer touch and see eye to eye with them readily. Methods of education, of up-bringing and dress, I believe go very far to emphasize what differences there are, save in those persons whose sexual character is particularly strong. My sympathies are wholly with women; thus, I resent keenly the view so often advanced that a woman should be paid less than a man because she is a woman. I *cannot* adopt the mental attitude of the normal male towards woman. It seems so animal. Recently I learned that office life and the independence it confers were producing a serious effect on the standard of morality hitherto a matter of course among girls of the middle and upper middle classes. The fact exercised me greatly; the indifference of those men with whom I have spoken on the subject exercises me not less. At best, it is indifference; at worst, cynical approval. Expression of the latter reduces me to speechless wrath.

"During the War I refrained from indulging my preference in dress. Shame forbade; starvation has bred increased appetite.

"For many years now I have found satisfaction in writing an account of imaginary circumstances under which I adopt woman's dress altogether. The scheme of the thing is always much the same In the capacity of private secretary I take up my residence with a woman my own height and figure whose taste is the counterpart of my own. She thirsts to dress as a man, and I must take her place to adjust matters. She forces change of clothes on me, first in jest, then by persuasion, until I am committed. For some obscure reason an element of compulsion enhances the delights of the situation for me. I am allowed a week-end once a month to come home, but always on the understanding that I resume skirts without protest as soon as I return, that my employer may resume male dress.

Refusal on my part would entail public exposure (a threat which, in practice, would serve its end), and I submit. I have worked out this idea a score of times in minute detail, introducing variations which seem to bring it within the ambit of the possible, and speculate on its prescience were it translated into actual fact. In a word, should I delight in the situation as I believe? (The monthly week-end is a concession to the actualities, it is not a respite from the skirts.)

"The scene is generally a small country house in a large walled garden. My employer is a woman of strong and masculine cast of mind who, dressed as a man, dominates me dressed as a woman, treated as a woman, and restricted to feminine occupations. It would be an interesting experiment to try!

"A few years ago I had a dream that has remained vividly in mind. As already said, I have acquired the habit of sleeping on my back (I believe this makes for dreaming). I felt a weight on my chest and was conscious of something gently feeling within my vitals which shrinkingly embraced it. The sensation became stronger; an instant of ecstasy passed like a flash into nameless terror—literally black terror. I woke trembling violently and on the verge of tears. This is the only time I have ever dreamed of connection.

"Another dream: I was with child. I felt the life stirring within me and knew a moment of indescribable exaltation I woke to find that a trifling and passing pain in the stomach was thus rendered by sleeping thought. I think I can explain this, to some extent, by my great love of children. To say that I *adore* nursing a baby is hardly adequate. A young child in my arms confers a feeling I cannot describe. Children, of course, understand and always come to me. Some years back, while on a small coasting steamer abroad, there was among the passengers a woman with a small boy—a jolly little chap at the sturdy toddling age. He came to me and we talked—I knowing no word of the language. His mother's amazement and indignation were comical. I really believe she suspected the Black Art, for my wife's assurance that children always come to me did not seem to satisfy her. There are advantages, luxuries, boons, to obtain which some of us cannot make up our minds to face tasks we dislike. Children fall into this category with myself."

"C. T. I am 25 years of age. My father died when I was three years old, and I was brought up by my mother and her brother. They were in poor circumstances, and at times we found it difficult even to get food. I was, considering the position and status of my parents and my early environments, a fairly intelligent child, and liked to 'know all about things.' At my first school I was looked

upon as rather a 'prodigy.' I subsequently went, at the age of 11, to a London secondary school, and remained there for four years. I then became a clerk in a Government office, and stayed on in that and other capacities until the autumn of 1915. I had decided by that time that I could not remain in such employ any longer, as I was opposed to the late War and all that was connected with it. So I resigned. Six months later I was arrested for failing to comply with the first Military Service Act, and remained in prison from then until February, 1919. Since then I have been living in an ordinary sort of way as far as my relations with society are concerned.

"Physically I suppose I am quite normally masculine. I am of medium height, and have I think a typically male face. My left testicle is very slightly smaller than my right; and I have a tendency to grow less hair on the left side of my body than on the other. I believe my thighs are rather well developed for a man; my breasts are quite small. I am unable to exert myself physically very much without quickening the action of my heart to a great extent. I am anemic, and have a tendency to giddiness and fainting, but not frequently. Otherwise my health is quite good and I have suffered little from disease of any description.

"I have little moral sense. I have, for example, no theoretical objection to stealing—in my own case at least—unless it causes injury to someone whom I like. I am much more afraid of getting found out than of 'doing wrong.' (I don't think I am particularly afraid of physical pain, or at least I bear it moderately well.) I lie quite freely whenever it is useful or handy so to do. I have a tendency to appreciate beauty—or what I consider beautiful, for my taste often differs from other people's—both in nature and in art—especially in literature. I sometimes try to write verses, and a few have been printed. I am extremely 'sensitive' —*i.e.*, I can't bear to see a child crying or in pain, and things of that sort, and I always suffer intensely on hearing any remark that may by any possibility bear a construction that hurts my self-respect—or perhaps I should say spiritual pride.

"Soon after I left school I came across a periodical that aspired to provide literary criticism for the 'lower classes.' This paper contained a page set apart for advertisements by people who wanted friends. The idea attracted me, and on three occasions I inserted notices. I had replies from several people who, I discovered, were in most cases looking out for young boy associates for what is called 'immoral purposes'—in fact, the page was a sort of Employment Exchange for pederasts. I saw several of these people—mostly of the 'decadent' type—and they interested me, but I soon dropped them all. One or two made definite approaches to me as a potential

passive pederast, but I excused myself through fear and saw no more of them, though conscious of a desire to accede: not a very keen desire; more curiosity than anything, I think.

"It was this that first awoke me to the realization of sex. I had made no friends at school, and was in the unusual position of having gone through a boys' school without having heard any mention of sex and allied subjects from my contemporaries there. I forget how I acquired what vague ideas I had of the purpose and use of the sexual organs: probably by desultory reading. I never masturbated; when I read of the practice I tried it, but nothing seemed to happen. I couldn't even become erected by that alone, though usually my penis erects on very slight mental provocation. In the summer of 1915 I again turned to my paper, and happened to see there a notice inserted by a girl—more as a joke than with any serious import—asking for correspondents. I answered it. We soon met, found we liked each other, and met very frequently then. Her people were considerably better off than mine, but at that time she was not altogether happy at home. Just after I resigned from my office I suggested she should clear out and marry me. She wanted time to think, but at Xmas she left her home and came to me We arranged to marry at the local Registry Office (we were both under age—she was then 18), but her people came to my place, found her. and would not let the marriage proceed. We decided under these circumstances to do without the ceremony, went away together, and got rooms where we lived until my arrest.

"I should explain here that since about 16 I had had a great attraction for the 'ritualistic' type of religion, whether in the English or Roman Church. I was for some time an acolyte at a London church. I liked the pretty dresses and the incense and the lights and the solemn stateliness. And for a time I took it really seriously. I even thought of trying to read for Orders. I took a sort of private vow of celibacy, because the thought of married priests was repugnant to me. In fact, I had no desire to perform the sexual act even apart from this. My ideal of marriage was a sort of ethereal-ized comradeship (and I have managed to realize it). So as my wife, too, was at that time more or less affected by the religious impulse, we agreed between us that there should be no physical sexual element in our lives until we had gone through the actual ceremony of marriage. Until I went to prison, although we invariably slept together, we both remained in a state of virginity.

"While I was in prison nothing particular happened to me that needs recording. But I gathered from my wife's letters that she, as she grew, became affected with a very intense desire for the physical completion of our marriage (I should have said that we were mar-

ried a day or two before my arrest) and I at the same time lost my religious repugnance to physical satisfaction. I cannot say that I felt any greater desire than before for it; I have always had a sort of instinctive feeling that for me the business was—well, I can only say, dirty, even with a woman to whom I was married. But on my release we attempted it more or less as a mattter of course. I found at first that it was very difficult for me to secure an erection; I attributed this to weakness as a result of recent experiences. But after about a month my erectness seemed normal, though on attempting to complete the sexual act I obtained no physical pleasure. (I was using a silk sheath for preventive purposes.) I was, however, under the impression that I had properly penetrated my wife, but she was told by a medical man to whom she addressed herself—because she was under the erroneous impression that she suffered from a prolapsus—that her hymen was still unbroken. I may say here that we are very deeply in love with each other, in spite of these things: we caress each other's naked bodies to a great extent, and both find immense pleasure in so doing; mentally and spiritually also, we seem to be perfect mates. We both greatly desired a child, and after some years a healthy and apparently normal boy was born.

"My wife tells me sometimes, and I think truly, that she often wishes she were a man, and could take a man's part in our love-life: not always, but as an alternative. And sometimes she lies upon my body and makes me almost forget my sex—an experience which gives me greater pleasure than I can ever get from my virility. She looks upon me mostly, I think, as a sort of child of hers, and pours out a sort of mother-love on me that one doesn't often seem to find in married people towards each other.

"I have tried to tell her some of my feelings with regard to sex, but I believe she thinks they are, as it were, secondary, and can be overcome. I disagree. And anyway, I don't want to overcome them. I want to become more of a woman, not more of a man. And this desire has grown very greatly of late. I cannot trace that it has had any physical effects.

"In my tendency to feminity, I have often thought seriously of castration. Only the possible danger has several times prevented me from castrating myself. I know that I should be immensely happier if my sexual organs were removed. If I knew anyone who would perform the operation I should immediately have recourse to him. This desire, also, seems to grow stronger, especially of late.

"Since what I suppose was more or less the time of puberty, or before, I have always had a desire to dress as a woman, and when

about 13 I would put on, unobserved, various garments of my mother's. Certain articles of female attire have always attracted me, more especially corsets, high-heeled and high-legged boots, combinations, and most of all, earrings. I have not been able to indulge my desires in these respects, because, until recent years, I have had no access to female clothing. During the last few weeks I have tried to explain more lucidly than in the past to my wife my thoughts in this respect—she has known or suspected them more or less, for a long time. I recently possessed myself of a pair of corsets which I am wearing, and which give me exquisite physical pleasure—especially when they are actually within my view. I have several times been possessed with a desire to wear my wife's boots, but cannot get them on, and unfortunately I cannot afford to indulge in such luxuries as a pair of women's boots for myself just now. At present my wife is away on holiday, and I have been wearing in her absence a pair of her combinations, and at night her nightdress. When I give myself rein in this way I enjoy a luxuriously happy frame of mind. My chief desire sometimes is to get hold of sufficient money to buy myself a wig and a complete set of female attire.

"I have a great desire that my friends should know of these peculiarities of mine, and yet I always try to keep them from them, owing to what I suppose is an impulse of shame.

"One night I got my wife to dress in a suit of mine. The result was that I was almost mad with desire to be a girl and to love her as a boy.

"Perhaps it is well to say a little more about two spécial peculiarities: my desire to be tattooed and to wear earrings. My first introduction to the former practice was that I was walking one day, when about fourteen, down a London street, and passed a tattooist's shop. I examined the window, and went in to have my initials tattooed on my arm. The result gave me extreme joy, and since then I have at intervals had a great deal of tattooing done. My arms from the shoulders to a little way above the wrists are almost completely covered: I have designs on my legs, feet, chest, stomach and penis. The desire to be tattooed has also been particularly strong of late, and is growing more so I am very anxious to be tattooed on the exposed parts of my body—my wrists, hands, neck and face: and only the practical certainty that this would cut me off from the possibility of getting my living in a fairly respectable way, and of mixing—in so far as I do mix—with people of education, has prevented me from undergoing this. With reference hereto I may say that on the occasion—some five years ago—when I got a tattooist to place the figure of a butterfly on the upper side of my penis, I experienced a few minutes after leaving the shop, the phenomena of

erection and ejaculation accompanied by a feeling of physical exaltation so great that it almost prostrated me afterwards. I have never obtained anything like this in any other way: and it has always represented for me the ideal of physical sexual satisfaction.

"I don't remember exactly when I first conceived the idea of wearing earrings, but when I was quite a child I recall noticing that my mother's ears were pierced and asking her why she never wore earrings. As far as I can recall when I was about fifteen, I came across a letter or article in some periodical of the *Tit-bits* type on 'Earrings for men,' and I wanted to experiment. So with a penny pair of earrings and a needle I did. Of course, public opinion (especially as represented by my people) only allowed me to do so for a few minutes when alone—perhaps with intervals of months—and the holes that I pierced closed up in the intervals, and had to be remade each time.

"On my release from prison the possibility of satisfying this desire again arose; but I didn't take advantage of it until later. Then, one evening, my wife being away, I spent about two hours in my bedroom with my earrings, after piercing my ears for their reception. I continually inserted and removed them, and the sight of the blood which dripped from my ears owing to the repeated 'worrying' of them gave me intense pleasure. (This, by the way, looks as if my sexual make-up includes a degree of masochism.) Then I pierced my nipples, and placed the earrings in them. As they were small and not sufficiently obvious to please me there, I removed them to my ears and sewed to my breasts by means of the hole I had made in my nipples a pair of pearl buttons—the handiest things I could find. This orgy of lasciviousness gave me a surfeit of pleasure such as I had not known for a very long time.

"In connection with these things, the desire that I should do them is accompanied by a desire that others should follow my example. I always feel more or less pained to see a handsome woman whose ears are not pierced. I have several times asked my wife to wear earrings, and have also suggested that she should undergo some tattooing, but she will not."

I have been in touch with C. T. at intervals for some years and in this way have been enabled to enlarge at various points the short account of himself he had originally sent me. In spite of his statement "I lie quite freely," I believe that his narrative is reliable. A recent nude photograph illustrates the details of tattooing in the History.

Two years later C. T. reported that soon after the period at which the foregoing narative terminated he became violently attracted to a girl, with red hair and unusually pleasant skin and

complexion, with whom he came in touch at his place of business. He confided his peculiarities to her and she was not repelled but she in no way responded to his feelings towards herself. This produced in him so much depression that in a sudden mood of unreason, in order to escape from her presence which unduly excited him, he gave up his business post. A few days later he went to his previous tattooist and induced him to tattoo a large design on each cheek. "The desire to have my face tattooed has always been strong in me," he writes. "Needless to say, however, the moment it was done I realized that it must be undone. I went home, told my wife the whole story, and with her help concocted a tale of an accident which would account to the world for my face being bandaged, and went in search of another tattooist who would remove the marks. We found one, and after several months of bandages my face became clear enough for the nature of its mishap to be hardly identifiable by anyone who had no reason to suspect tattooing For a time the realization of my foolishness held me back from indulging in the practice any more; but the remembrance soon wore off, and since then I have had much more tattooing done on various parts of my body—legs, thighs, stomach and penis in particular. The most recent addition to my tattooing consists of a fully-worded inscription of a sexual nature on my stomach, which I am in continual fear of my wife seeing.

"With regard to my feelings about the sexual act, these have approximated more and more to what I imagine to be the norm I feel now no reluctance for it whatever; in fact I endeavor to induce my wife (who is by nature rather cold sexually) to consent to it more often than she is willing to do. As a result of this I have commenced frequenting prostitutes and also masturbation—the latter every two or three days, if possible with a woman's garment, preferably somethings of a silky or velvety texture, or a boot or shoe.

"I have managed to induce my wife to consent to have her ears pierced, and since then she has continually worn earrings. In my relations with prostitutes I invariably seek those who are tattooed—and my dream of the perfect prostitute depicts her as pale, tall, with red bobbed hair, a tight fitting velvet dress, high leather boots, and pierced ears, with as much tattooing as I dare hope for

"I feel convinced that my passion for tattooing will at some time or other lead me again to disfigure my face; and the results will in such case be of necessity, I imagine, permanent. I still wear earrings frequently when I am alone, whether indoors or out. My ears are now permanently pierced as a result of my continual borings. A very decided attraction to high boots, both for myself

and in women, is noticeable as being the strongest new feature of my more recent development."

Yet three years later, in response to inquiries, C. T. wrote:—

"The principal thing in my development calling for notice during the past three years has been a very noticeable accentuation of the normal sex-impulse. I have felt a constantly increasing desire for sexual satisfaction with women—rather, it is true, for the secondary sexual pleasures than for actual coitus. Nearly three years ago my wife gave birth to a second child, and six months ago to a third. A week after the last event my wife died. In consequence I am now living alone—my children are in the care of my wife's mother—and I feel my loneliness and the absence of domestic female comradeship very keenly. I am longing for the opportunity of forming a union with a woman once again—though I should prefer it to be without the legal sanction of marriage. I have for over two years indulged in masturbation—at times very frequently, but of late I have endeavored with more or less success to break myself of the habit gradually. My desire for female clothing, jewelry, etc., is undiminished. I still wear earrings at times when alone, and very frequently sleep in them. My tattooing continues, there was a decided outburst of it three months ago; for the last six months I have not given way to it, however, though I shall doubtless soon do so once more. When walking through London streets I tend to notice with keen interest the dress of women. On a few occasions, when I have fallen into conversation with prostitutes, it has been their attire rather than their physical attractions which has drawn me to them.

"I tend to be much more affected by 'Eonist' impulses in the evening than in the daytime. It quite frequently happens, if for any reason in the evening my thoughts have been at all concerned with sex—*e.g.*, if I have been entertaining or entertained by a female acquaintance, have been accosted by a prostitute in the street, or have been writing to a woman—that I have a sudden impulse to plan future tattoo designs, pore over my book of newspaper-cuttings regarding tattooing, put on earrings and such other feminine adornments as I can lay my hands on, etc."

R. L. "I am 48, the eldest of five in a very healthy and normal family of English parentage, nor would anyone suspect that I am anything but a manly man. My father was a professional man and my mother of good country stock, and her parents and sisters all lived to a good age; she is still alive (75) and has enjoyed good health all her life. She was, however, the stronger partner physically and my father relied a great deal on her judgment. He suffered from an internal complaint that at times gave him great pain, and

his temper was naturally affected by it; these outbursts used to make us side with our mother, whereas now I see he should have had our pity. My brothers and sisters are all alive and in good health. I am myself of a masculine type, tall and broad; there seems nothing effeminate in me and until recent years I have never confided in anyone. My youngest brother is musical and Bohemian in tastes, resembling my father. One of my earliest recollections is of my sister and I changing clothes and the pleasure it gave me to pull up my skirts and undo my drawers and use the chamber, not because I particularly wanted to but to do as a girl would At that age there was no sexual feeling. We never repeated this although I reminded her of it when we were about 15, and asked her to do so again, but she refused. When about 8 or 9, I first had the desire to be a girl, and used to envy a little boy, a neighbor, who lived with two sisters and mother, and who was dressed girlishly, which led me to think that I should like to be him and be brought up as a girl. I took great notice of girls' clothes, and admired them, yet there was the boyish desire not to be thought to be girlish. At the age of 12, I saw a female impersonator for the first time at the Moore and Burgess Minstrels in London, and although got up as a darkie I was attracted greatly by 'her,' and it seemed to make more possible what had been my secret ambition—to dress and live as a lady when I grew up. From the age of 8 I have had this desire, which has been continuous, and growing in strength, yet I am not outwardly effeminate, but it is as if the soul of a woman had been born in a male body, and had been engaged in overcoming the physical nature, until now the spirit and mind long for pleasures that are contrary to the physical sex. I was of a very quiet nature, and am very sensitive, so that I react to influences of environment or personality very easily and am also quickly moved to tears. When very young I was severely frightened by the fear that I had injured my father in play, and this caused me to stammer very badly for many years, which undoubtedly has affected my whole life and temperament. Whenever I had a chance I used to go to the bedrooms of my sister, aunts, cousins, or the maids, and try on their outer garments on the sly. I was particularly interested in a big bustle one of the maids had. On one occasion when about 15 I put on a dress, coat and hat of an aunt (in her absence) and went out for ten minutes. I used to steal interviews with the maids when quite a boy and later to kiss them, not consciously from sexual motives. My knowledge of sexual matters was very slight for at the age of 15 I did not know the cause of my mother's sudden illness when my youngest brother was born, nor did her appearance cause me to think on these things. At boarding school I was disgusted

at any sexual practices I saw, but greatly attracted by the head master's daughters, and the glimpses of their petticoats, these, and the thought of them used to cause erections. My thoughts about girls and their clothes while still a boy with little real knowledge of sexual matters, evidently had influence in developing strong sexual feelings. I don't remember when I experienced my first erection, or when I first found it pleasant to handle my penis. I certainly never learned it from other boys, but must have accidentally discovered it when trying to ease the pain caused by my desires, and the appeal of girls' clothes, as clothes, to my sexual nature. I remember walking home from a Sunday evening service some miles away, with my father and brother, I walking on in front to indulge in my thoughts of a certain girl I had seen who looked very nice in her pretty clothes and I held my organ (not exposed but gently squeezing it) with my thoughts on the pleasure of dressing like a girl.

"When I went to boarding school (100 boarders) at the age of 14, I was beginning the habit of masturbation, not for the pleasure of exciting my feelings, but as a relief to my feelings when excited by my desire to be a girl. I remember realizing that it was wrong; my father had suspected something and scolded me and at school I used to sleep with a handkerchief tied round my hand, or a glove on, with a pad inside, or tie my organ to my thigh, or wear my pajama trousers front to back, all to prevent wet dreams, or masturbation, but the desire to be a girl always led to feelings which I found were relieved by masturbation, always followed by regrets at indulgence and the resolve to amend, not the thought but the act. I well remember being disgusted at seeing two boys in their night-shirts in a long dormitory playing mother and father one on top of the other and then one stuffing a pillow inside as if pregnant. I had many attacks of calf-love with girls or women but always thought more of their clothes than of sexual indulgence. Later, when admiring girls or behaving in a perfectly normal manner in paying them general or special attention, or in deeper love affairs, there has always been the desire to dress as she, and move about freely, undetected and feeling myself to be a girl.

"I had no special experiences until I was 23 or 24 when I went to Canada and, while staying at the coast port for a few days, took a walk one evening with a girl I 'picked up,' who taking me to a quiet place, laid herself down and invited me to indulge. I laid down, and enjoyed my feelings but did not have intercourse, pretending to hear someone coming. Previously, on the beach in England one evening, I had slipped away from a woman whom I thought was going to ask me, and in London I had always refused to even dally with girls soliciting. For a few years I was very busy,

and only able to admire and long for women's clothes. I joined a Musical Society, which was later on enlarged into a Musical and Dramatic Society. Although I was fond of choir work, it was with difficulty that I was induced to go on the stage in the chorus of comic opera, and later I was surprised at being offered a 'principal part,' which, however, was a success and I played many character parts in opera and comedy. My stammer, although I have since by a course of instruction practically reduced it to a very slight nervousness, yet has been a weight all my life, and I have been handicapped: it was a bar to the stage as a profession and a hindrance in my life. Yet, although dissatisfied with myself, I have a record of which I can be proud. After my theatrical experiences—and note that they and previous 'dressing up' *followed* my early desire and were not the cause of an appetite being created for wearing clothes or acting as a woman—I began to wonder if it would be possible to impersonate a woman successfully. I wrote for some clothes from a distant firm, and used to enjoy putting them on and sitting in them—but had no wig. Then I decided to try and get a proper dress made and went to a little dressmaker. The ultimate result was that I was tempted to forget my ambition in the primeval attraction of physical to physical, but I realized not only that this was wrong but that it was an obstacle to my ambition. I used, however, to frequent women's society as much as possible and envy them at dances; especially did I envy a young man who came dressed up in white satin as a bride at a fancy-dress ball. After this (at 36) I married, principally because the lady—a very Christian lady—was very fond of me and thought a great deal of me. My desire to be a woman was stifled, but existed, although it was not such a trial to me as it might have been with one who was more my ideal of what I should like. I did, however, have a sort of wish that it would be nice to divide myself in two and have both individualities. Married life, though brief, helped me to understand woman's nature more, and I envied happily married women, and felt sorry for the unhappily married, and especially for those with maternal instincts who were not married.

"After my wife's death (there were no children), when the first shock had passed, I determined to try if I could successfully dress as, and look like, a woman, and thought that if I could not do so the longing would die down, as an impossibility. I visited a theatrical costumer and ordered some clothes, which although stagey yet made me appear a remarkably good-looking woman, and my early ambition being seen to be physically possible, I was fired with the desire to try and carry it out, and since then, that has been the consuming fire within me.

"The pleasure I felt in being dressed (although I wanted really feminine garments) was so great that I began to examine myself whether it was simply the fascination of the clothes, and if so should I fight against it. This I decided to try to do, but the desire returned and the sight of a well-dressed woman drove all resolutions away. I gave the matter serious and quiet thought, and felt that I would, if I had the chance, be changed into a woman physically, if I could be a refined charming gentlewoman, and that I should stipulate for full womanhood. From that time I began to realize that my desires were not mere idle fancies but were based on inherent tastes, developed by the years of thought and contemplation. Still realizing the physical handicap and the difficulties of public opinion, and the law, I thought that if I could try for once to live as a woman, the restricted life, and the tendency of realization to fall short of anticipation, would lessen the desire and reduce or stop the conflict within I ordered a costume and outfit and was astonished when dressed with hat and veil, as were the dressers; yet I felt I was only wearing theatrical clothes, the undergarments not being to my taste, and I wanted to be properly dressed and be able to go about and feel quite at ease. This happened in London, and soon after I went abroad again, taking the clothes with me, but finding little chance to use them. Simply to 'dress up' has never satisfied me Eventually, after having found a suite of two rooms in a block from which I could safely go in and out, and from which I was able to make several excursions, I discovered, in my search for feminine companionship, an elderly nurse, living alone, who took in maternity cases, and she allowed me to go there for two weeks between cases, during which time I dressed, but alternated between the two characters. This was a step up but by no means represented my ambitions. Next I made the acquaintance of a smart English lady in reduced circumstances, when advertising for rooms and engaging a lady housekeeper-companion, ostensibly with two male friends, until I had discovered a suitable applicant whom I could trust with my story. This lady, however, I feared would be too attractive, so I said my two friends had retreated from the idea. She then openly suggested that I should undertake the project alone, but I pointed out the conventional difficulties, to which she replied. 'If I don't care, why should you?' and in the end begged me with tears to do so; she was unhappy in her position and wanted a nice home, and a nice man, and confessed that her desires—unsatisfied since her husband had died—were so strong and her hunger for me was so great, she was in pain. I take no credit for resisting an undoubtedly attractive temptation, but I felt desperately sorry for her and in sympathy with her unfulfilled desires. In my next experience I

inspected a room in an elderly widow's house, a fine well-built woman, who had a grandson over 21. Having satisfied myself on her trustworthiness, I broached the subject, to which she raised no objection, but remarked that we were about the same size. I said that I had always wanted to put on the clothes actually worn by a woman, and she offered to let me have hers, and suggested a trial then. We went upstairs, the plan being to undress in separate rooms, she to get into bed, and I to dress and go to her for inspection. This gave me pleasure and promised well for the future, but she suggested afterwards I undress in her room which pleased me as being a feminine course. Then, later, she said she had done me a favor, would I do her one and get into bed for a little while in a nightdress of hers. Her warmth of body, caresses, and invitation to lie in her arms as a baby, followed by the baring and offering of her plump breast, gave me a delicious feeling of enjoyment, and I dozed happily and contentedly as a child after breast feeding. Then she invited connection, saying she had not enjoyed it for eight years, and that I appealed to her from the first. My two natures struggled for a moment, sympathy with her unfulfilled desires, especially in a woman much older than myself, and possibly with few, if any, chances for future enjoyment. I yielded although my inner self said: 'You are spoiling my chances for enjoyment.' It was not passion, but more of a love embrace, and I felt additional pleasure in the thought that she was much older in years and her enjoyment was greater because of its unexpectedness to her. We were a pair of lovers, and I could have enjoyed my life with her (probably marrying her), but not in the way of a sexual orgie, simply love embraces and caresses without fiery passion. My inner self, however, pointed out that I could not carry out my purpose and enjoy a feminine life thoroughly if I gave way to masculine sexual desires.

"I should have said before this that I made the acquaintance of a smart lady who made costumes privately, and she undertook to fit me out completely and make an outdoors, an indoors, and an evening gown. While being fitted with the latter a lady friend came in and held the tray of pins, afterwards expressing admiration of my hair and figure, knowing nothing of me but that I was Miss——. I was filled with pleasure (not sexual) when she sat down on a lounge beside my hostess, lifted her skirts and showed her knickers, a recent present—I was admitted into fellowship! A doctor friend called after she had gone and favorably criticized my appearance saying: 'You should go on the stage and make a success. You are so perfectly natural,' adding, 'But first of all go somewhere and live the life for a while continuously, to get quite correct in little details.' This put into words in concrete form what had before been a kind

of fanciful desire. The lady and I went out next day from 10.30 to 5 to get photos taken, do shopping, etc. We had lunch out and she introduced me to all her friends and said at the end of the day: 'You are perfectly wonderful; I feel you are really a woman.' My first taste of enjoyment, quite free from masculine sexual feelings!

Afterwards we went to a matinée at the theatre and she called on another lady, who, expecting us, told a male friend to go as we were coming. He came downstairs as we arrived at the apartment block, afterwards telling his friend that he easily recognized *the man* by the way 'she' went upstairs. The joke being that it was not I who was detected to be a man but my lady friend! Another time we went out calling and took tea. This experience, however, was enjoyable as far as it went, but it was not *living* continuously and entirely with a woman as a woman. Next I found an elderly spinster and took a suite of rooms for a month, but she regarded me as being 'dressed up,' so that episode ended. Then came another English widow quite satisfactory, but very matter of fact, who took me for a month during which time I had a bad attack of influenza. Later I had the luck to find a lady living in her flat alone for the time her friends were away, who was sympathetic and with whom I stayed for some months.

She having had children of her own was able to talk with me on a subject that had growing attraction for me ever since I had decided that I really desired to be a woman, and not merely to dress as one. One day a neighbor left her infant to be looked after, and my friend gave it to me to nurse, but vivid as had been my imagination before, the actual holding of a real baby so stirred me to the depths that I had to call out to have it taken from me. Since then I have had a real desire that amounts to physical feelings at times to enjoy the full experience of womanhood, and although my friend told me of the sickness, pain and discomfort, as well as danger, yet I felt that it would be worth all these to experience the wonderful joys. Friends came to stay with her and I had to go, eventually finding rooms with an elderly couple who had two other boarders, this house being close to another lady friend, whom I used to visit when dressed and go out shopping with and to theatres, etc., on one occasion a male friend of hers taking us both to dinner at his club. The costume I used to wear then had a narrow skirt, with a small V at bottom, in which I walked and got in and out of street cars quite easily, yet when I sent it to my sister she said it fitted her nicely but, oh, the skirt was too narrow to walk in! Before my marriage I had accidentally found and read Richardson's novel *2835 Mayfair* and was still more infatuated with the idea of changing to a woman.

I returned to the English lady after her friends left, and was experiencing some pleasure in changing into the character, when the spring of 1915 came and I decided that it was my duty to return to England, although advised in August, 1914, that men were not wanted. I had previously in one of my intervals since August, 1914, joined a recruits class and passed my elementary drills and on the night previous to leaving I went out dressed with two ladies to a vaudeville show, and remember sitting reluctantly on my bed, not wishing to undress and close a chapter which I knew not when I should reopen. My first thought on the outbreak of war was: I shall have to return to England, I may be killed, or wounded in such a manner that I can never dress again, nor realize my great desire. Upon my return to England in 1915 (at the age of 42) I found that men were not so urgently needed in the Army as in munitions, and as a stern sense of duty alone made me face the possibilities of a rough life with coarse men, hardships, discomforts and spiritual crucifixion, I was not sorry. After months of attempts to get something of national importance I joined an engineering class and learned to make shells. In a weary search for work as a lathe hand I accidentally met an officer, which led to an invitation from another officer to visit Woolwich Arsenal. I was engaged there to train for a month or so, and then go to branch works shortly to be opened, in which I ultimately had charge of a staff of several hundred women. Among them were several ladies of education, with whom, after hours, I became on very friendly terms, forming theatre parties, etc. By invitation I visited once or twice at the houses where they had rooms. But for my strong desire to be a woman, I should have let myself go and paid marked attention to one whom I had the greatest difficulty to refrain myself from embracing and kissing, one evening, as we sat together on a couch looking at photographs. A married lady tried to entangle me, but I guessed her nature and was careful. Having tasted the joys of dressing and going out in Canada, I was very anxious to get where I could indulge during week-ends, especially as my lodgings were very unsatisfactory. I stated my requirements to a London Agency without result, but at last I found an Agency run by two middle-aged ladies who took a sympathetic view, and tried to find me a suitable small flat, and a reliable housekeeper. I may say that I should never have contemplated such a step unless to indulge in dressing. I had been advertising for a lady housekeeper and made the acquaintance of an educated lady and this eventually ripened into friendship, but I felt the thin ice, and that residence in her flat would be very dangerous. She, however, understands my case now and is quite willing to help me do what I want to. The ladies at the Agency having found a

flat and a lady housekeeper I moved in (on a three months' lease), the distinct understanding being that I was not to be seen as a man, but dress on entering at night, and have breakfast alone and unobserved in the morning. (This rule was soon broken in the morning by the lady.) It was with feelings of pleasure that I contemplated the end of the day's work, and delighted, on entering my room, to find all my garments laid out, and, later on, the bed turned down and a dainty nightdress laid ready.

"My ambition being to live as a woman, not to 'dress up' or masquerade, it seemed quite right to go out. In fact the restriction of being confined indoors recalled the fact I wished to forget, *i.e.*, that I was a man dressed up. I went to Hyde Park frequently on Sunday mornings. On one occasion I met a lady friend there, and walked the length of the Church Parade after sitting watching the promenaders. My housekeeper and I were becoming friendly; I was sorry for her as she had had hard luck, losing her husband and being alone and not well off. She began by declining to go out with me, and begging that I would not go out, pointing out the great risk. While I realized the risk I ran when thinking of it as a man, yet the enjoyment was so great, and my femininity (so long clamoring for expression and life) developed so much that I was soon able to go out without anxiety or fear, except at the back of my mind a slight anxiety which was hardly fear. The pleasure I obtained was worth all the risk, which was no doubt very considerable, during the war when suspicious people were liable to arrest as spies. At the end of my lease my lady housekeeper suggested taking another flat and getting her furniture. Nothing unseemly had occurred between us, only I felt reluctant to embark on the new venture, but did so fully expecting a friend of hers to join us, and also because if I did not I thought I must give up dressing. I had by then given up the practice of appearing to my housekeeper only as a woman, partly because I grew to like her and took her out now and again to a theatre.

During 1916-17 I frequently went out on Sundays, sometimes to meet my friend, with whom I have been to many concerts, while I have been to Kensington Gardens and other parks, also to various large stores. My lady housekeeper later on tried to get me to drop my dressing, by a scare that detectives were on the watch, and I was induced to pack all my apparel and store it in the basement. I thought of paying the balance of the rent and clearing out, but as usual my sympathy over-ruled and I didn't have the heart to leave her. Her war-work later on brought on poor health, and she had to go away to sea-air. We gave up the flat, and I went into rooms, later to a suite of two rooms where I could again dress and

go out. My consideration for the lady, however, has led to her being talked about, and her feeling that I ought to marry her. I am fond of her and would like to see or make her happy, and married life has its attractions, in fact a nice home I greatly desire, but my masculine nature and desires are held in check by my feminine nature and I really shrink from matrimony and fatherhood although I am very fond of young children, especially girls of all ages. I had by now advanced to being able to go out freely although with some restraint and care, and yet the pleasure grew as I was able to more completely let my femininity dominate my physical self. I have walked or sat in Kensington Gardens carrying a sunshade, and thrilled with aesthetic—not sexual—delight, at feeling 'I am a woman.' No sense of risk was present. Yet there was a risk of police prosecution, compulsory resignation of my position, and disgrace before friends and relatives. Nothing counted in the aesthetic delight of allowing my feminine self to live. At this time, however, I had not reached the conclusions or opinions that I now have regarding myself. I had been attracted by the title of a lecture, 'The Creative Power of Thought,' and obtained booklets on it, and on 'The Power of the Mind.' I then began to realize that I had been building up my feminine nature, but felt that there must have been some sort of a foundation in my nature, other than a nursed desire, to cause it to grow through so many early years. It was not as if I had created the appetite by wearing the clothes; the appetite had come first. I sought for some explanation of my desire, and a Theosophist lady gave as her opinion that I had evidently just finished or was about to enter a female incarnation, while a leading male lecturer and editor of the Theosophical Society dismissed me with 'Obsession!' I had been collecting every newspaper picture I could, and articles thereon, of female impersonators and used to go and see them in vaudeville or Army Concert parties, await their entrance with a kind of tremor, sit and admire them, long enviously to be doing the same, and wish I was smaller and more feminine

Vulgarity or burlesque in their acting displeased me, and the Malcolm Scott and Wilkie Bard women did not interest me. Neither did I like to see them take off their wigs nor raise a cheap laugh. But although the performance would leave me sad with a hungry desire and envy, yet I could never resist going. I have often thought that were I as perfect a girl as they in size, appearance and voice, I would never live as a man again, but adopt the stage as a profession, and the clothes and character for private life. For many years one of my special mental pictures of bliss has been lovely evening dress, bare arms, beautiful shoulders, back and neck, and a gorgeous opera cloak, and to be handed out of a luxurious car by a well-groomed

man, and wait in the theatre vestibule or hotel foyer, proudly conscious of my appearance. Christmas Day, with its beautifully furclad women and girls leaving church on a frosty morning, and their queenly presence in the home, has always made me long sadly for a transformation. Up to this point I had enjoyed women's garments as a means of getting into the character. When a lad I used to think, 'If I married a rich lady and she died I could take all her clothes.' To dress in a lady's clothes has always been more attractive than 'dressing up,' for the imagination of being *her* would be assisted.

I used to picture going to a beautiful house and undressing in the bath-room, having a scented bath and, leaving my masculine self behind, going into a lady's dainty bedroom and dressing in her attire, absorbing the character from her clothes and the environment, letting them raise me to my refined state. Then my ambition led me on to a gentlewoman's life (even with a male body), accepted by a kindred spirit as a woman, treated as such and admitted to the inner sanctuary of a woman's life and conversation and the usual intimacies as between two gentlewomen, regarding partial undress during daytime when changing frocks. Whereas I would not intrude, or wish to be subject to temptation as a man by being in a woman's bedroom, yet I wished for admittance into the restricted area, and to be treated as, and feel I was there as, a woman. Further realizations of the experiences of being a woman were beyond the realms of probability, and my previous experiences had been that women were often the cause of my departure from my ideal aim.

"My next stage was, however, a step further. One evening after leaving Hyde Park and the band, I walked to Marble Arch to get a bus and a man came up and spoke to me, walking by my side, and asked me to go for a walk. I felt indignant that he should presume to speak to me, and threatened to call a constable as he persisted. A rather nice young man was in the bus and he alighted when I did and overtook me, asking if he might see me home. I said I was nearly there, but allowed him to do so, and went for a little stroll a round-about way. It was a delightful sensation, receiving his attentions; he begged me to take tea next day in Town and wanted to kiss me on leaving which I desired but refused as it did not seem to be the act of a gentlewoman. I had no feeling that I was fooling him, only a pleasant thrill at the thoroughness of my feminine feelings.

"The next step upward was a sequel to another Hyde Park meeting. I sat on the outer edge of the seats around the band, under the trees away from the crowds listening to a waltz, and while enjoying it, picturing myself being whirled round in a ball-room, arrayed in a pretty gown. A good-looking gentleman of military

aspect walked by and repassed, and I could see that he desired to make my acquaintance. I left it to Fate, feeling I could not encourage him. He eventually sat down near me and opened with the usual small talk. When I rose to go, he asked to be allowed to escort me. I declined but he pleaded, so I allowed him, especially as I was feeling extra pleased with myself, having on my friend's long seal coat, and a smart French hat and veil. It was pleasant being assisted over the low rails and we walked towards Lancaster Gate, my enjoyment being of the most aesthetic kind. It was past dusk when we reached the other side, and I was going to leave him just inside the Park rails, when under a large tree he seized me and kissed me. I expressed the surprise I felt and said, 'How dare you?' —it made me tremble. He begged me to sit down a moment, apologizing fully, and I yielded, inwardly hoping for further experiences, yet keeping in the character of a lady and her proper behavior. I soon regained composure and rose to go, but under the same tree, quite shaded from view, he again seized me, and embraced me ardently. I struggled but yielded and we had a long kiss of passion, he pressing close to me, and showing how I stirred his passion, and I returning his pressure in my abandonment to the delicious womanly feelings and desires I was enjoying, only to push him away and say, 'What do you think of me?' He begged me to dine with him and go to his flat next day; I consented and fled. I was trembling from head to foot, and did so for an hour after until in bed. On this occasion my sexual nature expressed itself in the character I was in and I really felt physical desires. I had no erection although padded there, and in my breasts I felt a sensation which caused me to press in a spasm against him. The one drawback was his strong tobacco breath, and I felt I could not marry a man with such breath. To those who do not understand this episode may seem to be a sexual perversion, but to me it was not so much a physical as a spiritual experience, and made my desire to be a real woman much deeper, although handicapped by the wrong body, as I felt I could then think the thoughts and have the feelings which in a male are incompatible and cause sexual disturbances.

"That night I had a most realistic dream, in that I was enjoying co-habitation with my husband and awoke disappointed (lying on my back with legs apart) to find it was not true. On another occasion I dreamed a man was in bed with me and pulled my shoulder for me to turn to him, but I began to raise myself on my elbow to get up, saying, 'What are you doing in my bed?' when I awoke. As a general rule my desire to be, or live as, a woman is ever present, yet there were times when I would decide that friends, conventions, the law, and to a certain extent my physical self were

against it, but all these thoughts and resolutions would vanish into thin air, and the longing reappear as strong as ever at the sight of a well-dressed lady. To try on coats, furs, etc., had now lost its pleasure, the delight of putting them on as a man being much inferior to doing so as a woman. I had, before returning to England, tried to improve my bust, by massaging my breasts with olive oil, as my enjoyment is always greater when I know I look well, and natural busts would please me more than pads or improvers.

"At the end of 1919 I left England again, principally on private business, and resolved to try and enjoy a period of living as a lady continuously, thinking that perhaps realization might not be equal to anticipation and the result might be a less strong desire. I was nearly three months in finding a place where I could live the life—ostensibly to train for the stage—and at last went to the house of a retired man and his wife in a large city although my hostess was not the sort of kindred spirit I sought, in fact I used to feel she was less ladylike in character than I. They were both astonished at my appearance and my ease and naturalness, so much so that they felt no anxiety in introducing me as Mrs.—— a widow, and I sat down to meals and cards with any guests. A week after arrival a relative of theirs, an elderly retired doctor, came to live with them, and he remained in ignorance all the time but was most courteous. I used to assist with meals and in the kitchen and in making beds, and felt more of a thrill when making the doctor's bed than in helping my hostess make hers. A charwoman called every week and did cleaning and washing, and I used to do a large part of the ironing. Every day I used to go out and I visited stores, reading rooms, often had lunch out, called at the Customs to get a muff sent from England, and went to concerts, and regularly to church. I stayed just over three months and enjoyed it greatly, feeling quite at ease, and happy, except for the fact that I went out alone, and did not have the friendship of a woman who would accept me in the character I portrayed, so as to forget my body. My hostess used to repeat nice things callers said of me, and said herself that I was more lady-like than some of her friends. It was a sad day when business matters caused me to leave; I felt very strange and uncomfortable in men's clothes, and, with a man's outlook on life, unhappy. I had to journey to another part of the country and it was over twelve months before I could again enjoy myself, the latter three being spent in vain searching for a habitation. I had found out how completely I was able to live as a woman, how I enjoyed it, in an aesthetic sense, and how thoroughly I could submerge and even practically forget my physical sex in my imagination that I was a woman or, as I

began to regard it, letting my real self live, so that instead of the conflict of two natures there was now peace and enjoyment.

"The next time I had another three months' 'life,' and in many ways this was the best of my experiences. By advertising I found a lady whose husband had deserted her, yet allowed her a monthly check. She lived alone in a small house and was a devout churchwoman. We became very good friends; she treated me as if I was a woman and I respected her confidence, for to do otherwise was foreign to my nature, and would have spoiled my enjoyment, and possibly ended the arrangement. We were alone together and kissed on retiring and in the morning, saying 'dear' in speaking, and she slept with her bedroom door ajar. I never entered it, but she used to enter mine during the daytime when we were dressing to go out. We frequently went to theatres and cinemas and I was out every day, rejoicing in the feeling and thought: 'I am a woman.' She confessed to me her desire to have a baby and I to her that I would too. Acting on an impulse I asked her to make me a maternity pad, which I wore for a whole day indoors, sitting about, and enjoying imagining I was pregnant. To many this may seem lunacy, or disgusting, yet my desire is always to get right into the character and think as a woman would, and feel like one. My departure, when she sold her house, was to steal away having said good-bye as a woman and not be seen as a man. For some days I suffered great depression and regret at the change. After two months absence I returned, and found a room but was unable to dress and go out for some months. Meanwhile I had obtained a position, hoping it would lead to a better one. A year after my last 'life' matters became bad, I was getting miserable, and frequently suffering real pain, for the sight of a well-dressed woman would often cause me to clench my nails into my palms, suppress a groan, sometimes a swear escaping my lips. I felt the injustice of things in that women with masculine natures were allowed to dress as men, and often say they wished they were men, yet the opposite was regarded with suspicion or derision. Many women with coarse natures and bad manners but good clothes were tolerated. Yet I, who could wear the clothes so much better, and give the impression of being a lady, was taboo, because of my bodily form which was hidden. 'Manners maketh the man'—'character and personality tells'—all were disproved by the fact that 'by their flesh ye shall know them.' I realized that the cases are different, and males must not be allowed to dress as women, the usual result being unsatisfactory from a moral point of view. Yet I felt, and still feel, that my real self has had to be subjected to my physical self, my body.

"My Christmas Day, 1919, was spent with my first host and hostess; the next I felt must be spent as a woman, so I took a room at the chief hotel and after breakfast dressed, went to church, lunch, etc., then retiring and returning to dinner as a man. As I was, by April, 1922, feeling very unhappy because my inner feminine self clamored for another chance to live, I consulted my doctor, who later on found me a home with an ex-officer and his wife and child, the lady having had a brother who had similar tastes (in England). The doctor anticipated that I should only dress at week-ends to obtain relief and he was quite in sympathy with this; but the opportunity to again live as I desired was too strong, also the objection to appearing alternately as a man and woman is to me great, and may raise suspicions as well, so I resigned my position which was distasteful to me and entered once more into my womanhood.

Although I should have preferred to go to a house where there were only one or two ladies I was prepared to overlook the drawback of the presence of a young lady boarder, for she had expressed no objection at me residing there. After having seen me in costume, however (purely as a matter of curiosity), she raised so-called moral objections and gave up her rooms. The ironical aspect of this, however, was that she was in the habit of keeping late hours and taking drives late at night with strangers and had confessed these things to her hostess. More and more I notice that it is the feminine physical form that is considered by the world to be the woman, behavior, personality, and character not being so important, whereas I look with scorn and disgust, or at least mild criticism, on some females, knowing how much better I could wear their clothes, conduct myself, and give an impression of a real lady. There are sweet natures in deformed bodies, and many so-called women are by no means feminine. My sense of delight and enjoyment at again being able to live in the character that appeals so strongly to me was very great and continuous. Instead of the struggle of two natures, and arguments and counter-arguments in my brain, causing weariness and frequently a sadness which lay like a weight upon my spirit, the continual feeling of envy of women and inner or mental realization of the actual feelings to be dressed as they, I experience a sense of happiness and joy which now and again surges up as I think: 'Now I am a woman.' Merely wearing feminine clothes and masquerading is objectionable to me, and the slightest hint or sign by anyone who knows, that they regard me other than as a real woman is like an icy draught, or a sharp pin-prick. I enjoy letting the clothes and my inner nature completely conquer the masculine side of my brain and all desires pertaining thereto.

Just as a clergyman is influenced by his surplice, a soldier by his uniform, or a nun by hers, so I am by *my* clothes The transformation that takes place is really wonderful, for I often reflect sadly that I have no earthly chance of looking altogether like a woman Yet my eyes and smile are regarded as truly feminine, and happiness shows itself and soon improves my appearance. During my few months' life—this time in the spring and summer—I made surprising advances in my freedom of movement. My hostess took me to a corsetière's and I derived great and lasting pleasure from an expensive and well-fitting pair of corsets which gave the feeling of smartness and helped in graceful deportment. We also went shopping to try on hats, and I experienced true feminine delight and abiding satisfaction on Easter Sunday in going to church in a pretty new mauve hat and mauve veil, a large bunch of mauve sweet peas in my waist band. Instead of being distracted and torn with envy of women and their clothes, I could kneel in true heartfelt thankfulness that I was able to 'worship in spirit.' I possessed pure aesthetic enjoyment, the delight of feeling myself to be a woman 'like you' and the delicious sense of comfort and elegance derived from *my* clothes, which do not result in a sense of sexual gratification, but rather of spiritual enjoyment, of mental delight and peace. Every trivial action, such as using a dainty and perfumed handkerchief, placing articles down gently, acknowledging the trivial courtesies generally received by women with a smile and soft 'Thank you,' all gave me as much pleasure as the opposite would give pain. Although I am fond of company, yet walking alone as a woman is very pleasant, and I used to go out daily, if not shopping, then to the sea-front, or in the parks, where silent enjoyment of my character was continuous, my only regret being that I had not a kindred soul, a woman friend. My hostess and her small son used to take lunch on the sands now and again and I frequently joined them, but nice as she and her husband were she never properly understood me. I practically went everywhere I wished to, but always with a sort of necessary caution not to run too great risks, to theatres, concerts, cinemas, tennis tournaments, and to a reception of distinguished visitors at a civic garden party in the park, where I was delighted to catch the eye of the Governor-General's wife and curtsy to her, being rewarded with a charming smile.

In the house I used to assist in preparation for meals, and in making beds, and in shopping. Though I never indulged in an extensive wardrobe I should like to, and would have if I saw my way clear to a more lengthy 'life.' Yet I used to be well-dressed and was very successful in summer attire (my first experience), though winter clothes with furs, etc., are far more effective in hiding defects. In a

comparatively short white flannel serge skirt (which I bought and tried on at a store, having it adjusted in length by the fitter), a pretty white petticoat and underwear, and a net blouse half screening dainty things beneath and revealing throat and neck, with white stockings and shoes, a silk sports coat and wide hat, sunshade, etc., I looked well and felt the greatest sense of pleasure when out or sitting at home reading, or moving about before and after meals. I have gone on the sands with a sunshade and sat for hours enjoying the sea, and the delightful sensation of being alone in the character I am in.

My doctor visited the house and took a meal with us, congratulating me on my appearance, and I called on him two or three times and saw him at his consulting rooms. He used, however, to advise me not to forget that I was Mr.——, but I impressed on him that I was able to practically forget Mr.—— in the enjoyment of being Mrs.——. He said he saw no reason why I should not dress now and again as a relief to what becomes an overpowering desire, but if I let it get hold of me to an undue extent it became pathological. I said I was far happier, my brain was at rest, and there was not the continual conflict, and intense longing, causing depression. We debated the subject often for lengthy periods, I contending that the ego, the inner self, should rule and not the physical self. Although he was prepared to back up his early advice to protect me, and my hostess, if 'discovery' led to any untoward incidents (which did not worry me, my enjoyment was too great to be deterred by thoughts of risk), he regarding me largely as a mental case, yet he suggested that it would be wiser if I and he consulted another doctor; to which I agreed. After he had prepared the consultant with an outline of my case, and details of public work, and references I had; I visited these two doctors one evening, having specially smartened myself, and en route buying a large bunch of sweet peas to wear in my waist band. I sat for two hours and a half, describing my case and answering questions of a most searching nature. I stated that it was my sincere desire to *be* a refined gentlewoman (not *any* female) and that although I realized all the drawbacks attending some women's lives, and had discussed the matter with an English lady who spoke of the illness, pains and drawbacks of women's lives, yet though I shrunk from pain and operations as a rule (a tooth extraction being terrible to my nerves) yet I would undergo a surgical operation if the result would be to give me a beautiful or attractive female form with full womanhood in a type that appealed to me. The only embarrassment I felt at the interview was that I had to speak of myself as a male, while in feminine attire and character.

My contention was and is that masculine women are recognized by the world as a separate type and their personalities (or peculiarities)

are allowed expression, in dress, mode of living, etc., suitable to their inner selves, not their bodies; they are free to coarsen themselves by living as like men as possible, yet are hybrids. I make a more successful transformation, hide my body as far as sex is concerned and my behavior is that of a refined lady My doctor rather clings to the mental obsession idea; and suggested that it would doubtless be possible for them to arrange with the Chief of Police that I be not molested, but I demurred at being pointed out to detectives and others who would ignorantly regard me as being dressed up, for my pleasure would be greatly lessened. The consultant took my side often in argument and said it was the strongest case of dual personality he had known; he wanted time to consider and would see me again.

At the end of four months' life, my hostess received warning from a friend that I was known and being spoken about, and we supposed that the young woman, her erstwhile boarder, had seen me and was talking. I felt that it was wisest to give up for a time and consulted my doctor who was indignant at the fact being revealed. It was with very great sadness that I undressed for the last time one night, having previously bidden my hostess good-bye, and asked to be allowed to slip out in the morning. I had determined to go away for a couple of weeks to my sister's, but to return to them, as they would have been seriously hit financially had I left them. I slipped out into a world that was particularly distasteful to me, my collar choked me, my trousers oppressed me like bandages, my boots felt clumsy, and I missed the clasp of corsets, and the beautiful feel of underwear. When I returned, however, I suffered considerable mental and spiritual anguish. I simply could not face the household at meals and for a week or more used to get out on long walks, or remain in my room, later on beginning with breakfasts. My first evening meal was like a knife sticking into me, for I remembered—although my seat was moved by request. When my hostess rose to remove the first course my spirit wanted to do as before, and get up as a woman and help her Instead of my own dainty movements and mental happiness as a woman, I had to act as a man to my great displeasure. I have lived it down somewhat but there is always the contrast between this life and the other, whether in the house or not.

"I consider that I am a dual personality of which the feminine self has very early expressed itself, and gathered strength, dominating my life, but my male physical self has been strong enough to prevent outward signs of effeminacy. In addition, the desires of the feminine have caused undue thought about, and love for, feminine clothes and life, and these have acted on my male sexual nature to

cause its development. Masturbation, when indulged in, and natural connection have been generally due to the feelings aroused by contemplation of the feminine state and clothes, in envy and not in a sense of sexual desire; also as a relief of the feeling of longing, rather than to create such feelings. I am a bundle of contradictions, a sort of Miss Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. I cannot simply dreamily contemplate the attraction of a feminine state, but the desires are always present in varying degrees, and sometimes enough to cause pain or deep depression. Were I living alone as a man with an attractive woman and were rash enough to go to her bedroom (unless a prostitute who would repel me) my feelings would be aroused, especially if she tempted me, partly because I feel inwardly that I would like to be in her place, and even during connection I have had a longing to be her. If going to her room to dress in her clothes, or already partly dressed and in the character of a woman, my femininity would keep my masculinity sternly down; for I know that I could not misconduct myself when in my clothes and character, for the sake of temporary physical gratification, thereby robbing a more lasting, aesthetic and spiritual pleasure (together with the sensation of feminine sexual desires, mental and physical). I greatly desire to so thoroughly live as a woman that exposure in negligée in bedrooms when it occurs, will be regarded as natural and so I may feel that I am admitted as a woman to the inner sanctuary of woman's kingdom.

Regarding the clothes themselves I admit frankly that they are very, very attractive to me, and that I love wearing them. I should like to have a complete outfit of essentially feminine things, dainty French lingerie, smart corsets which give a delicious feeling of snugness, pretty shoes, and silk stockings, lovely petticoats and underskirts and smart gowns, hats, lovely furs and cloaks, coats, wraps of all kinds. Dainty accessories, such as hankies, hand bags, gloves, jewelry, perfume, sunshades, veils—all have a truly feminine lure for me. My one great desire is for a really good seal coat with shawl collar and large cuffs of skunk. To see one of these makes me very envious, and this frequently happens. Hats have a great attraction, too, and I love a veil. Now underwear is known to have an influence on men's passionate feelings, but with me, much as I love to see it on or in shops, yet my desire is to wear it. Except when shaving during my 'lives' I banish everything masculine, and I never see my head without a wig on nor expose my person below the waist. Dressing is a sort of ritual; I am really 'in the spirit' and see and feel myself to be a woman: it is pleasing to put on the clothes, especially the touch of a pretty blouse on bare arms and shoulders. The soft comfort of underwear, and clasp of corsets, the

caress of petticoats around silk-stockinged legs, the smartness of shoes, together with the delightful sensation from the graceful movements, and happy frame of mind, all combine to cause the most delicious aesthetic feelings of happiness and content, so that any sacrifice, if necessary, of such an animal passion as masculine feelings often cause, is not to be even thought of as worth weighing. The great desire is to be as much a gentlewoman in appearance, deportment, personality, thought and desire as possible, and whereas the details of clothes are forgotten, skirts becoming a part of oneself, yet the delicious result remains in a happy feeling which surges up now and again in the *Te Deum*: 'I am a woman.' When undressing at night I like to do so slowly before the mirror (should like a long-haired wig to sit and brush); but my feelings are simply one of peaceful happiness, in that my real self is living without conflict with my physical self which lies dormant and subject. In various stages of undress I proceed to the last, where I release undergarments from my shoulders and slipping on a dainty nightie, I let my things fall to the ground as a modest woman would, never revealing my deformities. Then in a pretty boudoir cap I sometimes sit and gaze in aesthetic satisfaction at my woman-self, stooping to enjoy the roundness of the slight breasts thus emphasized. Then to bed, only regretting that a loving husband, or a dear little baby is not to nestle near me.

I do not feel that my case is one of inversion. My masculinity is, however, conquered—a thing I cannot do when living as a man; I feel I am getting to be, if not already so, a sensualist, but when in the feminine state one nature only rules, and I have no desire to step out of it, any thoughts of masculinity being driven away. As a man I should scorn any homosexual relationship, even if imagining I was a woman. I have, however, allowed a woman to pretend to be a man to me, when desiring feminine sexual gratification, and I would wish to surrender myself to a nice man when a woman, but know that my ideal character would not allow such a lapse, yet the desire does not excite shame. I have not dressed since my last 'life,' although all my clothes are within daily touch, yet I long to do so if it meant a life, not just dressing up or putting on the clothes. To try on a lovely fur coat would only be an aggravation, yet to put it on as a woman and revel in its cosiness and enjoy the large cuffs, that is different. As a lady once said: 'I suppose you want to have a woman's experiences as well as dress in the character?' and I said, 'Yes, I do.' She understood when she said: 'What a tragedy your life is! How you must suffer!' And I do. Much as I desire feminine companionship and a nice home, yet marriage seems too great a risk. I cannot change my inner nature,

nor contemplate the continued crucifixion of my self by the agonizing and tantalizing sight of a beautiful or attractive woman, in clothes that distracted me, being a continual source of torment. I still hope to live the life my real self desires, and in which I can build up a better and finer personality and a purer soul to take to the Beyond, when this body remains behind."

R. L. sent me numerous statements and letters, but the foregoing narrative (to which a few slight additions have been made from others of his papers) seems to cover the whole ground and it is in entire harmony in all essentials with his other statements. He came to see me at intervals after his return from Canada to London, and the personal impression he made agreed with his own account of himself. He was a quiet, solid, serious man, with no obvious feminine physical traits, and no mannerisms that suggested a woman. One would have supposed that he was rather too largely built to make up easily as a woman, but it would appear that in none of his adventures in that part was he ever alarmingly suspected. In numerous photographs as a woman his feminine air and bearing seem unimpeachable. There is nothing of the rather provocative and meretricious aspect which sometimes marks homosexual men when in feminine costume; the face looks rather massive but is that of a calm, experienced, decorous woman, and the impression is entirely agreeable.

The part played by the sexual instinct in R. L. is of much interest, and characteristic of one of the types of Eonism. We see that it is held in balance, as it were, between his native masculine nature and his ideal feminine nature, pulled in each direction but unable to go to the full extent in either, for the ideal feminine nature prevents full enjoyment as a man, while to accept the sexual enjoyment of a woman though yet possessing a man's body would hardly befit R.L.'s conception of a lady's behavior. We see that there is a sense (though not the usual sense) in which we can say that R. L. is an example of dual personality. But to say that would not be to offer any explanation of his condition.

If we were to investigate him psycho-analytically, we might possibly find the influence of an infantile attachment to his mother. No attempt whatever was made to ascertain that influence, and there is nothing to show that he himself attached importance to it. So that it is all the more instructive to observe that his references to his mother, his recognition of her superiority, and his early championship of her against the irritable father, would agree with such an assumption. An infantile and always mainly unconscious absorption in the mother, on the part of a sensitive and sympathetic child, may well have furnished the point of departure for the attitude of Eonism

which early began to develop in R. L., and, in the absence of any strong sexual impulse, more and more tended to an absorption in, and finally an identification with, the social, maternal, and domestic aspects of womanhood. This seems the only key we can expect to find, or need to find, to the influences that have molded R. L.'s life

In the next case, in a man of quite different intellectual, emotional and moral type, we see what may, I believe, be regarded as a profound if not complete form of sexo-aesthetic inversion.

R. M., age 66; man of science and letters, a fellow of various learned societies and engaged in official scientific work.

"My father (a business man) came of a healthy, prolific and long-lived family of farmers, and was one of eighteen children. My mother came of a mercantile family, which suffered from a severe form of hysteria, showing itself in some members of the family, but not in others, through at least five or six generations. My mother was one of eight children, of whom one son and four daughters lived to be married, and had children. Of the others, one daughter died unmarried at twenty-four; and one boy and one girl died in infancy.

"My mother and one of her sisters married in the same year, the former being thirty-one, and the latter thirty-five. But whereas the sister's husband was only a year older than herself, my mother (who was my father's second wife) was sixteen years younger than my father; and about two years after the marriages, the eldest children were born.

"The sister, who had set her mind on having boys had six children of which the two eldest and the youngest were girls, the others, two boys and a girl, died in infancy. My mother, on the other hand, who set her mind on having girls, had five sons, all still living, of whom I am the eldest.

"At the age of six months, I was frightened by a railway train, which passed before the window of a railway carriage at which I was being held up. I became so ill that my life was despaired of; I suffered much from convulsions, and could not walk until I was two. Still, my recollections go back distinctly and continuously to the age of three and a half, when we were staying at the seaside; though I have only isolated and disjointed recollections further back than that.

"We were brought up in great seclusion, for my mother among numerous heresies, had a prejudice against schools; and we were seldom allowed to speak to other children. However, older cousins used to come to the house, and talk and read to me, especially a

delicate boy six years older than myself, whose mother was dead, and who lived with us during most of my childhood; and who was like an elder brother to me.

"I was subject, till the age of eight or nine at least, to violent fits of hysterical crying, sometimes brought on by a mere trifle; I was generally put in a room by myself till the fit passed off. These fits were called 'freaks.'

"The earliest books I remember being read to me (*Sandford and Merton*, etc.), I accepted as real, and at one time (when about 5 or 6) kept on running to the door at every ring, to meet two boys out of one of these books, whom I expected to come to pay us a visit, and who specially interested me. At this time I was very timid, and could not bear to listen to such a story as 'Jack the Giant Killer.'

"I remember once thinking that I should have to marry my younger brother, because I did not know any one else.

"When I was able to read, at the age of 7 or 8, I read everything I could get that looked interesting. There was no supervision, except that a few books (mostly harmless enough) were tabooed as being 'too old for me.' But Pope's Homer's *Iliad* on the one hand, and the *Swiss Family Robinson* on the other were long my favorite books; and now I began to personally identify myself with my favorite heroes, and to insist on being called by their names, changing from one to another, as the fancy took me. Thus, I was for a long time Hercules; Fritz of the *Swiss Family;* or Basil of Mayne Reid's *Boy Hunters,* but always the oldest of the boy characters.

"I never thus identified myself with any girl, and would have been horrified at the idea up to at least nine or ten; but I believe I was quite as well able to sympathize with the girls in juvenile tales as with the boys.

"Occasionally I was a little sentimental. I was greatly impressed by the lines relating to Pasiphae in Homer, and also by the allusions to the beauty of the Anglo-Saxon women in Dickens' *Child's History of England.* I was always very amenable to suggestion. I once thought I ought to make a sacrifice in Old Testament fashion, and was seriously inclined to burn my crossbow; but not my long bow, which I thought I could not spare so well.

"I remember thinking that 'cutting off the foreskin' meant something like 'scalping' the forehead; and if I met a Jew, was surprised not to see the scar.

"I was always very anxious to try any new, and especially physical, experience. I was probably not more than five or six when my mother once told me that she had used soap-pellets during my illness; and I immediately insisted on her applying one.

"I was also curious to know what it felt like to be wounded in battle, to be tortured, or to be burned at the stake. This is a form of masochism not uncommon with young boys; but in one form or other it was almost permanent with me. I even felt it when I was about to have a tooth out. And yet I am very sensitive to pain.

"Of sexual matters I have nothing to record, except that once or twice one of the testes slipped up into the abdomen, causing me considerable pain and trouble to get it down again. We were told 'the doctor had brought us;' I was sorry he had not kept us, for the want of sufficient companionship and the dullness of our life made me very unhappy. Like most children, when I got a vague idea of something further, I thought babies might come through the navel, or that the navel had something to do with coition; and if I thought of the scrotum at all, I supposed it held urine. Among other things which appear trifles to parents, but often cause terrible suffering to children, we were kept so long in children's instead of boy's clothes that we were actually ashamed to be seen in them

"Fairy tales were tabooed; but I invented the idea of feather-dresses for myself before I had heard of them.

"When I was about 10, I learned to swim, but was much disgusted at the sight of the men's pubes, which I had not seen before I still dislike hair on the face and body, and even the mention of a beard or moustache in a book is disagreeable to me, though I wear them myself, to save the trouble of shaving. A year later, we were at the seaside, and I saw the whole of my mother's breast for the first time. It gave me a similar feeling of repulsion, which lasted some years, if I accidentally happened to see a woman's breast. (When younger, I had, of course, seen babies suckled, but had then paid no attention.) As regards men, the feeling wore off after I began to bathe regularly; for bathing drawers for men did not come into general use till about 1860, or rather later.

"When I was about 12, I found that if I ran very fast, I was sometimes obliged to stop from a strong necessity of making water, which feeling went off when I tried to do so.

"I was brought up a teetotaller from the age of eight, and though I abandoned teetotalism after eight or ten years, I have never been in the habit of taking more than a glass of wine, or wine and water, in the course of the day.

"About the age of 12 I began to feel much interest in the differences of the sexes, of which, however, I had no real idea before I married. Then I met with the Eastern story of the prince who was changed into a woman by drinking from a magic spring, and whether it was suggested by the story or whether the idea arose independently, I am not quite sure; but I began to think that it

would be very nice to be changed into a girl for a time, to see what it was like. Gradually this idea became regret that I had not been born a girl, but unaccompanied at present by any longing to take the place of any particular woman; and accompanied for many years, as it had been preceded, by an almost uncontrollable longing for a life of travel and adventure, which I never had any opportunity of gratifying except within very moderate limits, and for which I was wholly unsuited. Of course the two desires were quite incongruous.

"When I was between 14 and 15, I used occasionally to draw back the prepuce to look at the glans, and twice had an emission of semen. I had not the least idea of what it was; and just about my fifteenth year, I fell into masturbation; but happening at that time to look into Rees' *Cyclopædia*, I stumbled across an article respecting it, and connecting it with what I was doing, struggled against the habit as much as possible, and never yielded to it in excess. As the "inversion" had then already commenced, it cannot have been seriously affected by it, one way or the other.

"In the following year I had for the first time a passing fancy for a girl play-mate; but it never went beyond that stage.

"At this period the desire to be a girl was not very intense; but it was still present, accompanied as it generally has been, by the wish to go through the experience of having a baby. Again, my reflections on sexual subjects were not limited to marriage, but to speculations on abnormalities, such as hermaphroditism and castration. The latter never appeared to me as unnatural or revolting, but only as a curious and perhaps interesting experience, and I should have subjected myself to it after the death of my wife, if I could have carried it out without detection.[1] Hammond mentions a case in which a man wished to be castrated that he may be more like a woman. Such a feeling is perfectly intelligible to me. After my wife's death, I often slept with all the organs tucked back between my thighs, out of sight and reach from the front. I have very rarely had erotic dreams, it has surprised me that I have very seldom dreamed of myself as a woman.

"When I was about 19, I fell seriously in love for the first time with a very young girl; and enjoyed two days of delirious happiness, arising simply from the idea of being really in love; such as I never experienced before or since. But my mother opposed it,

[1] Eonism has sometimes actually led to self-castration. Thus Tange and Trotsenburg (*Sexual-Probleme*, June, 1911) have described the case of a married man, a good husband and father but regarded as peculiar by those who knew him, and in reality a transvestist, who thus mutilated himself; but his persistent dissimulation rendered it difficult to elucidate the case psychologically.

and I found the girl was much younger than I thought; so the affair gradually flickered out, without my ever having spoken a word of love to her.

"The 'freaks' had ceased when I was about 10 or 11; but I was liable to violent fits of anger, if greatly upset, which sometimes left me ill for a day or two. I succeeded in overcoming this feeling; but at the loss of the 'righteous indignation' and power of taking my own part which were absolutely necessary to protect my own comfort and rights in the world. Besides, having sufficient sympathy and insight to see both sides in a dispute, I am equally liable in any doubtful case to be imposed upon by either cajolery or bullying, and am often 'afraid to strike' when it is my clear duty to do so, for fear of unfairly 'wounding' my adversary. Consequently I am always liable to be grievously imposed upon, or even talked into doing against my will what I know to be contrary to my own interests. Nor can I often think at such times of what I ought to say or do in the circumstances; and I am quite unable to meet a sudden and unexpected attack or change of front. I reproach myself greatly for this afterwards, for when it is too late I see clearly what I ought to have said and done This weakness is the most painful (and perhaps the only really painful) accompaniment of my 'inversion'; and it may possibly have no necessary connection with it.

"When I was about 20, I met a young foreign lady at the house of some friends she was visiting. She was a very bright, lively girl, with a light complexion and dark hair, which I have always preferred; and we soon became as good friends as if we had known each other all our lives, instead of meeting as strangers and foreigners. I believe I attracted her as much as she attracted me; and there was not an unkind word between us at any time; and though we married soon afterwards, we were never happy apart for an hour; and if we could get away together, it was like a fresh honeymoon to the last. She departed after we had enjoyed nearly thirty years of married life; by no means free from sometimes serious trouble; but as between ourselves, idyllic We had one son.

"We both thought that the first sight of each other undressed might be repellent, but we neither of us experienced any such feeling. Instead of this, much as I loved her, I also envied her very much, and the innate and instinctive longing to be a woman myself became greatly and permanently increased. Nothing would have pleased me better than for us to have gone to sleep, and to have waked up in each other's bodies, for a time at any rate.

"Unnatural as it may appear, when our son was born, the thought that I could not go through the experience myself, or even be with my wife at the time caused me the most acute suffering I ever

felt in my life, and I did not get over it for many months.[1] On such occasions I always sympathize greatly with the mental sufferings of the husband, not the physical sufferings of the wife.

"A year or two later I was affected with hernia on both sides. That on the right side the doctor called inguinal, and it has given me more or less trouble ever since. The left one he called indirect; and I have scarcely felt anything of it from the beginning. He told me it was unusual for two forms to exist on opposite sides; but I may say that I know nothing of the cause, and that the right side was affected some weeks or months before the left.

"And here I may note that there is a slight tendency to lateral hermaphroditism, the right side being more masculine than the left. On the right side the beard is considerably stronger; and though there is very little hair on the chest, or indeed on the body generally, what little there is, is mostly on the right side of the median line; and the right breast is a little smaller and less firm than the left. The shape of the pelvis seems equally masculine on both sides.

"But on the other hand the right eye is much weaker than the left; it was never strong enough to read by at the best of times, and at present hardly reaches No. 2 of the test types, while the left eye goes up to 5 or 6, and is still strong enough to read good print with a good light without glasses for a short time. But my eyes are quite too sensitive for me to be able to hold them open for examination with a light.

"I forgot to say that when I was a child I was much troubled by a sensation as if everything was going into my eyes (a weakness inherited from my mother); and I constantly saw films, but had no other hallucinations. I should add here that I have never been able to whistle; and though the uvula was operated on when I was about twenty-six, I don't know that it had any effect beyond stopping the constant annoyance of tickling in the throat, from which I had suffered for some years. I have never had the least inclination to smoke.

"After my wife's death, I felt her presence with me for some years; but it gradually seemed to fade away. Greatly needing the sympathy of a wife, as well as a congenial companion (for I seem to understand and sympathize much better with women than with men) I seriously considered the possibilities of a second marriage, but several reasons led me finally to abandon the idea. The young lady who has been most

[1] This feeling may be more common than is generally supposed. Karen Horney states that when she began to analyze men, after previous experience with women, she was surprised at the intensity of their envy of childbirth and motherhood, as well as of the breasts and the act of suckling (*Int. Jour. Psycho-analysis*, Oct., 1926, p. 330).

attractive to me since the death of my wife married lately. I do not feel jealous of her or her husband, but feel as if I should like best to be her daughter. In any case, I hope to have my wife as my lover or my sister in some other life, according to whether she is a man or a woman.

"When I was about 57, I was grossly abused and insulted by some unworthy persons who were under great obligations to me; and experienced great mental suffering for a long time afterwards. Whether it had any connection with what I am going to narrate, I do not know; but about two years after this, there seemed to be something like an alteration of sexual polarity. I felt like a woman born out of her sex, and was affected by the most passionate longing to be a woman. I could not look at a pretty girl without envying her, her beauty and her womanhood, and would gladly have changed places with almost any woman from fifteen to forty-five who was in the least attractive to me.

"These feelings seem to have stimulated the breasts, which had previously been almost as flat as a child's, for they now began to enlarge very slowly; but also very steadily; and sometimes they seem to alter almost daily. At first nothing could be felt under the nipples but a small hard detached nucleus about the size of a pea. This gradually enlarged, and then seemed to become dispersed and diffused, and was succeeded by a thickening, at first under the nipples, and then above; connected with a band (at first hardly thicker than a thread) a little below the armpit. Lastly there was a thickening beneath the nipple itself. Then the whole circumference of each breast became firm and thickened, and it was not till this process was completed (after perhaps three or four years) that the breasts have begun to protrude a little in front. They continued to enlarge slowly.

"The growth of the breasts was occasionally accompanied by a titillating sensation in any part which was about to enlarge; also a throbbing feeling in the whole, and a feeling of inflammation could often be induced by a voluntary contraction of the muscles. The development of the breasts was not accompanied by any atrophy of the male organs, as sometimes occurs when it is the result of an injury to the head (I remember once having a bad fall on the ice on the back of my head when I was a boy of nine or ten, but don't suppose this had any effect on my constitution). These remarks chiefly apply to the left breast, which has always been rather larger; there is little corresponding sensation in the right, but it enlarges more slowly, and probably sympathetically—the nipples have scarcely enlarged at all, and there are no signs of any fluid secretion.

"At present the breasts are beginning to feel increasingly like a woman's which is accompanied by a strange feeling of greatly increased physical comfort and well-being. If I had an opportunity, I should like to try on a woman's clothes, though I have no very special attraction for women's dresses or their ordinary occupations —especially stays; and also put a child to the breast, to see if it would draw milk. The acme of physical human happiness often appears to me to be a woman suckling a healthy child. With the growth of the breasts, the painfully intense longing for womanhood has somewhat subsided.

"A woman's body appears to me to be far more beautiful and interesting, and even much more natural than a man's; and its physical drawbacks would be a cheap price to pay for the pleasure of living in one. The male organs appear to me ugly, inconvenient, and almost unnatural. I am fond of children, and perhaps my feeling towards them may resemble those of a woman. I should like to be a woman in order to enter utterly into their lives as one of themselves.

"All of my brothers are more or less bald, but though I am the eldest, my hair is still very good for my age, only thinning a little in the front. I may add that I am not intuitive, and no judge of character, and am clumsy with my hands.

"I am still greatly attracted by beautiful women, but my instinctive feelings towards them are always more those of envy than desire or jealousy; and I always envy a woman in proportion to my love and admiration for her. Still, there are many good women, for whom I feel sincere regard, and even affection, who are not in any way physically attractive to me, and towards whom I feel neither desire nor envy.

"Fortunately I was never thrown among vicious companions, and was too timid and refined to fall into evil courses, though I might have done so, had bad companions tempted me. Perhaps, too, my physical passions were weakened by the tendency to inversion

"My wife and I used sometimes to change clothes, though her's were much too small for me. But I may repeat, I do not know that I have any special fondness for women's clothes or women's occupations.

"Intellectual women of some force of character are most attractive to me, perhaps as a counterpart to my own weak and easily influenced character; I am not usually attracted by weak, delicate, fair 'feminine women.'

"As regards myself, I do not feel the double sex to be an evil (except for the weakness of character which may or may not be connected with it), but rather an advantage, as enlarging my

sympathies. I do not suppose it is possible for one sex to understand the other, without their being mixed in sufficient proportion to give them a real fellow-meaning. I consider it most probable that the sexes are always more or less mixed in varying proportions in every man or woman, one or the other preponderating.

"The peculiar psychical affection which I have described might be called aesthetic inversion. It is dealt with by several living novelists, especially Frank Richardson in *2835 Mayfair.*

"It differs from ordinary inversion in that those who are affected by it appear (at least in most cases) never to be attracted by men, but only by women. There is no tradition, so far as I know, of anything resembling inversion in our family.

"These people are generally devotedly attached to some woman; and love and honor her so much that they feel as if they themselves were born out of their sex, and naturally in a kind of uncomfortable exile.

"I have written the foregoing account in all sincerity. The condition is no mere fancy, but has continued and indeed increased during almost the whole of a fairly long life."

The foregoing narrative, written by a man of scholarly habits, and highly trained in scientific accuracy of observation, was placed in my hands some years before the writer's death. Not long before this occurred I submitted it to him for a final revision, which resulted in no essential changes. During this period I was in frequent correspondence with R. M., both on the subject of his anomaly and on other topics. Owing to circumstances I had only one opportunity of meeting him. The personal impression he made upon me corresponded with that conveyed by his letters and his narrative. There was no outward suggestion of femininity, but there were present in an extreme degree the indications of the timid, retiring, sensitive disposition which is sometimes seen in men devoted to a scientific career and is apt to be associated with neurotic tendencies.

He was described by his son (a physician who, when in accordance with his father's request this narrative was eventually shown to him, admitted he knew nothing of his father's Eonistic temperament) as "a man of great erudition, and most gentle, thoughtful, and unassuming." One could well believe in that absence of "grit" of which he himself complained. Except for this and for some slight nervous muscular tics, no abnormality was suggested. How far a more careful exploration would have revealed more significant changes must remain doubtful. R. M. had frequently expressed a wish for a physical examination to be made, and an appointment for this purpose had been duly arranged. Then occurred his sudden illness, due to acute nephritis preceded by a more chronic form of

the disorder, resulting shortly after in death. It seems improbable that the examination would have revealed any conditions to which great significance could be attached, for some degree of gynecomasty is far from uncommon. At the same time there was absolutely nothing in R. M's attitude towards himself and his anomaly, or in his general mental condition, which reveals any delusional state. The utmost that can be said is that he was inclined to suspect that some very minor physical anomalies might possess a feminine or hermaphroditic significance. But he was anxious to submit these points to the judgment of those more competent in such matters We see here what the Freudian would term a "complex," but it is not a paranoic delusional system.

The condition presented by R. M. seems to me to be Eonism, or sexo-aesthetic inversion, in perhaps a complete form. In that form it brings home to us the unsatisfactory nature of the term "transvestism." The element of cross-dressing was, indeed, present, but in so slight and unessential a degree as to be almost negligible. A man of intellectual tastes and of deep feelings, dressing had never been a matter of great interest to him, and there was no soil for any pronounced impulse of cross-dressing to take root in. The inversion here is in the affective and emotional sphere, and in this large sphere the minor symptom of cross-dressing is insignificant. The subject was a man of exceptional intellectual culture and of exceptional sympathetic sensitiveness. He possessed marked feminine affectability. He cannot be regarded as an example of aesthetic inversion in its most usual and typical form. But he seems to me to present it in its most highly developed form.

When we attempt to classify or to account for the cases here brought forward the task is scarcely easy. We may well assert that they illustrate that universal bisexuality which is now so widely accepted. We see that R. M., as well as R. L., perceived this, and it was also pointed out by Nacke. But if we proceed to co-ordinate these cases of sexo-aesthetic inversion with ordinary sexual inversion, now often regarded as most easily explicable by this same organic bisexuality, manifested through some constitutional hormonic irregularity, we encounter difficulties. We may be inclined to regard aesthetic

inversion as a slighter degree of the same sexually intermediate state of which we find a more advanced stage in sexual inversion.[1] But a little consideration shows that that is scarcely correct. In the narrow sphere of the sexual impulse itself the Eonist shows indeed but little if any approximation to the opposite sex. But in the wider non-sexual psychic sphere, on the other hand, he goes far beyond all the most usual manifestations of sexual inversion. The two conditions are not strictly co-ordinate. They may rather be regarded as, so to speak, two unlike allotropic modifications of intermediate sexuality. Sexual inversion when it appears in Eonism would appear to be merely a secondary result of the aesthetically inverted psychic state. Eonism, when it appears in homosexual persons, is perhaps merely a secondary result of the sexually inverted psychic state.

Raffalovich[2] has remarked that one is struck by the moral inferiority, the superficiality, the immodesty of the effeminate invert. This remark, whether or not it is true of the effeminate invert, rarely applies to the Eonist. On the contrary, we are frequently impressed by his moral superiority. Like the fetichist, he never flaunts his peculiarity in the public eye, concealing it from all but sympathetic observers who number perhaps only one or two in a life-time. His code of morals is usually the accepted code, held perhaps rather more firmly than usual, and if, as may sometimes happen, he seems to discern a homosexual tendency in himself, he is genuinely distressed. There is little likelihood that he will ever become, as sometimes happens to the effeminate invert, a prostitute.

This is not, indeed, a point of view which always commends itself to psycho-analysts. There are some psycho-analysts who when they see acknowledged signs of homo-

[1] Sadger, from the psycho-analytic side, repels the idea that transvestism can be regarded as a stage of inversion, and Moll, from a different standpoint, refuses even to regard the anomaly as an intermediate sexual stage. Hirschfeld, who champions the doctrine of intermediate sexual stages, is still inclined, as I am, to regard Eonism as primary in the heterosexual and secondary in the homosexual

[2] Raffalovich, *Uranisme et Unisexualité*, p. 93.

sexuality, accept them, as most other people do, as the signs of homosexuality. But when they see the reverse, even a strong antipathy, they accept that also as a sign of homosexuality, the reaction of a suppressed wish. "Heads, I win," they seem to say; "tails, you lose." This is rather too youthful a method of conducting mental analysis. We must, therefore, hesitate to follow Stekel who would thus account for the Eonist's frequently strong dislike of homosexuality, and considers that the Eonist is an invert, whose inversion is transferred from the body to the garments that are its symbol.

Thus, on a common basis, we seem to be presented with two organic conditions which are distinct, do not easily merge, and are even mutually repugnant. A large proportion, perhaps the majority, of sexual inverts have no strongly pronounced feminine traits, and even so far as they possess them not infrequently desire to slur over or disguise them. The majority of sexo-aesthetic inverts, on the other hand, are not only without any tendency to sexual inversion, but they feel a profound repugnance to that anomaly.[1]

In the two transitional cases I have brought forward there could not be said to be even a question of sexual inversion. In pronounced cases it only comes into question to be rejected. A. T. (as also R. L.) had latterly indeed come to feel that the sexual experiences of a woman were needed for the complete gratification of his state of feeling. This is, however, clearly a secondary development of his aesthetic inversion, and it is a development which the subject himself views with terror. Moreover he is not in fact in the slightest degree sexually attracted to any person of his own sex. The idea is merely an idea, and though it might possibly become an obsession it seems highly improbable that it will ever be carried into practice. In R. M.'s case, although here aesthetic inversion is carried so far, there has never been,

[1] Hirschfeld (*Die Homosexualitat*, 1914, p. 233) refers to a male transvestist who remarked that "transvestism and inversion are two diametrically opposite dispositions," and to another who declared that he felt contempt for inverts and effeminate men.

even imaginatively, the slightest homosexual temptation. After he had devised the term "aesthetic inversion," he was himself rather inclined to reject it for "psychical hermaphroditism," on the ground that the use of the word "inversion" might suggest a connection with homosexuality which he would regard as highly repugnant.

Psychologically speaking, it seems to me that we must regard sexo-aesthetic inversion as really a modification of normal hetero-sexuality. Assimilation in dress, Crawley remarks, even from the ethnographic standpoint, "is a form of the desire for union." It is a modification in which certain of the normal constituents of the sexual impulse have fallen into the background, while other equally normal constituents have become unduly exaggerated. What are those two sets of constituents?

In normal courtship it is necessary for the male to experience two impulses which are, on the surface, antagonistic. On the one hand, he must be forceful and combative; he must overcome and possess the desired object. On the other hand, he must be expectant and sympathetic; he must enter into the feelings of the beloved and even subject himself to her will The lover must be both a resolute conqueror and a submissive slave. He must both oppose himself to his mistress's reticence and identify himself with her desires. This twofold attitude is based on the biological conditions of courtship.

In civilized human courtship there is a tendency for the first and aggressive component of the sexual impulse to be subordinated, and for the second and sympathetic component to be emphasized. This tendency was set forth many years ago by Colin Scott as the "secondary law of courting" by which the female (who is already imaginatively attentive to the states of the excited male) develops a superadded activity, while the male develops a relatively passive and imaginative attention to the psychical and bodily states of the female. This "imaginative radiation" and "development of the representative powers," is favored, Colin Scott points out, by the restric-

tions imposed by civilization, and the larger mental capacity involved.[1]

This secondary component of the sexual impulse, the element of sympathy and identification, may be said to be connected, as Colin Scott seems to have recognized, with an aesthetic attitude. It is worth while to insist on the connection for it may furnish a deeper reason than I have yet suggested for applying the name "aesthetic inversion" to a condition which, as the reader will by now have perceived, is to be regarded as an abnormal and perhaps pathological exaggeration of the secondary component of the normal heterosexual impulse.

The Eonist is frequently refined, sensitive, and highly intelligent. In this respect T. S. and R. L. and R. M. are typical. The Eonist has developed and exaggerated this secondary impulse of courting at the expense of the primary more aggressive impulse. (Carried to the extreme this tendency may become masochism, and we see in T. S.'s day-dreams a slight masochistic disposition.) But this impulse corresponds to the impulse which various modern philosophers of aesthetics regard as of the essence of the aesthetic attitude, an inner sympathy and imitation, an emotional identification with the beauti-

[1] Colin Scott, "Sex and Art," *American Journal of Psychology*, vol. vii, No. 2. It may be noted that Dr. Sabrina Spielrein (*Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische Forschungen*, vol. iv, 1912, p. 483) independently confirms Colin Scott's view of the more primary nature of this imaginative attentiveness in women. There are, she says, two directions of ideas in the lover: "In the first, one is usually the subject and loves the outwardly projected object; in the second one is changed into the beloved and loves himself as object. In the man, to whom belongs the active part of capturing a woman, the subjective ideas prevail; in a woman, who has to attract the man, the refluent ideas gain, even normally, the upper hand. Herewith is connected feminine coquetry; the woman is thinking how she can please 'him'; herewith is connected also her greater homosexuality and auto-erotism [Narcissism]; changed into her lover, the woman must to a certain degree feel masculine; as the object of the man she can love herself or another girl who is such as she would wish herself to be—of course always beautiful. I once found a feminine colleague much worried over a succession of envelopes she was addressing. She could not repeat the handwriting she had achieved in the first. On my asking why that pleased her so much, she suddenly realized that that was how her lover wrote. The need for identification with the beloved was, therefore, so great that she could only endure herself as being like him."

ful object. Even though we reject this resemblance as an adequate basis for a name to designate the anomaly, it still seems that the aesthetic tendencies of this impulse cannot be ignored. They help to explain, moreover, why, as Näcke long since remarked and as my cases show, it so often happens that the Eonist is an artist or a man of letters. William Sharp, who published various well-known books under a feminine pseudonym (Fiona Macleod), which was long believed to stand for a real woman, was an artist with the temperament of an Eonis and well shows how almost identical the aesthetic attitude is in the two cases. We are told in the biography by his wife that "scarcely a day passed on which he did not try to imagine himself living the life of a woman, to see through her eyes, and feel and view life from her standpoint, and so vividly that 'sometimes I forget I am not the woman I am trying to imagine.' "[1] R. M. thought he found traces of Eonism in Renar and Rossetti, and he referred to Frank Richardson's novel, *2835 Mayfair,* as dealing with it. Hirschfeld has stated[2] that Richard Wagner was the type, even physically, of one variety of transvestist, and that it ought not to be doubtful to anyone that he was in his own life a transvestist, after reading his "Letters to a Dressmaker," surreptitiously published years ago by Daniel Spitzer.[3]

To me it is more than doubtful. The letters to the dressmaker show no indications of Eonism, even in the narrowest sense of cross-dressing. Wagner simply wants his garments made of silk and satin, cushions of similar material, and light fabrics of beautiful colors—he is very particular about the precise color—around him as he works. We are in the presence, not of an Eonist, but an artist who, after an early life of hardship, was at length able to gratify the repressed cravings of his

[1] Mrs. W. Sharp: *William Sharp,* p 52.

[2] *Jahrbuch fur Sexuelle Zwischenstufen,* Bd. xxiii, 1923, p. 13.

[3] *Briefe Richard Wagners an eine Putzmacherin,* Vienna, 1906. They were written in 1864-8, stolen from the dressmaker, and later found at a dealer's. See L. Karpath, *Zu den Briefen Richard Wagners an eine Putzmacherin: Unterredungen mit der Putzmacherin,* Berlin, 1907. Also, Heinrich Pudor, "Richard Wagner's Bisexualitat," *Geschlecht und Gesellscheft,* Bd. ii, Heft 3.

physical and psychic sensitivity. Beethoven, it is true, liked to compose in an old dressing-gown. But Haydn, who in youth had suffered from living in dirt and rags, insisted on being elegantly dressed before he sat down to compose. It may be said—I have often said it—that in genius, whatever the actual sex, there are elements alike of the man, the woman, and the child. This was emphatically true of Wagner. We may even agree with Dr. Pudor that a feminine element is of special importance for the artist as musician, since "music implies embodied receptivity." But while this brings the artist near to the Eonist, and helps to explain why the Eonist is sometimes also an artist, it will not suffice to identify them. Similarly, Ruskin and Rossetti cannot be regarded as Eonists, although both of them, even on the physical side, may have presented feminine traits.[1]

It is this sensitive impressionable artist's temperament which often leads the Eonist to believe that his peculiar nature has been moulded in childhood by the special circumstances of his early life. We may certainly believe that such circumstances have sometimes been influential. This may be noted with special frequency of the mother's attitude towards her child, and Sadger's cases, also, show the influence of the mother and of love for the mother. It is frequently recorded that the mother took an unusual pleasure in encouraging or emphasising the child's tendency to adopt the ways of the other sex. In T. S.'s case this influence was exerted in a reverse direction; she concentrated attention on the child's feminine traits by her repulsion to them. These are the two opposite ways in which it is possible for a mother to help to mould her child's character in this direction.

The philosophic students of aesthetics have frequently shown a tendency to regard a subjective identification with the beautiful object as the clue to aesthetic emotion. They hold that we imaginatively imitate the beauty we see, and sympathe-

[1] I may note that Moll independently concludes that the evidence fails to prove that Wagner was a transvestist, Krafft-Ebing and Moll, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 1924, p. 585.

tically place ourselves in it. Our emotions, as it were, beat in time to its rhythm. Lotze and R. Vischer worked out an aesthetic doctrine of inner *Miterleben* on such lines as these. More recently, Karl Groos concluded that the play of inner imitation, inner *Miterleben,* is "the central phenomenon of aesthetic enjoyment."[1] Lipps, again, is a distinguished exponent of imitation and of what he calls *Einfühlung* as the explanation of aesthetic emotion, and he has most elaborately set forth his doctrine. It is very interesting, from our point of view, to note that,[2] while Lipps on the whole regards imitation and *Einfühlung* as going together in aesthetic feeling, he stops short (where the Eonist does not stop short) at the threshold of sex and declares that here we must make a distinction. We cannot, he says, explain the appeal of a woman's beauty by imitation, for a man does not, for instance, desire to possess a woman's breasts. Yet all beautiful forms, he holds, owe their beauty to *Einfühlung,* and this has nothing to do with the sexual instinct for which the specific form of the opposite sex are objects of a possible real relationship. The aesthetic enjoyment of a woman's figure thus shows clearly, Lipps concludes, that the conception of *Einfühlung* is different from that of imitation (or *Nachahmung*).[3]

Here we may perceive a deeper reason than we have yet reached for describing the psychological anomaly we are here concerned with as aesthetic inversion. The subject of the anomaly is not merely experiencing an inversion of general tastes in the sexual sphere; he has really attained to a specifically aesthetic emotional attitude in that sphere. In his admiration of the beloved he is not content to confine himself to the normal element of *Einfühlung;* he adopts the whole aesthe-

[1] K. Groos, *Der Aesthetische Genuss,* 1902, e.g. Ch. V.

[2] See T. Lipps, *Der Aesthetische Genuss in die Bildende Kunst,* 1906, Ch. I.

[3] T. Lipps, *Grundlegung der Aesthetik,* 1903, vol. i, p. 147. It may be remarked that Lipps entirely dissociated aesthetic emotion from sexual emotion. Groos (*op. cit.,* 248) considers that we cannot escape the conclusion that the artistic enjoyment of markedly sensual situations belongs to the aesthetic sphere. Lipps (*op. cit.,* p. 148) thinks that it is decadent to involve the sexual instinct in aesthetics.

tic attitude by experiencing also the impulse of imitation. He achieves a completely emotional identification which is sexually abnormal but aesthetically correct. At the same time we may carry this conception beyond the aesthetic field into that of the psychic life generally. Such a conception has, for instance, been worked out by Prandtl. "Every 'you,'" says Prandtl, "every person outside myself, proceeds from a splitting up of myself, and is part of my own me."[1] The Eonist thus becomes simply a person in whom a normal and even quite ordinary and inevitable process of thought is carried to an undue and abnormal length. He has put too much of "me" into the "you" that attracts him.

Physically, it would appear, this secondary and aesthetic element of the sexual impulse tends to assert itself abnormally in the form of aesthetic inversion in those men in whom the primary and more "virile" element of the sexual impulse is defective. In some cases, though not in all, there is a lack of physical robustness. The Eonist frequently shows feebleness of physical sexual impulse. This is not always found but it is remarkably common and is illustrated by T. S. as well as C. T. Nacke regarded it as so common that he proposed to divide the subjects of this anomaly into three classes: The heterosexual, the homosexual, and the asexual.[2] Such a division, however, hardly meets the situation. The absolutely asexual are probably rare, but the heterosexual are often only feebly sexual. The Chevalier d'Eon himself seems to have shown this characteristic; he was attracted to women but not strongly sexual. The Eonist is more often than not married, and most tenderly and sympathetically devoted to his wife; but he attaches little importance to the sexual act, is sometimes inapt for it, and much pleased if his wife is willing to forego

[1] Antonin Prandtl, *Die Einfühlung*, 1910, p. 115.

[2] Hirschfeld (*Sexualpathologie*, vol. ii, p. 144) finds that 35 per cent. of the transvestists he has known were heterosexual, 35 per cent. homosexual, 15 per cent. bisexual and of the remaining 15 per cent. most were "automonosexual," or content to find complete satisfaction in the change of clothing itself; a few, he thinks, were perhaps of asexual disposition

it. Sometimes early masturbation has been carried to an excess conducive to lowered vitality. In the case of A. T. we find a precocious auto-erotic sexuality which was probably a significant factor in the development of the aesthetic inversion. In the very complete case of R. M., a highly sensitive temperament was marked by a lack of self-assertion, an inability to hold his own in conflict with others, an undue suggestibility, which was to the subject himself a source of life-long misgiving. In most cases of aesthetic inversion it would appear probable that the sexual impulse as a whole is somewhat below the average in intensity. But, in any case, it is certainly inharmonious, atrophied on one side, hypertrophied on the other.

Kiernan suggested that aesthetic inversion may sometimes be due to arrest of development. In this way Eonism would have some resemblance on the psychic side to what we find in eunuchoidism on the physical side. Eunuchoidism is the convenient name suggested by Griffiths and Duckworth for a congenital or pathologically acquired approximation to the artificially acquired condition of the eunuch; many complicated and obscure names have been devised for it, but Tandler and Grosz reasonably regard the simple name proposed in England as the best.[1] In this condition we see the operation of under functioning glands of internal secretion, producing not only defective developments of the primary sexual character, but also a general tendency to persistence of the infantile condition. The sexual impulse usually remains normal in direction, though it is weakened and may be altogether absent.

The psychic characteristics of Eonists sometimes resemble those found in eunuchoidism, and sometimes there are physical eunuchoid characters. Early environmental influences assist, as we have seen, but can scarcely originate Eonism. The normal child soon reacts powerfully against them. We must in the end seek a deeper organic foundation for Eonism as for

[1] Tandler and Grosz, *Die Biologischen Grundlagen der Sekundären Geschlechtscharaktere*, Berlin, 1913, pp. 61-8. B. Onuf, "A Study of Eunuchoidism and its Various Aspects," *American Journal of Dermatology*, Nov., 1912; Stefko, *Zt. f. Sexualwiss.*, Feb., 1927, p. 350.

every other aberration of the sexual impulse. The very fact that the mother of the young Eonist so often shows an abnormal attitude of feeling towards the child should serve to indicate to us that the child has probably inherited an anomalous disposition. The heredity of the Eonist, as also Hirschfeld has noted, seems generally sound, though, as he cautiously adds, that may not exclude a neurotic disposition. Actual inheritance of the tendency seems not usually to be traceable, though it is sometimes; I may note that it is possible that T. S.'s father had a latent impulse of this kind and near the end of his life, when in a delirious condition, he endeavored to put on his wife's clothing. Perhaps the chief reason for asserting the organic basis lies in the so frequently feeble character of the Eonist's physical sexual impulse. It is thus that, in Hirschfeld's view, we may fit this anomaly into the frame of intermediate or transitional forms of the sexual disposition, and regard it as a form of feminism[1]; though why the "feminine strain should so operate," he remarks, "that in one case hermaphroditism should appear, in a second gynecomasty, in a third inversion, and in a fourth transvestism, at present escapes our knowledge." To me it seems probable, as I remarked some years ago, that the real physical basis on which this and the related psychic peculiarities arise may be some unusual balance in the endocrine system, inborn and sometimes, it may be, inherited, whence the resemblance, already noted to eunuchoidism, which has been found associated with disease of the hypophysis.[2] It is also instructive to consider the varieties of partial hermaphroditism. It would seem probable that Eonism, in which the physical signs, though often distinct, are less marked involves a much slighter disturbance in the balance of the play of hormones and chalones, and the path lies open for its modification by suitable gland implantation. It falls short of disease; it is, as Nacke said, simply a variety, though, one may add, an abnormal, in the strict sense a pathological, variety.

[1] Lelewer (*Deutsch. Med. Woch.*, No. 18, 1918) believed he had found in the blood serum of a transvestist substances usually found only in the ovary. See also Placzek, *id.* No. 36, 1927.

[2] See Blair Bell, *The Sex Complex*, 2d Edition, 1920; also Paul Kammerer, *Geschlechtsbestimmung und Geschlechtsverwandlung*, 1921, and F. A. E. Crew, *The Genetics of Sexuality in Animals* (1927).

II.

THE DOCTRINE OF EROGENIC ZONES.

Modern writers on sex often make mention of "Erogenic Zones." Yet they seldom formulate the significance they attach to the term, and even of the origin of the term itself and of the nature of the fact it seeks to express, they often seem to know nothing. Liebermann, in a lecture to the Berlin Medical Society of Sexual Science and Eugenics on "Erogenic Zones in relation to Freud's Teaching," stated that he knew nothing of the term except that it is "apparently of French origin."[1] One has even seen it attributed to Freud! It seems worth while, therefore, to attempt to trace in its main lines the origin of this term with its attached meaning. It is the more worth while to do this since no one seems to have pointed out that we owe the term "erogenic zone" to a misquotation, to a lapse of memory.

In the general sense, and without reference to the sexual feelings, this phenomenon has been known from the earliest days when exact medical observations began to be made. It was termed "sympathy." The doctrine of "sympathy" has indeed been traced back to Hippocrates and Galen, but it may suffice to take it up in comparatively modern times. Willis, in the seventeenth century, helped to make clear by his precise observations of the nervous system through what mechanism of the body "sympathy" works, while a century later, in 1764, Robert Whytt (or Whyte as the name is spelled on the title page of his work), the distinguished Scottish physician, in his epoch-marking work, *Observations on the Nature, Causes, and Cure of Diseases Commonly Called Nervous, Hypochondriac and Hysteric*, first dealt comprehensively with "sym-

[1] Hans Liebermann, *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, Jan. and Feb., 1915.

pathy," richly illustrating the phenomena from literature and his own experience. At the outset he discusses "that general sympathy which prevails throughout the whole body," with many examples of it, as well as "a particular and very remarkable sympathy between several of its organs." He gives of these a great number of instances, but none that involve the sexual emotions. That sphere, however long familiar to folklore and to daily life, was still far below the dignity of science. A few years later, the great John Hunter in his Croonian Lectures on Muscular Action (1776-1782) furnished an admirable definition of "sympathy" as "the action of one part in consequence of an application being made to another part," and he distinguished three different modes, not, however, widely dissimilar, by which "sympathy" in the higher animals may work. But Hunter, like his predecessors, never touched on that erotic field in which "sympathy" is so beautifully illustrated, and down to the present his successors have been chiefly occupied with the non-erotic field of synaesthesias, synalgesias, and so forth. It is an instructive example of the persistency with which even scientific investigators, throughout the ages, have rigidly maintained the observance of the ancient tabu on sex. This observance is still more pronounced when we approach the next stage in the development of the doctrine we are concerned with.

We arrive, in this stage, at Charcot who may be said to have taken up "sympathy" at the point where Whytt left it, and given it greater precision. Here we are more particularly concerned with hysterogenic zones (*zones hystérogènes*), such zone being a region which, Charcot found, on pressure initiated, or immediately arrested, the hysterical spasmodic attack. It was not really a new observation; Willis and Boerhaave long before, and especially and more recently Brodie, had recognized the phenomenon. But it was Charcot who in 1873 brought it into prominence and first gave it a name in his *Leçons sur les Maladies du Système Nerveux*. He was here concerned only with investigating ovarian hyperaesthesia; later, in 1879, he recognized that it was not only the ovarian region that could

be hysterogenic, but that such zones might be widely dispersed and even of different orders, cutaneous, or mucous, or visceral.[1] There is not the slightest reference to sexual phenomena here, or to any analogy with sexual phenomena; indeed the whole subject of the sexual emotions in Gilles de la Tourette's comprehensive and detailed treatise only occupies a page or two. That was altogether in accordance with Charcot's prepossessions on this subject. He refused to admit that anything so degrading as sex could be present, even when it seemed the most obvious key wherewith to explain the phenomena. Hysterogenic zones, it is fairly clear, may be regarded as a simulacrum, or a compensatory substitute, or a morbid transformation of what later became known as erogenic zones, but to this the Charcot school remained completely blind.

At length, two years later, we reach the region of sex. In 1881 Ernest Chambard, Laboratory Director of the Asylum of Sainte-Anne in Paris, and, it would seem, a physician of some distinction in his time though his name is now seldom mentioned, published a book on hypnotic phenomena entitled *Du Somnambulisme en général: Analogies, signification nosologique et étiologie.* It is a book which reveals a considerable degree of original ability and power of observation, while the cases are freshly and interestingly studied. There is, however, only one passage (p. 65) which here specially concerns us. "There exists," he says, "in the normal state, and especially in women, on the surface of the skin a certain number of regions, comparable to the epileptogenic centers of M. Brown-Séquard, to which the name of erogenic centers (*centres érogènes*), or some such analogous name, might be applied. Among these centers some are constant: such are, independent of the dermo-mucous covering of the external genital organs, the mucous surface of the mouth of the womb, the inner side of the thigh, the inguino-crural and ilio-inguinal regions, and especially the nipple; others are less constant and vary from

[1] The doctrine of hysterogenic zones according to the Charcot school is clearly and fully set forth by Gilles de la Tourette, *Traité de l'Hystérie*. "Hystérie Normale," 1891, Chs. VI and VII.

subject to subject; they are especially found in the anterior cervical region, the sides of the neck and in the palmar region. These centers are the points of departure of special sensations and reflexes, some bearing on the nervous apparatus of organic life, some on the nervous apparatus of the life of relation, but all concordantly rendering the genital functions obligatory and instinctive. Excitations practised here under certain conditions produce in fact not only a voluptuous sensation but those various muscular actions which prepare, determine, and accompany the venereal orgasm. These excitations must be light and rapid. Thus deep pressure on the inguinal region produces no effect, or perhaps pain, while rapid and superficial contacts suffice to determine in some subjects a well-marked voluptuous sensation. Great irregularities may be noted in the distribution of these centers, not only in different subjects but in the same subject at different times; for the mental state plays a large part in the intensity of the sensations and reflexes which they set up; if too often excited a center loses its sensibility, and under the influence of repeated excitation another appears where it had not existed before." Chambard gives the case of a hysterical girl in whom such centers were extraordinarily hyperaesthetic, even a breath on the palm, when she was in hypnotic sleep, sufficing to cause complete orgasm.

This passage, in which the erogenic aspect of general nervous activity was for the first time set forth precisely and named, is remarkable alike for the accuracy and the comprehensiveness of its statement; it not only presented a sound view of the phenomena, but they were distinctly, and for the first time, set forth as normal, however liable to exaggeration in disordered nervous conditions. Even today it may still be accepted as an accurate statement of the matter. Yet it may long have been passed over, since the volume in which it appeared seems never to have attracted much attention, if it had not been noted by Féré. This distinguished physician and investigator, who was then much occupied with hypnotism and who later wrote the best manual in French on the sexual instinct, was in close touch with the Charcot school and familiar

with the doctrine of hysterogenic zones. He could not, therefore, fail to note the analogy, which Chambard seems to have overlooked, between these "erogenic centers" and Charcot's "hysterogenic zones." In the *Archives de Neurologie* for 1883 (Tome VI, p. 131), in the course of a paper dealing with experiments on hysterical subjects under hypnotism, Féré wrote: "In some hysterical subjects there are at certain points of the body regions (*zones érogènes*) which are not without analogy to hysterogenic zones, and simple touching of which in a state of induced somnambulism determines genital sensations sufficiently intense to produce orgasm." He refers in a footnote to Chambard and he mentions the case of a woman who experienced a copious flow of mucus from the vagina when the upper part of her sternum was touched. A little later, in 1887, in *Le Magnétisme animal* (p. 112), which Féré wrote in conjunction with Binet, we find a reference to the same phenomenon—termed the *zones érogènes* of Chambard—as occurring in some hysterical subjects, and it is added that it only occurs during total, not partial, somnambulism, that it may be transferred by the magnet, and that it is only experienced when evoked by a person of the opposite sex. Again, a few years later, in *L'Instinct Sexuel,* Féré introduced a reference to *zones érogènes* in almost similar words, except that he here recognized that the phenomenon could occur in the normal state. These statements of Féré were less accurate and complete than those of Chambard on which they were ostensibly based, but it was evidently through Féré, and not directly from Chambard, that the term and the idea have become commonly recognized. This is indicated by the fact that Chambard (who had Brown-Séquard in mind and not Charcot) never spoke of *zones érogènes* but of *centres érogènes,* while Féré, consciously or unconsciously influenced by the analogy of Charcot's *zones hystérogènes,* silently modified the term, though still, quite innocently no doubt, attributing to Chambard his own modification. We need not complain, for the modification thus introduced by Féré is an improvement.

In English, it is probable, the first reference to "zones érogènes" occurred in the translation of Binet's and Féré's book, *Animal Magnétism,* in 1887. Here the term appears as "erogenic zones." It was in this form, consequently, that the word was introduced in 1891 into the great *Oxford Dictionary* with the meaning "that gives rise to sexual desire," and the quotation from the translation of Binet and Féré; it is added that the word is from the French *érogènique,* a surprising misstatement to find in so elaborately organized a reference work, for it need scarcely be said that the word devised by Chambard and since always used in French is *érogène.* Whether the word was used in English during the next ten years I am unable to say, but when in 1903, in the third volume of my own *Studies in the Psychology of Sex,* I had occasion to translate the term *zones érogènes* I was not familiar with any English form, having forgotten Binet's and Féré's book which I had read long before, and I adopted the term "erogenous zones" or, as I now prefer, "erogenic zones." The English psychoanalysts have sometimes put forward the form "erotogenous." Whether this is a form to be preferred I leave undecided.

In Germany, it is probable that the first references to this subject (though the term is not used) were made by Krafft-Ebing in one of the numerous editions which he put forth so rapidly and hurriedly of his *Psychopathia Sexualis.* Thus, in the tenth edition, published some years after Chambard's and Féré's books, we find the incomplete and inaccurate statement that under pathological conditions in hysterical subjects, as shown by Chambard and others, regions of the body round the mammæ and genitals may become hyperaesthetic, but that normally in men the only hyperaesthetic zones are on the surface of the genital organs and pathologically the anal region. Bloch supplied a much more accurate and comprehensive account of the matter a few years later, in 1903, in his *Beiträge zur Aetiologie des Psychopathia Sexualis* (Part. 11, p. 192), taking it up, apparently, from my *Studies* rather than from Chambard's book. "All the senses," he here states, "can deliver synaesthetic stimuli to the sexual act, whereby not only

are many erogenic zones formed, but often some special and at first only synaesthetic stimulus gradually becomes essential to complete enjoyment and often itself suffices." Bloch quotes Mantegazza's dictum that "love is a higher form of the sense of touch," and refers to the important extragenital erogenic zones at the mouth and the breasts, but he insists that all the senses possess this synaesthetic action, so that we have a multiplicity of erogenic zones, and such synaesthetic stimuli become of enormous significance in relation alike to normal love and to its perversions. This view of the matter is entirely sound, the only question being whether we should follow Bloch in the extreme extension of the term "erogenic zones" to all the senses, instead of confining it (as, following Chambard and Féré, I had done) to the sense of touch and especially to the body surface.

In 1905 Freud published his notable and widely influential little book, *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie,* and here first adopted and made wide use of the doctrine of erogenic zones, which fitted admirably into his own dynamic theory of the erotic mechanism. Whence he derived the idea he fails to state, but it was set forth in more than one of the books which he refers to with approval in his essay, notably in Bloch's *Beiträge.* He was also influenced by the paper in which Lindner of Budapest in 1879 had first suggested, on the ground of a significant observation of his own, that thumb-sucking, or in a wider sense *Ludeln,* in young children is a sexual process.[1] Freud deals with erogenic zones, like so many of his predeces-

[1] It is well known that this view of Lindner's and Freud's is widely disputed. Thus Lowenfeld, a sagacious and discriminating investigator of the older school, cannot agree (*Sexualleben und Nervenleiden,* 5th ed. 1914, p. 9) that the infant's expression proves suckling to be a sexual satisfaction, a more probable explanation being that, as in the adult, it expresses simple well-being. Even finger-sucking, which he recognizes as sometimes having sexual significance, in most cases cannot be so regarded (Löwenfeld here agreeing with Moll and Bleuler), but is a manifestation with various significances according to individual constitution. This dispute, however, becomes relatively unimportant when the psycho-analyst is content to assert the presence of *pleasure* in such actions, without reference to what is later specifically known as sex pleasure.

sors, mainly on a pathological basis; erogenic zones, he remarks, and hysterogenic zones have the same characters, and psychoanalysts have since insisted that erogenic zones, being spots of diminished resistance, in hysteria inevitably become hysterogenic zones. But Freud clearly implies, also, that they are part of the normal process of sexual development. Accepting *Ludeln*, or actions of the nature of thumb-sucking, as typical, he states that the erogenic zone is "a region of the skin or mucous membrane where stimuli of a certain kind evoke a pleasurable feeling of special quality." Certain parts of the body are "predestined erogenic zones." But any part may become an erogenic zone, and Freud, following Bloch, is prepared to regard all the sensory organs, notably the eye, and indeed all parts of the body, as possible erogenic zones, though he is careful to insist that the skin is the erogenic zone par excellence.

In early life the pleasure derived from erogenic zones is an end in itself though at the same time a method of education; the first or auto-erotic stage of libido in Freud's view is that in which the sex impulses have no object and their aim is under the rule of the erogenic zones (a view which would justify Chambard's use of the term "center"); after puberty more truly sexual ends emerge, and then the formula for the function of the erogenic zones is that "they are used so that the fore-pleasure, alone gained in earlier life, may now be employed to gain a greater satisfaction." The significance of the zones is that of "by-apparatus and surrogates of the genital organs." As such they are liable to become unduly active in the psycho-neuroses, and especially in hysteria, where the sensibility of the genital region retires into the background and the erogenic zones may take on a compensatory heightened sensibility. Freud also pointed out that the quality of the stimulus is important, especially if it is rhythmic, and also if it involves a warm temperature.[1] He applied his own personal vision

[1] Löwenfeld (*Ueber die Sexuelle Konstitution*, p. 42) would add wetness as sometimes favoring the action of the skin as an erogenic zone, especially in neurotic subjects, and he refers to the influence of hot baths in stimulating sexual feelings.

to this question of erogenic zones, he investigated them more searchingly and penetratingly than had before been done. Although he found the doctrine and incorporated it in his system, rather than invented it, so that it subsists independently whatever value we may attribute to that system, it seems largely to Freud that we must attribute the general current acceptance of the idea, and of the name, of erogenic zones.

At the present time the existence of erogenic zones is generally accepted, but there is some difference of opinion as to their extent and significance. It may be worth while to mention the opinions of two of the chief authorities, outside psychoanalysis, in the field of sexual psychology. Moll describes erogenic zones as "areas of the surface of the body whose stimulation gives rise, directly or indirectly, to voluptuous sensations," and states that they are often found in early childhood, especially in the anal and gluteal regions, but not often elsewhere, though in adults they are numerous, and varied in different individuals; he omits, perhaps significantly, any reference to the oral region in infancy.[1] Hirschfeld deals more systematically with the subject. "The special proximal sexual sense in human beings," he considers, "lies not in the oral zone or the genital zone in particular, but in the skin generally," and he adds that some skin contacts, which have now become conventional greetings, or expressions of sympathy, as of hand and cheek, may originally have been erotic. It is the kind of feeling, and not the particular spot, Hirschfeld insists, which gives the erotic character, although special spots are favorable to this kind of feeling. He distinguishes eight such spots as peculiarly adapted to be erogenic zones, four possessing hair and also appealing to the sense of smell (head, chin, armpit and pubes) and four with mucous surface (mouth, nipples, genital region, and anal region), of these the chief being the nipple, and Hirschfeld adds that it was a connoisseur in love who in the *Chanson de Roland* said that a man loves with his heart and a woman with the point of her breast.

[1] A. Moll, *Sexual Life of the Child* (English translation), p. 91.

Hirschfeld mentions as secondary erogenic zones the palm of the hand, the sole of the foot, the finger tips, the toes, the knees, the elbows, and the sacral region; he might have added the ears.[1]

Freud has become inclined to admit no limits to the zones of the body which may become erogenic, just as there are no limits to the zones which may become hysterogenic. The general tendency is, however, to limit the term to the skin and mucous surfaces of the body to which it was first applied and which Freud himself regards as the chief seats of such zones. That limitation seems to me desirable and convenient. Theoretically, it is true, we may say that the other sense-organs, such as the eye, which are modifications and developments of the original skin surface, are erogenic zones when they transmit voluptuous sexual emotions. But it is undesirable, as well as inconvenient, to apply to a higher sense-organ a term which was devised for the special conditions of a more primitive sense-organ.

However that may be, it has seemed worth while to trace briefly the origin and development of the idea and the name because it is doubtful whether the significance of the erogenic zones in sexual psychology is even yet fully appreciated. Notwithstanding the original clear statement of Chambard, the question has chiefly fallen into the hands of investigators who were primarily interested in the pathology of the psychoneuroses, and have insisted mainly on the exaggerations and perversions of which the erogenic zones may form the basis. It has not been always clearly emphasized that these zones constitute an important part of the normal sexual process, and that they play a legitimate part in the natural art of love.

[1] M. Hirschfeld, *Sexualpathologie*, vol. iii, pp. 28-29.

III.

THE HISTORY OF FLORRIE AND THE MECHANISM OF SEXUAL DEVIATION.

We are familiar today with the methods and the results of that process of psychoanalysis which the genius of Freud first reduced to a definite technique. We must not forget, however, that both the method of psychoanalysis and its alleviating results have in a less clearly formulated and less deliberately conscious form long been abroad in the world. To recognize that fact is not to diminish, but rather to increase, the importance of psychoanalysis. As Freud and all who follow him rightly insist, the need for a careful attention to technique largely depends on the intensity of the resistance offered by the subject of psychoanalysis and the rigidity of the internal censorship which has to be overcome. When the subject is highly intelligent and fairly unprejudiced, not hysterical or otherwise definitely morbid, and able to feel confidence in the judgment and good opinion, if not actual sympathy, of the investigator, and, at least, is in possession of an adequate medium of self-expression, it may come about that, though the task still needs time and patience, the resistance is less even from the outset, and the censorship relaxed. It is not indeed abolished. In the present case I was careful to play as passive a part as possible, and to avoid the risks of suggestion; but it was sometimes necessary to throw out a question, which was always put in a casual way as regarding some quite innocent and harmless subject. It might then happen that the subject, without the slightest embarrassment or violence, quietly put the question aside as though it were of no concern to her, that I refrained from any comment, and that subsequently she spontaneously showed that the subject thus put aside was of vital bearing on the case. Such a method of investigation naturally takes time. In the

present case the period covered was three years, during which numerous interviews took place, and over sixty written communications, some of considerable length, reached me. While not unwilling to make oral communications the subject was much more accomplished and instructive with a pen.[1] It is on the material thus accumulated that the present paper is based. It is not brought forward as a demonstration of technique and still less as a criticism of technique. The method adopted was the best available under the circumstances,—and, as it turned out, adequate,—for as the subject lived in a distant city continuously frequent visits were out of the question, even if I had been prepared to propose a strictly Freudian technique, to which, moreover, it is improbable that the subject would have easily lent herself.

Some years ago a lady who had chanced to read some of my books wrote to me over her own name enclosing a lengthy narrative by a married lady who assumed the name of "Florrie" and described her obsessions with the subject of whipping and her impulses to auto-flagellation. The narrative was sent as likely to be of psychological interest to me, but Florrie described her distress and her anxiety to be cured, although not aware that I was a doctor. There was no indication that the

[1] I may remark here on the fairly familiar fact that a woman usually finds it more difficult to describe her intimate sexual feelings than a man This is usually attributed to modesty and reserve, an inadequate explanation since a woman is, to say the least, as ready as a man to reveal objective sexual facts not involving the description of her intimate feelings. Certainly there is the shame felt in expressing anything which, it is thought, may be regarded as shameful, as any sexual feeling in a woman is by some regarded. But beyond this there is the real difficulty of the absence of a medium of expression for feelings which have never been put into words before, so that they can only be brought out under pressure, slowly and piecemeal, and even in the end remain bald and vague. When, however, a woman possesses an adequate medium of expression the result may be quite different. It is significant that all the women, and they are fairly numerous, from whom I have received really precise and instructive records of intimate emotional experiences have, without exception, had some training in literature or journalism, though they may have lived in various environments and different parts of the world. They have by no means lacked modesty and reserve, but they possessed an adequate medium of expression, and when at last the need arose, they could translate their intimate experiences into it, with results at least as interesting and instructive as any man's record.

lady sending the narrative was herself identical with Florrie, and I refrained when replying from making the identification, which was soon spontaneously made, though my correspondent continued to retain the fiction of Florrie in case any letter should go astray. In my reply I asked for further information, explained that the case was not quite so unique and terrible as Florrie believed, and offered advice as to various ways by which some relief from the conditions described might be obtained. Florrie expressed much gratitude for my advice and for my attitude towards her state, assuring me of her anxiety to follow the counsels I had given. Before long she proposed to come and see me, and in a few weeks—not without experiencing shyness and hesitation in approaching the first-person to whom she had confided her intimate experiences—she duly appeared.

Florrie appeared as a robust and rather stout woman, her matronly appearance being to some extent belied by a somewhat girlish, slightly timid expression which, however, still remained compatible with a complete and quiet self-possession. She is 5 ft. 6 ins. in height without shoes, 178 pounds in weight (clothed); and, in circumference of the body at the crest of the hip bone 40½ ins., 45 inches at the level of the nates and 25 ins. round the upper, 18 ins. round the lower, part of thigh. The breasts are of moderate development. The hair and eyes are of medium pigmentation, the complexion good, the teeth excellent. Menstruation is normal though slightly painful and she has to avoid undue exertion at this time. Her age then was 37; she had been married for some years to a man about twice her own age; before her marriage she had been an accomplished artist, and also a writer of articles on art and other topics; she wrote well and her articles were published in high-class magazines. She had studied art abroad and travelled considerably, but she had never entered Bohemian circles. Born in a well-to-do family, she had been brought up strictly and conventionally, and had always lived a quiet and protected life in the domestic circle of her relations and a few friends, mostly of intellectual tastes, who had never regarded her as in any

way peculiar or abnormal; apart indeed from her secret obsessions, she appeared to be, then and always, the "practical commonsense sort of person" she termed herself, so that she was all the more worried by aberrations which seemed to her a kind of madness. She had not confided her obsessions to anyone, with a partial exception which will be duly recorded, not even to her husband.

Florrie is the child of healthy parents, and on both sides the health of the family generally is good, though among her uncles and aunts there had been one or two cases of insanity. At least one member of the family was a man of high intellectual distinction. There was probably a slight strain of anomaly in Florrie's father, but Florrie had not been conscious of this. She herself had always been healthy and robust, full of physical and mental energy, though latterly she had complained of a tendency to lassitude, irritability, headache, and, as she imagined, some heart-weakness, these slight symptoms being, however, mainly due to absorption in her imaginations and the worry thereby caused. Since being haunted by this craving she had become lazy, and during the past year fatter, and felt that she had declined mentally, morally, and physically.

Florrie was brought up as a child among her brothers. She was not inquisitive about sex matters and cannot remember that the children ever discussed their physical differences; nor did they ever play any games involving personal display. While a healthy child, and never subject to any but trivial illnesses, she was shy and always strictly taught to refrain even from romping because that might display her underclothing; for this reason she was not allowed to disport herself on the see-saw since the boys next door might see too much. She thus gleaned that there was a certain mystery and secrecy to be observed; she regarded it as quite proper, since certain natural functions were always attended to in private. When about six years old she was once left alone in a wing of the house where some workmen were being employed. One of them, a lad of sixteen or seventeen, came up to her as she sat on the floor quite alone, and tried to raise her petticoats, ask-

ing to look up them. She repulsed him, as a "rude boy," with much childish indignation. When, baffled by the closed drawers, he tried force, she screamed and he desisted. She was too ashamed ever to tell anyone.

As a child she was from time to time whipped by her father for childish naughtiness. She loved and respected her father and accepted the punishment, painful as it was, as being in the order of things, though she would have resisted it from anyone else, especially a woman, even her mother. She now realizes that this punishment was unnecessarily severe, and that as she was not a troublesome or rebellious child, milder methods would have been easily effectual. An ignorant and foolish governess who favored her brothers and disliked Florrie was the cause of the mischief. When the little girl failed to please her, she would become furiously angry, shake her violently, and finally drag the child, now violently resisting and screaming, up to her father's room. Her appearance condemned her, and her father, without asking any questions, would assume a fierce expression, thus still further frightening the timid and already terrified child, take down a small lady's riding-whip,—possibly imagining that being small it was less painful, though really, Florrie remarked, the most effectively painful weapon that could be selected,—and order the child to go to his dressing room, the room from which noise was least likely to be heard. Having locked the door, he would stand over her, raising her clothes, gripping her by the back, and making her bend forward until her drawers were stretched tight. Then he would apply the whip, the more vigorously the more the child screamed and begged for mercy, and threatening in angry tones to whip her till the blood came, though the pain was so acute that she could not help screaming. Then he would send her back sobbing to the governess, who always greeted her with the remark: "If you don't stop sobbing at once, I shall take you upstairs again." But much as she dreaded a repetition of the performance, she sometimes could not stop sobbing for an hour. There may seem to be a rather abnormal cruelty in the father's attitude, though it must be remembered

that he cherished all the old-fashioned notions concerning the treatment of children, and it is likely that he regarded himself as merely carrying on a proper and necessary tradition. Florrie bore him no ill-will, and when afterwards he would kiss her and hope she would be good she felt truly thankful. "I can remember now," she writes, "the curious feeling of shame and shyness when I met him afterwards, turning away and wanting to hide my red face because I was so ashamed of having been whipped, then a thrill of delight when he took me in his arms." But the governess she never forgave, and when ten years later she chanced to meet her, she avoided even shaking hands. These whippings finally ceased when Florrie was sent to school.

I have narrated these incidents in their details (though with fewer details than Florrie herself), all of them significant, because we here come upon the main clue to the chief manifestation of the sexual impulse which has so far taken place in Florrie's life. Intense, vivid, and enduring as these childish experiences were, however, it is only in the course of the present investigation that Florrie came spontaneously to see that there was any connection between her early experiences and the later experiences which were yet in substance identical, or that there could be any association between whipping and the sexual impulse. Such failure to see an obvious connection may seem surprising, but in mental analysis one is used to such failures. "I cannot describe my feelings of shame, mortification, and above all, the wish for concealment, they were so intense," she wrote. "Nothing would have induced me to mention the subject to my girl friends, and my brothers were good enough not to allude to it. I feel ashamed of it to this day, and even now could not tell any ordinary person. I could not know then why I felt it so shameful and degrading, and even now I cannot always analyze truthfully, but I am inclined to think the almost abnormal shame was due to the fact that the punishment was inflicted on the buttocks, with me a sexual center. I should not have felt so utterly ashamed of a box on the ear, or being whipped on the hands. It was a sort of sex shyness and shame."

In addition to this poignantly emotional group of infantile experiences, destined to become the unconscious germ of a later psychic flagellational impulse, we have to record another group of at first sight unrelated experiences—less intense but more chronic and more the subject of childishly intellectual speculation—centering in the function of urination. It should be stated at the outset that Florrie never suffered from true nocturnal enuresis. She remembers sometimes as a child dreaming that she was urinating, and on rare occasions she actually wetted the bed, but this may happen occasionally to quite normal children. Her earliest impressions in connection with urination probably lie too far back to be recalled nor were they made permanent, like those of whipping, by pain and terror. When about five or six, however, she distinctly remembers being taken for a country walk by her nurse, and before they approached the destination, a friend's house, her drawers were unbuttoned and she was held over the grass. Nothing came, and the nurse fastened her up again, repeating the performance ten minutes later with the same result, whereupon the nurse began to scold. The third time she was very cross and smacked the child's bare bottom until Florrie yelled: still sobbing and protesting, she was held out again, and a considerable stream flowed on to the grass. She still recalls kicking and struggling, and crying out "I can't! I won't! I shan't" as well as her surprise and mortification at hearing the rushing sound that announced that, nevertheless, she was doing what she was refusing to do. The nurse was triumphant at her conquest over the child's obstinacy, and subsequently adopted the same method when she considered it necessary. Of recent days Florrie has perceived here an early blending of the ideas of urination and whipping. There were others. She notes that the very sight of the whip used to produce, from fear probably, a desire to urinate. Once, after being whipped, she returned sobbing to the schoolroom and a sudden stream flowed on to the floor, which she was too agitated to heed, though it evoked threats of another whipping from the governess.

As often happens in childhood, the function of urination occupied much of the place in Florrie's mind which at a later age is normally occupied by the functions of sex, of which she had no knowledge and never heard. She was not tortured by curiosity about the opposite sex because from infancy she had been accustomed to see her little brothers urinate and so there had been no mystery. At an early age, about seven, she was given a bedroom of her own, and was discouraged from going into the boys' room. But she vaguely remembers that they played a sort of urinary game, putting their hands in the liquid without disgust. (There was not, then or later, any special interest in the act of defecation, though when she had reached the age of thirteen and was trying to puzzle out how babies are born, she thought it must resemble the act of defecation.) Such games, she felt, ought to be kept a close secret. If any attempt had been made, however, to play with what she regarded as the urinary parts she would have revolted, but no such attempt was ever made. No childish friends made any sexual advances, and being brought up very strictly, and surrounded by nurses and governesses, there was, in any case, little opportunity. In spite of punishments, much care was lavished on her, and she had expensive toys and frocks from France, though she would much have preferred to play freely with her brothers. In the winter the family lived in a town, in the summer in the country. It was chiefly during the summer that Florrie's interest in urination was cultivated, especially out-of-doors. The ordinary use of a vessel gave her no extraordinary pleasure; it was too closely associated with the routine of the nursery. When the act touched the forbidden its pleasure was always heightened. She enjoyed the sight of her brothers doing it out of doors and envied them the superior advantage of a specially constructed organ for that purpose. "My earliest ideas of the superiority of the male," she adds, "were connected with urination. I felt aggrieved with Nature because I lacked so useful and ornamental an organ. No teapot without a spout felt so forlorn. It required no one to instil into me the theory of male predominance and superiority.

Constant proof was before me." Still, in the country the act was always natural and delightful, and she found special methods of adding to its enjoyment. The choice of quaint and unexpected places added a good deal. Nothing could come up to the entrancing sound as the stream descended on crackling leaves in the depth of a wood and she watched its absorption. Most of all she was fascinated by the idea of doing it into water. "When I was in my bath I remember distinctly wondering if it would be possible under water or whether the water all round would prevent this performance. I finally indulged in the experiment, and bubbles (if I remember rightly) came to the surface. I was delighted. I also thought it would be pleasurable to do on to the water, and to hear it going in. I went so far as to try the experiment with a little girl cousin when the nurse was out one evening. I artfully impressed upon the child the necessity of doing it. She replied she didn't want to. I tried to coax her by offers of sweets and toys, but in vain. Children are so suspicious and fortify themselves against the unexpected. In this case the child was accustomed to the ministrations of the nurse and could not understand my officiousness. I was only a child myself (about eight) but I distinctly remember my vexation. I had always been fond of her and she wouldn't please me. Yet she was too young to be shy; it must be a kind of inherited feeling. (One sees the same trait in young girls, and always most in the ignorant; also in the suspiciousness of country people when asked to pose for a moment for an out-door sketch, while children run away. The unusual startles them.) To return to my tiresome cousin, I became so annoyed that I told her she *must* do it, and began to unbutton her drawers. The only effect was a fearful howl which I feared might be heard. But my mind was made up. In spite of struggles and kicks and attempted bites, I led her to the bath. Then a fresh outburst when she found that she had to do it in an unusual way. I had intended to hold her over the bath, but she struggled so violently that I finally contented myself with making her sit on the edge, and in this position she did (intentionally or not) a good stream to my delight. I

watched it with gratification tinging the water below, and was sorry when it ceased. Then I lifted down the tiresome child who continued to sulk and of course told the nurse, whereupon I was chidden for letting her do it in the bath. All this is stamped on my memory. It must be uninteresting to an outsider, but it was a distinct episode of my childhood."

Florrie's youthful investigations of urination, both in others and herself, were hampered by the peculiarities of childish knickers. She remarks that it may seem a trivial thing to mention, but that she is sure it was significant. Those unfortunate garments constantly interfered with her experiments. Except when dressing or undressing there was no freedom, and even then it was usually checked. There was, however, one way in which she managed to defy everyone, for, as she now looks back on it, she regards it as intentional. She distinctly recalls wanting very much to urinate when out for a long country walk, but refusing to say so. This could go on for a long time, until, being unable to hold out any longer, she would let it come without any preliminaries of unbuttoning and squatting. "I can distinctly remember the strange and delicious sensation of this forbidden delight, and also my puzzled feeling that it came standing. It came in such a torrent that it filled my drawers like air in a balloon and remained there a little time before it could soak through to betray me, though the fact that I had to stop walking helped to give me away, and I was hauled home. Sometimes, however, I escaped unobserved, and nothing happened except that I was left sore with the wetness."

Florrie again and again spontaneously recurs to what she now regards as the great significance of the child's drawers, not only as bearing on her own later psychic evolution, but as influencing the ideas and conventions of women generally. "It was not only a source of annoyance to me that I had to unfasten my drawers and then squat down for fear of wetting them in front, but the flap at the back, which must be removed to uncover the posterior parts during the act, accounts for my early impression that in girls this function is connected with those parts. It seems a trifling thing to notice, but in the world

of clothes our ideas, when we are quite young, are colored by those unphysiological facts. The first distinction in sex that impressed me—the one great difference in sex—was that boys urinated standing and that girls had to sit down. I regarded that as a fundamental distinction of great importance, and never doubted its necessity. To this day I know of grown-up women who simply exclaim in horror at the notion of standing up: 'But I couldn't! It can't be done! How unnatural!'[1] Last year I saw when at Portsmouth a novel 'urinette' for ladies, a quite new, up-to-date smart arrangement, without a seat; one had to stride across a boat-shaped earthenware grating. Ladies went in, and came out again with horrified faces. They simply *couldn't* they said! There is thus a deep-rooted impression among women who have never made any close observation that the urinary organs are differently placed in women, and that this is a chief sex difference. I am sure I harbored the idea for a long time. It seems to have been another source of my juvenile notion of the connection between urination and whipping. This could never happen to a boy, who is brought up to know a clear distinction. But in my case both these experiences were associated with the unbuttoning of my knickers at the back. The fact that my earliest feelings of shyness were more associated with the back than the front may have thus originated. These things seem trivial but are significant."

It has been necessary to present these childish experiences in some detail, for we herewith see constituted the infantile germs which in their psychic development were to play so large a part in later periods of Florrie's intimate psychic life. There yet remains for consideration the soil in which these two germs grew and gathered strength, the soil without which they would probably have perished. This soil was furnished by day-dreaming.

[1] It may be mentioned that there is nothing "natural" in the feminine custom of squatting to urinate, and among some peoples, while the men squat, it is the custom for the women to stand, as it was (according to Herodotus) in ancient Egypt and (according to Giraldus Cambrensis) in Ireland.

As a child Florrie was much attached to day-dreaming, but she cannot definitely recall any day-dreams that belong to an earlier age than eight or nine. They never led up to masturbation, or to touching herself, or to any other physical procedure and were never accompanied by any conscious physical excitement; this was not due, then or later, to any deliberate restraint from masturbation; she had never heard of it, and she never experienced any spontaneous impulse prompting her to attempt it. The whole process was entirely mental, and though she thinks there must have been accompanying physical sensations, these have left no abiding memory. Day-dreaming has, however, throughout, been an important sedative influence in her life (even allaying, she states, any tendency to worry or perturbation) and she is assured that, notwithstanding all it has led up to, it has yet greatly contributed to her physical and mental well-being. At one rather early period, indeed, she feared it might be a sign of insanity, for it seemed to her so odd to experience this impulse to imagine without a purpose. She now plainly discerns that, unknown to herself, there was a purpose, that day-dreaming has a sex origin and is an automatic psychic attempt at sexual relief. As is usually the case, she regards day-dreams as belonging to an extremely private and secret sphere, not easily to be divulged, and then only to a sympathetic hearer, for it is, as she expresses it, "rending the veil from the holy of holies."

The earliest day-dreams are only vaguely recalled. Throughout they always centered in whipping or in urination; it is not clear which came first, and at an early date they tended to be united. When whipping predominated she was the passive subject, in day-dreams of urination the active subject. (In the actual dreams of urination in childhood she was the actor, a normal condition.) An early type of day-dream, and the favorite form, dealt with naughty conduct for which she was whipped in very tight drawers; in this day-dream the feeling of tightness and pressure was more prominent and important than the idea of whipping, and this feeling was in front rather than behind; she now considers, no doubt correctly, that it was

associated with a full bladder. (In this connection she refers to the sexual attraction for some persons of the idea and the reality of tight-lacing.) She notes also that in her day-dreams she took delight in the very sense of humiliation which was so painful in real life. In the day-dreams the unsympathetic by-stander became shadowy and unreal, it was her own shame that became most important. She had no day-dream in these early days of anyone wanting to give her pleasure, but only to cause her pain and shame. As she now rightly realizes, this delight in shame was an early form of sexual pleasure.

She enjoyed books in which whippings were described. But at the age of thirteen, when menstruation began, her power of imagination increased, the day-dreams grew more vivid, and can be recalled in detail. At this age a favorite day-dream, with numerous variations, was connected with the idea of a school where girls were treated very strictly. "None of the opposite sex figured in these dreams," she writes, "nor did I then suspect their undoubtedly sexual origin. My particular horror of others knowing that I had been punished led me to imagine the whipping, with which the day-dream always began, as taking place before the whole school. I was either leaning on a desk or bent forward in the middle of the room. Sometimes the whipping took place in tight drawers which pressed on the bladder or sex parts. Sometimes the drawers were unbuttoned and I was exposed to view with great chagrin and shame. I read in a book that at some girls' boarding-schools in the olden time, it was the custom to undress the victim and put on her a chemise reaching only to the waist; thus attired and mounted on a servant's back she was whipped before the whole school. This was a new idea for my day-dream and included much extra shame. In addition to the whipping it was announced that I was to urinate before the whole school. I think the idea originated in the fact that I was sensitive and ashamed about that function, and also that I had done it actually sometimes after being whipped. So I went through the whole episode, taking a shuddering delight in having my clothes stripped off and the punishment chemise put on. I experienced

agonies of shame as I was led thus exposed into the schoolroom. I was hoisted on the back of a strong country girl who wore a dress very much open at the back and neck, so that I remember realizing the sensation of sitting on her shoulders with a leg on each side of her neck, and my parts pressing against her soft neck and back. While I indulged in this day-dream I lay in bed with my face downward and this may have induced the sensation of a nice warm neck. After I had pictured to myself a dozen strokes of the birch, and my wriggling condition of pain, curiously mingled with gratification, I would imagine that I was slipping down and that someone came and pushed me up from behind, the hand under my bare behind giving me a most pleasurable feeling. Then I would lean forward against the warm neck and imagine that I was relieving myself there and then, unbidden, taking delight in the trickling of the warm stream against the bare flesh. Other forms of the day-dream included having to urinate against my will, an idea that gives one a curious sense of gratification." She never connected these day-dreams with sex; men and boys never at this time entered into them, only very stern members of her own sex, sometimes, however, half-fabulous creatures, bad fairies, who were punishing her and seemed to control her existence. It was not till about the age of fifteen that men entered the day-dreams, always in a very paternal and authoritative way, evidently, though this seems not to have occurred to her, in the image of her father. But at about this age the day-dreams seem to have begun for a time to recede into the background.

The presence of the school imagery in these day-dreams was doubtless due to a change in her own circumstances. At the age of thirteen she had gone to a boarding school. This age was indeed an important epoch in her life. It was the year in which menstruation began, although this eruption of the physical sexual life seems to have made little conscious impression. (It may be noted that she was informed by a girl friend that the menstrual flow comes from the urinary passage, a belief, adds Florrie, which her informant, now a married woman with children, still holds.) It was also the year of her

first religious experience, and there was a second phase of religious enthusiasm at the age of sixteen, a phenomenon which may be regarded as quite normal; in Starbuck's curve of the age of conversion in girls the chief periods of climax are precisely at the ages of thirteen and sixteen. In Florrie's case, however, religious interests and experience scarcely attained to the acuteness of conversion, although she desired and sought that consummation. "I remember kneeling and trying hard to get the feeling that the moment had come," she writes. "I was told it would come all at once, and I should suddenly feel it. But I never experienced that kind of religious orgasm, and I felt that something must be lacking in me since others realized their fondest hopes. I spent a lot of time in thinking about spiritual things, of the mystical union with Christ, and as I look back I think this religious day-dream took the place of sexual day-dreaming." She adds: "I think the love of religion is truly of a sexual character because it is usually marked by a great reticence, the sort of secrecy one has about sexual day-dreams: a kind of shyness, even shame, makes one unwilling to refer to one's most intimate experiences. Anyhow that was how I felt." Although the religious day-dreams proved no permanent substitute for those of the earlier type they gave a serious blow to the latter, which between the ages of thirteen and sixteen seem to have died out. This must be regarded as normal.

Although Florrie's early day-dreams vanished and although menstruation was normally established, there was no manifestation of sexual emotions or of sexual interests. There was nothing in her life to stimulate such emotions or interests. No one talked to her on such subjects. She was completely ignorant, and no one made love to her. When a little later she had sentimental attachments they had no physical side. At school everything was "high-class" and "ladylike"; the education was of an old-fashioned and paltry character, but the girls were watched like convicts. They never discussed sex subjects. Florrie remained completely ignorant and not very inquisitive. At a later school the girls would flirt in a harmless way with boys and write notes, but Florrie took no interest in this. Up

to the age of thirteen she believed that a gipsy brought babies; then she was told that women bore them, and she believed that it was in their bosoms. The suckling of babies interested her and when she first saw it at the age of nine it caused strange sensations ("sort of thrills"). It seemed to her very indecent and made her feel shy. She thought it was just like urinating in public. Again, at the age of sixteen, she experienced the same sensation, though she has never had any homosexual feelings; on this occasion when a mother was retiring from the room to suckle her baby, one of the company begged her to remain: "Why not here? Why should we object? It is Nature." Florrie remembers reflecting over this argument, and wondering what the company would think if she raised her skirts and did a stream on the floor, calling it "Nature." It is interesting to observe here the significant fact that urination occupied in Florrie's mind the place of the typically natural function. It may be noted that her strong feeling of shyness in relation to the act of urination still continued. She disliked accomplishing it in the presence of another girl and was sometimes unable to do so. This shyness remains to the present day. She dreads sleeping with any other woman because she would hate urinating before her. This shyness, as she now realizes, indicates that the sexual feelings are involved. It is further indicated by the fact that she feels differently to men. "The shyness would disappear to a certain extent," she writes, "before a sympathetic member of the opposite sex. A kind of shame, really strongly felt, would still remain, but this would add to the pleasurable feeling; for it is in the breaking down of reserve that one gets a sex feeling. To pass the barrier before anyone to whom I am indifferent is a great trial. It may seem absurd for a woman to be more shy about this before another woman than before a man; but such is the fact, and I now think that this alone proves the sex factor in urination. It becomes, as it were, a kind of sex act." In this matter, also, Florrie expresses a feeling which is quite commonly felt by completely normal women.

We have seen that the establishment of puberty brought no development of the specific sexual sensations, and that neither

were the experiences of religious emotion deep or permanent. Art, and intellectual interests related to art, constituted the channel along which Florrie's energies chiefly ran during adolescence and later. She displayed a real taste, if not aptitude, for painting, and she worked hard. She attained a considerable degree of accomplishment and used to exhibit. As she began to travel abroad with her family to Italy and elsewhere she devoted much time to the intelligent study of pictures and sculpture. She enjoyed going on sketching tours. At the same time, she was beginning to take an interest in social questions, and at the age of sixteen had already become an enthusiastic adherent of women's suffrage. With the development of these absorbing new interests and activities, her day-dreams, alike on flagellistic or vesical themes, faded into the background.

At the time, however, when the period of adolescence came to an end, when Florrie was just about twenty-one, an incident occurred which re-awakened her interest in urination on a new side. It may seem a trivial incident, but in Florrie's memory it stands out as "a feat of great audacity," and it has so much significance in her psycho-sexual development that it may be well to narrate it exactly in her own words: "We were living in the residential part of a large English town and I was paying calls. At the last house I had stayed half an hour and as I then experienced a great need I determined on quitting the drawing room and being shown out to ask the maid if I might retire. This was all settled nicely in my mind, but it never came off. When I rose to go, my hostess expressed a wish that I should see her conservatory, and we all went into the garden accompanied by the son of the house. It followed naturally that I had to make my exit from the garden directly into the road. By this time further delay had made matters worse. I felt that I could not wait any longer. There were no shops near, only houses, and I could not find any sheltered spot. I at once realized how utterly impossible it would be to squat down, so I determined to make the attempt standing, though I felt very nervous and doubtful as to my probable success

There was no rain to help matters, and the pavement was white and dry. I was afraid to stand in the gutter for fear of attracting attention, but I stood on the extreme edge of the curb and looked down the road as though I was expecting somebody. No one was in sight, and I determined to be as quick as possible, but to my mortification it wouldn't come. I suppose I had put off too long. At last, after waiting what seemed to me a tremendous time (although probably only a few seconds!), I felt it beginning to come. For fear of detection I had refrained from standing with my legs a little apart, and the result was that a great deal went into my drawers and soaked them straight off. Afterwards, the stream penetrated, and came with terrific force on the pavement, and terrible were my feelings when I saw it meandering from under my skirt and running down the pavement instead of into the gutter. To help matters I placed one foot in the road and was covered with confusion when I saw three persons approaching. I remember shutting my eyes, as though if I did not see them they would not see me! I was rooted to the spot, I felt detection was certain if I moved, and I was sure as they passed that they must have heard the sound, and seen the stream. As soon as they had gone I moved on and came to another turning. Here I found a house for sale, and as the gate was open into the garden it immediately occurred to me that I had by no means finished, and I hid near a bush, whilst apparently engaged in surveying the house. I was now on grass and felt fairly secure. I was standing up, and for the first time realized that it was a nice sensation, and a delight to do it like this. Several persons passed, but that rather added to the charm, since I was secure. A first experience is not forgotten. After that, and finding that it was quite possible to achieve this feat without much difficulty, I had other experiences."

Before discussing the psycho-sexual significance of the long series of incidents of which this was the first—so vividly remembered and narrated after more than fifteen years—it may be necessary to point out that it was not really the first occasion on which Florrie had urinated either in the standing

position or in the street. This comes out in another communication in which Florrie is specially describing the feelings of modesty and shame associated with this function.

"I remember, even as a child (five or six) that it gave me a kind of shock when I did it standing. It seemed so horribly audacious and bold. This idea was confused in my childish mind with the other idea,—that I was doing something wrong,—which was the case, since I did it right off without waiting for usual preliminaries, thus wetting myself. But there was always also a feeling at the back of my mind that it was wrong in itself, just as crawling on all fours was wrong, although the delight of children. Children confuse the conventional with the right, just as grown-up persons often do. As I grew older I could not overcome this idea. I remember at the age of fifteen having occasion to do it standing one night in the dark out of doors. I simply couldn't wait any longer, but not seeing anyone about I thought I might venture. I dared not squat down, and felt sure it could not be done standing; I had faint recollections of my childish exploits in that direction, but thought vaguely that children were different. (No one had ever told me of women doing it this way, nor had I ever seen it done.) I wondered how the experiment would act, or if it would act at all! I remembered standing in the gutter and waiting, hoping no one would pass. I was afraid they would guess my purpose especially as I was obliged to stand with my legs somewhat apart for fear of splashing my clothes. I thought it would never come, and when it did I shall never forget my abashed feelings. I would have stopped it if I could, but when it once began it would not cease. In my alarmed state of imagination it seemed to make an appalling noise which I felt sure could not fail to attract attention if anyone passed. Not only was I fearfully afraid that the rustling sound would attract attention, but from under my clothes there emerged a stream which ran rapidly along the gutter, betraying me! I splashed my stockings in my haste, and tore away just in time as I saw a man coming along, feeling very red and abashed, and wishing that I had found some dark corner where I could have squatted successfully. In

trying to analyze my sensations I think the most prominent lay in the shame that came from standing, and the consequently greater distance the stream had to descend. It seemed to make the affair important and conspicuous, even though clothing hid it. In the ordinary attitude there is a kind of privacy. As a small child, too, the stream had not far to go; but at the age of fifteen I was tall and it seemed to give one a glow of shame to think of this stream falling unchecked such a distance. (I am sure that the ladies who fled in horror from the urinette thought it most indecent for a woman to stride across an earthenware boat on the ground, a leg on each side, and standing there to pull up her clothes and do a stream which descended unabashed all that way.)

"Of course as children all that one knows of that mysterious thing called sex shame, is attached to these functions. After one has grown up this early association of shame still remains inextricably mixed up with real sex feeling and, in my belief, is, more truly, an inseparable part of 'sex feeling.'"

It will be seen that while these early experiences illuminate the later psychic development they represent a different stage of feeling. They correspond to the feelings—in some part natural, in still larger part conventional—which most inexpert normal women experience when they are suddenly compelled to adopt a device of this kind; it gives little or no pleasure, beyond that of the relief to an urgent need, and is put out of mind as quickly as possible with some feeling of shame. But at the age of twenty-one Florrie's adult personality had become constituted, and in her special psycho-sexual constitution this experience took on a special character. The emotions of modesty and shame and reserve, very strongly rooted in Florrie, and her firmly implanted traditions of conventionality and right, excited to the extreme by this audacious act, were transformed into a climax of pleasure and triumph, with a resulting satisfaction far transcending the gratification of a vesical need. The act of urination under such circumstances becomes a simulacrum of the sexual act. It is a kind of vicariously auto-erotic manifestation. At the same time it was to some degree an

untransformed urolagnia. That is to say that there was, accompanying the act, definitely a consciousness of pleasure which she now regards as sexual, adding on one occasion, when spontaneously pointing out the sexual character of the pleasure, the significant remark that "the feeling, however vague, of a sympathetic spectator would cause delight and heighten the sensation." But there was at this stage no conscious sexual emotion. The act of urination was, in the main, a symbol of the sexual act.[1]

In connection with this urolagnic character of Florrie's experiences, reference was made to the excitation of the sexual emotions of modesty and shame which was associated with them. As will have been seen, she experiences these emotions strongly, and in a high degree in connection with the act of urination. There is, therefore, in these public episodes all the gratification of a risky adventure with the possibility of "delicious shame" (an expression of Ouida's) should the effort to avoid detection fail. "The nervousness is awful," Florrie writes, "especially when others are in sight and there is the awful dread that they may see or hear. On such occasions, too, the stream always seems of double force." "It is such a strong *personal* feeling that one has over it; someone may have heard or seen, and an awful feeling of shame overtakes one. For some women this is literally the last act they would do in public or before an unsympathetic person If this feeling of shame were lacking," she significantly adds, "the erotic feeling that is connected with the act would be deadened." An episode from Florrie's experience may be quoted in illustration:

"The most awkward case I remember was on the summit of a mountain. The ascent was made with a party of others, and I could not escape. I tried several times to turn a corner to contemplate a view in solitary enjoyment, but it never came off. Someone always followed. Finally, on the summit, I could hold back no longer, and as all were contemplating the

[1] I have elsewhere in these *Studies* (vol. iii, 2d ed., pp. 59 *et seq*.) pointed out that urination may be regarded as a nervous explosion comparable to the process of sexual detumescence and may to some extent act vicariously for the sexual orgasm.

snow-clad range opposite, across the valley, I started, in fear and trembling, a terrific stream. There were two men quite close, and I was not only afraid they would hear it, but from under my skirts in front and running down the steep path a stream made its way to my horror, for I had thought the earth would absorb it In desperation I kept pointing out things to see, hoping to engage their attention otherwise, but it was an awful moment, and even now I can hardly believe that the incident escaped observation. I managed to stop before the bladder was really empty, but it was awful when I quitted the spot—the dry rough ground only relieved by this artificial stream! I only breathed freely when well down the path and out of sight of it.

"In towns I generally take refuge on a doorstep or in a doorway where no one is likely to enter. I did this once on an early closing day when the shops were shut, and thought how lucky I was since no one would enter or come out. Although the shop I chose was closed the blinds were up and the goods displayed. So I looked in, but my attention was in reality absorbed in an entirely different manner. It was some time before I could persuade myself to begin, and then I started cautiously, but even so I was alarmed when I saw the stream flowing rapidly down the passage, over the step and on to the pavement. Rain was coming down, but it did not even seem to mingle with the rain on the pavement as I had hoped, but to my probably distorted vision seemed a distinct and obvious stream, a thing apart from all else, which could not fail to betray me, while the sound it made as it descended on the pavement of the passage seemed loud and distinct. Suddenly someone pushed past me and said something. I could not catch the words, but made quite sure that they had an allusion to myself, and I felt I was detected. But no! it was merely an apology for passing to look at something beyond, and before I could decide what to do the intruder had come and gone, and I verily believe that I remained undetected, though when I came to move it was obvious what had happened. In the country there is less risk and more pleasure on the whole; but a certain

amount of audacious joy comes to one in a city, born of the feeling that there are others near; they may know nothing about it, but one has a sort of daring pleasure in wondering and thinking: 'If they only knew what I am doing, how astonished they would be!' But the feeling, however vague, of a sympathetic spectator would cause delight and heighten the sensations." The psychic state thus described might be termed a kind of disguised exhibitionism.

There is a feature of the act of urination, frequently found in the case of women (though rarely in men), which further increases its resemblance to the act of sexual detumescence, and that is its tendency to be uncontrollable when once started. Florrie was well aware of this tendency, though not conscious of any parallelism herein with the sexual orgasm, and attaches great importance to it in heightening the pleasure of her vesical adventures. "I remember," she writes, "standing in a country lane, ostensibly searching for blackberries, and being caught by a passer-by. There was no escape; I was in full swing. I shall never forget my sensations. The stream seemed to be drawn from me without my consent, and *yet with even more pleasure than if I were doing it freely*. [The italics are Florrie's.] This curious feeling—that it is being drawn away by some unseen power which is determined that one shall do it—is an entirely feminine pleasure and a subtle charm. Real control seems gone; one feels it *must* come even though the whole world were present. One would stop if one could—a sudden footstep, a shadow falls. 'Oh, *do* stop!' one says to oneself, 'there's someone coming!' But no, it is not to be. The inexorable force wills otherwise, the stream continues to flow unabashed, and the gentle compulsion is pleasing. It is a curious and fascinating experience which assumes a magnitude that is intensified every second. There are moments when this becomes a positive delight, although one may be overcome with shame that one allowed oneself to begin. It was an effort to start. All the audacity and shame were concentrated in that vital moment (sometimes difficult from sheer nervousness)—that pause as though Nature hesitated before taking the irrevocable step, and

then that feeling. 'Oh, it's coming!' and the breathless start. After that nothing seems to matter. One is no longer responsible and can give oneself up to pure enjoyment. One doesn't want to stop really and one revels in the idea that one cannot, though sometimes shame and fear are so mingled that pure delight cannot exist. But even then there is a fierce charm in the torrent that binds one to its will by a mighty force."

The episodes of this urolagnic type just narrated have not been dated because they have occurred frequently after the first experience, without greatly varying in character, and Florrie soon acquired skill in conducting them ("though I cannot say," she remarks, "that even with open drawers I always managed successfully to escape quite dry"). But the act never became a compulsion nor the thought of it an obsession. It may be suspected that it has sometimes been carried out when not absolutely necessary, for Florrie is not ordinarily affected by any tendency either to polyuria or to vesical irritability, conditions that are both apt to be associated with urolagnia. But if that is so Florrie was not aware of it; she simply regarded these incidents as due to a physical need, occurring in a public place. and when satisfied producing mingled feelings of shame and pleasure. It is only lately that she has realized that the pleasure is of a sexual character.

At the age of twenty-one, when these experiences began, Florrie had reached full physical and mental development and was enjoying excellent health. She was already above the average in size and weight (weighing at this time 140 pounds), robust and active. She was working at her painting and at the same time her mind was opening out in various directions, and she was becoming eagerly interested in social and literary questions.

She still had no conscious sexual preoccupations, and was completely innocent of sexual knowledge and sexual experiences. At the age of twenty-two she was for a short time slightly troubled by what she thinks may have been ovarian neuralgia. A friend, who was anxious to help on a young doctor, induced her to go to him to be "examined." She had

not the slightest idea what this meant, but lay on a sofa and felt something hurting her. She was horrified to learn afterwards from her friend that the doctor had inserted his finger and she wondered how this could be possible without a preliminary incision. The friend assured her that it was good to be examined as "it made it easier when one married." This cryptic saying filled Florrie with wonder, but she was too shy to ask what it meant. She was told she had slight congestion of the womb. It quickly disappeared and she has never had any other sexual trouble of a physical character.

About this time, when staying with friends, there was a man of about thirty-five, also visiting at the same house, who showed a liking for her. He used to take her on his knee and kiss her. This gave her no more pleasure than if done by a woman and aroused no sexual feeling. But during the same visit a notable incident occurred. A little girl of six, who was very fond of Florrie, proved troublesome, and her mother resolved to birch her. Florrie, to her own surprise, made no protest or attempt to save the child. "She was, I could see," Florrie remarks, "profoundly affected at being punished before me, and remembering my own childhood I ought to have saved her. Instead of that, I felt positive enjoyment when she was hoisted on to the table, her clothes turned over her head, and the birch well applied. She kicked and screamed, but I felt rooted to the spot. I couldn't interfere. It had for me a strange fascination." The significance of this incident will be revealed by the subsequent history.

For the most part Florrie was so absorbed in study, in art, in the widening of her intellectual horizon, that she gave no thought to love. There was, indeed, an affection of an exclusively sentimental character, and lasting for two years, for a professor whose lectures she attended. He wrote touching letters and one day kissed her. She was pleased at this mark of affection and believes that if he had then proposed an elopement she would have agreed. But her senses were quite untouched. Even when one day in a cab he opened her blouse, took out her breast and sucked the nipple, she believes she felt

no sexual pleasure. She declined an invitation to come to his bedroom in her dressing gown and nightdress when in the same house with him, as she was sleeping with her sister, and she also had a vague idea that such a visit might lead to pregnancy. But she had no keen disappointment at missing what the professor described as "a lover's embrace." She eventually found out that this man was married. The whole episode left no deep impression. We now, however, approach a highly important epoch in Florrie's life.

Even from the age of sixteen, when she became a keen suffragette, Florrie had believed in the equality of men and women. In theory she regarded it as a worthy ambition for a woman to imitate men and to seek to eliminate all that is feminine. With this she had a horror of man's dominancy and a hatred of his "cruelty" to woman in the past. And nothing filled her with such seething wrath as the knowledge that in the past, and sometimes even in the present, men beat their wives. She could not even speak of this subject, her emotions were too strong. As to the word "obey" in the marriage service, she regarded it as an insult to the whole sex, though in spite of this purely mental defiance, her disposition, as she admits, is really much more to obey than to command.

At the age of twenty-five Florrie wrote an article which was published in a leading Review, dealing with the ethics of force; in a well-reasoned and comprehensive way she marshaled and criticized the arguments in favor of the rule of force, and argued against militarism, and against all exaltation of merely physical strength, as opposed to progress as well as to the instincts and interests of women, who have passed the stage when brute force appeals to them. Her views, as she herself expresses it, were an external crust plastered over her real self. We now approach a new stage in Florrie's development. From the period of adolescence she had lived on the surface of consciousness, responsive to the normal influences of her environment, and reacting to this on the whole normally. But they had not touched her deep, personal impulses repressed beneath the surface of consciousness. Now these concealed

and arrested impulses began to stir, to surge towards the surface, and to seek such devious paths of expression as they could find.

At the age of twenty-eight, still cherishing her abstract hatred of man, she chanced to read an article by a man on "Why Man rules Woman." Here all the old-fashioned conventional arguments on the natural duty of a man to master a woman were crudely set forth: "In the good old days a man proved his superiority over a woman in no uncertain fashion. If she betrayed any symptoms of rebellion he simply took a lash and instilled into her a more satisfactory train of thought; she accepted the lesson meekly and loved him all the more. The good honest laborer who bestowed upon his wife a sound thrashing is rarely extolled by his fellowmen as a redeemer of the rights and privileges of mankind. It is a sad fact, but nevertheless a true one, that the more a man beats a woman the more she admires him." Florrie read and writhed. Others had also read; there was a storm of protest and feminine rage. Much of this was so silly and illiterate in expression that a new and unexpected impulse arose in Florrie. Merely to annoy the feminine protesters, for the sake of argument (so it seemed to her), she entered the ranks of the letter-writers against the women who refused tc let men rule, upholding instead the original writer who advocated chastisement. Under different pseudonyms in several letters, she used her literary ability to argue from history and experience that it is well for a just and educated man to possess the power to chastise a perverse wife, and that, far from resenting it, she loves and respects him as never before; done moderately and in love it was not only harmless, but was beneficial, calculated to restore peace when everything else had failed. Then other women, following her example, also wrote on somewhat similar lines. It seemed to Florrie when she wrote these letters that she was playing a superficial intellectual game. But when we bear in mind her earlier history we shall realize, as she later realized, that she was obeying a deep instinct, which came into consciousness in

the only way in which at this stage it could come and be accepted.

That there was really a deep impulse here at work is shown by the accompanying revival of day-dreaming which for more than twelve years past had ceased to occupy her. The day-dreams were now of more adult character, but exclusively devoted to whipping. They now chiefly depicted wives whipped by their husbands. Instead of disgust and horror at man's tyranny over woman, Florrie found herself beginning to like the idea, to feel that it would be pleasant to be in subjection to a wise and good man who would thus correct her. The humiliation naturally had a charm, and wife-beating no longer seemed so dreadful a thing, nor men such monsters.

Without in the least suspecting that they had any sexual origin, Florrie now invented stories with whipping as the climax, stories of disobedient and ill-tempered wives who were thoroughly thrashed and so reformed. The husband, it will be seen, had taken the place of the mother or school-mistress of the young girl's day-dreams. "In imagination I saw an ill-tempered wife just stepping into a cab to run away when up comes the furious husband, dismisses the cab, quickly escorts her upstairs to the bedroom, and locks the door. Then he opens a drawer, takes out a short, flexible riding whip, and in spite of her cries and entreaties, forces her face downward on to the bed, pulls up her skirts, strips off her drawers, and then whip! whip! on the bare buttocks, flanks, and calves, until she kicks and screams with pain, imploring him to desist. But he only leaves off when she has been well punished. She then sobs and is penitent. Sometimes I made him tie her wrists and ankles. The whipping was not too severe. But the thought that this was frightfully indecent gave me a wicked thrill; and finally that he could make me endure physical pain, even this was attractive." This first adult outbreak of interest in whipping and flagellatory day-dreaming was severe while it lasted, and she could think of nothing else, day or night. But in two months the day-dreams faded away, and the series of flagellational letters, the writing of which gave her the same relief

as day-dreams, was brought to an end. During this period, it is interesting to note, she was moved to take photographs of her own nates, not, it seemed to her, out of admiration of her body, but to enable her to realize the imagined scenes. But though there was no conscious sexual influence, Florrie's views of the relationship of men and women and her general social ideas were modified.

A year or so later Florrie became engaged. There seems to have been no question of deep affection on her part. She had no thoughts of a sexual nature, and she never day-dreamed of her *fiancé* whipping her. She simply wished to marry in order to avoid being an old maid. This engagement was broken off. But at length, at the age of thirty, she married a physician, about twice her own age, of high character and amiable disposition, much esteemed in the city in which he practises. There was no question of passion on either side, but he has always treated her with great kindness, and she cherishes much regard and affection for him.

There have been no marital relationships. By the time she married Florrie had begun to realize for the first time, as a result of accumulated hints and mysterious remarks from various sources, that there is a physical act in marriage. Concerning its exact nature she was still ignorant. Some people hinted that it was very pleasurable; others described it as "horrid," and one said that "it makes you feel lower than the beasts of the fields." In view of this conflicting evidence Florrie consulted a girl friend who was astonished and incredulous at her ignorance, and replied: "Everyone knows; Nature teaches them." But Florrie felt that Nature had not taught her.

"I guessed" she writes, "it was something painful since I had read in Restoration Plays of the bride's screams the first night, which everyone expected to hear, and that the next day her brothers and others taunted her with not being able to walk properly, and made her show off for their amusement. (I thought this very horrid and was glad those days were past.) Then I had heard of brides fainting, and altogether I couldn't make out where the pleasure came in, since it seemed full of

woe for the bride. I wondered why any girl wanted to be married, and came to the conclusion that they put up with the conjugal act as one puts up with having a tooth extracted. I even once propounded to a girl friend the theory that it would be nice if one could live with one's husband as a brother. She seemed astonished, and said: 'But it wouldn't be marriage!' The truth was that my sex instincts were dormant, and though I was capable of sentimental affection towards men I did not think of them as sexual beings. So when I married I made up my mind with a kind of heroism to endure whatever happened. I dreaded it, yet I was prepared for it. It never once occurred to me that a bride ought to have some anticipation of pleasure. I had, too, been brought up to think any advances on the part of a woman meant immodesty and indecency. I had always regarded a bride as a passive instrument for the use of the man—something he enjoyed like a mince-pie or a glass of champagne. I was unaware that *she* enjoyed any pleasure, beyond that she was giving to the man. I had a vague idea that she was supposed to be dying to have a baby and he could supply it. But the desire for the baby did not possess me. I consoled myself by thinking that greater warmth might follow my initiation into the mysteries. I wondered if others were like me. A lady had told me that her mother had said to her as a bride: 'Good bye, and remember that whatever you have to go through your mother had to go through the same.' That was all she had to tell about it."

On the wedding night her bridegroom dallied with her a little, complained much of the springy nature of the bed, and finally turned over and went to sleep, not waking till morning. Florrie felt relieved and slept also. Days and nights passed, and her husband made no further allusion to this subject. Florrie followed his example, considering that it was not for her to make advances. Yet she thought it rather strange. There had been no violent love on either side at the outset. As time went on, and they grew fonder of each other (they have continued throughout to be much attached) the husband made an attempt at coitus. It failed. She lay quite still, as he

told her, but when the attempt was unsuccessful he blamed her and said it was due to her coldness. She was grieved, but felt there was nothing she could do in the matter. All further attempts were unsuccessful, although erection and ejaculation occurred, and the husband recognized that it was hopeless. He fondles her lovingly, and he appreciates the way in which she accepts the situation without making allusion to it.

In a photograph taken shortly before marriage Florrie appears at the age of thirty as a bright, attractive, fully developed woman. She is plump, but though the hips are pronounced there is no superfluous fat. During the four succeeding years she continued on the whole to pursue the same work and interests which had occupied her before marriage; gradually, however, her mental life began to be overcome by an increasing lassitude, and she found herself losing interest in her old pursuits. She no longer had the same impulse to work or to paint. She attributed this in part to the fact that she was no longer living in the bracing climate she had always been used to, but in a relaxing atmosphere. There may have been an element of truth in this. But it is probable that a more fundamental cause lay in the subconscious sphere. In any case, six years after the first attack of what Florrie terms the "whipping craze," there came a relapse, this time in a much more intense, serious, and prolonged form.

She first noticed that she would wake up in the morning feeling perturbed and irritable, although quite calm when she went to bed. She is habitually good-tempered, but on these occasions she would get up feeling an imperative need to quarrel with someone and a wild explosion of anger would burst forth, the victim usually being a servant. These outbursts distressed her greatly; she could not understand them, although later she vaguely divined their sexual significance. To us they may be intelligible if we know that anger is sometimes a transmuted form of latent sexual energy, and an explosion of anger a kind of vicarious detumescence.[1]

[1] I have discussed this point in *Studies*, vol. iii, 2d ed., pp. 172 *et seq.*

Suddenly these fits of temper were entirely replaced by day-dreams of whipping. Yet, even on the surface, there remained a connection. Whipping in the day-dreams was regarded as a punishment for bad temper, a kind of restraining force. It even had a calming effect. Referring to a later stage than we have yet reached Florrie writes: "I do so long for someone to whip me when I feel in a bad temper!" She mentions also that once, when she felt on the verge of an outburst of anger, she whipped herself rather than victimize anyone else, and so obtained relief. "Whipping," she remarks, "acted like a soothing bottle to a fretful child." When the day-dreams were temporarily suspended she would often be irritable and cross, although she felt she ought to overcome this feeling. It is clear, however, that all through this phase Florrie was not consciously aware that it was relief she was seeking. When the idea was at last suggested to her she recognized its truth, but it seemed new.

The day-dreams were in substance identical with those of the earlier period before marriage. But they were now more varied, more intense, more vividly realized, more absorbing. "Sometimes," Florrie writes, "I have pictured myself as having eloped with a groom and derived much enjoyment from a day-dream in which this coarse cruel man ill-treated me. I picture myself sick of him, loathing him and his coarse surroundings. Then I picture his growing exasperation, his intolerance of 'fine lady' airs and graces, his complaints, and at last his threats to whip me. My fury and indignation know no bounds. The thought of this at *his* hands is intolerable, but yet in my day-dreams it gives me a horribly fascinating, pleasurable, creepy feeling to be roughly handled by this odious man. I know that in reality it would be intolerable, for, as a matter of fact, I hate and loathe common men and feel as if I should scream if they were to touch me with their coarse hands. But in this awful day-dream I have a fiendish delight in the triumph of the man's sheer physical force, in being held down forcibly while he applied the whip unsparingly to my bare flesh. The feeling that

I couldn't get away, that I was really hating and loathing the enforced whipping, heightened the sensation."

Florrie had chanced to come across a little low class weekly paper which was full of letters from correspondents about whipping. It would seem, indeed, that this chance had had something to do with arousing her renewed and excited interest in the subject. It also led her, as in the earlier period of flagellational obsession, to write to the papers on the subject. This time, however, she wrote to papers of high standing, and in a more daring manner, while her literary skill ensured the publication of her letters. She found that this occupation momentarily eased the obsession although it was all the time steadily increasing in intensity. Dozens of letters were written in this way, and published in more or less prominent quarters. She who had been so convinced an opponent of force in human affairs, and so vigorous an advocate of women's rights, became the opponent of the suffrage and argued that women should be the slaves of men.

She would, for instance, join in discussions on the Marriage Service of the Anglican Church and write as follows, over the signature "A Contented Wife," in a leading religious newspaper: "We have daily proof that loving submission is by no means regarded as slavery by the average woman. Husbands (in England at least) are not tyrants, and we feel this slight put upon them by the suggestion that the word 'obey' is disagreeable to us. We have the instinct of obedience, and in all things lawful are glad to exercise it. As a married woman I, in company with others, protest against this absurd objection to the word 'obey.' Husbands, in my opinion, would do well to assert themselves more than they do, and a little more discipline in the home might check the modern tendency to gambling." In other letters she plainly advocates "mild chastisement" by the husband as "women respect physical punishment much more than anything else." Of course these letters called out a flood of other letters from indignant feminine correspondents. That was the time of the Suffragette agitation and Florrie entered with spirit into the discussion as an enthusiastic advocate

of the physical chastisement of suffragettes committing outrages. "Our chief virtues," she wrote, "are the outcome of the discipline we received in the past, and now that it is removed women are beginning to revolt." In this connection Florrie had a fright. She sent to an important newspaper, in all seriousness, a day-dream of a suffragette who, caught in the act of committing an outrage on property by other women, was spanked until she promised never to do the like again. The letter attracted attention and was copied into other papers; lawyers and professors wrote to defend the cause of the suffragette; it was proposed to get up a subscription for the 'victim"; the Police tried to trace the affair. Finally the public concluded that it had been hoaxed. "Really," as Florrie writes, "nothing was further from my thoughts than a hoax or a joke. My only aim was to give myself a nice (as I now recognize) sexy feeling. Thus may one be carried away by the terrific impetus which literally makes one do things against one's will. At the time I wrote it I thought I meant it all, but I couldn't trace its source. I had a vague idea it wasn't my real self to write such a lot of insane nonsense—diametrically opposed to all I had written and advocated in my earlier days when my brain was at its best. But it gave me immense satisfaction."

Florrie was extremely ashamed of these letters and could not bear the thought of anyone knowing she wrote them. The impulse to write them entirely ceased immediately after she came under my observation and found a more wholesome channel of self-expression.

Florrie's excitement in her obsession was now wound up to such a pitch that she felt she must give actual realization to the pictured sensation of her day-dreams. This was a definitely new stage in her development. Hitherto the day-dream had been an end in itself. We may remark, indeed, that Florrie had already for more than ten years past shown an aptitude, even demanding courage, to put imagined scenes into action. It is true that her vesical exploits had seemed to her to be only due to the call of an imperative physiological need. But the desire to feel the actual sting of the whip now seemed an equally

imperative need. She had reached a point where she could think of nothing else but whipping and had continually to lie, whether in bed or on a sofa or on the floor, face downwards, imagining that she was being whipped. The primary object was to secure relief by attaining the practical physical culmination of these imaginings. She tried in succession a hair-brush, a slipper, a strap, a razor strop, a small stick, a birch. These were not altogether satisfactory. At last she found an implement, apparently a lady's small riding whip, which was exactly right. It was of Russian leather with silver mounts, thirty-six inches long, whalebone covered with gut, and a knotted tip. This gave more pain than anything else, at first almost more pain than she could bear, though it never drew blood. She would apply it after breakfast, first removing her drawers. This whip —though the first time she applied it she thought she must be mad to do so absurd a thing which she had never heard of anyone else doing—became her fetich and the very sight of it soon gave her a pleasurable sensation. (When she read that it was the custom in Russia for a bride to have a silver mounted whip in her trousseau she thought that the best part of the ceremony.) Now this whip corresponded exactly to the whip with which her father whipped her as a child. Yet, strange as it may seem to those who are unacquainted with psychic analysis, it was not until a later period, when she began to study her own history, that Florrie realized that the whip she had once dreaded, which for many early years had fastened itself on her mind as an object of sacred terror, had now re-appeared unrecognized to become a beloved fetich. It may appear yet stranger that even when at length she had recognized in her fetich the whip of her childhood she still failed to see, until the idea was clearly brought before her, any emotional connection between the experiences of her childhood and these experiences of adult age.

The whipping was a satisfaction to her, but it brought no climax of relief. She would sometimes whip until she was exhausted, but still without any relief. She had, however, no clear idea as to what kind of result was to be expected. As she afterwards realized, she was trying, without knowing it,

to produce orgasm. But she was supremely ignorant. The prevalent idea in her mind was that there would be some satisfaction if blood came. (We see here the germ of sadism, of algolagnia, which is often equally innocent.) Her thoughts were entirely astray from the sexual sphere, and she was further deceived by a craving to be whipped also on remote parts of the body, arms and legs, palms of the hands, anywhere in fact except on the breasts and abdomen.

But though no orgasm was consciously desired, and none took place, the intensity with which Florrie realized these day-dreams, and the emotional excitement which accompanied these whippings, are evidenced by the fact that she now for the first time discovered that as a result of day-dreaming and whipping the vulva was bathed with mucus. She had not noticed this in the earlier phase of day-dreaming before marriage, and she now began to realize, for the first time, that day-dreaming must be connected with sex. This was a revelation, but it had no influence, in one direction or the other, on the course of the phase she was passing through. It seems to have led her to place the hand to the vulva while applying the whip and about this time she learnt for the first time of masturbation through reading Dr. Nichols's *Esoteric Anthropology* (at one period almost the only popularly written manual of sex which reached respectable women); it was the first book on sex she had seen, and she here learnt for the first time that mucous discharge accompanied sexual excitement, and first heard of the clitoris. But her manipulations seem to have been slight, only faintly pleasurable, and in any case orgasm was not thereby induced.

With these accessory developments the day-dream grew still more potent and was still more assiduously cultivated. It brought a certain amount of soothing and relief, it enabled her to overcome her fits of irritable temper, but the obsession continued to be interminable, because she never reached a point of adequate satisfaction, even with the aid of the actual whip. The day-dream assumed various forms. Sometimes Florrie would imagine that she had just returned from the theater in low dress, and was getting up a quarrel with the Man, a rather

indistinct person, never anyone in particular, but a vague husband, and always very anxious to assert his authority. The quarrel would not arise from any love of quarreling, but wholly because she wishes to provoke him to strike her. Finally, white with rage at her exasperating conduct, he jumps up, pushing back his chair, and seizing one bare arm violently slaps the other. When he has finished with that arm he starts on the other arm, and then on her back until her skin is red all over, and at this point she experiences a "sexy" feeling. She imagines the Man's attitude towards her to be that one would have to a small child whom one slapped, corrected, or petted with a safe sense of proprietorship. It would give her a delicious feeling to think that he claimed her as his own, to do what he would with, to say what he liked to. The sense of being thus possessed, the fact that the Man *dared* to whip her, was a supreme attraction. This was intensified if the day-dream proceeded, and he dragged her upstairs, sobbing and protesting, kicking and biting, until, landed in the bedroom, he locked the door. Anger and terror were now mingled with strange delight in a relationship so intimate and so daring. The whipping, although severe, and with a tendency to grow severer, was never felt as ever bordering on cruelty, although sometimes the pain was almost past endurance. When it was over Florrie felt reduced to a state of sobs and penitence, with a greater love and respect than before for the Hero who then ordered her about, and made her do things she disliked. Florrie's phantasy, it will be seen, was taking on a masochistic tone. In all these day-dreams the hero was the master and she the slave; he was on the throne and she grovelled at his feet. "If," she writes, "you add to this picture a whip instead of a sceptre in the hand of the King, you get a fair idea of my erotic conception of the relation of the sexes." She could never understand a man wishing to be whipped by a woman; "it seems unnatural and horrid."

A day-dream of an Eastern harem would much excite her sexually. Its luxury or magnificence made no impression on her. The idea that fascinated her was that the women are in bondage, slaves to one man—who is free—and that idea was

overpowering. At this time Florrie liked reading the narratives of Europeans' visits to harems, and was impressed by their general failure, as it seemed to her, to comprehend the Oriental standpoint.

It must be understood that Florrie had no desire to be treated with *cruelty*, and in her day-dreams the hero was never inspired by cruel motives. Any callousness on his part would not be tolerated. He is always really fond of her, and if he seems to be cruel he means it for her good. This was the case in all Florrie's whipping dreams. They were not a form of cruelty (she hates all forms of cruelty and has very strong feelings about cruelty to animals) any more than they were, consciously, a form of voluptuous enjoyment. They were always associated with the idea of punishment. The day-dreams thus remained intimately connected, little as she herself was aware of the fact, with that core of infantile experience in the early whippings inflicted by her father.

The hero certainly lacked respect, and that, indeed, was a word which in her more sexual moments Florrie hated. At such moments she felt—shocking as the admission seemed to her—that to be treated without respect would be a delicious sensation, even in its savagery. There were limitations, indeed. She could not, for instance, imagine herself enjoying the lack of respect of a vulgar common man who kicked her or gave her a black eye. But she would sometimes in day-dreams imagine a sort of satyr man, wild and uncouth and uncivilized, who possessed a greater fascination than the typical knight. "One sees these queer satyrs," she writes, "in early Renaissance paintings, and they pursue nymphs, and people say, 'How horrible!' But they somehow typify the primitive forces of Nature, crude physical force with a touch of cruelty. Hideous and barbaric, they yet represent something that is lacking in life. I am quite sure that the nymphs liked the fauns, and it gave them a lovely sexy feeling when a satyr dragged off an unwilling nymph. But it is only in day-dreams that the satyr-man exists. In real life this embodiment of physical strength without brains is by no means fragrant of woods and streams;

more probably he reeks of onions, beer, and perspiration." Usually, however, the attitude of the Man to the woman in Florrie's day-dream has been that of the father to his child. She wanted to be treated like a naughty child. Even when in earlier years she used to write in favor of women's rights and against man in the abstract, she was always conscious of that apparently contradictory feeling. She could not then account for it, and its presence rather annoyed her.

When Florrie adopted the use of the whip as an aid to her day-dreams she attained a much higher degree of satisfaction than had before been possible. She was able to realize her day-dreams in imagination to a much greater extent. But the satisfaction was far from complete. The process was by no means the actualization of her day-dreams, for auto-flagellation had played no part in them. These dreams were normal to the extent that an attractive hero always played the essential part. Thus her method of satisfaction still left her craving for a congenial man to apply the punishment. It was natural that her thoughts should turn to her husband. He knew nothing whatever of her constant obsession and she never at any stage confided to him her ideas and feelings on this subject. But she made a few mild attempts to induce him to play a part in some degree corresponding to the hero of her dreams. These attempts were a complete failure. He felt too much love and respect to be able to bear the idea of hurting her, however slightly, even in play, nothing beyond a gentle pat, and treated a matter, which, had he known it, was absorbing all her vital energy, merely as a joke. She found, moreover, that the touch of his hand, in sexual manipulation, failed to produce any erotic excitation whatever. Her thoughts then turned in another direction. It so happened that in the course of her incursion into newspaper and letter-writing on the subject of flagellation she had come in touch by correspondence with a man, of lower social class than herself, who was without doubt the victim of a mania for active flagellation. Their interests were so congenial that they had carried on a considerable correspondence on the subject. This man, whom we will call N.,

had written verses on whipping which he sent to Florrie for her opinion. In one of his letters he stated that it gave him an erection to read about whipping and he desired to know if his letters on the subject made her wish to "tickle" herself. At first Florrie could not make out what he meant, but at last it dawned on her; then at length she definitely realized that N.'s desire to whip, and her own desire to be whipped, were both sexual. This correspondence doubtless still further stimulated her obsession. In any case, it continued to increase. When tired of whipping herself every morning (after breakfast) she would lie on the bed face down and think about whipping and long for a man to whip her. Sometimes she would throw herself on the floor or on the sofa, always face down, with this craving, while the vulva became more and more bathed with moisture. She would try to bestir herself actively in other interests, but was powerless. She would begin writing articles on art and other subjects, as of old, but the imagery of her dreams would come before her, her thoughts wandered, she could not fix her attention, and had to lie down on her face and indulge her dream. Her husband had gone out for the day; she was left to her own devices, and she could not escape from her obsession. Then she would write to N. and he would respond, describing whippings that were largely imaginary, but which gave her what she described as a "ghastly pleasure." She grew to dislike society, though when staying away from home with friends the obsession was relieved; but even then it would return at night, and if there was a library she would find herself hunting for any book that might touch on the subject that fascinated her. She could read Boccaccio unmoved, but when she reached the Ninth Day with the story of Giosefo beating his wife she would become excited, and the vulva grow moist. She could not see the "Taming of the Shrew" without longing for Petruchio to beat Kate. Shops where whips were sold and exhibited in the windows offered more attractions than any jewellers' or milliners'; she would stand before them gloating over the display and experiencing what she came in time to recognize was sexual feeling; once she walked two

miles merely to see such a shop. This condition she had fallen into caused her much alarm. She would sometimes say to herself: "You are awfully mad; I am sure you will end your days in an asylum." Then she would regret the passing of the time when asylum patients were flogged and yearn for those past ages when men chastized women without scruple. But there were such men even today as she began to realize (although her husband regarded the matter as a joke), and N. was dying to do it.

Finally Florrie agreed to meet N. The meeting was arranged to take place in a strange city, midway between their respective homes, where N. took a room in a hotel, ostensibly for the night. Florrie found him a powerful and fairly attractive man, intelligent and genial, though not refined or well-bred, with nothing about him to suggest cruelty, and much of her own age. He had no personal attraction for her, though she considered him "a fascinating barbarian," and she felt no impulse of trust in him; it was solely the common and complementary obsession of flagellation which brought them together. When they entered the room and he locked the door, she began to feel alarm and put her hand on the lock, but he dragged her away saying he was not going to stand any nonsense, and as she had not come there to be "respected" she made up her mind for the worst. N. was much excited from the first, tremulous and perspiring. He wished to tie her down but to this she objected, and he placed her on the bed face downwards, pulled up her clothes, unfastened her drawers, and pulling her thighs apart, carefully examined her and began to tickle the vulva. She did not relish being handled by the man's coarse hands and remonstrated that this was not in the bargain, but he made a coarse reply and proceeded to fondle and rub her nates. There was no question of coitus. At last he took a birch which he applied unsparingly, touching up the tender spots inside the thighs. Then he used a thin small riding whip (like her own fetich) which made her smart horribly, and it seemed to delight him to see her writhing. He would pause between each stroke to watch her terror at the expectation of

the next, though she never dared to utter a cry, rather to N.'s disappointment, for he would have liked her to resist and scream. She merely laughed nervously all the time, though the pain was acute. He also took her between his legs, bending her over his left knee in a grip of iron, and using the birch with all his might. No blood came, which also disappointed N., who explained that he took special delight in the sight of flowing blood. Florrie was, however, covered with black bruises, and the marks of the whip showed for a fortnight after. "I wanted it, I craved it, and I got it!" And she added: "It was a terrific relief too. I enjoyed it thoroughly." The relief was so great that for months afterwards she was able to refrain from whipping herself altogether, and the obsession was never again so overmasteringly powerful, although there were still times when it was continuous. She felt "horribly ashamed" at this episode. She was a well-bred and cultured woman, one, moreover, who had sought to raise the status of her sex, and, as she herself truly said, she was "proper and sedate, so shy and stiff with men they would never dream of taking a liberty," and she could not fail to feel ashamed at the recollection of that "awful ceremony." "I really felt that I was mad to countenance such an indecent proceeding, but I was goaded on by a desire of such intensity that it overcame all other feelings." Yet it was significant that there was a fascination even in the humiliation. "If," writes Florrie, "a woman has the real whipping obsession she gradually comes to delight in the thought of her own degradation and physical suffering. It is hard to analyze, it includes so much. To begin with, when the man locks the door and approaches her with the whip she feels no delight, but cowers, perhaps trembles, and looks at him imploringly like a cowed dog about to be whipped. She shudders at first and half regrets her longings. This of course adds zest to the man's feelings. Then the exposure which follows, dreaded, liked, and yet repulsive to a sensitive woman strictly brought up. The shame, confusion and mental agitation are almost worse than the physical pain. Then he holds her down and the pain begins. Most women can endure a fair amount

without flinching—I can—but it seems that the man feels no satisfaction as long as the whip produces no emotional disturbance, even though the skin be covered with weals. It was only the last six cuts that were becoming more than I could bear, stinging cuts on the parts which were sore from being already lashed. I called out in vain protest. Strange, but true, one's keenest enjoyment (if so one may call it) is when the strokes are given in defiance of one's wishes and have passed the limit of endurance! The man, too, feels his keenest thrill in those cruel strokes, not heeding cries, but taking extra pains to give a cut on the thigh where it is most tender. He *begins* by hesitating—he *couldn't* hurt one, he is timid. But the more he whips the more he wants to go on; weals don't satisfy, he wants blood. He knows it causes pain, but he must go on. When it was over, my man said he would like to tie me up and use the 'cat'! He was quite exhausted with his exertions, though he took his coat off before he began. So you see the gradual development from mild day-dreams to this final exultation in man's physical power over woman."

It was at this stage, less than twelve months after the episode with N., that I first came in contact with Florrie. Then and for some months later she was in much the same condition resulting from that incident. She was, that is to say, relieved from the most acute form of her obsession, yet always haunted by it, always restless and craving for gratification, yet always discontented with her craving, dissatisfied with herself and with what she felt to be the decline from her old self. She was not hopeful of improvement, though believing that under some conditions a cure might be possible, and it was not with that object she had written to me, but rather with the idea, after reading my study of "Love and Pain," that I might be interested to know of her case.

"As the outside world sees me," she wrote at this time, "I am just an ordinary normal woman, fond of my people and my husband, and leading a good moral, if somewhat quiet, life. If I have had to yield to circumstances in the planning of my life, no one knows it—or cares. The fact that I have wasted

my time most awfully, and deteriorated lately, is not evident to them. Of course I feel disgusted with myself sometimes. Now I am trying to free myself from my errors! I still think, and know, that to love any man is for me to be his slave. It would give me sexual delight, thrills of pleasure, to be ordered about and punished. Equality would have no sexual charm whatever. To be treated like a child, to feel that the loved one possesses even one's body, to beat at his will, to feel his superior strength gripping one—it is all delicious. Of course there might be disadvantages, and one might weary of it, but, oh! what a woman suffers when she cannot indulge her particular sexual perversity! My brain has become powerless and my physical health lessened. I wish I could cure myself. Perhaps it will pass. I earnestly hope so, for it embitters my existence. My friends are of the intellectual variety, and I have never mentioned the subject to anyone but N., and I knew of his tendencies beforehand."

From this period on, although progress was slow, Florric never again spoke so pessimistically about herself. It was an immense and immediate relief to be able to face her condition, to talk about it, and to know that her case was not unique nor her fate hopeless. "I have felt better," she soon after wrote, "since I know others have suffered in the same way, and don't feel quite such a lunatic as when I thought I was the only one in the world." "It is because no one seems to trouble about these things," she wrote again, "that they bulk so largely in life, affecting the health, and the temperament generally. The more one bottles it up the more explosive it becomes." A considerable degree of relief was thus attained, and the tension, though not removed, was lessened. She sought to distract her attention from the craving for actual flagellation by directing it into other though mostly related channels. A period of experimentation followed. She succeeded to some extent in diffusing her impulses, and in the diffusion gradually, naturally, spontaneously, she brought them nearer to normal courses. The obsession came back in force at intervals, especially at the menstrual periods, and then she just had to roll on the floor and

shiver with longing. She found some relief in simple day-dreams in bed, not usually followed by self-flagellation, in which she would lie face downward and imagine scenes of women seized by force and held down while men and boys performed coitus, afterwards whipping well. This introduction of the idea of normal coitus was new and spontaneous, and these day-dreams produced local sexual excitement, but not orgasm which, so far, she had never experienced. There was, as these day-dreams show, some shifting of ideals towards the normal center, with the beginnings even of pleasurable sensations in that center brought out by manual touch, not strictly masturbation, which somewhat earlier she had once or twice attempted, both roughly and gently, without the slightest result. At the same time the sight of the whip fetich lost something of its attraction.

At this point a notable stage was reached in Florrie's sexual evolution. Hitherto she had never experienced the orgasm. Imperfect connection with her husband, erotic reverie, actual flagellation, attempts at masturbation, none of these ever led up to actual orgasm, although there had often been a high degree of sexual erethism with much mucous discharge. She had come to the conclusion that she was one of the women she had heard of who never experience the orgasm. At this period, however, early one morning, just after the end of the menstrual period, experiencing vague sexual feelings, her thoughts recurred to the whip which she had not used for a long time She tried one or two strokes; it cut her painfully and she felt nothing but the pain. So she lay down on her face and thought over things. *Why* had whipping such attraction And why should that particular part of the body so enjoy being hit? She pondered, and gradually it came to her ("things are always so slow," she remarked, "such ages in dawning when they have to do with sex, so far as I am concerned") that if she was so sensitive to these blows on the outside perhaps, even without whipping, she might feel some sensation by penetrating further inside, though any approach towards the rectum, which she felt sure had nothing to do with her sensations, had no

attraction. She placed her hand, however, between the nates touching the anus and extending to the vagina, moving about a little, and tried to imagine it was a man's hand. "All at once my thighs and legs began to twitch and move in an involuntary manner, my heart began to beat more quickly, and waves of warmth seemed to pass up my body to my head. The vulva seemed to distend terrifically, and become springy, so that my bottom was sent up and down as if I were on springs. Then followed curious sucking-up sensations at intervals, contractions that seemed to want to draw in something. I had by now removed my hand, but the feeling went on just the same. At last (after a few seconds, I suppose, really) it was all over, leaving wetness, and I was rather frightened, like a child that has accidentally set off an alarm." But she repeated the experience three times in succession, with nearly the same result each time, and then got up, very white, and rather shaky. She realized that, for the first time in her life, in a totally unexpected way, a way that seemed to her rather horrid so that she was never tempted to repeat it, she had experienced the orgasm.

This manifestation of the orgasm is a fact of great significance. We see that Florrie's gluteal obsession had a genuine physical basis, being associated with a corresponding sexual orientation, natural or acquired, and probably both, in the direction of the anus. We realize how deeply implanted in the organism are these complexes which, to the superficial observer, often seem to be entirely psychic, mere vagaries, arbitrary and capricious, the result of accidental external circumstances.

At the same time it must be realized that this manifestation of the orgasm, although occurring under abnormal conditions, yet marked a real stage in the progress towards normality. On previous occasions she had frequently whipped herself until exhausted, yet never produced orgasm. But after this incident, on one occassion, when the flagellatory obsession was abating, and she had not whipped herself for some months, there was a temporary recurrence of the old longing and she applied the riding whip one morning. For the first time in her experience this application produced definite sexual feelings followed by

orgasm, though not of the intensity reached in the experiences just described. It must be added that, although Florrie had never experienced the orgasm in connection with the anus or any other region before the occasion described, she had at a somewhat earlier date experienced a slightly sexual feeling on the insertion of an enema nozzle, and had afterwards tried this as an experiment, thus producing a distinctly sexual sensation by pushing it in and out, a more distinctly sexual sensation, she remarked, than that produced by the insertion of a vaginal syringe. Another incident may be mentioned, in connection with an increasing sexual sensibility of the vulva region, to indicate Florrie's slow approach towards the normal state. Sometimes, especially in the morning, as the obsession of whipping became rarer, she would now feel an intense longing to rub herself against something. This troubled her, though she recognized that it was a substitute for the desire to whip herself, but as it persisted she tried to relieve it, at first by riding astride a bedstead, a pillow, or other object. Then by much thinking she spontaneously devised the idea of a round india rubber ball to secure the desired end; she obtained one, rather larger than an egg but round, and stuffed it into the vulva, finding that it produced contractions at once, with much wetness, and a very soothing effect. "I felt pacified, like a baby that is given a teat to suck! It stuck in of itself, and when I walked upstairs produced a lovely soothing sensation, but I only allowed it to remain about ten minutes, as it caused so much wetness, and I had my doubts as to whether I was doing a very nice or proper thing. I am not in the habit of doing such things to myself, but on this occasion I was mad to relieve the longing."

About two months after Florrie had for the first time experienced the orgasm there occurred her first real erotic dream, with orgasm during sleep.[1] "It came to me just as I was going

[1] I may remark that this succession of events is in accordance with what I have elsewhere stated (*Studies*, vol. i, 3d ed., p. 197), that it is the rule for women to experience the orgasm in sleep only after it has been experienced in waking life, a statement which has been criticized on insufficient grounds.

off to sleep (after having already been asleep once) and I was not sure at first whether I was awake or asleep. I lay face downwards on grass somewhere and a snake coiled itself round and round my naked body, and as it closed round me and drew me tight I had a delicious sensation. I knew it was a friendly snake and that it wanted to be nice to me, and I liked it in consequence. It is not now clear to me whether there were not two snakes, but I distinctly remember seeing one in a man's hand. He put it down between my legs, and it crawled up with a somewhat jerky movement, and I was not surprised at all when I felt it entering my body. Instead of horror it gave me a lovely sensation, and the part that was outside I clasped between my thighs. It seemed to occupy a great space inside me, but I dreaded the moment when it would withdraw itself, and was just wondering what would finally happen when I suddenly awoke. I tried to cherish the illusion that the snake was there, but finally awoke properly and realized that one arm was fastened under my body and tightly clasped between my thighs. The vulva was contracting spasmodically. There was no revulsion of feeling, but the thought of the wriggling, writhing thing working its way up inside me gave me a delicious sensation. It was a long time before I shook it off. Now writing this and thinking of snakes I still feel no horror. But I hope I shan't see one at a picture house or anywhere for I am afraid it would excite me. This was the most definite sex dream I ever had and was simply luscious." Florrie comments that she cannot remember dreaming of snakes previously, but had been reading of snakes the day before. She had seen snakes in the woods in France and their flexibility and writhing movement have a fascination for her. She connects this flexibility with her old preference for a pliable whip over a stick. "A snake is something like a whip,"[1] and to picture a writhing snake makes a sexual appeal to her. The snake, it need scarcely be said, is a recognized symbol of the penis, but

[1] The snake is, indeed, a symbol of the whip, and of the ancient Serb hero, Prince Kralyevich Marko, it was said that, when mounted on his steed, a serpent served him as bridle and another as a whip.

it has a greater resemblance to a whip, and thus naturally became identified in Florrie's subconscious mind with her own erotic symbol.

In this tentative and experimental period of transition there was, however, an interest which began to assume a certain stability, and became, in a sense, a substitute for the interest in whipping. This was an interest in the act of urination. It was not, as Florrie's history will have shown, a new interest, but one of early appearance, which had never quite died out, and now, with the recession of the interest in whipping, it became prominent. It may be defined as a mild form of urolagnia, and it is important to understand that it never became, as the passion for flagellation had been, an almost uncontrollable obsession, and never led, like the flagellatory mania, to those violent impulses and torturing apprehensions which had marked her auto-flagellatory phase. As Florrie herself recognized, while of a more peculiarly intimate and private character, it was also more nearly normal than the flagellatory obsession; it brought a certain measure of relief, and it indicated a real progress.

Before describing this new phase, however, an incident must be narrated which definitely brought to an end the dominance of the earlier craving. Whipping had not lost all its fascination, but it had ceased to be an uncontrollable obsession dominating the whole personality, and leading to acts which might well have become dangerous for Florrie's mental integrity as well as her social position. She was able to write: "The whipping craze seems to have evaporated for the present after raging for four years, and I suppose I ought to be glad. I don't know that I am exactly. I miss it in a way. It has left me as sexy as ever but in a vague and more general way." The reality of the progress made was, however, at this period put to the test. At the moment when she thought the obsession was subsiding altogether a letter unexpectedly arrived from N., full of enthusiasm over flagellation, the craze for which possessed him more than ever, and indicating that he had never met anyone so well suited to share in that enthusiasm as herself. At once the dying flame flared up into new life. She felt

ashamed of herself, she tried to escape from the reviving ardor, but in vain. He wanted another interview. She had no liking for the man, even hated the idea of his coming near her, or touching her with a whip. Yet for a moment the impulse was overmastering, and she wrote to agree to the interview, which this time was to be at her own house. The moment after she posted her letter she regretted it. She recalled all the progress she had made of late, the new standpoints of knowledge and self-control she had been reaching, her realization of the merely abstract, primitive, and animal nature of a sexual gratification obtained through whipping, however intense and pleasurable it might be, and her new recognition of sex feelings as too intimate and personal to be connected with anyone for whom she felt no love and respect. Florrie thus speedily recovered her self-command, revoked her first hasty decision, and wrote again to N. to explain that she could not, after all, grant him the interview, and no longer even desired it; so far as she was concerned all that was at an end. As soon as this second letter was despatched the revived obsession died down as suddenly as it had sprung up. This was a tremendous relief to Florrie. She felt genuinely grateful and glad. That, she thought, was the end of N. So far as her obsession was concerned, that was the end of N. But it was not the immediate end on his side. On the day and hour first appointed and afterwards cancelled, N. appeared at the house to Florrie's consternation. She explained that she had written to ask him not to come. He denied receiving the second letter (though later he inadvertently quoted a sentence from it) and still further agitated Florrie by raising his voice in excitement and demanding that at all events she should appoint another interview. At this point an afternoon caller was heard ringing the front door bell, and it became necessary to smuggle N. out of the drawing room immediately. He refused to leave the house. At this critical moment Florrie's feminine resourcefulness and presence of mind asserted themselves. She remembered an isolated, unused room at the top of the house, cut off by a separate stair-case, and to her great relief N. consented to follow her there. There she locked him

in, after he had nervously asked her to assure him that he was safe. When her visitor in the drawing room had finished her call Florrie at once flew up to the locked room where she found N. in a rather frightened state, she was not clear why, and after some difficulty, still refusing to agree to any further interviews, —though she was by no means feeling very brave—she succeeded in cajoling him down and let him out through a back door in the garden. That was the last she saw or heard of him. His fascination was completely lost. He had succeeded in making himself both contemptible and ridiculous.

The urolagnic interest, like the flagellatory interest, was, as we know, rooted in Florrie's experience as a child when the two were in origin combined. The emotional reservoir, so clearly associated with the sexual sphere, which her childish whippings stimulated, was that of fear, and the bladder played the most prominent part in the fear reaction, on one occasion at least producing urination directly her father began to whip her. But that early common root will hardly suffice to explain why it was that the urolagnic element developed at this stage to take the place of the receding flagellatory element. Let us look into the matter a little more closely. We may then find that there are links of connection apart from that early common origin.

Florrie herself, who became so acute an analyst of her own experiences, pointed out the significant fact that in a woman there is invariably a mental association,—an association which has no existence in a man's mind,—between the nates and the act of urination. The little girl's drawers must be unfastened behind to permit of the act being accomplished and the grown woman must raise her clothes behind for the same act; even when, as is now so often the custom, she adopts the standing attitude in private, she usually raises the clothes behind, though, as the stream tends to take a forward direction, it would be more convenient to raise them in front. Thus, throughout life, in a woman's mind there is an association between urination and bared prominent nates. Custom, as Florrie emphasizes, compels a woman to bare and protrude the nates and sit

for the purpose of urination, and when there is nothing to sit upon to squat, although, she adds, "as far as decency goes, it might be much more modest to turn one's back to any stray passerby, and raise the skirts in front, towards a protective bush; but this would be contrary to habit—and savour of a man!" Even when, as we have seen to be the case with Florrie, the practice of urination in the open without raising of the skirts is adopted, the prominence of the nates may still be asserted, for, as Florrie discovered, the act is best performed in this attitude when bending forward slightly and so protruding the nates. She had noticed this in women abroad and referred especially to a peasant woman she had once come across, with her skirts raised over her head, wearing no drawers, and bending far forward. "She was standing at the wayside and might have been picking flowers by the attitude, but for the upturned clothes, and the perfectly visible stream that descended with great force, splashing up and running off the grass to make a rivulet in the road." Florrie notes also having seen an exactly similar scene in a French engraving of the early eighteenth century. But this attitude is not only practically advantageous, it was also, in Florrie's experience, in itself a pleasant attitude, evidently because of the prominence it gave to the nates. "I remember many years ago trying it for the first time," she writes. "I was out with a party for a picnic and was too shy to suggest retiring, so it occurred to me that I might do it unnoticed if I pretended to pick flowers. I managed fairly well but splashed my dress in front. Unfortunately it showed, and I had to pretend I had got into some water in a ditch, and was fearfully embarrassed. But I remember distinctly that it gave me such a pleasurable feeling to do it stooping forward, much nicer than standing upright,—a more sexy sensation. I don't know how to explain this unless it is somehow vaguely and unconsciously connected with the bottom. I don't know how it may be with others."

There was, however, another favoring influence in this change of interest in Florrie's mind. The urolagnic day-dreams —although the urination interest and the whipping interest had

become apparently separated in her ideas for so many years during which the former had considerably receded—followed closely, so far as her recollections can be trusted, on the flagellatory day-dreams, at the time when she had clearly realized that these latter were sexual. But the latter prevailed not only by their elements of fear, anger, love of force, and desire for pain, but also by their appeal to touch. In urination she missed this sense of touch. It is probable, as she herself believes, that the urolagnic interest would not have become in any sense a substitute for the flagellatory interest if she had not accidentally discovered a mode of considerably heightening her delight in it by introducing the sensation of touch. She had not been in the habit of touching herself except with the whip, and such experiments as she had made in that direction by friction of the clitoris had yielded little result. She was, therefore, considerably surprised when on first making the experiment of allowing the stream in the act of urinating to gush over her hand she experienced not only a warm and pleasant sensation, but a decidedly sexual feeling, still further heightened if during the act the urethra or vulva was touched, although at other times such a touch would be without effect. This seemed to explain to her why it was she had long vaguely felt how nice it would be for someone to touch her there just as she was about to begin, especially "when the baldder is full and just dying to do a stream."

This experiment was prompted by the idea of trying to realize the sensation of someone else urinating upon her, an idea which she was now craving to realize as she had formerly craved to realize the idea of being whipped by a man. As it proved so successful, a new and powerful impulse was given to urolagnic day-dreams. On these lines Florrie's day-dreams now advanced rapidly. At the outset, as she herself remarked, the mere idea of urinating before a person of the other sex itself seems shocking, even to be discovered in the squatting position in a wood seems terrible. But the fascination of the situation grows ever more urgent, and ever bolder attitudes and situations are pictured in imagination, to be further elaborated

under the stimulus of the delicious sensations they arouse. In the conflict between shrinking modesty and reserve on the one hand, and these daring imaginations, the urolagnic impulse produced the same fascination of horror which accompanied the auto-flagellatory day-dreams.

There is yet another point to be mentioned in regard to this transformation of Florrie's phantasies, important as bringing out more clearly the fact that the transformation represented a real stage of progress towards the normal condition in other respects than in its greater harmlessness. It was more definitely heterosexual and more intimately personal. This also Florrie herself perceived and recognized as a new and additional attraction. In urolagnic phantasies she was able to realize a close and more intimate relationship with the hero of the day-dream than was possible by whipping. "I felt instinctively that more would depend on the man himself. One could be more indifferent to a man who used a whip than to a man who urinated on one."

Florrie added some remarks on what seemed to her the natural connection between urination and the sexual emotions, a connection often overlooked. "Even day-dreams always make me want to urinate, as well as being with one of the opposite sex I like, though I might not have the slightest inclination before. I don't know of course what others feel about it, for I have never heard, but I think most people vaguely feel that they would like more than they think they ought to say. When, as sometimes happens, a girl imagines in her ignorance that the sexual act consists in a man urinating on her, and this fancy persists in after life when she knows better, as a special liking, then I affirm that it is not entirely liked as a symbol only. Of course it is a form of erotic symbolism, and might disappear with the experience of normal coitus, just like the desire to be whipped, for the love of 'substitutes' is strengthened in those who are debarred from natural relationships. But for my part I think it a natural liking, intimately connected with the sexual feelings, and it seems chiefly prejudice which makes some people think otherwise."

With regard to the hero of Florrie's day-dreams, it may be remarked here that he was not a real person, but vague and imaginary. This was invariably the case in all her earlier periods of phantasy, and usually but not quite invariably in the later stages. This was a natural progression. Children do not normally weave their phantasies round real persons; they make them up, create them. Florrie's day-dreams in childhood and adolescence were a continuation of infantile phantasies, and they showed therefore the same normal absence of real persons. But in adult life, when the day-dreams again emerged, the preservation of this anonymity of the hero was more deliberate. Although the charm of the day-dreams lay largely in the emotional relief furnished by their shocking audacity, modesty and reserve yet prevented her from going so far as to take the liberty of introducing a real person into the hero part. "I can never get over the feeling," she writes, "that it seems like taking an unpardonable liberty with a real person to make him play a part like that. Day-dreams are such tremendously *real* things, that it seems even greater sacrilege than if it happened in real life. A moral embarrassment, probably far greater than in actual life, seizes me, and I *dare* not make another act as I should wish. It may be because my life has been lived so much among thoughts and intellectual ideas generally (or perhaps it is my 'psychoneurosis'!) that they take such a startling reality. I argue with myself that it can't possibly hurt the Person, especially as he will never know, and mightn't care even if he did, and that after all it is only a creation of my brain. Yet the fact remains I deny myself many nice day-dreams that would bring relief because I have this strange moral objection to involving another. Once or twice, I admit with shame, I have made delightful use of a real person in a rare day-dream, but awful qualms of repentance have followed. Yet it is a great relief, greater than the Abstract, so much more deliciously real. In my case, it could never be an absolute stranger I had casually seen, as in a railway train; that seems to me not only appalling impudence, but makes no appeal. It must be someone I know, like and respect and

secretly adore." What real person was introduced into the part on these rare occasions Florrie never mentioned and was never asked. It must be added, however, that her scrupulosity in this matter—unreasonable as it may seem—was entirely normal. As the purely imaginary day-dreams of the infantile stage take on a more adult form they fall more and more into line with real life. That is an approximation to the normal. But it is also normal that precisely because the day-dreams are thus brought close to real life there should be the same scruple as real life would bring of abusing the personality of another. This is strongly felt by entirely normal and healthy women (men are probably often less scrupulous) who if they are betrayed into an erotic day-dream concerning a real person will often experience deep shame.[1]

Before, however, proceeding to describe Florrie's urolagnic day-dreams we may at this point touch on her nocturnal dreams during sleep. It may perhaps seem that this should have been done at an earlier stage. Florrie is not, however, a vivid dreamer; she herself remarks that all her powers of dreaming have been absorbed in day-dreaming. Except the dream already recorded, she has never had any sexual dream, and she has never dreamt of whipping. The matters that most absorb her attention during waking activity fail to enter her dreams (it is the experience of many); they are mostly made up of the trivialities of the previous day, mingled with reminiscences of people and incidents belonging to school life and the period before marriage. It seems probable that she dreams more often

[1] In this and many other respects Florrie was more normal than Zenia X. (whose history is indirectly recorded in the *Psychoanalytic Review*, October, 1914). In many points, even of detail, Zenia X. and Florrie, whose day-dreams began in each case at the age of nine, are alike. But whereas Florrie, who never saw the slightest objection to the pleasure of actual urination in a wood, felt very scrupulous about introducing a real person into a day-deam, Zenia regarded urination in a wood as a sexual temptation to be strongly resisted, but saw not the slightest objection to the introduction into her phantasies of real persons towards whom her affections went out. In other words, the moral censure was in Florrie's case on the imaginary world, not on the actual world, in Zenia's case on the actual world, not on the imaginary world, and that means a deeper degree of abnormality, since the energies shut out from the real world furnish a mischievous potency in the unreal world.

than she believes, but her dreams are pale and fade on waking if no effort is made to retain them. They usually occur about the period of menstruation.

She was requested to observe them and note them down carefully on waking. The significant fact was thus disclosed that though she had no dreams of whipping, her more vivid dreams, though not urolagnic, were symbolic of urination, and this was the case even when she had not herself realized it, though she had discovered the influence of a full bladder on dream activity. A few examples may be given, though it can scarcely be said that Florrie's dreams throw any special light upon her history, beyond confirming what was already clear, and they belong to easily recognizable types.

"Just before the last menstrual period and when the bladder seemed more full than usual (I seem to urinate more often then) I had the following dream. I was in a church. This dream has come to me before; but this time it was an English church and there were rows of pews well filled. I wanted to get out, and finally found myself walking up the aisle; everyone stared and looked reprovingly at me, but I pressed on and passed through a south door to find myself in some cloisters. There a foreign guide came up and assured me in a confidential way that he could show me the way (I was quite vague as to my ultimate destination, but I seemed to be hurrying *somewhere*). He pointed out that I could pass through the rooms of the picture gallery and come out at the other end. 'No one will stop you and you will be unobserved.' I hurried through deserted rooms with polished floors, and walls lined with old masters. But I did not stop to look at any. I was pressing on eagerly to the exit.

"Then I came to a door, and pushing it open found to my horror that I was in a room occupied by two librarians seated at a table writing among books. Their faces were quite unfamiliar. I apologized and beat a hasty retreat, but was called back. They said they wanted my opinion about a new book. I was seized with fearful panic, for I wanted to get to the exit, and was being hindered. Hastily and abruptly I pushed through

a door I saw opposite, and was once more in galleries and corridors. Oddly enough—and how I got there I don't know—I found myself next in a tiny shop, where a man was serving me with black satin waistcoats for gentlemen. 'Ah, not *black!*' I exclaimed in horror and rushed out. Finally I found myself, calm and collected, on the steps of a house to be let or sold. It was empty, and had a dreary, deserted look. It was apparently in a London Square. I opened the door with a key and entered a gloomy hall, passing up the dark staircase. It was getting dusk and a shiver, partially of fear, came over me. The sensation of going up and up, and not daring to look round was very vivid. I wandered aimlessly through vacant rooms, feeling depressed and anxious. All was silent till I tried a bell to see if it would ring, and then was alarmed at the loud, clanging sound that echoed through the deserted house and in the basement below. I stood stock still, alarmed at my own temerity in having disturbed the stillness, still more alarmed when I became conscious of distant regular footsteps echoing through the empty house. I was rooted to the spot with terror, as tramp, tramp, came the steps up the stairs, approaching nearer and nearer. I made sure it was some ghostly inhabitant coming to visit me, disturbed by the bell, and I finally found courage to move through a door near. This led me to a landing and some stairs which brought me eventually to the kitchen. The basement was quite dark and the kitchen shutters were closed; but presently it grew lighter and I saw a window, typical of a city basement, and a table near it. It was like the kitchen of an early home—the same house where I used to get the whippings—but in my dream it seemed a strange house. As the light appeared I saw traces of cooking about, and wondered how they came there. I was undecided what to do, when a housemaid came out of the scullery, but I experienced no surprise or fright. My thoughts were centered on the floor. It was stone. But it was not that which was riveting my attention. The floor was wet, it was running with water apparently. Astonished, I questioned the servant who looked embarrassed, and then laughed and explained: 'It was cook done that!' I

thought at first she meant the cook had spilt some water, then her meaning dawned, and I expressed my horror at cook's behavior. For it was evident cook had made water on the kitchen floor. After this I have no clear recollection of what happened. When I got up the bladder was very full. This dream was early in the morning. The bell may have been the first breakfast bell, and the fear I felt was like that I had when my father was coming to whip me. The Picture Gallery was suggested by the fact that I had been studying 'The Madonna di San Sisto' the night before." This dream is full of the symbolism of urinary desire, and nothing is commoner in such dreams than for the sleeper's desire to be embodied in the action of another person.

The next dream brought forward was as follows:

"I was in a vast Cathedral. There were broad aisles and lofty arches and stained glass windows. At first I was under the impression that I was in Westminster Abbey, but this idea faded away and I knew I was in some foreign building. Facing me was a gorgeous High Altar and I was reminded somehow of St. Roch, although the rest of the building was not unlike Antwerp Cathedral. There was a good deal of crimson about the High Altar, and lighted candles. But what impressed me most was the multitude assembled there. I was near the back (West end) wedged in with others on cane-seated chairs. The whole of the vast Cathedral seemed packed with people. I spoke to someone at the back, expressing my wish to go out. I had a great longing to leave, I don't know why. I next found myself in a large bare building occupied only by some schoolchildren who were congregated on the back seats. Again discontent came over me. I enquired when 'the performance' would begin, and finding it impossible to sit still I said, 'I will go to take my ticket.' A lady replied, 'Oh, but the ticket office is closed. It won't be open yet.' Nevertheless, I rushed about trying to get my ticket. Then a diversion was caused by the entrance of a lovely collie dog. The children played with it, but it showed a special liking for me, and I caressed it and it followed me about. Still impatient, I sprang up and said, 'I

think I should like to see the room we are to sleep in at the Hotel.' So I went out of the door and asked a man to direct me. The rest of the building I was in seemed to be the hotel and he said, 'Turn to the left and then again to the left and then to the right.' I seemed to run (with the collie following) down long white marble passages with great white doors on either side. They were all closed tightly, silence reigned, and there was no sign of life. I had been told that our bedroom was the billiard room and I now thought of asking directions, for I had lost my way. A man passed, but I did not stop him to enquire, for how, I thought, can our bedroom be the billiard room? Anyhow, it sounds silly; I will go back and abandon the search. I don't much care for this cold, deserted *campo santo* sort of place. I long to be in the open air, and out of these confined passages. I next found myself on a country road. The day was hot and it was summer. The road was very white and dusty and by the side were green banks. I sat down by the roadside on the grassy bank and my husband sat by me. I did not seem surprised to see him. I looked down the long white road and was conscious of something coming towards me, moving rapidly. 'Oh, it is the collie!' I exclaimed in delight. But as it approached it changed gradually into a small pony—brown and very pretty. 'This must be the children's pony' I said, 'no doubt it is a great pet.' I sought thus to connect it with the children in the building. It came straight towards us, and evidently wanted to be noticed. I was delighted, and caressed it, patting its back, and it seemed most friendly. Then its legs seemed to shrivel up somehow and what was left of the legs became tucked up under its body, so that it nestled down on a level with us on the bank, between us. It thrust its head under my arm and wriggled about its body and I caressed its silky hair and called imploringly to my husband to fondle it too. 'Oh, do! do!' I pleaded, 'just pat its nice fat sides, it does want you to so much. Look at it, how it is simply asking you to notice it.' I was burying my face in its plump back and enjoying its demonstrations of affection. But my husband moved away about half a yard on the bank and refused. 'I never care to

touch strange animals,' he said. 'They might bite, I will leave you to caress it.' Then the road and the bank and my husband and the pony vanished. I found myself back again in the Church, still crowded, so that I could not get a seat in the nave. But there were some odd chairs on the north side, on a line with the High Altar. I sat in one, but I did not like it, as I had thus to face the congregation, and I felt shy. Presently I became aware that the chair was somewhat rickety and I thought to myself that 'These chairs were evidently broken ones, put here to be out of the way, and not meant for people to sit on.' To the right a door opened on to some cloisters and just inside stood a priest who seemed to be conducting the service. Presently some women and a child came pushing in near me, and took chairs behind. The chairs were smaller than mine, but the woman said they would do. I was very puzzled as to how a woman could squeeze herself into a child's chair with sides. The woman near me was English. She repelled me, being of the common tripper type seen in summer on the sands at the seaside. She had red in her hat, and the sides of the chairs were painted red. A child, a little boy, came and pushed himself between my knees. He was looking at a picture book. The presence of this infant perturbed me dreadfully, though I felt it was rather nice and seemed fond of me. I wished it would go out, for it was making me uncomfortable. Then I spoke to the woman in the red hat about the chairs and she admitted hers was more than shaky, but she was willing to risk it. Then I had a curious sensation. The cane seat of the chair seemed to be crumbling away beneath me. The chair frame stood firm, but very gradually the cane work sank and burst round, so that I was gradually let through the chair, but yet entirely supported by the framework, so that no one knew of the disaster. I had been afraid of the chair collapsing, and I thought the congregation would see me and laugh. I did not pray, or feel religious. My thoughts were with the chair, and the child—who had now gone. Then—although I do not remember distinctly quitting the chair—I found myself with my

mother in another part of the same building. An official was showing us some old carved pews.

"A row of cherry stones were ranged on the top of one of the pews and he was telling my mother her fortune. I remember vaguely that he said a lot of things, and finally that my mother was going to America and there she would rise to a high position and wear a red and gold official cap. She laughed and said he must be telling his own fortune, since he wore a red and gold three-cornered hat, and ladies were not so decorated. He emphasized the fact that in America ladies were admitted to all sorts of honors denied them in England, and that it was quite possible for my mother to rise to a high position. He turned to me and asked if I would not like to see the ladies' swimming contest. He showed us a sort of narrow artificial canal, with some painted scenery behind. I protested loudly that it was most unwomanly to swim! We had a heated controversy, over all the things women ought or ought not to do. Then I found myself quite alone walking behind the High Altar. There was no one there. All at once I became aware of a man's approach. He was a very seedy individual, his clothes once black were now of a greenish tinge, dusty and unkempt, his thick black hair hung disordered, and he had a dusty shabby half bowler on his head. The face was sallow, tending to a greenish shade, heavy and inert. His black eyes were dull, his expression lifeless. It was N. A very changed N., but still I recognized him; I did not like to allude to his changed appearance, but he saw the question in my eyes and he said dully: 'I am hard up.' I began to reproach him and reminded him that he had said he had just received some money. 'That's spent,' he said. 'I want more.' I felt sick. I shivered and wondered how I could ever have let him touch me. 'I must have been mad,' I thought, 'such an odious brute!' He still pressed for money. I told him (rather irrelevantly) that I was not now so much affected by my old craze, and did not want him and begged him to go away. Then he was furious and put his hand on my shoulder and shook me violently. I had a curious sense of dwindling away and disappearing, and

then I awoke. It was 6 A.M. and I made water to a great extent. It is one of the most complete dreams I ever had. Yet I cannot trace its origin as well as of the previous dream, and I do not remember thinking about churches. But a collie had come into our garden and could not get out. I was much amused at its antics in trying to escape. The pony I cannot account for, except very faintly. The children were undoubtedly caused by reading the night before about the erotic satisfaction some women feel when suckling their babies. A lady I once met told me it was the sweetest sensation she had ever experienced in her life, and I thought of this. Although women never affect me erotically I remembered how twice in my life, once when a child, and again when grown up, I had been profoundly affected at the sight of a woman with a baby at her breast. The cane-seated chair was the outcome of my wish to buy some chairs of this description. The sense of going through was suggested by my weight."

The foregoing dream, although Florrie remarked in sending it that she did not know if it showed any indication of being a bladder dream, is really very typical of the vesical dream. In manifest content, as Freud would put it, there is no reference to urination throughout, yet the symbolism constantly tends to have reference to that function and to the state of desire that precedes it: the "latent content" is throughout urinary, and so it distinctly falls into what I term the vesical group of dreams.[1]

The following dream Florrie described as one of the most vivid she had ever had:

"I dreamt I was sitting in front of a fire day-dreaming. The room was apparently a kind of salon, with French windows to the left. I seemed to be the only person in the room and I was wrapped in a reverie of most engrossing nature when I turned my head to look out of the window and saw the curtain move. It was pulled back and I saw my mother behind, sitting

[1] It is sometimes overlooked, I may remark here, that not only the sexual impulse but any other repressed primary impulse may form the latent content of a dream, beneath a manifest content of quite different texture.

by the window. I felt perturbed, as though she had intruded on my privacy. She spoke to me and then all was silent. Suddenly I became conscious that the rain was coming down in torrents, quite a deluge, I could hear it, and looking out I saw it, although dimly, for it was nearly dark. My father was outside (he has been dead some years) and called out to my mother, saying it was too wet for her to come out. The streets were running with water. From the window the outlook was the same as from rooms we had once occupied at Ostend. Then my mother got up and approached me. She was all in black, deep mourning (black often comes into my dreams), and came forward with a gliding motion. As she drew near she seemed strangely unlike my mother, grew transformed and uncanny. She was tall and thin with a long black wriggling train to her dress (I saw the same figure in a dream at Florence once), had light fluffy hair and a weird witch-like expression on her face. She came close behind me and put her hand (a small white hand) on my shoulder. I shuddered with horror, and she remonstrated and was much hurt at my aversion. I was semi-clothed, the upper part of my body had only a vest on, and the touch of her hand was on my bare flesh. She explained that she was my mother and I ought not to rebuff her, but I still drew back. She tried to push down my vest and I protested and stopped her, and she saw my repugnance and her face was full of bitter hatred. The expression was awful. I begged her to take her hands off me. She then placed her left hand on my neck and bid me look. I gazed in a sort of fascinated horror, and when she lifted her hand off the little finger was left behind adhering to my skin, and a bright blue flame appeared on the bed opposite—for the room now seemed somehow to have become a bedroom. A most triumphant, uncanny expression of delight at my terror came over her face. I imagined she was a witch and was horror-struck. I then awoke.

"This dream I imagine was suggested by the lady doctor remembrance. I cannot in any way account for the bright blue flame. The incident of sitting in my vest was suggested by the fact that I had been trying on some vests. The rain I

cannot account for since the night was fine, as was the preceding day. When I awoke it was about two o'clock and I jumped out of bed to urinate, being in some distress with a full bladder."

So far as the central part of this dream is concerned with its torrents of rain, it is definitely and typically symbolic of the desire to urinate. A bright light, such as seen in the conclusion of the dream, is often caused by some actual light seen through the curtain of the eyelids, and the concluding episode of the dream was suggested by a reminiscence which came to Florrie's mind before falling asleep of a physical examination by a woman doctor which had been undergone with much repugnance. This genital suggestion was the naturally resultant secondary element not uncommon in vesical dreams.

It was desirable to test the nature and quality of Florrie's nocturnal dreams, but the field hardly seemed to be rich enough to repay much cultivation. In Florrie's case, throughout, the day-dream has absorbed most of the subconscious psychic activity which in some people is brilliantly manifested in nocturnal dreaming, and, rightly or wrongly, here there seemed no need to employ any complex and dubious methods of interpretation. This remained so in her last and urolagnic phase.

Although the urolagnic day-dreams had their origin some way back, and though, as we have seen, whipping and urination were throughout connected in Florrie's mind, the whipping day-dreams always leading to a desire to urinate, the two classes of day-dreams had tended to remain separate, and now it was the urolagnic group that covered the whole field and attained new and bolder developments, in which the climax tended to become the representation of the act of urination accomplished upon her own body. There was a general mark of this class of dreams, distinguishing them from the whipping dreams, not only in the fact, already noted, that they were more intimate and personally individualized, but that, instead of being located indoors, they were always imagined as out of doors and thus came to be connected with rural scenery, and to find symbolic links of association with Nature and with natural scenery. There was thus

an instinctive attempt not only to poetize what might seem their unduly physiological character, but to diffuse their intensity in a widespread interest in the forms of water in Nature. Florrie was thus brought near to that psycho-sexual tendency which I am inclined to call Undinism. There remained a community of nature with the flagellatory day-dreams in a sensory foundation that was mainly that of touch, a sense which usually plays a leading part in the erotic emotion of women. Merely to observe the act of urination Florrie regarded as a secondary pleasure, "though not without a delicious charm." It was to the sense of touch that the imaginative appeal was made ("why, if one squeezes warm water out of a sponge on to one's flesh, it gives one thrills"); to be taken into a field or wood in summer time, stripped of her clothes under the shade of the trees, and then the sensation of the stream on her flesh, all the more delicious because connected with the most intimate thoughts, feelings, and sensations. The hero, while usually somewhat shadowy, was always a man, never a woman.

A typical dream was described as follows: "I am generally in a wood or glen, with open spaces here and there, and very often a brook or running water near. Of course it is summer. I am lying, generally face downward, on a comfortable grass plot (softer in my imagination than it probably would be in reality) when the Stranger comes up. I cannot identify him, for my day-dreams have always been indistinct on this point. (But in my night dreams persons are always distinct.) Although strange I feel that he is nice. I say 'feel' because that just expresses it. I don't *see* him clearly, but I *feel* he wants to please me. He sits down by me, and talks, but it rather passes over my head, for I feel that he is giving me a vague sexy feeling and I cannot resist it. He seems to know exactly how I feel, and sympathizes. Custom and conventionality make a woman dread to admit that she wants anything from a man, but being a day-dream and strictly private, I admit frankly that I am longing for him to urinate on me. He guesses it, and expresses a strong wish to do so, but I must remove my clothes, in order to feel it on my bare flesh, and not to wet my garments.

This rather appals me, but he helps me, and the touch of his hand thrills me. As each garment is removed I feel more and more helpless but more and more sexy. Finally nude, I try to hide in the grass, feeling at a disadvantage and very uncomfortable. He is clothed and that seems to accentuate his already masculine superiority, whilst my unclothed state accentuates my feminine inferiority. At the same time it increases my sex feeling, which is largely based on a perhaps exaggerated view of the sex differences. (Some old pictures—Giorgione's Concert in the Louvre, for instance—give us clothed men and naked women, but I don't know of an instance where it is reversed.) He seems to be in no hurry to begin, and when he just places his hand on my thigh and rests it there I feel thrills of delight. Then lying, half hidden in the grass, I am conscious that he is preparing himself to begin. But this critical moment has never become a very clear incident, even in a day-dream just told to myself. I have never dared to picture it. I feel vaguely, perhaps erroneously, that he might resent my watching him, and my inability to read the thoughts of another causes the picture to become blurred here. But I can quite imagine that the tiniest element of phallus worship might easily develop under these circumstances.

"I picture him in all sorts of attitudes, standing, kneeling, half lying, anyhow, so that I can feel the benefit of the warm, soothing stream. He turns me over so that I feel it everywhere, it is delicious on the breasts and arms and thighs. Sometimes I picture him naked and then he treads on me with bare feet, or stands astride my thighs. Sometimes I stand and he kneels or stands, accentuating the pleasure by putting his left hand between my thighs. But the most delicious sensation of all is when I lie face downwards and he pulls my legs wide apart and kneels between them and urinates right into the vulva. Sometimes he does this with me face upwards, and it is always a triumph of sensations—I seem to crave more and more. In itself the sensation is delicious, added to the keen feeling that it is part of himself and precious on that account. Very often these day-dreams are so strong that I can distinctly detect the

odor of urine, although I am aware that this is a trick of the senses. In my day-dream it pleases me, too, to see it done, although the sight is perhaps a trifle subordinate to the sensation produced by the running fluid on one's bare flesh. I think, too, that I should not object to it on my face, or even in my mouth.

"Day-dreams of this description are such a horribly private sort of thing that it appears a kind of treachery to oneself to drag them to daylight! I feel ashamed, too, as if I never ought to have thus indulged myself. One does it so secretly that when it is written down in words one feels astonished and abashed. Still, this does not make it less real, although it costs me something to write it."

This was the chief though not the only variety of urolagnic day-dream which Florrie experienced. She never realized it in life, never even made the slightest attempt to realize it; it was too intimate and private for that. But she craved for it, and would lie face downward on the bed or sofa, as in the days of her whipping obsession, and sometimes would pull up her clothes and imagine that the desired act was being performed over her, sometimes even squirt warm water on to herself in order to simulate the experience. These manifestations, it must be noted, were far slighter than the corresponding manifestations associated with flagellation, and of comparatively faint obsessional power.

She would also indulge in the act of urination in unconventional ways that seemed to make it more interesting and attractive. The method she found most pleasing was to adopt a semi-reclining position with separated legs. After various experiments on the floor and the bed, etc., she found most success and satisfaction by placing a cane chair in a large long bath and leaning back in the chair with a leg resting on each side of the bath, the vulva being held open by both hands; "then there shoots out a fountain-like stream that descends in a semicircle at the other end of the bath, rising slightly above its level," with variations in direction, extent, and height every time the experiment is repeated. "It gives one a lovely sensation," she adds, "I don't know why."

It will be observed that Florrie instinctively introduces the analogy of a fountain. It is necessary to emphasize the point that her urolagnic phantasies, unlike her flagellational obsessions, tended to take on an open-air character and to be diffused in natural imagery which was that of water generally. This is a characteristic of what I call Undinism.

In childhood Florrie's urinary associations were most definitely with the bath, and also with the color yellow in general. (She remarked also that the connection of urine with yellow ochre paint has been vivid from childhood.) But from an early age the act of urination began to become mixed with beautiful natural imagery, although it was not apparently until her late urolagnic phase emerged that these associations became prominent in her mind. She points out the charm which is always felt to inhere in fountains which send out jets of water to fall into a basin of still water beneath, and she suggests that children are unconsciously aiming at the same effect when they urinate into the bath, or, better still, in the open, in some secluded spot in the wood where there is a little brook. "The idea of water mingling with water is a great fascination, though it must be smooth water, a lake rather than the sea. It is also interesting when done from some little height. A person thus raised above the eye level presents, too, a new charm. (Hence, I suppose the pictures I have seen in Paris of girls being held in the air while doing it.) Of course it is difficult to say how common this liking is, for the persons most impressed are just those most likely to be secretive. And I must say that as a rule they do not receive much encouragement to be otherwise. The erotic nature of the attraction is possibly proved by the fact that, personally, it would not interest me particularly in one of my own sex." As regards woods, Florrie writes: "There is something fascinating in the sound of the stream descending on dead leaves in a wood, the rustle and sense of wetness in the midst of so much parched dryness, as though the earth must welcome and swallow up the slightest moisture. In a wood one seems nearer to the heart of Nature. The artificial elements that accompany the act in an enclosed room have dis-

appeared; it assumes a new character and is seen in a fresh light. This applies in a measure to all acts of Nature, and makes one understand the idea of fauns and nymphs. All sex acts seem better out of doors, especially in a wood. As a girl the dread of having a baby was especially associated with the accompaniments of a sick room, of which I had a dread, never having experienced any illness. The idea appealed to me strongly of having babies, like savages who seem to suffer so much less, in woods and caves. As a child I was much impressed by that famous passage in Jeremy Taylor where the same thought seems in his mind concerning the final act of Nature, and he describes the pompous paraphernalia of Death, which yet is 'the same harmless thing that a poor shepherd suffered yesterday.' I pictured the 'poor shepherd' out in the open, by the running stream and waving trees, being made one with Nature."

Florrie digresses. It will be seen that there has been a continuous decrease in the emotional tension of her phantasies. That movement of relaxation had indeed been proceeding, through all changes in the form of her sexual interests, during the whole period of her history which we have here been able to study. But at the point we have now reached it became marked. Her visits ceased. Her letters became ever shorter and the intervals between them ever longer. She expressed gratitude for the help she had received, but she no longer seemed to feel in need of it. "With regard to Florrie," she wrote at length in a brief note, "there is nothing to relate." Finally came the announcement, in answer to a letter of enquiry: "I have been meaning to write for some time past to tell you that, as you may have guessed from my long silence, Florrie is dead."

The story of Florrie, so far as it is known, here comes to an end. Nothing has been heard of her in the years that have followed. It would be rash to assume that her sexual odyssey has been finally completed. Obviously a woman in the full vigor of life who has not attained to normal sexual relationship, although she has slowly reached an approximation to the normal

sexual attitude, may have many emotional troubles still ahead. But, whatever these troubles may be, we can be fairly certain that they will never again take on the threatening and alarming aspects which they sometimes assumed in the past. Henceforth Florrie knows herself and understands the mechanism of the sexual impulse. She walks in light where formerly she stumbled in a darkness full of awful spectres. For years a mysteriously cloaked terrible figure had seized her from behind in an iron clutch she could not shake off, threatening her with insanity and all sorts of dreadful fates. Now she is able to turn round and face it, to observe, with calm critical eyes, and that quiet shrewd humor native to her, what it is made of, and the iron clutch loosens and the monster dissolves into mist, a mist that even seems beautiful.

We are familiar with such a result. It may indeed seem to some that the whole history of Florrie could have been dismissed in a sentence. So it might. But, as Freud more than anyone has shown us, the minute and prolonged study of an individual history can rarely fail to be profitable. In the present case, while the general pattern may seem familiar, yet the details possess a significance and illumination which extend far beyond the individual history. Aristotle said that the work of human art must ever show a continual slight novelty. So also it is in the art of Nature. I have set down Florrie's case in careful detail—though condensing and suppressing much that seemed irrelevant—in order to disentangle the slight novelty and to discover what it may teach us.

It may teach us the more since Florrie is far from being a highly abnormal person. It is true that we find insanity in a collateral branch of her family, but the general mental disposition and nervous system which she has herself inherited are in most respects sound and normal, even of excellent quality, and the germs of inherited abnormality, which I distinctly believe to be there, are yet so small as to be almost invisible. Florrie seems to the world generally, as to her husband and all her friends, a stable normal person.

How, then, it may be asked, has it come about that these minute germs developed? Why has the sexual impulse in Florrie's case passed through stages that seem so definitely abnormal? And how can we account for the particular forms of perversion which this abnormal development assumed?

It seems to me that Florrie's history brings out at least three groups of factors which all had a share in determining the deviation of the sexual mechanism in her case, and are of general instruction.

The first group of considerations are of a negative kind and concerned with the absence of the normal stimuli of sex. It is well known that in women, to a far greater extent than in men, the sexual impulse needs to be definitely aroused in order to enter normal paths, and that in the absence of definite stimulation a certain proportion of women are not conscious of normal sexual needs although the impulse is still working unconsciously within them. Now Florrie had been to an unusual extent safeguarded against sexual stimuli, whether from without or within. She was carefully brought up by prosperous parents who were able to protect her from all dubious influences, while her own extreme shyness, reserve, and staid dignity prevented her from making approaches to sexual matters, and equally prevented others from bringing such matters to her. These influences were fortified by her youthful training in social, artistic, and literary ideals and activities. They were further aided by Florrie's slow mental development, for while her intellectual powers are much above the average she was not mentally precocious, and her nervous and cerebral activities generally are of a solid and deliberate order. The decisive influence of a negative kind in Florrie's slow and devious development was, however, her marriage. The course of deviation had, indeed, begun long before marriage, but so unobtrusively, even to her own consciousness, that if at twenty-eight she had been united to a vigorous and congenial mate, of her own age and able to arouse her sexual emotions, she would never have seemed to herself or to anyone who knew her, how-

ever intimately, anything other than a completely normal woman within the usual range of slight variation.

To admit the influence of these negative conditions on Florrie's development is to assert by implication that the auto-erotic impulses which, notwithstanding, actually developed had a fundamental organic basis. That I consider to be the case. We now know that to place the sexual impulse in any kind of environmental vacuum may effect the direction of its growth, but will not prevent growth in some direction. We know, moreover, that in childhood, when the same environmental vacuum is produced naturally, through the absence in early life of any mechanism of response to external sexual stimuli, auto-erotic or spontaneous pseudo-sexual impulses still tend to occur, the activities that later are to become genuinely sexual being manifested in play forms that are trivial or at most imperfect, and often symbolic. . The two auto-erotic forms in which the infantile sex impulse appeared in Florrie's case were, we have seen, the urolagnic and the auto-flagellatory. The first of these belongs to the scatologic group of childish interests which are now generally recognized to be exceedingly common. They have an organic basis of their own quite distinct from sex, while at the same time there are definite reasons why they should frequently be associated with, or substituted for, sex interests. While, however, the prevalence of the scatologic interest in childhood is now well recognized, it is doubtful whether the prevalence of the whipping interest is equally well recognized. No doubt it is often absent (as also is the scatologic interest) but it is present so often, and quite apart from whether the child has had any actual experience of whipping that it seems to me that we must regard it as a normal, though by no means constant, manifestation of the auto-erotic impulse in childhood. I find it more common in girls than in boys and more common in inverted men than in normal men. In my observation it is found so often that it is almost possible to give it the same position which used to be given to a homosexual strain in childhood, although we must not be led by the over-

emphasis on the homosexual strain to minimize its importance or to overlook the fact that it has a constitutional basis which must ever tend to re-appear. Nothing is constant and invariable in the sexual sphere, but it will probably be found, on careful observation, that the flagellatory interest in childhood is at least as frequent as the homosexual interest.[1] It is not necessary here to discuss the origin of this interest and its natural foundation.[2] We must regard the whip as a natural symbol of the penis. One of the most frequent ways in which the idea of coitus first faintly glimmers before the infantile mind—and it is a glimmer which, from an evolutionary standpoint, is biologically correct—is as a display of force, of aggression, of something resembling cruelty. Whipping is the most obvious form in which to the young mind this idea might be embodied. The penis is the only organ of the body which in any degree resembles a whip.[3] The idea may be supported in the minds of some young boys, though this would not refer to girls, by the nature of the sensations experienced in the penis. Thus it comes

[1] I may mention as fairly typical the early experiences of an entirely normal woman of good heredity, married and a mother, who during the years of puberty and early adolescence, from the age of thirteen to sixteen, when lying in bed would have occasional phantasies of being whipped. These phantasies would excite her so that she could not sleep, and she now recognizes that this excitement was of a sexual nature. She was not whipped as a child, and is entirely unable to account for such day-dreams or for the effect they had upon her. Sometimes the sexual flagellatory impulse may only emerge in a dream of the night. Thus a married woman, aged 30, healthy and normal, with well developed sexual feelings, has never had any experience of whipping or desire for it. Recently a man friend, interested in the subject, succeeded in persuading her to let him try its effects on her; she remained entirely cold and indifferent. Shortly after, however, she had a dream of being whipped which was accompanied by excitement and orgasm. There was evidently a possibility of association between the sex impulse and the idea of whipping, though only revealed in the sub-conscious state. We seem to see (as I have often tried to make clear) that there is a latent disposition to anomalies in the organism itself, so that there is no need to fall back always on the fantasies of psychogenetic speculation to account for their existence.

[2] I have dealt with this question in *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vol. iii, 2d ed., pp. 137-150.

[3] It has even been at one time commonly so used for educational purposes We read in old literature of the bull's pizzle with which the school-master was provided for the correction of his pupils.

about that, as Sadger remarks, "penis and whip are equivalent."[1]

All these infantile forms of the sexual impulse—homosexual, scatologic, flagellatory, or what not—we are accustomed in our solemn adult way to call "perversions." I have always preferred to call them symbolisms, more or less auto-erotic in origin. Whatever we call them we have to recognize that they are natural. They are manifestations of a normal and necessary play instinct, with those beneficial effects which Groos established as associated with the play-instinct generally in Nature. From the standpoint of the fully developed sexual impulse they present that impulse in a deviated or twisted form, just as (to repeat an analogy I have elsewhere used) the young fronds present to us in a curled and twisted form what will later become the large and graciously expanding leaves of ferns It is indeed what we see throughout living Nature where young life ever develops under pressure, contorted into strange forms which are straightened out when the period of functional activity approaches. But that period never would approach if the earlier fantastic period had not preceded it.[2] We must beware, therefore, of terming it abnormal; the real abnormality would be the appearance of the developed adult impulse at the infantile stage.

In Florrie's case, however, there really was a deviation which lay in an arrest of the development of the sexual impulse at the infantile, or rather pre-pubertal, stage. Normally, at puberty and early adolescence, the process of straightening out more or less harmoniously occurs, and the earlier impulses are transmuted into, or at the least subordinated to, the adult

[1] *Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische Forschungen,* Bd. v, p. 188. Sadger elsewhere (*ib.*, p. 498) refers to a patient who as a child seems to have thought that in coitus his father whipped his mother on the buttocks with his penis.

[2] I by no means wish to assume that the play functions of sex are only valuable in early life. They are specifically human and are associated with the general retention of childlike qualities which marks man. "The play function of sex," as Parmelee remarks (*Personality and Conduct,* p. 113), "has been an important factor in the evolution of civilization," and see Havelock Ellis, *Little Essays of Love and Virtue,* Ch. VI. The Play-function of Sex.

impulse of sexual attraction. In Florrie's case, placed as she was in an environment without sexual stimuli, the transmutation took the form of a premature sublimation or, rather, pseudo-sublimation, into artistic and literary activities, a transmutation which was apparently complete. But, as we know, sublimation cannot be complete, even when it is the developed form of sexual energy that is sublimated. The artistic developments of the sexual impulse during adolescence are normal when they represent an idealized manifestation of the sexual impulse itself. But in Florrie's case they represented no such manifestation. They were not really a sublimation at all. The yet undeveloped impulse remained in its arrested state to develop unconsciously, shut off from external stimuli and consequently still arrested in form. Meanwhile, Florrie was attaining an unusual degree alike of mental power and robust physical development. The organism was reaching its full adaptation for sexual activity, and finally this repressed activity came to the surface at the age of twenty-eight, under such conditions as her constitution and experience rendered possible.[1]

This active manifestation of the sexual impulse, not at first realized as sexual, assumed the form of an interest in whipping of the nates by a man, the whip becoming a sexual fetich, and the mental absorption on this subject inducing auto-flagellation. This leads us to the third instructive factor in Florrie's sexual deviation. It has been pointed out that an emotional interest in whipping is so common about the age of puberty, especially in girls, that it may be regarded as coming within the range of normal variation.[2] But that this in-

[1] I have elsewhere (*Studies*, vol. iii, p. 243) brought forward many considerations tending to show that it is at the age of from twenty-eight to thirty that the sexual impulse tends to be strongest in women, and sexual desire to be most consciously experienced.

[2] This argument was elaborated by Freud some two years before the present study was written (*Internationale Zeitschrift für Aerztlich. Psychoanalyse*, 1916, translated in *Freud's Collected Papers*, vol. ii, 1924) in a notable paper, "A Child is being Beaten," which is often referred to. But I had not seen it when my own paper was published. I may add that the two papers are not in conflict. Freud's deals with flagellation mainly as a phantasy throughout, not, as I have, putting forward a case in which early whipping was an experienced fact and the demonstrable foundation for phantasy.

terest, after naturally dying down in early adolescence, should suddenly re-assert itself spontaneously, and with an immeasurably increased intensity, after an interval of some fifteen years, that is by no means normal. How came it about that in Florrie's case the adult sexual impulse took this particular form?

It was at one time supposed that fetichisms and erotic symbolisms in general, as well as homosexuality, are adequately accounted for when we have discovered some chance association in early life. That is part of the explanation, but it is not in itself adequate. Chance associations occur to everyone and for the most part without effect. Many children have been severely beaten; few have become adult auto-flagellants. We go deeper when we are able to see how much importance attaches to the early formation of a reservoir of emotion linked on to what is, or is capable of becoming, a sexual motive. In Florrie's sensitive shy nature as a child (she is herself convinced of the sexual character of shyness) whipping served to form exactly such a reservoir, admirably adapted for later use to sexual ends. Such considerations, however, are still abstract and general. When so definite an erotic symbolism as this of Florrie's becomes constituted we suspect the existence of individual peculiarities rooted in the organism and specially fitting it to become the seat of that symbolism. This was the case in the present instance. The pronounced development of the gluteal region and thighs has been pointed out. It became evident to Florrie in adolescence; some years later, at a time when her figure generally was not more than moderately plump, this development is plainly observable in her photographs, and at the time when she came under observation, while there was a somewhat increased general tendency to deposit fat, it was still most pronounced in the buttocks and thighs and hardly noticeable at all in the breasts.[1]

In association with this anatomical preponderance of the gluteal region, we find a corresponding physiological deviation.

[1] Sadger (*Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische Forschungen*, Bd. 5, 1913, p. 500) brings forward the case of a man who when a boy practised auto-flagellation. He had small genitals but large buttocks.

Many indications reveal that Florrie was to a certain extent sexually anesthetic in the region of the vulva, though this condition latterly tended to diminish. She was unable to obtain orgasm by ordinary masturbation, but, as we have seen, acute sexual excitation with orgasm was at once set up by stimulation of the anus.[1] It would thus seem probable that in some persons, of whom Florrie is an example, there is a tendency for the centers of sexual excitation to be shifted posteriorly, such persons possessing unusually developed buttocks and an anus with greater sexual sensibility than the normal sexual centers. Such a state of things must be regarded as constituting a predisposition only; it is not necessarily final or beyond the reach of training. But it is obvious that it constitutes a favorable and even natural basis for various sexual deviations.[2]

But we still have to account for Florrie's urolagnia. It is indeed now well recognized that a urinary interest is so natural in childhood that it comes easily within the normal sphere; that to some extent it may take the place later occupied by the purely erotic interest, to which at puberty it becomes normally subordinated, if it is not indeed completely suppressed or even extinguished. But why should we here find this impulse side by side, and even mutually interchangeable, with another and stronger impulse to which, on the surface, it has no relationship.

The answer seems to be that here also we must recognize a natural underlying relationship. Sadger, who has cast many rays of light on this obscure and little explored field of psychology, points out that urolagnia, "urethral eroticism" as he

[1] Anal masturbation is, of course, recognized, and is referred to by Hammond, Schrenck-Notzing, and others. See, *e.g.*, Bloch, *Beitrage zur Ætiologie der Psychopathia Sexualis*, vol. i, pp. 224-7. I am not aware, however, that any connection has been recognized between anal masturbation and a pronounced gluteal development.

[2] In mental analysis there is sometimes a tendency, of which we need to be aware, to overlook the constitutional basis of psychic deviations. This tendency has sometimes been laid to the charge of Freud, but not altogether justly, for, in principle at all events, Freud fully recognizes these constitutional bases, and has stated (*Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse*, vol. ii, p. 167) that in the production of the observed effect constitutional and accidental factors regularly work together and that the need for insistence on the latter is merely due to their frequent neglect.

calls it, or Undinism, as I am inclined on account of its wider connections to term it, is associated with "Gesässerotik," the eroticism of the buttocks, such as we find in Florrie. "In most cases of passive flagellation," he remarks, "there exists, besides the eroticism of the buttocks to be named in the first line, also a powerful urethral eroticism." He adds, quite truly, that there are many urethral eroticists who have no inclination for flagellation, but he seems to regard heightened urethral eroticism as the basis for a frequent combination of masochism with urolagnia. It is in the web of the associated eroticism of skin, mucous membrane, and muscle that these combinations, Sadger believes, are naturally formed. He attaches little importance to the nerve connections between the genito-urinary sphere and the gluteal sphere, though it scarcely seems to me that that factor can be entirely ignored.

In any case, and even though at this point the precise mechanism may not be clear, it must be recognized that we are in the presence of a natural manifestation. I should be content at present to point out that, in Florrie's case, as doubtless in many similar cases, we have an association in time of the two experiences, flagellatory and urinary, as is set forth in the narrative of her childhood. Moreover, there is the significant fact that, underlying both the gluteal and the vesical experiences, are the same emotions of anxiety and terror, of shyness and shocked modesty, the emotions which, as we know, are so well adapted for transformation, under favorable conditions, into sexual emotions. We see an important stage in this transformation on the vesical side, though not yet recognizably sexual, at the time when, years after the gluteal experience had taken on an unconsciously erotic character, Florrie discovered her favorite method of urinating erect and out of doors. She has well described how, under the irresistible vesical impulse, her acute emotions of anxiety, dread, and shyness were suddenly transformed into pleasure and the triumphant discovery of a new method of gaining vesical relief. No doubt as a child she had felt infantile interest and pleasure in this function, but it was at this time, at the age of twenty, that its special

adult transformation into urolagnia reached the first stage. There are, obviously, two distinct elements in the emotional state described, both capable of sexual transformations, anxiety and shyness. When in recent years Florrie has come to realize the significance of her own experiences, it is to the latter that she is most inclined to attach importance. "It has come to me gradually to suspect," she wrote, "from my own experience, that there must be a sexual element wherever this sensation of shame and shyness, reticence, the wish to conceal, is felt, even in religion. Everyone feels a sort of ashamed, try-to-hide, name-it-not, feeling about the excretory processes, just the same as about sex matters. If it is not sexual, what is it? The average person says, 'Why, of course, it is quite different. It's just disgust.' Yet people show little or no objection in showing other things, ulcers and loathsome tumors, that are far more disgusting, while as regards urination even for the most fastidious person there cannot really be any feeling of disgust. The bashfulness can only come from a hidden sexual feeling."

When we thus survey the course of Florrie's deviation we see that it was throughout inevitable and necessary. It was the outcome of her hereditary predisposition, of her physical and psychic constitution, of the special conditions to which in childhood she was subjected and under which she developed in adult life. The course was abnormal, yet, alike in its progress and its recession it was completely natural. It was a course affected by infantile arrests of development, and as occurs when such arrests are carried on into adult life to be reinforced by all the other more evolved aptitudes of that life, the infantile traits become immensely exaggerated, tending to take on that genuinely adult erotic character which in early life is not yet developed. Florrie's course of sexual development was affected by arrests, overwhelming to her in their magnitude, yet, however slowly, however imperfectly, nevertheless that development proceeded. Throughout the years she was under observation it passed from stage to stage, still abnormal yet continuously less abnormal, through the ascending spiral of natural

growth, until at the point where it passes out of sight it had become almost, if not altogether, what we call normal.

Here it is necessary to say something of the therapeutic conditions under which the desirable termination of Florrie's case was reached. I hesitate to use so positive a word as "therapeutic" in this connection. Certainly the method adopted was important, probably essential, to the result obtained. But to apply to it a term with such gross connotation as "treatment" may be misleading: that term may be in place elsewhere; it is dubiously in place in the psychic field we are here concerned with.

The whole method needed to ensure Florrie's progress lay in surrounding her with an atmosphere. That atmosphere was simply one of sympathetic comprehension. She was thus enabled to gain confidence in herself, to apply her own native intelligence to her own problems, and, not least, for the first time to express her experiences in words to another person. It became a process of mental analysis. But it was Florrie herself who mainly carried on that analysis, and therein its virtue lay. There was little attempt to present to her relationships which were fairly clear, but which she had not worked out for herself: she would not fail to reach them, and sometimes herself saw them first. She was surrounded by an atmosphere favorable for guidance, but no firm guiding hand was laid upon her, scarcely so much as the almost imperceptible touch of a finger. Thus Florrie's course towards normality, however devious, was as inevitable and as absolutely natural as her course towards abnormality.

Such a method would have aroused the scorn and even the indignation of the old-time physician. His impulse would be to react violently to all these unwholesome fancies and vicious habits, as he would consider them, and to thrust Florrie forcibly, with much severe admonition, into the path of rectitude. The upward spiral of her actual course under observation would have seemed to an undiscerning observer a disconcerting series of abnormal eruptions, and the final result of such "treatment," if possible at all—since a reserved and sensitive woman of

Florrie's temperament would have brought it to an end at the outset—must have been failure, if not disaster.

It is necessary to go further and to cast doubts even on more discerning methods when they are based on routine and on the subconscious belief that every case must conform to the same pattern. Such a method is pernicious and unlikely to lead to success even when it is the outcome of a genuine analytic investigation. Every human being presents, as every fine work of art presents, a continual slight novelty. There must always be a tendency to a pattern, but the pattern is never quite the same, and it is puerile to insist on trying to make it so. Each new person is a fresh revelation of Nature, to be watched, quietly and patiently, until its secret is manifested. We cannot rule Nature, as Bacon long ago declared, except by obeying her. And we cannot guide the struggling human being on his course unless we realize what that course is and possess the faith and the insight to discern the meaning of even its most unexpected deviations on the upward path. Even the leading question must often be regarded as almost an outrage, and still more the insistent demand on the patient to admit impulses which some theory demands. There are times when it is desirable to let fall a suggestion of what the observer divines, but it must be let fall easily, as it were casually, as lightly as a rose petal. It will not fail to hit the mark if the divination was sound, even though, at the moment, there is no response.

In the record of Florrie's history I have passed over an element of that transfer of emotion to the person of the investigator which Freud and others have termed "Uebertragung" or transference. It was easy to pass it over because it never came directly and interruptively into the course of the history. But it must not be passed over altogether because it may really be regarded as of vital importance and largely contributed to constitute that favorable atmosphere to which reference has been made. It was never obtrusive, demonstrative, or insistent, so that it was easy to disregard it, and treat it as non-existent. It subsided gradually, without comment, or the need for comment, step by step with Florrie's course towards normality. It

was traceable from the first interview. Florrie approached that interview with much nervous trepidation. She almost turned back at the end of the long journey which she had taken to obtain it. But when it was over she returned home with feelings of confidence and admiration—although nothing had been done to arouse such feelings—which affected, vaguely but influentially, the subsequent course of her development. The influence may be said to be two-fold. In the first place it was an essential condition to enable one of Florrie's shy and reserved nature to bring to the surface and carry on openly the whole course of the mental analysis. She had, it is true, in her first letter revealed herself almost as far as at that time she knew herself. That, however, would not have been enough, and if personal contact had proved inhibitory, even any further progress by correspondence would have been sterilized. The expanding influence on her reserved temperament of this emotional attitude was an essential condition for the progress of the analysis. In the second place, the emergence of a personal interest of this kind in the course of analysis helps to release the repressed and arrested normal emotions and to bring them out of the unconscious to the surface. In this way it can scarcely fail to exert a favorably guiding influence, because it tends to weaken, if not completely to replace, the phantasies of an obsession or a fetich by setting up a more normal object of attraction. Both of these influences appear to have acted favorably in Florrie's case, although the action may not have been consciously or definitely perceived. It is true that Freud regards transference as a more complex process, acted upon by that tendency, even found in normal persons, but in more pronounced degree in the neurotic, which Bleuler terms ambivalence, so that there is not only a "positive" but a "negative" transference. Along the first line are produced a confidence and sympathy altogether favorable to the patient's progress: along the second a hostile and resistent attitude which are unfavorable, if not fatal, to any beneficial treatment.[1] Without

[1] S. Freud, "Zur Dynamik der Uebertragung," *Zentralblatt für Psycho-analyse*, vol. ii, p. 187.

seeking to dispute this doctrine, it must be said that such "negative" transference seems to be often an artificial product of analysis, an artefact. (Not always, for many subjects are inevitably hostile.) One is tempted, indeed, to ask whether an investigator who encounters "negative" transference might not be well advised to retire from the world for a time and to practise a little auto-psychoanalysis. The investigator, instinctively and unconsciously, however good his intentions may be, often forgets that it is his part to educate and develop; he falls into the attitude of combat; he unconsciously adopts the gesture of tilting against a foe, and so inevitably he arouses the corresponding impulse of hostility and resistance on the opposing side. It is a plausible fallacy to fall into. But in this field, to adopt the method of force, however subtly moralized, is to condemn oneself beforehand to defeat. It is not by our much doing that much is done, least of all by the exercise of force. "Strength and Hardness are the Companions of Death: Tenderness and Suppleness are the Companions of Life." The wise Sydenham, when asked what books he would advise a physician to read, replied profoundly "Don Quixote." And the therapist of the soul would be well advised to make his bedside companion one of the oldest of books which is also one of the deepest, the *Tao-Teh-King* of Lao-tze.

It would be easy to discuss the significance of Florrie's history in many other relationships—such as the fairly obvious emergence of what Jung would call the Father-Imago—but there would be no end of such discussion. If, as a great naturalist said, one could spend one's life in studying as much earth as one can cover with one hand, much more easily can one say the like of the complex human soul. But if all the things were to be written that could be written about even a single person we may sympathize with that Evangelist who in an outburst of extravagance supposed that "even the world itself would not contain the books that should be written." Since we have not world enough nor time, we must be content to make but a little exploration, and to count ourselves happy if we thereby achieve but a little good.

POSTSCRIPT.—Shortly after the point reached at the conclusion of the foregoing history, Florrie disappeared from sight and nothing whatever was heard of her. After a period of some years I began to work the history into a coherent and orderly narrative This was published, almost exactly as it here stands, in the *Psychoanalytic Review*, Vol. VI, 1919. A little later I heard from Florrie again, met her, and have continued in occasional touch with her since. She has read her own History, and considers that it is correct to an extraordinary degree; there is nothing in it that she would wish to see changed. At a period shortly after the termination of the history her husband had died and a year later she had married again; her second husband, like the first, was a man of good position, elderly, and a widower, but her life with him was happy and she looks back on this period with much satisfaction. It was, however, terminated before long by her husband's death. Lately she has married a third time; but this third marriage has not turned out so well; the man, as she described him to me before marriage, seemed of high character as well as of intellectual attainments; but immediately after marriage she discovered him to be eccentric, hypochondriacal, and morbidly introspective. This led to dissensions of feeling from the outset and within a few months to a separation which each partner charges the other with initiating. Hence has arisen for Florrie much worry, anxiety, and legal complication, still unsettled, which might well have had a disturbing influence on her mind. But it is important to state that so far, more than ten years after the history ends, Florrie has had no recurrence of the obsessions which once possessed and tortured her. She admits that normal ideals have no strong attractions for her, and probably never will have, and she still takes a mild interest in the subjects of the obsessions, but they have no more any power to absorb or disturb her. She is now truly the staid and solid matron she seemed when she first came to me.

Lately a physician of repute, Dr. Wilhelm Stekel of Vienna, has published (with my consent), and commented, a full summary of the history of Florrie (*Sadismus und Masochismus*, 1925, pp. 200-34). As Dr. Stekel is a psychoanalyst of much experience, intuition, and practical therapeutic success, though not always approved by fellow practitioners of other schools, it seems to me worth while to go over his version of the case and to deal with his chief criticisms. I may say at the outset that his attitude towards my exposition and interpretation is mainly appreciative and largely of approval, especially in his chief conclusion that, as he is kindly pleased to put it (p. 231), no other case demonstrates so well the connection between masochism and infantilism. But when we come to details it seems to me,

on the one hand, that Dr. Stekel is inclined to emphasize and to exaggerate points which I had made clear but attach less importance to, or less permanent significance, and that, on the other hand, he seeks to find points which the history as it stands does not contain, and which, from my own standpoint, there is no occasion to seek.

Among the former I note the "sadism" of Florrie's father. It is certainly impossible to over-rate the importance of her father's excessive physical punishments on Florrie; they constituted a most decisive influence in her sexual life; they fixed her prolonged infantile psychic state; they largely determined the character and attitude of her unconscious and conscious masculine ideal in adult life. But it seems unnecessary to call the father a sadist; it is quite possible that he had a latent sadistic disposition but his chastisement of his child, even though excessive, merely illustrates the foolish old-fashioned notion, founded on the Bible, of the dangers of sparing the rod in education. This is also Florrie's own opinion and she thinks that her father may have worked himself up into a rage out of a sense of duty; he was not sadistic and was fond of animals. Similarly, the castration-complex, with its "penis-envy," has its significance in Florrie's childhood, as a phase of her development. But that significance is exaggerated when it is prolonged beyond childhood into a supposed desire to be a man, and becomes the evidence of homosexuality. Dr. Stekel is always apt to see the traces of homosexuality, and in Florrie's case he finds evidence in her adoption of the erect attitude for urination ("there could be no more beautiful example of Adler's 'Masculine protest' "). It is undoubtedly true that this habit is sometimes cultivated by feminine inverts out of a pleasurable imitation of the male; that was long ago known to Krafft-Ebing and was not overlooked by me. But the habit is also quite common among women from other motives, out of doors especially with the object of avoiding detection, being in this way practised by women of the people all over Europe. It is also often regarded by women, and perhaps quite naturally, as in itself pleasurable. In Florrie's case there is not (and she herself entirely agrees) the slightest ground to connect it with any homosexual impulse.

Other influences on Florrie's life for which there is no evidence, Dr. Stekel considers must have been there. He thus believes that Florrie had much more knowledge of sex matters in childhood than she acknowledges. It was "suppressed." This supposition I altogether reject. Carefully guarded little girls in England of the well-to-do class are very commonly in complete ignorance of sexual matters, as indeed they often are also in France and other countries. Florrie was specially well guarded, "surrounded by nurses and

governesses," and not allowed much freedom even with her own young brothers. Dr. Stekel believes that Florrie was brought up freely in the country and must have observed the coupling of animals. Florrie assures me she made no such observation of animals. She lived largely in town, and occasional observation of animals, even in the country, has little or no sexual significance for uninstructed children who do not live on farms. Dr. Stekel further assumes that Florrie must have had sexual play with her brothers in childhood; I do not regard the assumption as necessary or even probable, while it is quite opposed to the evidence, for Florrie states definitely that there was no such play. He also assumes (and quite wrongly) that there must have been cruelty towards animals, a sadistic impulse being required to complement the masochistic impulses. It is quite true that the two impulses tend to be connected (and Dr. Stekel observes that I was one of the first to assert this connection) but it does not invariably happen that a sadist shows clearly marked masochist impulses or a masochist pronounced sadism; the connection of the two impulses is quite sufficiently established when each of the partners in a sado-masochistic relationship sympathizes with the attitude of the other partner. Then Dr. Stekel thinks that there is more to be discovered concerning Florrie's mother; he believes (on familiar Freudian lines) that Florrie loved her father and that that love involved hate for her mother; but while that is a result which is liable to follow it does not necessarily always follow; as a matter of fact Florrie saw little of either father or mother who went much into society and were aloof from the children, loving them in their own way, though not really caring for children and leaving them to the care of a governess and two nurses Dr. Stekel is mistaken in thinking that Florrie's statement that she would not have accepted a whipping from her mother meant that she hated her mother; it meant simply that, the whipping being unconsciously felt as a sexual manifestation, it could only be tolerated when exercised by a man. Florrie was living close to her mother and in almost daily association with her at the time when she came to me; this had gone on ever since she was 20 (when the father died); they had become friends ("good pals," Florrie says) rather than mother and daughter. Dr. Stekel believes, once more, that Florrie probably had rectal enemas administered to her as a child, and he would thus explain the erogenic sensibility of the anus. This explanation I would not regard as necessary, even if I were ignorant of the facts The erogenic properties of the anus were only discovered accidentally by Florrie when near the age of forty, and it would be absurd to assume that stimulation by enemas thirty years earlier is required to account for that discovery. The anus is one of many regions in

the body which are liable to develop erogenic properties when stimulated at favorable stages of sexual excitement. In childhood rectal enemas may be administered without the anus ever developing into an erogenic center. Florrie never had any rectal enemas. There is no reason whatever to suppose that such excitability can only exist when there has been special stimulation in infancy or childhood. It seems at least equally probable that Florrie's erogenic zone in the anus, together with her large gluteal development, served as part of the congenital predisposition to the special form of sexual deviation which she manifested. Dr. Stekel's opinion on this matter is due to his general and constantly evident belief, shared by many psycho-analysts, that psycho-genetic factors—due to environmental influence—are all-powerful, that predisposition may be disregarded and heredity has practically no existence. That is a position which I regard as today altogether antiquated and untenable. The influence of environment is powerful; but, as all biologists agree, the influence of heredity is even more powerful. Each is inadequate to affect the whole psychic life in any lasting degree unless aided by the other. It is the coincidence of the two working together which is decisive.

A defect in the history of Florrie for Dr. Stekel is that no attempt was made to analyze her dreams. He has himself always devoted special attention to the interpretation of dreams, and he seeks to make up for my failure. "I would like," he remarks, "to make some comments on the dreams. Remarkable is the opposition between ideal places and the kitchen, between the attraction upwards and the attraction downwards. She leaves the church, she leaves the picture gallery, and descends to the kitchen, to common people. We see plainly that she strongly disapproves of the cook's doings. (A sharp moral disapproval of her perversity.) The word 'cook' is in English bisexual and may indicate either a male or a female. It is clear, however, that the masculine principle is indicated by the erect urination. Reproach is already indicated in the church by the disapproving gaze of the congregation. The religious significance of the dream is transparent and symbolized by the church, the pictures, the sound of the bells, and the dream material (study of the Madonna). The father's form in the dream is concealed. He is the man who will enter the empty room of her heart, he is the spirit she calls by the bell. The librarians may be her brothers (frater = monk = brother), but it is also possible that we are concerned with a holy book, the Bible. The longing for a man to fill her empty room is plain. First appears a foreign guide (the physician and analyst?), then another man. Death-wishes against her husband are clear (black satin waistcoats). 'Satin' is perhaps a play on 'Satan.'

There is plainly a struggle between ascetic tendencies (church—cloister) and the pleasures of life, and finally the flight into infantilism. The picture gallery is the museum of her soul. She will not look at the pictures. She will remain blind (dark kitchen) and recognize nothing. The vesical impulse is a symbol of the sexual impulse. She can control herself but must suddenly give way and urinate. Two tendencies struggle in her soul: the Madonna and the prostitute (cook). It is sweet to give way to the longing. It is plain that she wishes to escape from the labyrinth of her soul and cannot find the way. She desires to conquer the ascetic tendency (church). She uses the symbolism, customary with her, of urination, to express the conflict in her life. The man who will free her is approaching, she hears his steps, but she flees at the last moment from the fulfillment of her wish. The new book, that she ought to read, is the book of her life. Very beautifully is the occurrence of the orgasm represented as a bell which echoes throughout her body, especially below (cellar). It is plain also that whipping by the father for her signifies coitus. The emotion of terror is the same."

With regard to the second dream Dr. Stekel writes: "This highly interesting dream is a dream of warning and healing, and shows a plain mystical tendency. The church represents the religious and ethical disturbance from which she wishes to be freed. She is then continually reminded that she is a married woman who has vowed eternal fidelity to her husband. Her perversions are indicated as infantilisms. She has no justification (cannot obtain a ticket). She is always met by her husband, who might be dangerous to her. The billiard room is the room haunted by men with erected penis (billiard cues) and testicles (balls). I recall that she had used an india rubber ball in masturbation. Her thoughts go to her own bedroom and her impotent husband His sexual nature is a cemetery ('cold, deserted, *campo santo* sort of place.') Marriage is like a prison, and she longs for freedom. She finds herself in the street of life and her husband behind her. The dog is a symbol of her animal passion. The pony has the same significance, perhaps chosen because of its association with a riding whip. The pony shrivelled up (like the penis of her husband when he approached her). Her whipping ideas also shrivel up. Her husband will have nothing to do with animal passions. She gives up adulterous thoughts and returns to the church. Her perversion is by the rickety child's chair indicated as infantilism. The woman with the red hat symbolizes women who enjoy life. She is reminded of the 'tripper' type. But 'trip' also means a spring aside, and also stumbling; she is reminded of women who stumble and 'fall;' the ground gives way under Florrie's feet; only a wanton woman could risk herself in such a

child's seat. She feels she is sinking, and is only outwardly preserving the appearance of a respectable woman. She wishes to know her future. What will she be: a true wife or a prostitute? America is here the land of freedom. Her mother is the image of virtue, also the symbol of her womb (or would she have suspected her mother?). Now she meets N. who shows himself a blackmailer. The dream is the type of a dream of warning. She must overcome her wishes to be whipped. They shrivel as the pony shrivelled. She will not again be entangled in such dangerous situations; she realizes she has been mad. N. who was her ideal, has become a shabby person. She had over-estimated him, and she tries to free herself by depreciating him. She pictures the horrors of a blackmailing scene. N. wears a bowler, that is he has an erected penis. Bowler also indicates a connection with cricket. The full bladder seems to have nothing to do with the dream. It can merely have released the infantile fantasies, upon which as a reaction comes the warning of the moral ego. In a wider determination there is significance; the row of cherry stones signify threads of semen, the red cap the glans penis, the narrow canal the vagina, swimming is coitus, and even the three-cornered hat is a known phallic symbol. Florrie regrets that she is not a man. The conflict is concerned with whether men enjoy greater sexual freedom than women. To the glance into the future corresponds a glance at the past, culminating in the wish: Oh, if I had been born a boy! As a woman she is directed to the penis of her husband which, as we know, showed a lamentable tendency to shrivel."

In interpretation of the third dream, Dr. Stekel says: "In this dream the mother appears as a revenging and uncanny figure. It is not difficult to find castration motives here. In the finger which remains attached to the neck (transposition from below to above) is the lacking phallus, now completed or given back by the mother. We might agree with the Freudians who in such a dream see a reproach by the daughter to the mother for castrating her at birth. The terror would also be the terror of castration. It is much easier to believe in a terror of retribution. She has presumably wished for her mother's death, in order to possess her father alone. But her father has died first. The mother must follow him. The father warns the mother not to come out, it is too wet, that is, streams of tears would flow. The dream shows Florrie strongly homosexual, fixed on her mother. Masturbation (finger at the neck!) must have brought her thoughts to her mother. The first impressions of nursing in childhood (the mother's hands) seem to live in Florrie: she wished to be a man and possess the mother. She identified herself with the whipping man. ('If I cannot have a penis I will

procure a whip and show my mother who is master!') The examination by the woman doctor arouses association with the first examination by the mother. She is more man than woman. A woman must be taken by force and overpowered. She turns her back as the side on which she can be viewed as a man. Also the desire to be urinated on may recall the time of infancy when she had wetted her mother. This homosexual tendency is extraordinarily deeply concealed. But here a curtain falls and the mother recognizes what she signifies to her daughter. Longing is changed to horror and disgust. In this dream she lets the mother carry out the aggression (pleasure without guilt). But she meets her mother in that she is half naked. Interesting also is the gliding approach of the mother. We observe that the men are heard approaching, so also the dog, but the lady approaches silently, and enters the room without warning. The father is out in the rain (he is somehow connected with water fantasies), the mother wears a long train to her dress (phallic symbol). Her ideal would be a woman with a penis. But the mother has no penis. Her finger remains attached to the neck. The blue flame on the bed shows that in Florrie's heart glimmers a homosexual passion which had originally attracted her to women. She seems to have courted her mother's love in vain. Her mother has repulsed her. In the dream she revenges herself, and it is she who repulses her mother and is afraid of her. We understand the longing to urinate on the mother (Mother Earth!) as a symbolic substitute: she wishes to be a man and to fertilize the mother Dimly also we guess that Florrie suspects her mother, and that the two poles, 'Prostitute and Madonna,' are projected on her mother. The woman with the red hat, the going of her mother to America, where she assumes a masculine position, speak for this assumption. For this depreciation the mother takes revenge. Perhaps original blows by the mother count. The father finds her unfaithful and strikes her. Here arises doubt about her origin. Am I the child of my father? She has desecrated the highest (cathedral) and deserves to be chastized for it."

I do not feel able to discuss these dream interpretations, which to Florrie herself seem often "fantastic." I will only remark that, largely, they seem to me speculative, and also unnecessary, while at some points they are entirely opposed to my reading of Florrie's character, being based on conventional psycho-analytic lines which do not correspond to Florrie's special disposition. This does not mean that I would belittle the skill of the psycho-analysts in deciphering dreams. Those who are inclined to laugh at psycho-analytic dream-interpretation should remember the endless ability of the so-called "Baconians" to find cyphers in Shakespeare. Speaking

generally, however, and without special reference to dreams, I would like to say that it is very hazardous for a psycho-analyst, however skillful and experienced, to put forth speculations concerning a subject he has never seen which over-ride the conclusions of the original reporter, who, however inferior he may be in skill and experience, has had opportunities of minutely studying the peculiarities of that subject. Dr. Stekel regrets that Florrie was never regularly psycho-analyzed. It is true that there was no psycho-analysis in any recognized technical sense, but it is obvious that there was nevertheless a slow and careful process of analysis during which all the elements of the case likely to have significance seem to have floated gradually up to the surface. "The end crowns all," and it is satisfactory that Dr. Stekel, while thus freely criticizing, in the main agrees with the reported statement of the case and commends the final outcome. "Remarkable," he says (p. 233), "is the brilliant therapeutic result, which was achieved in an atypical way, deviating from strict analysis. It confirms my opinion that in analysis there are really no rules. In this case the method adopted was perhaps the only possible method." I must add in qualification of this generous attribution of "brilliant therapeutic result" that I hope I have made clear that the result obtained must not be held to be the establishment of full ordinary "normality." Florrie's disposition arose, as I have sought to show, on the basis of her congenital psycho-physical organization; it developed normally on that basis, and even if the environmental conditions had been more favorable than they were her constitution would always have colored her temperament as life actually worked out. Florrie is not, and never will will be, completely what we are pleased to term "normal." She is reconciled to "normal" sex relationships, but they do not afford her any intense gratification. Her disposition, and the ideals based on that disposition, remain essentially what they always have been. *But now she understands.* She is no longer obsessed and tortured. She is content and at peace. The therapeutic result—here as always in this field—does not lie in the personality being forced into a rigid alien mold, for that would not be really "normal" for it, however much so on the average. It lies in enabling the subject to see himself or herself understandingly, not in being artificially changed but in being rightly harmonized.

IV.

THE MENSTRUAL CURVE OF SEXUAL IMPULSE.

There is no familiar physiological process of equal importance which has taken so long to explain, or aroused such difference of opinion, as menstruation. It may doubtless be said that we are at last approaching a stage of agreement as to the essential nature of the process. Yet as regards its periodicity we are still so much in the dark that we even refrain from putting forward hypotheses.

Why does menstruation tend to fall into a cycle which approximates to that of the moon? Darwin suggested that, early in zoological evolution, an oceanic tidal element was a potent condition of life, imprinting a rhythmic character on the organisms submitted to it. Obviously, however, such a condition, even if we can agree that the ancestors of Man experienced it, is too remote to be invoked as the cause of so comparatively recent an acquirement as the menstrual cycle. It has therefore been suggested that some condition in the general or sexual life of the immediate ancestors of Man was intimately associated with the lunar cycle.[1]

In the absence of any precise and definitely known force acting among the early Primates to produce a menstrual cycle of lunar length various attempts have been made to theorize

[1]Thus, in "The Phenomena of Sexual Periodicity" in the first volume of these *Studies*, I wrote: "Bearing in mind the influence exerted on both the habits and the emotions even of animals by the brightness of moonlight nights, it is perhaps not extravagant to suppose that, in organisms already ancestrally predisposed to the influence of rhythm in general and of cosmic rhythm in particular, the periodically recurring full moon, not merely by its stimulation of the nervous system, but possibly by the special opportunities which it gave for the exercise of the sexual functions, served to impart a lunar rhythm on menstruation." And I referred not only to the considerations which indicate a greater predominance of lunar deities in early culture, but also to the fact that festivals of distinctly erotic character still take place at full moon in some regions both of Australia and Africa.

on the matter. As an example I may summarize an effect by Adolf Gerson to reconstruct the conditions under which the cycle developed.[1]

The influence of the sun on life is so predominant[2] that it is difficult in general to trace any lunar influence. Gerson believes, however, that at the period of the evolution of man conditions were present which favored such an influence. He admits that it is not possible, in the absence of any direct evidence, to prove the existence of these conditions, but believes it is possible to show their probability.

Early man and the stock out of which he grew were entirely defenceless against beasts of prey. They lived in trees or, as Gerson believes, in caves, and when it became necessary to go further afield in search of food they had to adopt many precautions. In temperate zones, where beasts of prey prowl by day, they could be avoided by moving abroad at night. (In tropical zones the heat compels all animals to hunt at night, and therefore Gerson considers it improbable that Man evolved in the tropics.) But it was only during light moonlight nights that it was profitable to go abroad at night. In this way early man became accustomed to wander at full moon, and many hordes may have acquired the habit of regularly wandering at this time. They may thus have learnt to surprise and slay the larger animals, and excursions at full moon became strengthened by association with the taste for flesh. This practice has died out because savages today are better armed for slaying animals and better acquainted with the arts of hunting, while wild animals are no longer so numerous, so fierce, or so large as in former days. Man has abandoned these nightly excursions, while wild animals themselves are now compelled to practise them from fear of man.

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[1] Adolf Gerson, "Die Menstruation, ihre Entstehung und Bedeutung," *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, April, May, June, 1920 This author had already published various suggestive studies on the physiology and psychology of sexual phenomena.

[2] The traces of a yearly cycle in reproduction, even in man, have long been recognized. See, for instance, Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage*, 2d ed., Chap. II, "A Human Pairing Season in Primitive Times."

This wandering at full moon was of sexual significance because early man was compelled to limit sexual intercourse to such excursions. Gerson assumes that at this period the male was chiefly affected by sexual desire; the female was cold and only gradually acquired such desire, this process of acquisition being indeed even still in progress. Such coldness, Gerson believes, was necessary to ensure maternal devotion. (He fails to consider that a similar result might be obtained by the periodicity of sexual desire which, in fact, we commonly observe in female animals.) Coupling was a kind of combat and the peace required for the breeding of the young was secured by the limitation of male sexual desire within periodical limits. But the gradual extension of these periods of sexual activity might have destroyed the race, through combats with the female and with male rivals, if sexual intercourse between males and females of the same horde had not been brought to an end.

Gerson endeavors to show how this may have happened. When a horde wandered by moonlight into a strange and fruitful region it would be liable to encounter another horde. A combat would ensue and the victorious horde, having put to flight or slain the opposing horde, would take possession of, and have intercourse with, its women. It would thus be easy for them to leave their own women undisturbed. The members of a horde which followed this practice would be enabled to live among themselves in comfort and peace, avoiding the quarrels which sexual desire and rivalry produce. The horde which failed to follow this practice would be enfeebled by inner dissensions.

So also it would come about that the act of sexual intercourse was regarded as a hostile act. The male who thus treated the female of another horde would feel that he had done dishonor to her, he would not definitely know why because the fact that intercourse led to pregnancy had not yet been discovered, but his feeling would be right because he had compelled a hostile horde to adopt his child. The idea would, however, be extended to the women of his own horde; to have

intercourse with them would dishonor them and be a hostile act. In this way arose the instinct against incest.

There would, however, be friendly as well as hostile hordes. These would exchange useful objects and such exchange would extend to the women. In this way a man would form a union with a woman of another horde, who, however, remained with her own horde, so long as the two hordes were neighbors, and if later they met again and recognized each other by their tattoo marks and other signs the old bond would be renewed. This bond extending over more than a single sexual season would be the primitive form of human marriage.

It is in this way, Gerson believes, that we obtain a satisfactory explanation of menstrual periodicity. The horde wandered only at full moon; the women of other hordes could only be met at full moon, and if intercourse was confined to the women of other hordes, sexual intercourse also would necessarily be confined to the recurring periods of full moon. If originally the rutting period of the male had only occurred in spring or other seasonal period of the year it would now tend to recur at monthly periods. Obviously, also, it would be to the advantage of human procreation if the female also at the time of monthly intercourse became capable of impregnation, for otherwise, if she failed to find a mate in the spring when the other higher animals usually mate, she would remain unimpregnated throughout the year. The horde whose females acquired this monthly susceptibility to impregnation would be favored in the struggle for existence over those whose females had failed to acquire it. By selection and heredity were produced females whose ovulation, sexual desire, and menstruation corresponded to the periodicity of the males and followed the phases of the moon.

There are various considerations, Gerson points out, which favor this theoretical explanation of menstrual periodicity. Savage peoples still often hold their dancing festivals at the full moon; and the dances still often present a pantomimic representation of the conditions, now entirely passed away, which prevailed when the full moon was really the

proper and only period for sacrificing at once to Ares and to Aphrodite. They are true survivals, and Gerson here seems on fairly safe ground.[1] The same can scarcely be said of his attempt to argue that the primitive goddess was at once not only a goddess of the moon and of hunting (primitively associated with the full moon), but also, like Artemis, sexually cold, thus recalling the primitive coldness of woman; we know too little of the primitive goddess we vaguely discern to speak so definitely, and the original Artemis was far from chaste.[2]

Along the same lines Gerson seeks to explain the frequent discomfort, painfulness, and mental depression of the menstrual period. It is impossible, he argues, to account adequately for these manifestations on physiological or psychological grounds. He neglects to bring forward evidence of their actual occurrence under conditions of savage life. There is nothing in the process of menstruation which need cause symptoms of pain, and slight loss of blood is normally a cause of relief and excitement rather than of depression. But they become intelligible, he argues, if we can regard them as the inherited outcome of the conditions under which menstruation arose. "Consider," says Gerson, "the nature of the impressions which the primitive woman received during sexual intercourse. They were frightening, horrible, in the highest degree painful. Her marriage bed was a bloody heath and the dead bodies of her friends and brothers lay around. Here she was subjected to the unrestrained violence of the male which still at times re-emerges as sadism or sexual pleasure in the sight of combat, blood, and corpses." The pains of menstruation arose in the same way as the pains and hallucinations of hysteria, that is, as the after-results of real feelings, when

[1] Malinowski (*Jour. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1927, p. 206) has, with special reference to New Guinea, emphasized the importance of moonlight among primitive peoples in periodically heightening social life, so that all festivities reach their climax at full moon.

[2] Briffault in his brilliant and learned work, *The Mothers* (vol. ii, Ch. XX) has discussed lunar deities in relation to women, and emphasized the primitive connection between pregnancy and the moon.

revived by appropriate associations, and it makes no difference that these associations are transmitted by heredity. Menstrual pains are really hysterical pains, not founded in the nature of menstruation but a by-product, which may not occur at all, and they can be removed by hypnotic treatment. This, Gerson believes, shows that physiology has nothing to do with them and that the biological explanation is sound.

Gerson would go further and seeks to show that the menstrual loss of blood was a necessary incident in the process he describes. It is to be regarded, he believes, as primitively a discharge for the relief and recuperation of the over-excited organism in these monthly orgies, gradually acquired as an organic property and transmitted so as to become fixed even when there was no intercourse and no ill-treatment. Although it takes place through the sexual organs it is really connected with excitement in the higher nervous centres. It depends on a vasomotor reflex which arose in the primitive sexual combats at full moon. The same psychogenous hemorrhages, he remarks, were often caused in women by shock during the Great War.

Why has sexual desire, confined to a rutting season among many lower animals, become constant in the human male? Because, Gerson answers, it has produced a valuable conserving influence on the species. It has bound man and woman more closely together in marriage, impelling the husband to court the wife from day to day. It has given occasion to the wife to stay with her husband and remain true to him, even when not needing him to protect and nourish her. Perpetual desire imparted to marriages which were formed chiefly or solely on economic grounds an increased stability and a new nobility. It was the guarantee of a happy family life. Perpetual desire and monogamy conditioned each other. This consideration, one notes, however valid, does not necessarily confirm Gerson's theory.

It may be objected, Gerson adds, that we witness today an almost religious horror of intercourse during menstruation. He thinks that this had not arisen in primitive times

and that there was no occasion for it to arise. The man would scarcely so much as be aware of the presence of menstruation, which also, as among many primitive races today, would be scanty and not constant. It was not until much later times, when wives were acquired by favor or by purchase, that the condition arose for this state to be conspicuous.

Under such conditions combat and struggle, which Gerson regards as the inevitable accompaniments of intercourse in the primitive stage, ceased to be agreeable to the husband. They had, however, become fixed by heredity to the menstrual period. It was at menstruation that woman, with an organism reminiscent of the orgies of the old festivities of the full moon, was most inclined to be quarrelsome and irritable, as indeed, Gerson adds, she often is even today. So the husband preferred for intercourse the time immediately before and after the period, when he observed that his wife was apt to be in a much more peaceful and complacent mood. In this way a prejudice against intercourse in the menstrual period itself became deep-rooted. Yet intercourse, at all events among the lower races, is practised as near as possible to the period.[1] That spring of blood, Gerson concludes, flowing from women, is the source of a great part of the blessings of modern civilization.

I do not bring forward Gerson's theory to suggest that it should be accepted. There are points in his arguments throughout at which criticism may be offered. What one notes, first of all, is the fact that he never allows for the existence of a rudimentary menstrual cycle among even many of the monkeys and lower apes. It is not only found among the anthropoid apes, which are closely allied to Man but has now been studied among various monkeys who show an ap-

[1] In proof of this, Gerson refers to the evidence brought forward by Siegel to show that the number of boys born greatly prevails over that of girls when conception takes place near menstruation, and that at other periods girls prevail. Among lower races to-day boys seem to prevail over girls at birth, Gerson states, even more than among the higher races, which might indicate that they are more apt to have intercourse near menstruation.

proximate lunar periodicity in menstruation. We must, therefore, push the origin of this phenomenon further back than Gerson supposes, for he throughout regards it as arising in early Man, the *Urmensch;* an acceptably satisfying hypothesis can only be sought in a much more primitive stock, long before the *Urmensch* had branched off in Pliocene times.

Then again, Gerson regards it as an essential part of his conception that the primitive mode of intercourse, associated with the origin of menstrual periodicity, took the form of a brutal and inconsiderate attack by the male, without courtship, and indeed without on the part of the female any of that aptitude for sexual pleasure to which courtship must be addressed. But some form of courtship, some promise of pleasure to the female, is almost universal in the animal world. We should need to know why it was in abeyance during this hypothetical period in which the menstrual cycle had its origin before we could accept Gerson's view of that origin. Other difficulties will present themselves to the careful reader, involving, for instance, the theory of heredity assumed. Gerson's conception, however ingenious, fails to meet these difficulties.

The unsatisfactory nature of such attempts to explain menstruation by the circumstances of the early history of Man and the primates, throws us back on the possibility that we may be concerned with direct cosmic influences on life, manifesting themselves when the balance of the vital phenomena are sufficiently delicate and unstable to yield to such subtle influences.

It is an ancient belief that sea urchins in the Mediterranean are subject to lunar influence in their breeding season. Munro Fox, in a careful study of the matter, has found that this is not generally true. But his observations on the spot have shown that it is true of an echinoid—*Centrechinus* (*Diadema*) *setosus* at Suez. This sea urchin really spawns at full moon in the breeding season. He suggests that the old belief that related sea urchins on other shores of the Mediterranean similarly spawn at full moon was carried thither from

Egypt where it is actually true.[1] It is not easy to connect this lunar periodicity with tidal influences since the tidal range on these coasts is so minute, being only 58 centimeters between new moon and full.

Among the sea urchins we are far from Man, but Arrhenius in Sweden, in observations which date a number of years back though they have attracted little attention, has shown some grounds for the existence of a lunar influence on menstruation which he associates with the amount of electricity in the atmosphere.[2] Richter had shown in 1885 that the moon has an impeding influence on thunderstorms. This drew the attention of Arrhenius to the matter and he was led to conclude that there is a significant relation between the electricity in the air and the tropic lunar month of 27.3 days. With regard to variations in natality Arrhenius found a very marked double periodicity according to the tropic month, the first maximum falling on the 6th or 7th day, the second on the 25th or 24th day. So he expected a corresponding variation in menstruation and made an investigation in 6000 cases in the Stockholm Maternity Hospital, based on the last date of menstruation before pregnancy, and found a sharp minimum just before the southern lunistice (about the 17th day). The deep minimum in the air-electricity curve is on the 14th—15th day, so the menstrual minimum falls about a day later. Arrhenius also found a nearly 26 day curve (that of thunderstorms, aurora borealis, and perhaps also affecting air-electricity) as well as the tropic lunar curve, and thinks this may be connected with the sun. Arrhenius finds no ground for the old belief that menstruation is con-

[1] H. Munro Fox, "Lunar Periodicity in Living Organisms," *Science Progress*, Oct., 1922, and a later paper, "Lunar Periodicity in Reproduction," *Proc. Royal Soc.* B. vol. xcv, 1923. Munro Fox found no lunar influence in the rate of growth of fruits as tested by daily measurements of a small marrow.

[2] S. Arrhenius, "Die Einwirkung Kosmicher Einflüsse auf physiologische Verhältnisse," *Scandinavisches Archiv für Phys.*, Leipzig, Bd. iii, 1898. Mr. Munro Fox has called attention to this paper and kindly lent it to me.

nected with the synodic month of 29.5 days, and considers it highly probably that the menstrual month is associated with a co-operation of the two periods (27.3 days and 25.9 days). Hannover's figures for the average menstrual period in Denmark, 26.6 days, confirms this view in the opinion of Arrhenius. He also found that at St. Petersburg (Leningrad) in epilepsy, the 27.3 days period, and in a less degree the 25.9 days period affects the attacks, which tend to fall (as for menstruation) one day later.

It is worth while to note these various investigations, even although it must be acknowledged that the origin of the lunar, or so nearly lunar, periodicity of menstruation still demands a satisfactory solution. I am not concerned further with it, except to consider its psychological aspect—the menstrual curve of sexual feeling in women.

The manifestations of the sexual impulse in women have long constituted an obscure subject to investigate. On the one hand poets and satirists have declared for centuries that the evils of the world are largely due to the sexual lust of women; on the other hand moralists and even physicians have assured the world in the most solemn manner that normal and respectable women have no sexual feelings at all. It is unnecessary to say on which side the public opinon of women, even when they chanced to be physicians, was most likely to be found. Under such conditions, it was only an occasional man of genius, like Haller in the eighteenth century, who ventured to state the truth, which should have been obvious, that there was a tendency for menstruation in women to be associated with sexual desire.

Thirty years ago, when I was preparing my study of "The Phenomena of Sexual Periodicity," it was beginning to be widely recognized that sexual desire tends to be specially associated with menstruation, some authorities placing the heightening of desire immediately before, and others immediately after, the menstrual period. Krafft-Ebing, at that time the most prominent authority on the psychology of sex, placed it usually after the period, but he gave no exact figures.

Dr. Harry Campbell, who carried out an investigation among healthy women of the working class in London, by making enquiries of their husbands, found that in two-thirds of all cases there was increased desire just before, just after, or during the flow, and that the proportion of cases in which it was increased before to those in which it was increased after was as three to two. Campbell's indirect method of inquiry seemed to me unsatisfactory, and therefore I obtained direct information from a number of women of the educated class who were likely to furnish reliable answers. I came to the conclusion that "there can be no doubt whatever that immediately before and immediately after [the period of menstruation], very commonly at both times—this varying slightly in different women—there is usually a marked heightening of actual desire." I also found that it occurred more commonly than had usually been supposed during the period itself.[1] Subsequent inquiries have confirmed this result, and have also tended to indicate that the heightening of desire is more likely to be pronounced at the end of the period than just before its onset. This seems what one might have expected if the end of menstruation may be regarded as corresponding to the oestral period.[2]

I made no attempt to plot a menstrual curve of sexual desire in woman. There were no data for such a curve, for no woman had told me of any monthy climax of sexual feeling other than that around the menstrual period. I must confess that the question of such a curve had not even occurred to me. Such a failure may seem inexcusable. I had pointed out the

[1] I quote from the third edition (1910) of Vol. I of these *Studies*, p. 103.

[2] This main result is confirmed if we find that the greatest number of conceptions occurs immediately after menstruation. This was found to be so by Siegel, in Germany during the Great War, by observation on married soldiers who were only able to return home for two or three days at a time. Siegel found that the likelihood of fertilization increases from the beginning of menstruation, reaches its highest point six days later and remains at almost the same height until the twelfth or thirteenth day when it declines, reaching absolute sterility at the twenty-second day. I have not seen Siegel's paper, which is summarized by Carr-Saunders, *The Population Problem*, p. 488

significant fact of *Mittelschmerz,* the name given to the occasional occurrence of a kind of minor or abortive menstruation in healthy women, usually appearing about the fourteenth day of the menstrual cycle and lasting two or three days. So that there is sometimes an intra-menstrual cycle, possibly indicating a tendency towards a future breaking up of the menstrual cycle into two. Fliess (in his book *Die Beziehungen zwischen Nase und weiblichen Geschlechtsorganen*) went so far as to assert that this phenomenon, which he called *Nebenmenstruation,* is "well known to most healthy women." Here was a point at which one should have sought for a secondary climax of sexual desire. But, for my own part, I failed to make the search.

At this stage enters Dr. Marie Stopes with an attempt, on the basis of new data, to construct a menstrual curve of sexual desire in women, such as Perry-Coste (and previously on slighter evidence Nelson) had sought to construct in the case of men.[1] Her attempt is the more interesting because it is brought forward in complete independence of the already established phenomena of *Mittelschmerz,* to which she makes no reference. Yet she places a climax of sexual desire precisely at the date of *Mittelschmerz.* The nature and extent of Dr. Stopes's data are not clearly stated, but her conclusion, illustrated by charts, is that there are two wave-crests in the menstrual cycle of sexual desire, one usually occurring during the three days before the actual onset of menstruation, the other during the three or four days around the fourteenth day after the onset of menstruation, and so beginning about a week after menstruation ceases. Dr. Stopes seems to regard the second climax as usually higher and more prolonged than the immediately pre-menstruation climax.

This attempt to establish a menstrual curve of sexual desire in women seemed to me to be a step in the right direction, and I resolved to test the reliability of the particular kind of

[1] Marie Carmichael Stopes, D.Sc., Ph.D., *Married Love,* Ch. IV. "The Fundamental Pulse." 1918. F. H. Perry-Coste (later Perrycoste), "Sexual Periodicity in Men," Appendix B. to vol. i of these *Studies.*

curve Dr. Stopes had found, though without any confidence that I should be able to confirm its existence. The first point was to decide on a satisfactory objective criterion of genuine organic sexual impulse, of a truly auto-erotic nature, so far as possible independent (it can never be entirely independent) of all those slight erotic stimuli by which in civilization men and women alike are constantly solicited. This was the more necessary since the method of merely general inquiry had in my hands already produced only negative results except as to the one climax around menstruation, while to ask a woman the leading question as to whether she feels a special tendency to sexual desire around the fourteenth day is obviously a fallacious method, because—even apart from the fact that few women have exercised a sufficient amount of precise self-observation to make their answers reliable—the influence of suggestion and auto-suggestion at once comes into play, and when the point is thus brought before her a woman may easily, in all good faith, find unreliable reasons in her own experience for accepting or rejecting the theory.

On consideration it seemed to me that there are two objective criteria, both of which may be used with considerable confidence in the attempt to find data for the construction of a menstrual curve of sexual desire in women: (1) The occurrence of erotic dreams, and (2) the occurrence of masturbation in the case of women who adopt that practice. Erotic dreams are an entirely normal and organically auto-erotic indication of sexual desire, largely independent of direct environmental influence, while the act of masturbation, it may be presumed, is not usually resorted to unless under the stress of an impulse sufficiently strong to be fairly considered organic. It was on the basis of one or other of these two classes of auto-erotic phenomena that the attempt to construct a menstrual cycle of sexual desire in man was based.

It so chanced that at the time when Dr. Stopes's book appeared a record of dreams was being kept for me by a married lady (Mrs. F.) for purposes of investigation. There was no idea of including the question of a menstrual curve of

the sexual impulse in such investigation, but the record lent itself admirably to an inquiry of the kind, and I have accordingly examined it to that end with the following result.

Mrs. F. is thirty-two years of age, physically and mentally normal, in good health, the mother of children, but separated from her husband, owing to war conditions, during the whole period of the investigation. This covered six months; it was not practicable to continue it longer, as the record occupied considerable time, and Mrs. F. is engaged in an arduous profession and desires to devote all her spare time to her children. Her full and sometimes fatiguing life prevents her from giving as much thought as might otherwise have been the case to sexual interests, while at times worry and anxiety have exerted a depressing effect on her vital energies. The menstrual flow lasts four days and is accompanied by only a minor degree of discomfort; the menstrual month oscillates a day or two on each side of twenty-six days, which is the average, though it so happens that during the seven periods that have been observed the average has never coincided with the actual length of any period.

For the purposes of this inquiry the erotic dreams only will be taken into consideration. It is possible that the dreams as a whole may follow a menstrual curve (as Nelson found); I am inclined to think they may; but to consider that question would unduly and unnecessarily complicate the question before us. We will only consider erotic dreams, and we have first to decide what constitutes an erotic dream. As I regard the matter, an erotic dream is one which by its psychic contents manifestly reveals an erotic situation, or else it is a dream which is accompanied by physical sexual excitation traceable on awaking.[1]

It may be added that the latter are not a separate group, for all the dreams in this series which presented physical sexual accompaniments were psychically erotic, although not all the

[1] The data on which Perry-Coste worked were exclusively the physical accompaniments; he found remarkably few traces of the dreams themselves.

psychically erotic dreams had corresponding physical accompaniments to a noticeable extent. I have not adopted the Freudian criterion according to which a dream may be latently erotic while not manifestly so. I do not dispute that this is often possible and sometimes likely, but it opens the door to many doubts and uncertainties, while at the same time diminishing the soundness of the foundation we are working on, for there can at least be no doubt that all the most definitely erotic dreams in the series have been included in my enumeration. Thus I do not include two dreams of flying, which Freud would regard as the expression of a sexual wish; their affective tone was pleasant, but the subject is emphatic that these pleasurable feelings were quite distinct from sexual feeling.

The total number of erotic dreams, as thus ascertained, from the end of March to the end of September, was thirty-two, of which thirteen left traces of physical excitation noticeable on awakening. Their summated daily occurrence in the menstrual cycle, was as follows:

1, 4, 1, 1, 2, 1, 1, 0, 1, 4, 4, 2, 1, 1, 1, 1, 0, 2, 0, 1, 1, 1, 1, 0, 0, 0. If we convert these figures into two-day periods in order to smooth the curve we reach the result: 5, 2, 3, 1, 5, 6, 2, 2, 2, 1, 2, 1, 0. Then the curve becomes unmistakably clear; we see a first climax within the time of menstruation, followed by a dip, and succeeded on the tenth to twelfth days by a second higher and wider climax, followed by a correspondingly still lower and more prolonged dip which finally ends in zero during the days preceding the onset of the next menstrual flow. There can be no question whatever concerning the reality and the harmonious formation of this curve. It becomes still more emphatically clear if we carry further the process of smoothing by arranging the figures in four-day periods:

7, 4, 11, 4, 3, 3, 0.

If the dream test is reliable Mrs. F. possesses a definite autoerotic menstrual curve.

It is obvious that the period covered by this curve is hardly long enough to encourage complete confidence in the re-

sult. A little later, therefore, Mrs. F. was persuaded to renew the observations for a longer period, beginning with 1st of November, and without noting or considering whether they formed any kind of curve. The conditions, both internal and external, had already considerably changed, and were no longer so favorable. Mrs. F. had a serious attack of influenza just when the observations were to begin and remained in weak health for nearly a month afterwards. No erotic dreams, in consequence, occurred till 4th of December. She was, however, during this second period, on the whole much more cheerful and much more vigorous than during the first period of observation. But, on the other hand, she was also working much harder, and so, probably, less observant of her dreams, which, also, were more often replaced by day-dreams. These various changes of circumstance could not fail to affect the curve. But the curve, though modified, and to some extent displaced, still remains, though it cannot be superimposed on the earlier curve. We have always to remember that, as has been shown by Mr. Perry-Coste, physiological curves taken during a long period of years, precisely because they are those of living and growing persons, are in process of constant slow modification. To attempt therefore to make a single curve out of the separate curves of different years or different seasons introduces confusion. Yet an intelligible curve still remains.

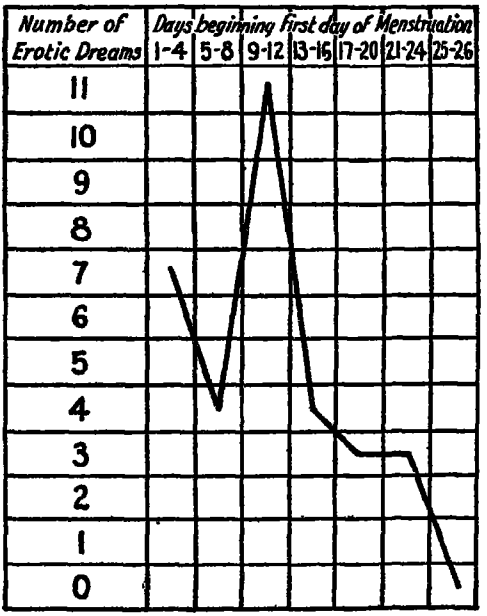
This second series of observations was continued till the end of November in the following year, and when we have eliminated the early month effaced by influenza, it covers thirteen menstrual months. There were 54 erotic dreams recorded during this period, including several that were doubtful but probable, or interrupted by awaking, and excluding others that were more doubtful. In five of these 54 dreams orgasm occurred. From the first day of the menstrual month they were distributed as follows:

0, 2, 0, 0, 2, 4, 0, 2, 2, 2, 0, 3, 4, 4, 2, 2, 5, 4, 1, 2, 3, 2, 3, 2, 2, 1.

Summated in two-day periods we find:

2, 0, 6, 2, 4, 3, 8, 4, 9, 3, 5, 5, 3.

CHART I.


Number of Erotic Dreams
Days beginning first day of Menstruation
1-4
5-8
9-12
13-16
17-20
21-24
25-26
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0

Considering the extent of the various disturbing influences this curve comes out quite harmoniously, and may even be said to be in some respects more likely to be normal than the earlier curve, although both the climaxes are concomitantly moved to the right, that is to say both are delayed. The first climax occurs at the end instead of the beginning of menstruation, and the second and main climax also occurs later, on the fourteenth to the eighteenth days. When we compare these two results, even in their difference, it is not easy to doubt the reality of the curve revealed.

There remains to test the second criterion, constituted by acts of masturbation. For this purpose I propose to use data which have been in my hands for some years, but which I have not hitherto worked out. They concern a married lady, whom we will call Mrs. A., not personally known to me, but with whom I was in touch through a medical friend[1] of hers and mine, who was permitted to copy certain entries in her diary to send me. I am also acquainted with her sexual history generally.

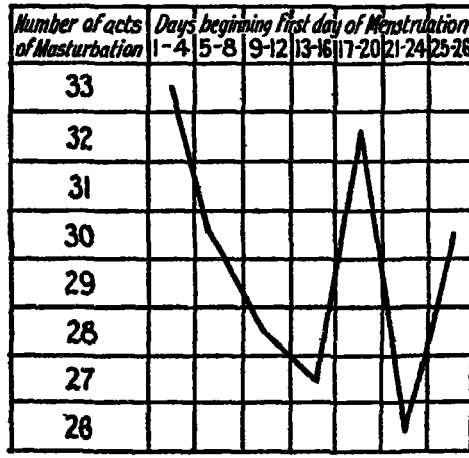
Mrs. A. has no children. She has travelled much, is attractive and accomplished, and has lived in hot countries, which has perhaps contributed to develop the sexual tendencies. She may, however, be regarded as fairly normal except as concerns the frequency of masturbation. She was taught this method of sexual indulgence at the age of fourteen, but seldom practised it at that time. It has become much more frequent during adult life, but has apparently had no injurious influence of any kind, nor has it interfered with pleasure in normal intercourse, which has often taken place shortly before or shortly after an act of masturbation. She is accustomed to note acts of masturbation (there are sometimes two in one day) in her diaries, as well as the date when menstruation begins and ends; she makes no entries of acts of sexual intercourse. The period for which I have these data covers two

[1] This, it may now be stated, was the late Lieut.-Colonel W. D. Sutherland, I.M.S. the Imperial Serologist for India, too skilled and acute a medico-legal observer to accept testimony easily.

years, with the exception of a break of a few weeks when she was away from home and had left her diary behind.

Mrs. A. resembles Mrs. F. in that the menstrual flow lasts for four days and the menstrual month oscillates round an average of twenty-six days. When the total number of acts of masturbation is summated and arranged, as with Mrs. F.'s

CHART II.



erotic dreams, beginning with the first day of menstruation, we have the following series: 8, 6, 9, 10, 10, 6, 5, 9, 8, 10, 4, 6, 6, 13, 2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 6, 8, 8, 4, 6, 3, 12. When, as before, we attempt to smooth the curve by condensing into two-day periods we have the series: 14, 19, 16, 14, 18, 10, 19, 8, 16, 16, 16, 10, 15. If, finally, we reduce to four-day periods (doubling the odd two-day period) we have this result: 33, 30, 28, 27, 32, 26, 30.

Here clearly is a curve exactly analogous to Mrs. F.'s curve of erotic dreams, though with variations from that curve. There are still two climaxes in the menstrual wave, but they have changed places. The extreme smoothening of the

curve, while emphasizing its shape, to some extent disguises the precise incidence of its high and low points. Mrs. A's secondary climax occurs shortly after the middle of her menstrual month, while her chief climax, which begins to appear and then falls just before menstruation (though the condensation involved by the irregular length of the month makes this preliminary rise even greater than it is really), is chiefly marked during the last two days of menstruation and the day immediately following. Mrs. F.'s chief climax occurs a little before the middle of her menstrual month, and her secondary climax, which is of considerably less magnitude, is at the second day of menstruation. In both Mrs. F.'s and Mrs. A.'s curves the longer and lower depression occurs in the week preceding menstruation.

I may further bring forward a case (kindly furnished to me by Dr. Norman Haire) which is interesting as it seems to show careful and precise self-observation. It is that of Miss S. aged 29. The menstrual periods began at 14, and she was regular until 21. Then she had intercourse and the periods ceased for six months. Then they reappeared and have continued ever since. Her menstrual cycle takes 24 days when out of health and 28 days when in good health. She herself divides it into five periods as follows: (1) Period of restlessness and sexual excitement, beginning five or six days before menstruation and lasting three or four days; (2) a period of depression lasting two days and immediately preceding menstruation; (3) period of menstruation, lasting three or four days; (4) period of persistent headache and vaginal contraction, lasting about a week and culminating in a sudden and brief crisis of sexual excitement; (5) normal period, lasting from nine to thirteen days according to the state of general health.

Her own account of the characteristics of these periods follows, given exactly in her own words:—

"1. *Period of restlessness and sexual excitement.* This period is marked by nervous tension, restlessness, abnormal gaiety, great talkativeness, keen sexual desire, a feeling of extraordinary physical

fitness, buoyancy and self-confidence. At this time, my dreams are vividly sexual—of coitus, of sexual caresses or of suckling an infant. Any of them result in orgasm which gives complete relief. There is no exhaustion in the morning, and the feeling of fitness continues though the nervous tension is relaxed.

"I am only able to sleep during this period if I have not worked too hard during the daytime, and am not overstrained. When I have been hard at work sleep is impossible, the whole nervous system seems to be influenced, as if there were general neuritis, and there is a kind of 'hot wires' feeling all over the body. The temptation to masturbate is almost overwhelming, as without it I always remain awake all night and am quite exhausted in the morning. A strong sleeping draught of chloral and bromide is, however, sometimes but not always, effectual in bringing sleep.

"Masturbation also sometimes brings sleep, but is not at all a desirable expedient, because it gives very little relief, makes me feel (and look) very ill and increases the pain at the next menstruation. It disturbs the action of the heart, upsets the nervous system altogether and brings a distaste for food. Apart from these evils it causes much mental distress. It is quite three days before I look normal again.

"When I am much run down and suffering severely during the period, my dreams become hideous. I generally dream of babies. The last dream of this kind was that I carried a suit case containing the decomposed bodies of two babies, but my impression was that they had decomposed in my womb, not outside.[1] I never experience fear at such dreams—I am merely shocked.

"When I am well I have dreams at this time demanding physical courage, I have to *decide* to walk through deep water, fully clothed I have a fear of deep water because I was nearly drowned when I was 15. I have tried to conquer this fear but without success. Invariably I decide to go through the water though it menaces me. I always fear that it will reach my mouth, but it never does. I wake with a strong feeling of elation that I have conquered. Sometimes I have to walk over a cliff, but there is no fear in this dream.

"2. *Period of depression.* A feeling of depression sets in which gradually increases up to the beginning of menstruation. This is the only time in the month when I can cry, and do! It is difficult, I think, for a woman with a sense of humor to cry, especially if she be accustomed to regard her own feelings, and actions, dispassionately. But at this time my sense of humor departs. Sexual desire, also, has disappeared, and there is general slackness. The feeling of

[1] With regard to this remark by Miss S. a psycho-analyst would doubtless say that the suit case is an obvious symbol of the womb.

pain and of being 'out of sorts' grows, and I am peevish. Some girls are extremely bad-tempered and 'snappy' at this time.

"3. *Period of menstruation.* When I am overworked there is almost intolerable pain for 6 hours or so before the discharge begins, so that my face becomes haggard and drawn, as in some pregnant women, and my condition cannot possibly be disguised. The first and second days of the discharge are extremely painful, afterwards quite bearable. If masturbation (or sexual excitement) has taken place since the last menstruation, the process is more painful, and the vulva, vagina and uterus are swollen and inflamed. The discharge continues in decreasing amount for four days. Sexual desire is absent.

"When I lead an open-air life, or am not drawing too much on nervous energy at the office, the menstrual discharge is increased, there is scarcely any pain, and the menstrual blood becomes bright scarlet. Even when I take a walk of half an hour each morning for a fortnight, the flow increases and becomes bright in color, the general supply for the body seeming to improve, whereas when I am tired the flow is less, the color of the menstrual blood is darker and the pain increases. All girls tell me that same thing—the healthier the girl the greater the flow. Food, too, makes a difference. I find that if I take two meat meals each day during the previous 24 or 28 days, the next menstruation shows more blood. On two occasions, I have lived on vegetarian diet for about 3 weeks and the flow has decreased—almost ceased, in fact, and there has been weakness and lassitude. Fresh air *without* extra food produces better results than extra food *without* fresh air. An open-air life and absence of worry produce a marked improvement in health in a very short space of time.

"4. *Period of persistent headache and contraction of vagina.* During this period which follows menstruation and lasts about a week there is a tense nervous feeling and persistent headache as if there were a tight band round the head. The pain is most severe in the center of the forehead above the eyes. The skin of the forehead is tight and flushed, and slightly swollen. There is a tight, painful feeling of the sex organs, the walls of the vagina are rigidly contracted, the vulva swollen and painful. The flow of blood throughout the body seems restricted. There is a general unhappy feeling of being 'out of sorts' both because of actual pain and because of the feeling of restriction. It is as if three-quarters of the personality was submerged. Instead of being, an 'active' and 'attacking' personality, it is perforce a 'defensive' and 'passive' one, because of the lack of energy. During this period I have little energy, my brain is not keen and I am unable to concentrate or to grasp clearly the details of a matter.

"This period comes to an end with a sudden welcome relaxation without any sexual excitement beforehand, but just before the relaxation there is keen sexual desire, keener than in Period 1, and the nervous tension climbs to a 'peak.' The sex organs relax, the headache disappears. At the same time there is abundant mucous discharge from the vagina if there has been sexual excitement or masturbation during the 24 days before menstruation. The discharge continues for 2 days. My theory is that this mucus is secreted at the times of excitement but cannot be discharged at once owing to the inflamed condition of the uterus When there has been no sexual excitement, masturbation or nerve strain during the previous periods, there is only a slight discharge and I feel more myself. When I make any special demand, physical or mental, on my reserve of nervous energy, especially after sexual excitement, there is a mucous discharge, and I quickly become thin, haggard, and easily tired Nervous strain of any kind produces neuritis, in the first place, followed, when the tension is relaxed, by the mucous discharge. The nervous strain is severe—the whole of my body twitches, heart beats rapidly, and it is many hours before I become moderately calm.

"At the end of this period, after relaxation and mucous discharge, I experience a feeling of complete exhaustion for a day or so

"5. *Period of normality.* For about 9 days I am now normal with no special symptoms until the recommencement of Period 1."

In minor details these three menstrual curves differ from each other and from the curve which Dr. Stopes regards as typical. That is what we should expect; no doubt every woman has her own monthly curve, which (as has been found for the annual curve in men) may even slowly vary during life in the same individual. It is almost needless to add that many further careful observations are required. Yet when we remember that the cases here reported are random samples, the first that chanced to come to hand, that they were tested by different criteria, and that, as I may add, they are not all even of the same nationality, it is remarkable that they should confirm the same two essential points: (1) the regular existence in women of a menstrual wave of sexual desire, and (2) the occurrence in that wave of two crests, of which the second roughly corresponds to the period of *Mittelschmerz*, as it is not happily termed, for it is not necessarily

accompanied by pain, and is merely the indication of a tendency of the menstrual cycle to split into two.

The establishment of this curve seems to represent a notable advance in the knowledge of the psycho-physiological life of women.

V.

THE SYNTHESIS OF DREAMS: A STUDY OF A SERIES OF ONE HUNDRED DREAMS

"Celui qui veut écrire son rêve
doit être infiniment éveillé"
PAUL VALÉRY

We have become familiar during recent years with the analysis of dreams. The typical form of such dream-analysis may fairly be said to be due to Freud. His *Die Traumdeutung* marks an epoch in the study of dreams; that must be recognized even by those who question the general validity of the principles there applied. Never before had so concentrated and piercing an energy of intellectual vision been applied to the phenomena of a dream. Never before had so much been read out of—though some might say read into—an isolated dream. On the whole, without doubt, dream-analysis, as thus understood, has become an accredited method. There may be wide differences of opinion as to its special details, or its general limitations, or its universal validity, but as a method it stands. It may even be said to stand so firmly that no other method of dream-study is at the present time being carried out with the same thoroughness, if even it is being carried out at all. Yet there is at least one other method of dream-study which is of the same psychological validity, and that is the method which I would term dream-synthesis.

It may fairly be said that the method of dream-synthesis is, as a scientific method—for as an unscientific method dream-analysis had its beginnings early in human history—older than the other method. Everyone who makes a study of the characteristics of his own dreams may be said to be occupied with dream-synthesis. In America, also, at one time (as we may see in the early volumes of the *American Journal of Psy-*

chology), there have been some more or less thorough attempts at a scientifically methodical dream-synthesis. So far as I am aware, however, dream-synthesis has never been carried out in a really conscientious and relentlessly scientific spirit. A psychoanalyst who reads any of these early series of dreams must be tempted to think that he is in the presence of people whose waking daytime lives are of an appallingly obscene character, for all the shamefaced thoughts and desires which among the ordinary educated population are not allowed to present themselves to public daily life, and often never even to waking consciousness and so are driven to seek freedom in the world of dreams, seem never to reach these people's dreams; they must all have been expended in waking life. The modern psychosynthetist of dreams, however, will have another story to tell. His experience enables him to state, with assurance, that these people are not honest: although they rarely, perhaps never, admit it, they are acting as the conscious and deliberate censors of the experiences they narrate: they are only concerned, in reality, to present a partial, tame, misleading, respectable and conventional picture of the great world of dreams. Such a method may bring out interesting points of detail in the mechanism of dreaming. But that is all. It can reveal nothing of real life in the dream-world, and can have no vital relationship to the large fundamental facts of human psychology. In the same way, a geography which prudishly refused to admit the existence of rivers or to mention peninsulas could furnish no satisfactorily scientific account of the earth.

I have significantly referred to geography because it seems to me that dream-synthesis, in its advantages and its limitations, fairly corresponds, when we are comparing mind to the earth, to geography. Dream-analysis, in its advantages and limitations, obviously corresponds to geology. The geologist cuts down below the surface, more or less at random, and draws a section of the strata he comes across, or he knocks off a fragment of rock for microscopical examination, and, in the measure of his knowledge and experience, he makes the most far-reaching deductions, which may be profoundly true, al-

though they are often violently disputed by other geologists. The geographer, on the other hand, travels over the surface in all directions and describes it comprehensively so as to present a balanced and duly proportioned picture of its whole extent; he cannot be so thorough as the geologist, who works from below upward, with its origins and genetic course; but, as he works from above downward, he is able to take with more certainty a comprehensive outlook; so his results are usually less disputable than the geologist's and may often serve to check the geologist's more revolutionary speculations. Thus each method has its own advantages and limitations; each really aids the other.[1]

The method of dream-analysis, however, as we know, with all its good qualities and all their defects, is now so familiar and so well established that it has long ceased to have any pioneering interest, or to offer any scope for scientific adventure. It is not so with dream-synthesis. So far, at all events, as I know—I may easily be wrong—there has yet been no scrupulous and completely relentless attempt—for without scrupulosity and complete relentlessness no step in science can ever be taken—to present a reliable series of dreams extensive enough to reveal an unconscious soul. That is my excuse for what I am here attempting. None can know better than I know that I have not succeeded. But I venture to think that I have been able to carry the method a step farther forward. That is all I claim. The subject we are here concerned with appeared, before this experiment began, to be decidedly below the average in dreaming activity. Moreover, although she was at the time in a rather troubled and uncertain mental and nervous condition, there was here no pronounced psychoneurotic

[1] Since the present investigation was completed, the importance of what I have termed the synthetic study of dreams has been independently asserted in a leading article of the *British Medical Journal* on "The Statistical Method in Psychological Analysis" (Nov. 11, 1922). It is here pointed out that in the interpretation of a dream by analysis "the answer must depend on a knowledge of the frequency with which dream incidents of the type considered occur" in the dream life of people generally, and that "the collection and analysis of such data is difficult but not beyond the bounds of research."

problem to unravel, such as would more especially allure the dream-analyst. The superficial simplicity of the phenomena is, I need not add, altogether an advantage when we are concerning ourselves exclusively with questions of method.

Mrs. N., the subject in question, is a lady of French birth on both sides, born and bred in France, but for many years resident in London. She was thirty-two years of age at the period in question, married and the mother of children. She was trained in an École Normale for the teaching profession, but since marriage the economic conditions of her life have often been hard and trying. During the whole of the period covered by the dreams, her husband, an officer in the army, was absent in a remote country; owing to incompatibility of temperament she was meditating a complete separation. The dreams, often noted down during the night and written out as soon as possible after awaking in the morning, were nearly all written in French, and inevitably lose in translation; for dream-synthesis, however, that loss is less significant than it would be in dream-analysis where the actual word is often of fundamental importance. For the same reason, that we are not here concerned with analysis, the dream-narratives have sometimes been slightly condensed in translation, care being taken to omit nothing that could fairly be regarded as likely to be significant. The subject is a woman of high intelligence, who took a real interest in the experiment, and tried to carry it out faithfully. It is possible to rely on her complete frankness, though the effort involved was sometimes a little trying to her. In ordinary life, it may be said, she is rather shy and reserved, though she rarely fails to secure the affectionate esteem of those with whom she comes in habitual social contact.

Dream I. Night of 28th March: A few days after the beginning of monthly period. An hour before going to bed I had a light supper with a glass of sherry, which is contrary to my usual habits. I liked the sherry but it went slightly to my head, giving me an agreeable sensation of pleasure and quiet gaiety, rather strange to me in these sorrowful days [of war time].

When the memory of the dream begins I was seated on the ground, I know not where, for I see nothing, only a gate behind me,

through which on slightly turning my head I saw a man who seemed to have entered by the half-open door. He appeared a man of the people, strong and well-built. I seemed to experience a feeling of pleasure in furtively looking at him, especially his body, covered with coarse clothing. He was a heavy, not perhaps very distinguished figure, but his shoulders interested me. Robust and solid, with those slow and indolent movements one often notes in men of the people, my man was filling a bucket, or buckets, with coal. There seemed to be coal everywhere.

Then the dream seemed suspended, but it was continued. I was now in the room where the man had been filling the buckets with coal. I do not remember getting up from the position I was in, nor entering the room, but I suddenly saw myself there. I notice that the room is long and narrow, with the door in the middle of one of the long side walls. Opposite the door, on the other side wall, I see a long shelf with books, nothing else. The coal has disappeared, the room has become extremely clean, and the man is no longer there; at all events I do not see him.

All at once I am outside the room; I do not know how I achieved this. The man is behind me at the right; his right arm is supported by what must be a piece of furniture. I turn my back to him; he dominates me and speaks to me, and without my turning round, slightly bending his head forward as if trying to see me in profile from the right. His voice is persuasive and gentle for a man of his size, it seems almost affectionate. I must have rendered him some service of which there is no trace in the dream, for he is thanking me and trying, almost tenderly, to make me accept a penny in recompense. I joke, as one would joke with a friend, at the idea that my services should be paid for, but he insists, also as a friend I still refuse, always without looking at him, and he slips the penny into the large pocket of my apron. As I still do not move, the circular movement of his right arm in reaching the pocket on my left side gives me an agreeable sensation, almost as a caress would.

Then the dream is again suspended, and suddenly I am once more in the room, still without knowing how I came to be there, and I look at the book-shelf, the man always behind me, always dominating me, and always at my right. We talk, still not looking at one another. I remark that the books are evenly arranged, that there are many of them, and that the shelf seems too long as it runs the whole length of the wall. In the middle of the shelf, placed on the others, are two or three of smaller shape, bound in red leather, like prayer-books. I take up one which I look at and like touching; I read a title: "Epiphany"

Suddenly I am in front of a window on the narrow side of the room, and on the left. As ever, I do not know how I came there, but the man is also there, always at my right, always dominating me. I am very conscious of his presence, and it seems to me that I am speaking to him of the book, though expecting a movement on his part. One would almost say that I am on the defensive; yet I turn over the pages of "Epiphany" and preserve an appearance of great calm. I do not ask myself what the title of the book means, and what relation it has to the text. Opening the book I see verses there, but do not recall reading them. I remark to my companion that "Epiphany" is one of my favorite books. He replies in a caressing voice: "Why did you never tell me so? I would have loved to have it." I feel troubled at these words and turn the leaves of "Epiphany." I remark some engravings but only recall one, of the Virgin enclosed in a circle. All at once the man's voice changes and seems almost warm. He demands brusquely: "If I asked you, would you consent to give me a kiss?" At first I do not move, I make no reply, I hesitate; then slowly I turn my head and raise it to look at him, while he bends down. We gaze at each other for a long time. I seem to be reflecting; his face looks beautiful, no longer heavy as at the outset, though at the same time I am conscious that he is a man of the people. (Then it seems to me that I begin to awake. I am in a half-sleep, or am I not? I do not know.) After reflecting, and still looking at him, I say gravely: "I allow you to give me a kiss to show you that I regard you as a 'gentleman,' but only on condition that you will never ask for another." I feel a passionate kiss on the lips, but I do not remember feeling his arms round me. I suddenly see a bed at the other end of the room, and I ask myself if he will be content with that burning kiss, if he will be a "gentleman" or if he will take me up passionately and place me on the bed. I tremble with hope that he will be strong and ardent, and at the same time I feel ashamed.

Thereupon I awake. After a moment of languor I think of my dream, recall its details, and reflect that it is a pity it was interrupted. I am too hot and throw off the eiderdown. I notice that the lips of the vulva are moist and tremulous with little spasms. That continues and I think of my husband and desire his presence. I take notes of the dream, thinking there may still be time to go to sleep again and perhaps continue the dream. It is seven o'clock. I want to make water, and do so, but retiring to bed I am unable to sleep again.

It is to be noted that during the day I had bought some biscuits to be shared with three colleagues, and there was an odd penny due to me which I had refused to take, as in the dream. Before going to

bed I had been reading an article on the Russian Revolution, and recalled a letter of my husband's in which he mentioned that under Bolshevism some of the people, a cook for instance, had suddenly become generals. That had reminded me how the same thing had happened in the French Revolution, and I reflected how often in a great crisis the people can supply men of strong, ardent, virile type. It is an idea that is dear to me. I like men of the people, and certain types of workmen of strong physique and possibilities of intelligence and vigor always appeal to me. The man in the dream was quite unknown to me.

The dream was written down in French, but the conversation in it was carried on in English.

DREAM II. Night of 29th of March: I go to bed after a supper more copious than usual, with half-a-glass of sherry. Previously, I had taken a bath which gave me an appetite; hence the larger and later supper. Coming out of the bath I could not find my warm dressing gown which had gone to the laundry, and I had my supper, insufficiently covered, near a fire that was almost out. So by the time the meal was over I felt so cold that I went to bed at once with a hot bottle and piled on more bed coverings than usual.

When the dream begins I hear someone playing the piano I try to find out where the sound comes from and decide that it is from the room immediately below. I say to J. (my servant): "They are beginning the noise again; we must stop them." We agree to knock on the floor. I do so, I think at first with my fist, then with the handle of a hair-brush, but the sound continues. I call for an iron and send J. for it. While she is away the music changes. It is now a violin. It is beautiful, very beautiful; I no longer know whether to continue knocking on the floor. Suddenly R. (my eldest boy) rises, runs towards me, and makes some remark I cannot recall about the noise. Till then I had seen nothing around me; now I see the bed R. has just left. I resolve to knock anew on the floor, for I am annoyed that the noise should have awakened R. I knock and R. knocks. (There is no longer any J.) And all at once the floor opens in a corner of the room, as if one or two boards were removed, leaving a hole through which a man might pass. I do not see the floor open, nor know how it was done; I suddenly see the hole, with the loose ends of the boards, and I am at the edge, gazing down into the room below, where I see a tall, well-built man, though rather slender, with a long face with a rather mischievous air, and long hair, turned towards me in an impertinent way. This is the man playing the violin. He stares at me. Our eyes meet, and his question mine in a bold and arrogant way. I pretend not to understand the invitation thus conveyed, and my eyes seek to give no

reply. But I am ill at ease, and I suddenly perceive that I am in a nightdress, and one that does not very well suit me; I make the reflection, however, that white always goes well with me. To escape from my embarrassment I begin to talk to the man. My voice is gentle and a trifle malicious. I say to him: "You can play as much as you like during the day, and then it is very nice; but you should not wake the children." He replies ironically, with a princely air, that he is entirely at my disposition. I continue to feel embarrassed, and I carefully replace the boards to cover the hole.

Suddenly, without transition, I am in a bedroom, whether the same room I do not know, but I suddenly see all the details. The room is square. On one wall is a fireplace. On the opposite side are two beds, side by side, square with the wall, one larger than the other, and with a passage between them. At the foot of these beds is a third smaller bed; it is that of R. but he is not there. He is with my favorite brother (now dead) in one of the other beds. I am in the largest bed, and the man is seated before the fireplace in which burns a fire. He is seated on an ordinary chair, with his back turned to us, gazing into the fire, the left leg over the right knee, and the hands clasping the left knee. I cannot see his face but I know that he has a mischievous air, although his bearing is calm. I know that he is studying me. I cannot tell how we have all come there, but the presence of that man studying me is embarrassing and I see that it also displeases my brother. I hope that the man will mistake my brother for my husband and go, but have little expectation that he will. Suddenly my brother sends R. to his own bed and rises. I see that he is angry. He goes towards a corner of the room by the fireplace. Then the ceiling seems suddenly to open, revealing a spiral staircase, and my brother goes up, seeming to disappear by a trap-door, as in a barn. I hear a sound like that of a latch in a barn of my early home. I know that my brother has gone because he dislikes the man's presence. I am now full of apprehension and wonder what will happen. I should like to be angry, I ought to send that man away, but I am tired and singularly indifferent. I decide to let him believe that I have not noticed his presence. I turn towards the wall and pretend to go to sleep. I seem to be half asleep. Suddenly the man furtively glides between the beds. I have not heard him come, but I feel a warm kiss on the back of my neck. I turn round, pretending to be indignant and demand an explanation of his conduct. There is no harm in that, he assures me, and he talks of my loneliness, and begs me to have pity on a man who is so hungry for love. He puts on an unhappy air, but there is always a mischievous expression about the corner of his lips and I feel that everything he says is false. I ask him what he means by solitude.

He confesses that really he is not alone, but that someone who lives with him will soon go away, and he will then be alone, so it comes to the same thing, and in any case he deserves my pity. He says this in a blustering and arrogant way as though the little confession were of no significance. I reprove him and try to show myself really angry at such lying. I tell him I hope he will some day know what real solitude is, such as I have known for years and years, during which I have often had to go to the pawn shop to get money for bread. He listens, still retaining his mischievous air, seeming to wait till we have finished talking in order to reach what we both of us tacitly know must soon happen between us. My thoughts recur to the kiss, and resolving no longer to beat around the bush, I brusquely ask him: "And what more do you want" He assures me that he wants nothing more. But his smile belies his words and what he says sounds false. I try to be indignant, but I am soft and languorous, and, at last, resigned. He suddenly covers with greedy and passionate kisses my uncovered legs and buttocks and back. My softness and lack of resistance seem strange to me when I know that I ought to resist, and I am full of shame. He could in reality have me altogether. I turn my back towards him, with the attitude of a cat whose belly one is caressing, except that I hide my head in the pillow so that he shall not see my beatitude. He leans over the bed and continues to embrace my back.

Suddenly he starts up like a drunken man, but always with that false air. He disgusts me and attracts me. His hand glides beneath the sheets near my feet. I am covered but I notice that I have on a night-dress that suits me. It is no longer the same one; this is open at the neck and trimmed with red braid, but I do not understand why I see it near my feet where the man's hand is. His hand is seeking my legs which he caresses, but he seems to stop suddenly in the middle of this caress, and reaches his hand towards me with the air of saying: "Let us be friends, I will keep my promise, and ask no more." I press his hand, but I know that it is false, that he will return and have me altogether, and I feel nothing but languor.

There the dream ends. I awake. The awakening is sudden and I am terribly hot, but do not at first seem to be experiencing any sexual emotion. What I feel is more like a kind of colic, but quickly disappearing. Was it really colic? Perhaps, and it is followed by a kind of heaviness as when the bladder is too full. This sensation is agreeable, and though I reflect that I ought to get up and urinate I decide not to do so. I try to go to sleep again, and in a sort of half sleep I make the reflection that such dreams should not always be attributed to the bladder. I cannot, however, go to sleep. So I get up and make water but am surprised to find how very little comes.

I get back into bed and the sensation of heaviness seems slowly to disappear, but I suddenly realize that the lips of the vulva are moving and the clitoris seems to be jumping. It is not easy to calm myself; and that annoys and irritates me. I deliberately excite myself. Then I rise to make a few notes. I return to bed in a calmer state and go to sleep again, and dream vaguely of other things.

I am told that the night was windy, though I do not remember having heard the wind. But I should say that we have a lady in the house who learns singing, and every day she devotes herself to vocal exercises that are more or less agreeable. She has a way of beginning just when the children have gone to bed and so awakens them. Last night when she began as usual, I remember saying to J: "This is getting troublesome; I must ask her to choose some other hour." She lives above, not below me. The man was completely unknown. The dream was in English.

DREAM III. Night of 3rd April: I am at the top of what seems to be a square tower. The roof is flat and surrounded by an iron balustrade, and I am seated before what is like a bureau table. In front of me is one of my brothers, A. (an author), seated before another table like mine. We are working. A harsh artificial light falls on us, recalling the electric reflectors which follow actors on the stage. I take no note of whence the light comes, nor what produces it, but accept it as natural. Everything outside this shaft of light is in a dim penumbra. At the foot of the tower, and included in the light, which spreads fanwise, a woman is seated at a table covered by a green cloth. She is beautiful, well proportioned, with a tendency to a certain plumpness which exactly suits her, and gives her the air of a velvety and nonchalant Angora cat. Her features are regular and beautiful; her skin is warm and matt, with a kind of ivory texture besides her black and lustruous hair and her heavy black velvet gown. Her hair is arranged like a halo round her head. The contrast between the green tablecloth and the warmth of this woman and her dress is highly agreeable. At the lady's feet (for she is a great lady) is a carpet of green moss of incomparable softness, and the black velvet dress falls harmoniously over the moss and heightens its tones. It is a picture of the most agreeable artistic arrangement. The lady's movements are all gracious, and measured with a careful art of which she seems quite conscious. I only note one gesture, that of opening a drawer, but her grace in this act fills me with admiration. My brother from the top of the tower admires the lady with the air of a connoisseur. In real life he is a great connoisseur of beautiful women, especially when they are rather fat. I also gaze at the lady with much pleasure.

Then the dream seems suspended, and I suddenly see myself descending an extremely slippery slope which reaches from the top of the tower to the spot where the lady is seated like a flower. I seek to catch something rolling before me. Is it a ball? I believe so, but it is vague. I seem to slide and suddenly I see what seems a row of little cells beside the slippery descent; they become like theater boxes, in each of which, I know, is a woman. The entrance to each box is closed by a cretonne curtain of bright colors, green and red. On climbing the slope again, with difficulty, for it is like a polished floor, I remark to myself that I should not like to have to do this every day, like these ladies. I wonder how they contrive to do it without falling. Have I caught the rolling object? It seems so. I do not see myself again reaching the top of the tower. Everything suddenly changes.

I am I know not where; I only see a wall, and do not note its color. A dear man friend (F.) is with me, young, tall, strong, quiet. I do not see him but I feel him. I love him. There is no desire for kisses or caresses or physical union, but I am hurt because he is distant and indifferent. I say to myself (in English): "I love him because he is the first man who ever made me feel so small. I have been small in front of the sea——." There the quotation stops. I use the word "quotation" for this was the echo of my thoughts before going to bed. Having said this, however, I resolve to be great. I get together a few wooden cases of the Tate sugar-box kind, and place them one above another against a wall with the idea of climbing to the top of them in order to be great. There are three of them and I feel that I shall never be able to climb to the top without falling. They seem too near the wall, which renders the balance uncertain since the smallest is beneath, and it is the bottom of each box that is against the wall. I feel that in climbing I shall bring them all down. But I am resolved to risk everything to be great. I do not see myself climbing; nor do I see my friend anywhere near, but I am conscious that he is somewhere about.

Suddenly I realize that I must have succeeded, but that I have hurt myself. I am very glad of it. My friend is worried about me, and that maliciously delights me. I must have passed on the other side of the wall, but though invisible I am able to see him and enjoy teasing him when I hear him ask: "How is she?" It is delightful to me that his anxiety shows he loves me.

I awake slowly and peacefully and happily. There is nothing to indicate the slightest sexual excitement. It is time to get up.

DREAM IV. Night of 17th April: The day after beginning of monthly period. A rather large supper an hour before going to bed.

I am in a room of which I see no details except a fire flaming in the hearth. My great aunt is seated before the fire. I cannot recognize her but I know it is she. She hides the fire from me, but I guess it to be there. I am seated on a wooden bench against the wall like those in railway stations. This seat (certainly English, like the fire) is made comfortable by a pile of cushions and is ensconced in an angle of the room. I am on the right side, buried in the cushions, and on the left, turned towards me and looking at me, is a man with stupid placid face and a foolish smile at the corner of his lips. He displeases and irritates me horribly. His hair is black, smooth and well combed, his skin is pink and delicate like a woman's, his face is round. He devours me with his eyes, smiling foolishly. I feel more and more irritated and constrained. I begin to ask myself if I should go to my train.

Suddenly I find myself in a bedroom with my aunt and my sister, and am washing myself feverishly. I do not, however, observe any details of this operation. I tell my sister not to forget the bag. She opens a drawer and begins, with my aunt, to fill a portmanteau. I do not see it, but the room seems in disorder. I am feverish, the idea of the train pursues me. I shall lose it. I am constantly saying so to my sister and my aunt. The thought of the man still seems to be irritating me.

Then my servant awakens me. It is a quarter to seven and I have to leave the house to catch a train, of which I had been speaking the evening before. During the day I had had occasion to mention that grand aunt who died sixteen years ago. In the evening, on returning from work, I had met a Belgian, an idiotic sort of man who has been trying to court me, and he had greeted me with a loud "Salut!" which got on my nerves. He resembles the man in the dream except that the dream man's hair was dark like that of a Hungarian who also, a little while ago, became annoying by following me about.

Dream V. Night of 18th April: I am in a large store like Selfridge's and in front of a shelf of toys when I suddenly hear the "grosse Berthe" roaring, and a shell whistles above my head, just as I used to hear it at Lille. There is a general cry of alarm. The shop girls rush for their hats and coats in order to descend, for we seem to be at the top of the building. As for me, I am looking for my children, I cannot find them anywhere. I am in great trouble. I wander about everywhere, asking everybody if they have seen two little boys.

Suddenly the scene changes. I am waiting for an omnibus at the corner of Oxford Circus and have in my hand a book written by a friend, though its title is slightly transposed in my dream. Suddenly I see Olive Schreiner (with whom I am acquainted) also

waiting for the omnibus (which in real life she has often taken at this point). I am happy to meet her. I approach and say, "You are Olive Schreiner?" She replies, "Yes and you are Madame——" (I cannot recall the name; it was not mine, but I regarded that as of little importance.) I say: "I saw to-day six photographs of you!" "Where?" she asks. I reply that it was at my friend's, the author of the book, who in real life possesses many photographs of Olive Schreiner. Then I look for the book, but it has disappeared and I remember that I left it at a sort of tea garden where I had had tea. I tell this to Olive Schreiner and ask her to accompany me to the tea garden. I am happy at the opportunity to speak of my friend. We return; I see green tables, with gravel on the ground, and find my book on a chair. Olive Schreiner suddenly changes into a very young person; she does not hear me talking of my friend, and (oh horror!) begins to flirt with some young people. I do not know where they come from, and remember no more.

DREAM VI. Night of 19th April: Last day of monthly period. Light supper three-quarters of an hour before going to bed.

Here is all that I recall: I am in a house which I do not see but know to be like mine here. The room in which I find myself corresponds to my front room. I even know that the door on my left leads into a passage identical with mine. I am near a wall. Before me is a large table. The passage between the table and the wall is narrow. I am there and looking at a book.

There is a man in the room. I do not see him, but I know that he has black hair and is well built. I know also that he is a lodger upstairs. Suddenly he is near me on the right, though I had not seen him move. With a quick movement he raises my clothes behind and passes his arm firmly round my waist. I am extremely indignant, and surprised at the audacity of the action and its suddenness All at once I see a woman before us on the other side of the table. As ever, I do not know where she comes from, but her presence seems quite natural. She is the wife of the man who has his arm round me. She shows no sign of jealousy or indignation towards me, but she seems to disapprove the man's conduct, and her face shows this clearly, while her husband maintains an arrogant air.

The scene changes. I am in a large vestibule or hall, as of an hotel or theater. At the far end is a staircase that seems to shine (I do not know what it is made of). On the left, looking towards the further end, the staircase turns and some steps are visible. It is brilliantly lighted. There is a crowd though I can distinguish no one. The staircase is encumbered with people, and I see the man of the first scene seated on the lowest step and apparently engaged in repairing it. I am in the midst of the crowd, and I feel agitated and

feverish. The man's presence irritates me, though at the same time it pleases me. I feel awkward. I have to go up the staircase to dress for a ball. I know that he is on the first step to await me, and that in going up the crowded staircase I shall brush against him and reveal my agitation. I go up. My feet are caught in the long skirt of sea-blue taffeta I am wearing. I have to stop a minute to disengage them. I bend my head to the right, the side on which the man is, the better to see the bottom of my skirt. I appear tall and slender in the long skirt. I betray my emotion. I am sure that I never said, "I love you!" but I must have said it, for he repeats: "I also love you."

Change of scene: I am in a bedroom. I see no details. I am hot, suffocating, a wave of heat rises to my face. A friend is near me, a young girl I lost sight of at least fifteen years ago and who now appears as a young woman, though I have never really seen her so. I talk to her feverishly of the man and the worry he is causing me. At the same time, I tell her I am too hot, that before putting on my ball dress I absolutely must take off the vest underneath. I see myself with the skirt of a ball dress in my hand; it is one I had some seven years ago, but I have detached it in my dream and had it washed and cleaned. I am very busy but I know I shall find the bodice and the girdle in the room and I hope to succeed in fastening them together. I feel that I am late, everyone is dressed, but I beg my companions not to leave me, I must take off my vest, I am so hot. The thought of the man still further heats me. We talk of him. He makes love to everyone, my companion says. It seems I have had to undress, for I see my companion, patient and submissive as I formerly knew her, holding out my open drawers for me to put my legs through. The drawers are short, with broad legs and trimmed with lace. I continue feverish, agitated, begging my friend not to leave me. She remains patient and placid. Two other women enter the room. One I cannot see at all; the other is another old acquaintance of the same period as the girl who holds the drawers and equally lost sight of long ago. She is dressed in sea-blue silk with a high neck, which surprises me in a ball dress. I note in her the same hypocritically austere and prudish air as when I knew her in former years. She tells us it is time to be ready. I beg them all to wait for me. I am dreading the man.

I awake. I am agitated. My legs and my buttocks are tightly pressed together. The clitoris seems erect; the vagina is in spasmodic movement. I have a horrible desire to put my hand to the sexual parts. It is difficult to grow calm. But it is time to get up and I rise. I urinate copiously, for I have not done so during the

night. I recall no details during the previous day to arouse the idea of the man or the ball.

DREAM VII. Night of the 19th (or possibly a day or two earlier as there was a little confusion in noting this dream):

A political dream about the Bolsheviks. I have an animated discourse with an acquaintance of advanced political views. He accuses my husband, who seems all the time near, of not being a Bolshevist, and I defend my husband and argue against Bolshevism

DREAM VIII. Night of 24th April: I dream that I shall lose the train but can recall no details.

DREAM IX. Night of the 25th April: I dream that I have confused Saturday with Friday, and that instead of going to the school where I have an engagement, I have stayed at home. At mid-day I realize my mistake, and my mother urges me to dress and leave quickly, telling me that I shall reach the school towards two o'clock. I dress feverishly, asking myself who has taken my lesson and what the principal will think of me.

The scene changes. I am giving a dictation to pupils; they are noisy and disagreeable. I cannot quiet them and am worn out. I am beating one and tell her I shall report her to the principal. (All this has not the least resemblance to the reality of my daily life as a teacher.) Then I am with another class which is very well behaved. I make them a little speech in which I tell them that they are behaving as English children always behave when one trusts to their honor, etc. I recall no more.

DREAM X. Night of 26th April: A week after the monthly period. Bath at nine o'clock, light supper at nine-thirty, to bed at ten-thirty:

I am in a wood. It is the forest of Fontainebleau. It is dark and I cannot distinctly see any details, but we must have spent the day there, I and my family. My mother suddenly gives the signal to leave and I perceive that my little brother O. (who seems strangely like my elder child) is not dressed. Then I am squatting down in front of him buttoning his jacket. I must be in a bedroom, for there is a bed beside me. I can, however, see nothing clearly. I hear my brother's wife telling me we must make haste. I see her with someone else I do not recognize, at the end of a green avenue, descending a rather steep path. But I seem to see her without having risen from my position, and I seem to have a double vision, both in front and behind. My mother's voice worries me for I am already trying to make haste. At the same moment I see a man approaching by a large green avenue of which I catch a glimpse from the room in which I am. This avenue is on flat ground and dark,

leading to an inn where we had something to pay for refreshments we had taken there. I do not see the inn, but the man approaches with the jovial air of a village inn keeper, and is coming to see if he can help me. He comes close and watches me dressing the child. I do not see him very clearly, but he looks tall and slender, a handsome man, with dark complexion and dark hair. Suddenly he squats down beside me and puts his arm round my waist. I allow him to, it *pleases me.*

The scene then changes completely. I am in a bedroom and have on a long night dress. I know that the man is coming. My door is shut and locked, but he is clever, and has a key that will open all the doors. One would say I can see through the walls for I distinctly see him in the corridor outside my door. He is in a night shirt and approaches my door smiling; I await him, evidently with pleasure.

Then, suddenly a head appears at another door opening on to the corridor. It is a woman's head, a sister's or a friend's, I am not sure, but someone near to me. I divine that she wishes to get in front of the man and enter my room, and that annoys me, though I do not want to hurt her feelings. I seem to be watching the man through the door. He enters. I rush to the key and turn it. The man seats himself on a sort of old oak chest, his right leg crossed over the left. I am stretched out on the bed, and the woman who had been seeking to enter comes and places herself on me. Suddenly she is transformed into the man. I am on my back and he is on me, but this position is reversed and he is on his back and I on him. The position is really strange. I cannot explain it. He is under me but I no longer see him, I only see an immense penis standing up, as large as a policeman's baton, between my legs. Therein lies a mystery. I must be lying with my stomach on the man, and yet I see the penis as though it came between my legs from behind, and I see it without turning, as it agreeably caresses me from behind. I take it in my hands and notice that it is hard. I ask myself whether I shall place it in the vagina. Then I lose all idea of the mutual position of the man and myself. We are engaged in coitus, and I am appeased. I dream that I am; I dream that it is not a dream because I can see all the pictures on the wall. They are not at all the pictures really on my wall, but I am sure that I am not dreaming, and I dream that, feeling happy, I go to sleep again peacefully, and there seems really to have been a dreamless interval before my elder boy came to wake me. It is late. I feel extremely calm. Half an hour later I urinate as usual in the morning.

I should add that in the evening, before going to bed, and without any definite reason, I had felt myself much sexually irritated.

which had worried me. The bath failed to calm me, but when in bed I would not have recourse to masturbation. I succeeded in growing more or less calm and fell asleep.

DREAM XI. Night of the 27th April: A light supper an hour before going to bed:

My younger child seems to be on my knees. He is quite naked, and a doctor, whom I cannot see, is examining him with an instrument resembling pincers of which each blade terminates in a narrow sharp point. With this instrument he pricks the child above the testicles, which seems to please the little one. Then he pricks each testicle, and the child, though he jumps a little, does not seem to find this disagreeable. Suddenly the doctor buries the instrument in the anus which seems to open like a mouth, and withdraws it, bringing out what seems like a ribbon, soft and gray. I ask if this is the bowel and he replies that it is a fragment of brain coming from the head to which it is attached by a button. He has had to pull very hard to extract it, but he assures me the child will be better for the operation; and that I shall see him change beneath my eyes. I then ask if I shall dress the child and he agrees.

The scene changes. I am seated on a sort of dray loaded with goods. It is flat and I am accompanied by a number of people among whom I recognize one of my brothers, O., and a former friend, P. Near us is a young woman I know. We are both dressing ourselves. I am conscious that we had undressed and that my companion had undergone an operation. She is still weak and I help to put on her stockings. She has two pairs, one black and another yellow open-worked. I do not know which pair to put on first. I begin with the yellow pair, then I take them off and put on the black and over them the yellow, through which I can still see the black. In the midst of this we are disturbed. Our wagon is on a tramway line and its progress is blocked. Then it suddenly moves and my companion and I are thrown back with our legs in the air, nearly making a somersault. Almost at once we are again stopped by another tramway line. Then I find my brother near me; he is seated in front and the dray is transformed into a steam car. O. informs me that the best plan, to avoid blocking the road, will be for him to turn the machine off elsewhere. We set out, though I cannot perceive the movement, and at last reach a large public place, gray, dark, dirty, and cold. I no longer see the steam engine. I cannot tell where I am, but I see little boys and girls, making water, here and there, so that there are pools everywhere. They are all standing and have the air of carrying out an exercise, for they exchange opinions regarding the operation. One of them, a little boy, takes a vessel such as I have seen used by men in hospitals, and

places it to his penis, which I cannot see. He vanishes, to give place to a little girl who repeats the performance with a chamber, which I clearly see through the skirts which seem as transparent as glass.

Suddenly I become aware that P., looking as he was at eighteen or nineteen, is gravely walking up and down the square, with a companion I cannot see, to whom he is talking of the naturalness of the act of urination. He has the grave and placid air that I have always seen in him. He adds that, before going to the front, his mother had said to him: "If ever you require to satisfy your little needs, do so." At this point my servant awakens me. [There is neglect to mention the condition of the bladder on awaking.]

In the evening, I had occasion to examine my elder child's testicles. I have never before had a dream of this kind. P. and O are two of the beings for whom I have most affection and they are often in my thoughts, consciously or unconsciously.

DREAM XII. Night of 1st May: A large supper two hours before going to bed, and just before going to bed I drink much water:

I am amidst sandy hills on which the sunshine is playing. It is very beautiful; I clearly see the golden and red tones. There is someone with me: yet I do not know who, and I see no one. It is an invisible presence, but very agreeable, and I vaguely believe that it is my friend F. We walk together and I know that we ought to be trying to reach the river. Suddenly I see the river, far off, as if between an opening in the hills. It gleams like silver beneath the sun. It is a beautiful sight. My companion and I are very happy. We hold each other's hands, so far as that is possible with a being who is felt but not seen. We are full of gladness and walk rapidly, lightly, like children, over hills and valleys, now and then catching sight of the river, and then losing it from view.

Change of scene. I am in a convent garden, and it suddenly becomes a cemetery. My companion is always there invisible, but speaking in a strange language which must be that of souls, for we understand each other perfectly without saying anything. Then I see a nun walking in the cemetery. The graves are green, the general atmosphere is calm and peaceful, but the nun looks tormented. All at once I understand the cause of her anxiety for water is everywhere appearing between the graves. It increases every moment, the cemetery will soon be submerged. I read the anguish of the nun in the sinister aspect of this field of peace. Suddenly she approaches me and says how idiotic it was for the monks to try to stop the course of the river. "One cannot stop a river; they have only succeeded for a time, and now it is rising over its banks." I try to find out how the monks stopped the river. It is not clear; for a

long time I cannot make out. Then I seem to see a sort of dam made of moss and rising about a meter above the cemetery. The river is level with the dam, spreading in a sheet of silver, and the water drips between the moss. This vision is rapid. The nun begs me to write to the Father Superior of the monks to explain the anxiety of the nuns. I suddenly see conveniently a bureau, which does not seem out of place in a cemetery, and the nun opens it and produces a tiny square of rough gray paper on which I write my letter. I do not know what I write.

Change of scene. I am walking on a hillside, along a horizontal path parallel with the valley. Other people are with me but I cannot see them. We walk for some time, with difficulty, for on the right side we are afraid of slipping down the slope. Suddenly, behind us, an immense jet of water arises and a few drops splash us. We turn round and see as if a hose pipe had cracked; but the jet is a thousand times more powerful, gigantically enormous and of extraordinary force. It is a marvelous sight, so beautiful that though it seems to me as if the river had burst at last, I cannot help feeling happy. Suddenly another jet rises nearer, and we run away laughing. Yet more jets, and always coming nearer, and we are constantly obliged to run away; but I never seem to see more than one at a time; as soon as one appears the other vanishes. The hill seems immense, the footpath is lost in the distance. There is something human and mischievous in the jets, one would say that in their grandiosely immense way they are playing with us. Suddenly going down the hill I see a long green palisade stretching along beside the path. Before the jets of water we retreat by the side of this palisade. At the end we pass through a gate and I meet a friend (Miss G) with her sister whom I have never seen but corresponded with. I recognize Miss G. and her sister resembles her. We talk but I remember nothing, if indeed there was anything said.

Change of scene. We are in a garden. Many people are there, and I am with a group round a rustic table of the mushroom type. The dream is vague. We are to eat sausages and mashed potatoes. A young girl, whom I do not know, is to distribute the sausages, two each, but she manages badly and they do not go round. I take the dish and go to find Marie (cook at a Lycée where I was a pupil nearly twenty years ago and have never seen except on my return to the Lycée as a Military Hospital). So I go to ask Marie for more sausages and she replies, in the same surly tone as when I used to ask her for things for the wounded, that I am very late. But, still in accordance with her ways in real life, she serves me abundantly and I return in triumph to my mushroom table, announcing that I have three sausages each for everyone. No one, however, is hungry.

Then I awake and have such a strong desire to urinate (not having done so, as usual, during the night) that I have to jump out of bed immediately and make water copiously.

In the evening, I had spoken of Rasputin and of the Neva into which the murderers had thrown his body.

DREAM XIII. Night of 3rd May: Large supper an hour and a half before going to bed:

I see a class with several desks and I ask someone whom I do not see why those of the M. P.'s have not been placed in the front row. I see the desks move. Someone is pushing them and placing little tables in the front row for the Members of Parliament.

DREAM XIV. Night of 4th May: A large supper at the house of my friend F., some three hours before going to bed:

I am in a road. I see mounted police passing before me. I see soldiers. They pass without ceasing. They are going to a May Day Demonstration and I know there will be a terrible uproar.

The scene changes. I am with my brother E. in the street and he is pushing a child's perambulator. A policeman (for it is in England) jostles him and says something I cannot understand but which I know is not polite. I turn to the policeman and ask why he speaks so to my brother; he replies it is because my brother is so short and he hates these little foreigners. I reply that my brother has been to the front, that he was wounded and has won the Military Cross. He replies that the French are dirty beasts (or some such abusive term) and I continue to dispute with him. The discussion becomes heated until I turn away, shrugging my shoulders. I go down a road with my brother and J. (my servant), still much agitated. Suddenly I turn to J. and exclaim: "Where are the children?" In the excitement we had forgotten them (though I do not remember seeing them at the beginning of the dream). E. dashes away to find them, running up a street; I follow him, while J. is behind. We search everywhere. I awake.

DREAM XV. Night of 10th May: First day of monthly period. I can only recall that there were bombs in the dream and that it seemed not at all interesting.

DREAM XVI. Night of 11th May: A light supper two hours and a half before going to bed:

I am with my mother in a garden but see no details. I do not see my mother but she talks to me, telling me what I ought to do with the beetroots. She wishes me to go and look for them in the garden and to carry them to the cellar in order to blanch them. So I go with a spade to dig up the beetroots. As I turn up the soil I see them, red and earthy. I go down the steps of a cellar, they

are beautiful steps in mosaic. At the bottom I suddenly see a man lying on his back on an inclined board fixed to the wall. He looks very uncomfortable. His legs are too long for the board, he is obliged to keep them bent at the knees. He is tall and extremely thin and has a fine white beard and white hair, his eyes are deep, his face expresses suffering. I am horrified. I realize that this unfortunate creature is, as it were, a beetroot put down here to be blanched. I am furious at the cruelty and the tyranny of the act My indignation is directed against the invisible and ferocious being who has willed these things to be. That being seems to me to have the body of a man, though he sometimes vaguely appears to be a woman. Taken altogether, he is a man, and my indignation against this tyrant is boundless, for I know that he inflicts the same torture on other men. I persuade the unfortunate man to flee.

Change of scene. The man has escaped. I meet him. He looks ten years younger. His face is rounded. He is physically powerful, but his fine head, ironical and intelligent, reveals also his mental power. He looks like a conqueror. Audacity is on his face. He is beautiful. A woman is with him. They seem to love each other. I certainly love this unknown man, for I am so pleased at his escape. I feel intensely happy at seeing him.

The scene changes. The white haired man is in the house of the tyrant (a woman, it seems to me at this moment) and with his new audacity he laughs at danger. He is taking a bath. I cannot see details, but the woman, his companion, is with him, helping him in his bath, though she shows fear at his presence in the old house of suffering. I am myself terrified. Suddenly the tyrant appears, a man now, in a state of jubilation. He has grabbed his victim once more.

New change. The old man lies on his inclined plank, his legs twisted up beneath him. He is haggard and piteous, his eyes are hollow and burn like flames. My grief is intense At this point my child moves and I waken. It is eight in the morning. I have a strong desire to urinate.

I remember nothing in the day which could lead to such a dream except the bath which I had thought of in the evening. The white haired man was strongly like my friend F. whose photograph (but with dark hair) I had been looking at before going to bed.

DREAM XVII. Night of 12th May: Last day of period. Light supper just before going to bed.

I see women going up a staircase. They are two friends of mine. They are dressed in red as I have often seen them. They are sisters. I am surprised at the color of their dresses for they have just lost a brother in the war (this is true). They are gay and lively, which,

under the circumstances, also surprises me. There are other young girls, ascending the staircase and talking in an animated way. They are my guests for a few days. They go to their rooms. The house is large; it resembles one I once had, but I see no details, except the attic, and that is vague.

I no longer know where I am. A lift is descending. I see that it is connected with the kitchen service underground. A dog, large as a lion, splendid and fierce, dashes into the room where I am, and disappears in the descending lift. A wild boy, who must be the kitchen boy, follows him. He is shaken with laughter. He goes to the edge of the yawning hole of the lift and calls out: "What a fine row there must be down there!" I awake.

I had been thinking of my friends in the evening, but I cannot explain the dog or the lift or the kitchen boy.

DREAM XVIII. Night of the 14th May: Supper a long time before going to bed.

It is vague, I no longer recall the beginning. This is what I remember. I see myself going down the staircase of a public lavatory. A man is at the top of the steps, leaning on the railing which surrounds the entrance. The man looks at me as I go down and makes a gesture which I cannot see but, in my dream, I know to be indecent. I turn round indignantly. What followed I cannot recall.

After that, I am in the street. I see a large theater poster, blue on a white background. The word "Monica" is on it. I decide to see the piece. I reflect that it must be called "Monica's Blue Boy," though I only see the one word in blue. I approach a large hall and ask for a seat at eight pence. I recall no more.

I cannot explain the dream.

DREAM XIX. Night of 15th May: Supper an hour before going to bed.

I see beds—three, I think—in a large room; my brother A. suddenly appears in one of them. My father is also there. We discuss whether there are enough beds for everyone. My brother O., also there, declares that two must sleep in a bed and that someone can sleep on the brown oak settee which I suddenly see in the room. I tried whether it would be comfortable for two to sleep in one bed. It would not be comfortable. It would not work.

Suddenly, through a window, I see a passing procession, with flags and white banners in the air. I am with a young girl whom I do not see, but she is a friend. We go out and join the procession. I know that it is for a wedding (though it resembles the Catholic procession of the 15th August) and I remark to my friend that I am

not dressed for going to a wedding. I show her my dirty apron; it is in fact very dirty, and of the carpenter's kind. She shows me hers, equally dirty, and we decide not to enter the church When the procession arrives near the church, which I do not see, my friend and I escape, and I see us climbing a hill, laughing gaily like school children playing truant. Then we go down on another side, meeting a herd of cows which block the way. I awake.

I had been thinking in the evening of a rearrangement of the beds when my husband returns (as I had sold our old double bed), of the new beds needed, and of the discomfort of two in a bed. During the day I had seen young people with carpenter's aprons going to the carpentry school; also I had met cows in the road The procession I cannot explain.

DREAM XX. Night of 16th May: I see myself trying to buckle a portmanteau which is too full. I cannot succeed. Then I have to make haste to go and eat my pudding.

DREAM XXI. Night of 20th May: Light supper an hour before going to bed.

A girl, whom I cannot see but know to be very young, tells me that a dear friend (F) is dead. I am deeply moved but the young girl is even more so. I know (and there is no need for her to tell me) that she loved him, and that he loved her. I feel full of pity and affection for her. She leads me, and I see him stretched on a bed. I see his fine head, at least the dream tells me that I see it, though I do not actually recall seeing it. I only see a long body extended on a bed in a small room.

The scene changes. An elderly woman (it is perhaps my mother, there is a vague idea in my dream that it is) seems occupied with the idea of my friend's death. Suddenly she rushes towards me in indignation. I do not know where I am, but I see her before me, and angry, for he is not dead. She must be telling me what she has seen, though I hear nothing in the dream. One might say that I see what she tells, and that it is this vision which makes me smile maliciously. I see (is it her narrative appearing to me in image?) what in the dream is a railway station, though there are no precise details. My friend is walking about, dressed in a navy blue costume I have never seen him in, and he meets the elderly lady who looks at him indignantly. He, for his part, is calm, with a slight mischievous smile on his lips.

Change of scene. I am stretched on the bed with my friend. It is in the same small room as before. From the bed one sees a large room through the open door. I know that he was only pretending to be dead, playing a trick, and now everyone knows it was a trick.

He has the air of not caring a damn. He is stretched out beside me, his cheek against my cheek. I embrace him softly and ask playfully what he will say when the old lady asks him why he comes to see me when he is dead. He replies proudly, with an air of contempt for people who will believe anything: "I will tell her that it is my ghost." Then I embrace him laughingly, without paying any attention to the servant girls who are looking at us angrily, through a window of opaque glass. The room seems to be behind the kitchen, and the girls are looking through a corner where the glass is transparent. On the other side is the large room visible through the open door. I see women seated on a bench facing the door and also gazing at us angrily. Then I awake and find it morning.

I had gone to sleep thinking of my friend whom I had been to see that day.

DREAM XXII. Night of 21st May: After returning from a visit to Kew Gardens, a rather large supper and to bed soon afterwards.

I am doing my hair in a hurry for I fear I shall be late for my work. I go out for breakfast. I meet two enormous elephants with trappings of red and yellow. These elephants bar my way. With trunks in the air they look threatening. I know that there must also be others. They belong to a firm of furniture removers (I think that in my dream I could detect the name of Whiteley) and I seem to know that there is behind them a stable and straw. I feel very small in front of these monsters. What shall I do? I am pursued by the thought of the lessons I have to give.

Change of scene. Someone, I know not who, is asking me if I know the little restaurant where one can have so large a meal at so low a price. I turn the corner of a street and see the restaurant, a corner house. I enter. It is a plain square room with a few tables. I awake and find it morning.

The hair dressing and lessons are easily explainable from frequent experience; the elephants are inexplicable.[1] I had been speaking to my servant about going to a restaurant, and I had just been reading in bed, before going to sleep, a scene in a novel about a house removal which had made me laugh.

DREAM XXIII. Night of 24th May: Late supper and to bed immediately after.

I am cutting out a green dress and get into difficulties over it. The square neck, in particular, I cut wrong. I take much time over it, for the material has been too much exposed to the sun and has lost color in places. It is now light brown but the upper part is

[1] But they are probably to be explained by an unconscious analogy between Kew Gardens and the Zoological Gardens.

still green, and that worries me. I decide that I must leave the stuff in the sun so that it will become brown all over, and think that will be pretty.

Suddenly I see the name of E. D. Morel. I am defending him against someone whom I do not see. Then I see the name of Montesquieu and the title Lettres Provinciales. (But I do not know what this interruption of the dream signifies.) I return to my dress. I perceive that its green material is embroidered and that I have awkwardly cut the embroidery. I carry it to a dressmaker (a woman I have not seen for ten years) whom I address by her real name, a tall, lean, awkward woman. She examines the dress, tells me she can put it right, and asks me if I will keep the fur (it appears to be called swan but was not white but reddish).

The scene changes. I am holding open a door. Before me are boys with baskets full of pots like jam pots but they are ink bottles. The children are my pupils, making me a present of ink. I seem delighted. I carry the bottles (resembling earthenware jars) with great care, fearing to spill the ink, and place them on a shelf. I return towards the young folk and embrace one of them, saying that he is the friend of my childhood. (He vaguely seems to be my early friend P.) One of the others wishes me to embrace him too, and I do so with the distant air of a sister. I awake. It is morning.

I had spoken of Morel during the day, and had also been sewing. The appearance of pupils is also natural, though not the embraces. The strange salad of Montesquieu and Pascal is inexplicable.

DREAM XXIV. Night of 25th May: Usual supper, half an hour before going to bed.

I see the old house in which I lived some months ago. Really I only see the staircase. I am at the top, leaning on the banisters, and speaking to the coal merchant's son who, quite black, is going down with an empty sack under his arm. He is on the last step of the stairs and turned towards me. I tell him that if his father would like to take my flat I would let it to him. He asks how much I want and I reply that his father can pay what he is paying at his present place. That is seven and sixpence a week, he replies. That seems to me very little but I decide to accept.

Change of scene. I am knocking at a door. I know it is the coal merchant's house. I have a vague idea that I am going there to spend the evening. A youth opens the door, no doubt the son, and he tells me that to-day we are going downstairs. His tone gives me the impression that I have been there before and that we are intimate. I see vaguely, as if my memory were going back to previous visits, a room at the top of a dark staircase. Then I am in a room brightly lighted by two windows. I know that it is the

dining room on the ground floor. On a table between the windows I see conspicuously, in a well-known hand, a letter addressed to me (my real name followed by an old family nick-name). There follow several lines, in the same writing, which now escape me. They made me smile. I am moved and delighted at the sight of the letter, but also astonished to find it there. But I realize that no one ought to see it and quickly slip it through my blouse into my bosom. Then I see the coal merchant. He is very clean and neat, with the air of a gentleman, and perfectly at ease. I have the impression that I had seen him walking down the stairs in a lordly way. He asks to come and see my flat. We go into the next room where I see a tall lady in laces, seated in a rose-colored chair. He presents me. Thereupon I awake.

I had thought about coal before going to bed and of telling the coal merchant not to send coal this week. I sometimes think of letting my flat, and that evening I had been invited to tea by people of the working class.

DREAM XXV. Night of 27th May: A large supper an hour and a half before going to bed.

I pass near a horse standing by the footpath. As I pass he suddenly turns his head and seems to want to seize me with his mouth. I know he is hungry. A man appears near me. He is the master of the horse which, he tells me, is hungry. We walk on talking; the horse disappears. The man is a pedlar and pushes a little hand cart. We walk on cheerfully, very good friends. We seem extremely happy, and must be saying very witty things for we are as light as birds. But we must be tramps for we are hungry. We are seeking—but this very vaguely—for rolls and sausages, but suddenly we see a car of roast chestnuts. It is a strange vehicle, looking like a fire engine as it passes along the road, and in my dream I have the impression that it is a fire engine, noisy and shining, and like a great cask. The man and I run after it, but cannot catch it up. I awake.

I had been speaking the day before of the chestnut avenue at Hampton Court. The rest I cannot explain at all.

DREAM XXVI. Night of 2nd June: A light supper half an hour before going to bed.

I see an enormous bed with gray curtains, like the bed of my father and mother. On this bed, with its white and well-drawn quilt and its rose-colored eiderdown, I see human excrement. It is very abundant. I am indignant, furious. I know my brother A. is the culprit. How can he dare to behave like that at his age? I ask us I clean the horrible thing. I am afraid that a stain will remain on the eiderdown and I take a damp towel.

Suddenly a woman I cannot see comes and tells me that the culprit is not my brother, but a wounded soldier who is paralyzed and not responsible for his acts. One must not bear him ill will, and I forgive him as one would a child.

During the day my younger child had committed a similar misdeed but on the garden lawn. On awaking, at eight o'clock, I had a slight colic pain and was obliged to go to the w. c.

DREAM XXVII. Night of 5th June: I see a small boy gathering myosotis. I see the bunch in his hand. A blue flower falls. I see it on the ground. The rest escapes me.

DREAM XXVIII. Night of 7th June: Last day of monthly period. Light supper an hour before going to bed.

I vaguely see water more or less everywhere. Then it becomes more definite and there are two immense basins surrounded by thick green hedges. They shine in the sun, and seem to extend to right and left, and especially to left in the far distance, so that they almost have the appearance of rivers. The higher one, for they are on a terrace, as it were two stories, is particularly immense and covered by tall, thick reeds. The sun shines on everything; it is superb. I am contemplating the scene from a window, a low window like an alcove with seats round (resembling those at Hampton Court). It is a dear little nest, and I am not alone; a man is with me. At first I do not see him, I feel him, quite near me, surrounding me and imploring me, though I do not know exactly what he wants. He annoys me, however, all the more since a woman, who also is not visible though I feel her presence, seems much interested in my man and rather jealous of the care he is expending on me. I am worried at the poor woman's trouble and try to repel the man, who is irritating me, but in vain. At last the woman, seeing that she is losing her time, declares that she will go for a swim. There is, however, no conversation. It is as though conversation was carried on by gestures which the dream describes and explains. Through the window I see the basin full of reeds and I consider that it is not prudent to go and swim there. I do not know whether I tell the young woman of my doubt, but I am disturbed about her for she has gone.

Change of scene. I see a woman in bathing costume standing in the water which reaches half way up her legs. She smiles to the man and to me. There are no more reeds. The water is now like a beautiful calm river glistening in the sun. Suddenly I see the man beside me. He is dressed in something like tights, perhaps a bathing costume, which is soft and shines as though wet. It is of old rose color, and in touching me and pressing against me I have the im-

pression that our naked bodies are together. Then suddenly we reach coitus, though I see no details of this operation. I only know that it is delicious and that I am happy.

Change of scene. I am alone. I undress to go to bed. I seem vaguely to remember what has just happened, as of something happy. I reflect that these rooms leading one out of another (as at Hampton Court) are not convenient, for other people will have to pass through my room. This is small and square, with doors and panels of oak (as at Hampton Court), but horror! all painted over white. Suddenly I discover two more doors in the room. Through one which is ajar I see, though this is vague, two women seated in the next room. The other room, also white, leads into a corridor. After all, the rooms do not run in a series. I feel reassured. I awake.

No erotic sensations on awakening but a strong desire to urinate and much pleasure in doing so.

Four days before I visited Hampton Court with my friend F., and the thought occurred to me that it was a charming place for lovers.

DREAM XXIX. Night of 8th June: Late but light supper.

I am trying to make my elder child R. eat a pudding which he does not like, and I say to him, "It is very good, it is a pudding called"——and I give it the name of the road in which lives the friend with whom I went to Hampton Court. I proceed to emphasize the goodness of the pudding. After that, there was some question of Hellenism, but the details escape me.

During the day I had had difficulties with my child over a pudding. The road clearly stands for my friend.

DREAM XXX. Night of 9th June: A light supper late and to bed an hour after.

I am in a road and suddenly a bomb bursts, then another. It is terrible, bombs and noise everywhere. It is a raid. "Where is R.?" I ask, and suddenly I see him, pale and shoeless, against a wall. I take him in my arms, caress him, and whisper reassuring words. I reach an empty house, with the notice up "House to Let." A woman is coming down the steps. It is the house of Mrs——(wife of my friend F. and now dead) who had invited me to come with R. (this had happened). She was not there, the woman told me. (This also had once happened.) But I could go up—there were people taking care of the house—and make myself at home. I shall find R's shoes in the bedroom at the top of the house. I enter the house, which seems deserted, and fear to turn on the electric light, for the raid continues and there are no curtains. But I light a lamp and go upstairs, looking and feeling for the shoes, with R. in my arms. I awake and very happy to do so.

I had been anxious about Paris and its bombardment. I was also worried about shoes for R. as they are now so dear.

DREAM XXXI. Night of 12th June: Supper a long time before going to bed.

I am making a pie. I ask advice of someone, it seems my servant, about making the crust. It is very vague.

DREAM XXXII. Night of 13th June: A week after the monthly period. A bath before going to bed. I am singularly excited sexually, and do not know how to calm myself for sleep.

I am in front of a large house. I am very lightly clad, but I am not sure whether I am in underclothes or in night dress. I only know that it is white, and that I have no dress on. I am going to see my friend F. His house looks vast and imposing. I feel quite small and trembling as I seek an entrance. I am in front of a few steps, leading to a kitchen below ground and I will enter there, but before doing so I move back and gaze up at the house to see if I can perceive any lights. I see one window lighted up. It is that of F. How good it would be to be in his arms, close against him I experience a delicious sensation in thinking this.

That passes. I am in a long corridor, below ground, with a bare floor. I meet a servant who says, "Yes, she is going to see the old gentleman." But she seems to be taking it as a matter of course, and allows me to pass. I am wandering through a large house like one in which I once lived. I am on the staircase, and meet people I realize that the house in which my friend lives is really several old houses united in one, and that I am in the worst part of the building. I say to myself that corridors of communication have evidently been made, and I seek one. On every floor I see a door, but it is certainly not that of a bedroom. On the first floor I open the door of a w. c.; on the second also; but I see nothing for I quickly close the doors again, though on the second floor I know there was someone inside, for I have heard the sound of paper. At last I am in a very long corridor with a thick red carpet. I reach a room at the end of the corridor, my friend's, I say to myself. I enter. It is empty, the bed is vacant; the furniture is covered as though the room had not been occupied for a long time. I am disappointed, but, on the whole, not very much. I throw myself onto the large empty bed, as if pretending there was someone there It is cold; I quickly get up I wander in the labyrinth of corridors

I awoke experiencing no particular emotions, and quickly went to sleep again, to dream no more, so far as I know.

DREAM XXXIII. Night of the 15th June (On the night of the 14th I had felt much agitated sexually on going to bed, but remem-

bered no dreams on awaking.) To bed immediately after returning from a visit to F. I am calm and happy and go to sleep thinking of him.

I am looking for a pump to pump up the water which is threatening to flood Paris. I see Paris in danger. I will save Paris, like the shepherdess, Geneviève of old. I stamp my feet energetically as I repeat that I will save Paris. But I must have that pump. The water that is going to inundate Paris comes in glass boxes of cubic shape, placed one on top of another like a transparent and cellular wall. Many are already empty. But I will save Paris. I must have that pump.

The dream is chaotic. I awake for a few minutes and go to sleep again after carefully repeating to myself the key words of the dream, many times over.

I am in a law court which resembles a theater. The judges are on the stage and the accused are in the auditorium. I am among the accused. The noise of the crowd present is terrible, and the judges cannot make themselves heard. Suddenly, the public and the prisoners rise like one man and defy the judges, singing a Royalist song of which I distinctly hear the words and, it seems, the air, but which I could not recall on awakening, even when humming the only Royalist song I know. In the face of this tumult the judges shout that since we behave in this manner we must certainly be guilty, and they condemn us in the mass to a punishment which must be terrible, by their expressions, but we do not seem to care.

Change of scene. We leave the court. I am with a young woman. I am pushing her child's baby carriage. I am awkward, the carriage overturns, the baby falls on his head and screams; the mother seems not to care. I find it all natural, pick up the child, console it, tell the mother it is only a trivial accident, and we go on. We reach two rocks, one on each side of a small stream of water. We have to cross it with the baby carriage. The rocks are slippery. I stumble forward. The carriage is again overturned and the child strikes his head against a rock. He is now hardened; he does not cry. The mother remains indifferent. I awake with a desire to urinate.

The Law Court was suggested by a recent trial and an article on "Immorality and the Law" which I had just read.

DREAM XXXIV. Night of the 16th June: To bed immediately after a light supper.

I seem to see a horse and carriage and am myself in another pony carriage which I am driving. The two vehicles collide I do not see the accident, I only see the result, and my brother E. is lying drowned in a sort of stream which flows peacefully on the

right. He floats on the surface of the water, calm and as though asleep, like Ophelia in pictures. At this sight I take no notice of the accident to the carriage but jump down to pull my brother out of the water. How? I do not see, but I see myself kneeling on the bank near my brother's extended body and striking his hands He is saved, I know not how.

Change of scene. I am proceeding, with other people—whom I do not see except one, a very large and tall man—towards a laundry house. It is not visible but I divine it to be situated, in the French fashion, on the bank of a river, and washing goes on to the sound of beaters. We are all going to wash linen, but we go seated in little boxes mounted on wheels, with our legs outside, in the fashion of a child's play wagon, and we propel ourselves with our hands, holding two pieces of wood. It is a fantastic course, over imposing hills and valleys, over rocks, over an inclined plane made of slippery planks, like a switchback. At last we reach the laundry house, though I do not see any water. I am looking everywhere for my beater. I awake with a desire to urinate, which I do. Then I fall asleep again; and have the following dream:

DREAM XXXV. I am, I believe, in a kind of school. It vaguely seems that I am one of the pupils. There are other pupils around me. I suddenly find I am on the knees of a young man, also a pupil, who is seated in a chair. My head is turned up and bent back, with the hair flowing down, and he leans over me. He gives me a kiss on the mouth, I feel his tongue, but we seem more like pupils than lovers, I reflect to myself; is it not idiotic to allow myself to be embraced like this when I am happy with my friend F.? But the operation continues for a while, as well as my reflections on it. Suddenly, I know not how. all the pupils, male and female, are mounting an inclined plane of slippery planks. We mount them by the aid of two short pieces of wood with which we push on each side. I do not know how we could effect this, and in any case I see nothing. We reach a class room and I look for my books in the midst of the noise made by the pupils. I awake.

My brother, who comes into the earlier dream, had been much in my thoughts. The method of locomotion, entering into both dreams, is inexplicable.

DREAM XXXVI. Night of 17th June: To bed immediately after a light supper. During the day my elder boy had seen Charlie Chaplin posted up outside a cinema and persuaded me to take him in. I was distressed for it was all war, pillage, women insulted, altogether horrible. But he would not leave till we had reached Charlie. Hence the dream:

I am in a house, a sort of restaurant, with tables on trestles (as seen at the cinema). At one table, I do not know if it was mine, a man is talking. He says: "The girls in uniform are just lined up outside, some of them are pretty, and one can choose and do what one likes."

Change of scene. The same man is seated beside a quite young girl whom he is gently teasing, and she seems to like it. She is pretty. I seem to be in a corner and I feel that I am a spectator of the horrors being perpetrated in this house. It seems to interest me and leaves me rather cold. But—has the man insulted the girl? I am sure of it. She runs away, rushes to a staircase; he follows her, others also follow, all men. He pushes them back furiously with a dramatic gesture and exclaims, "She is mine!" They draw back timidly. The man adds: "We shall see what I will do to bring her to reason!" The stairway seems to have no rail, but to be between two wooden partitions. The man is at the top pursuing the girl, but he is turned towards those who are following him (almost exactly as a scene at the cinema). We are all at the bottom of the stairs. We hear a noise above, a coarse voice, then two shots, the cry of a woman in distress; it is the young girl. Will no one interfere? I hear the man cry out: "If I cannot have her I will burn her alive!" Suddenly the house bursts into flame like a torch. I escape, just in time, for the place is falling in ruins.

Then I am in the street with a young girl whom I have not seen for years. We are looking for the railway station and discussing these horrors quite calmly. I awake.

DREAM XXXVII. Night of the 18th June: A light supper an hour and a half before going to bed. I go to sleep happily and peacefully, hoping I shall dream of F., of whom my last thoughts have been. Nothing of the kind:

I am afraid I shall miss my train. I am polishing my boots. I see a large black cloud and I say, "We shall have *more* rain!" I awake. It is time to get up.

DREAM XXXVIII. Night of the 19th June: Light supper before going to bed. The dream is indistinct and escapes me. It is about school.

DREAM XXXIX. Night of the 20th June: A light supper a long time before going to bed:

I am lying on a bed with my child R. I seem to be in a night dress. I rise and sit on the edge of the bed, showing R. a large building on which is written: Bains, Paris, Londres. The bed seems to be out of doors for it faces the building of which we see the frontage. I say to R. "Would you like us to go and have a bath?"

A man half concealed behind a corner near the bathing establishment looks delighted at the idea that we are going to have a bath. Then I was awakened by the alarm.

During the day I had spoken to R. of baths.

DREAM XL. Night of 21st June: To bed a long time after a light supper:

I am with my friend K. (a pacifist, whom I much like, secretary to a prominent Labor politician). She asks my news. She assures me that the Germans will not take Paris. I reply that I am not sure; I have fears about Paris. But I hear nothing except my exclamation: "Poor Paris!" as I burst into tears and bury my head in my folded arms, sinking on to a step which seems to lead to a platform where I vaguely seem to see mannequins dressed as in a costume show room. K. puts her arms around my shoulders, but I continue to cry and sob. I awake with a start.

I had written to K. in the evening, mentioning my latest news from Paris.

DREAM XLI. Night of 22d June: To bed directly after a light supper:

I am seated in the front row, either at an open-air theater, or a garden fête. I am looking about for my husband. He has gone to speak to someone and is coming back, though I have the vague impression that he is restless.

Change of scene. I am with my husband on a high sand dune which on one side is precipitous, almost vertical We wish to descend the dune. I look towards the precipitous side, but he seems trying to draw me towards a green and gradual descent farther on. Though the dune is high I seem suddenly to come to a decision; laughing like a child I slide down the precipitous side, in a seated position with my skirts raised behind me. It is delicious. He looks at me from above.

Change of scene. We are walking in a quiet and friendly way, talking the while. I ask him: "Have you got that thing?" I know I mean a contraceptive. He replies: "No, but it does not matter. It is not absolutely necessary. We can do without it." I insist. "No, it is not safe; I do not want any more children" Then we seem to change the subject, but continue to talk affectionately. He has his arm round my shoulders, holding me close to him as we walk I say to him: "You have never told me your intentions. Are you coming here for good? They may take you away." He shrugs his shoulders, as though to imply that he is indifferent. I see him distinctly as I saw him last before his departure, and I talk to him about money and prices and household expenses.

Change of scene. I vaguely see a hotel, the Hôtel de l'Europe. It is all confused. There is a public place where my husband works at a table, with a telephone. There seems to be a question of going to another hotel. Someone, I, it seems, must have had a baby. I see a doctor who is scolding me. I have got up, in my nightdress, the day after confinement, and have a baby in my arms. I am standing near a bed. I say, "I could not let her cry like that."

Change in scene. My husband is leading me to his hotel. I reflect that it must seem strange, that I should be confined in a different hotel from his. I feel jealous about the two hotels but I am happy with him. He opens the door of a bedroom. There we find a servant dusting. It is annoying that we cannot be alone, but the room is very large, and at the further end we find an enormous bay window separated by a long white muslin curtain from the rest of the room and with a long seat against the window. There we can quietly talk. We go there and sit down. Suddenly I observe, still in the bay window and the wall to the left of it, a bed high up and concealed in an alcove; it seems an old carved oak wardrobe, a little open at the top, so that one sees the corner of a white pillow. This bed makes me smile, and I see a corresponding one on the other side. I say, smiling, to my husband: "How do you suppose I can come and see you if we are to be perched up so high?" Then I seem to be aware of the presence of a second maid. But my husband does not seem to mind. He shows me another immense bed in the room, with gilt pillars. We are happy. I awake and find I am sexually excited.

In the evening a telegram had come addressed to my husband, and I had been wondering where he is just now and talking about him. I believe that all the latter part of the dream was in French, but whether the earlier part was in English I cannot be sure.

Dream XLII. Night of 22d June: I was in Paris, traveling by train, seated on the top of the engine and talking to the engine driver. I seem to be much amused, but I can recall no more.

Dream XLIII. Night of the 27th June: First night of menstrual period, which arrived rather to my surprise, for I had lost count of the days. Supper with F. and to bed immediately on returning home:

I am in a room and see nothing, but there are people to whom I am talking. I cannot definitely recall anyone. Then I see chairs in yellow wood, a sort of polished walnut. The seat is of open-work wood. There is also a folding couch. I believe that all the chairs fold. I am saying (in English) to someone: "Is it not nice of him to give me all these chairs?" I know that it is my early friend P. who has given me this present; I do not see him, I feel grateful.

"Change of scene. I am with one of my old girl friends of college days. We are in a room undressing to have a bath. I see no details. Someone tries to enter. It is a man. Is it P.? I do not think so. I leave this room and meet a man I seem to know. Suddenly everything becomes dim and all I can remember is that I and this man are in the act of coitus. My legs seem to be separated and bent at the knees. I see this distinctly as well as the pubic hair, and the sexual region seems raised and projecting. I distinctly feel the penis in the vagina. I even seem at the same time to see it, small and pointed, not longer than a child's, but hard and firm. The sensation is of an agreeable tickling. I cannot recall the awakening. Possibly I awoke for a few minutes and went to sleep again. At the final awakening I detected no emotion.

On going to bed, with the recollection of a pleasant evening, I had felt slightly excited sexually. The detail of the chairs was suggested by a recent conversation.

DREAM XLIV. Night of 28th June: To bed immediately after a late but light supper:

I arrive at my friend F.'s. I ring at the door and as I go up the stairs I say (*in English*) to myself, "*Why did I ring? I never do*, and he always knows my footsteps on the stairs." At the top of the stairs I see him, very distinctly, in clothes I know, and smiling radiantly. He is standing on the landing against the wall (the details are as in reality) and seems slightly bent forward as if to salute me in the French manner. With extended right hand he points to the door of the flat. I stumble on the top step and drop a brown paper parcel, tied with string, which I had in my hand. I clearly see the landing paved with gray marble, in squares of two tones which harmonize marvellously. My friend wears the malicious and indifferent air he often has in my dreams though less often in real life. When I reach him he boldly attempts to embrace me. I repel him because of the neighbors. But we enter the flat close together. Then I see the entrance passage of the real flat but paved with gray slabs like the landing. We reach the bedroom at the end and we sit on a white bed close to each other, I on his left. I see him very clearly. He says to me: "You did not mind me asking you here? You French people do things so well." I do not recall anything else, though I see in my notes a reference to the kitchen which no longer says anything to me. I awoke happily, made my notes and went to sleep again.

DREAM XLV. Same night: A pupil is noisy. She is talking with another young girl. I see them at their desks but do not recognize them. I say to the first (in English): "You will not do that again!" But immediately she does. I am furious and say: "You will go and

report to the head master that you dared to do what I had just told you not to!" She descends the stone staircase leading to the principal's room, and I must be following her, for I see her suddenly pass the door and run into the yard. It is all very clear. I run after her. I know there are many pupils, boys and girls, in the yard, but I see no one. I run after the girl, who is dressed in brown with a brown hat. I feel that my dignity is at stake. Shall I catch her? We are suddenly face to face, lively and heated as two children. She has her back to the wall, and tries to escape, but I catch her. I awake.

This dream is absolutely opposed to real life at every point, even as regards the costume of the pupils.

DREAM XLVI. Night of 1st July: A light supper and to bed an hour after:

I am in a house which I do not know and can only see vaguely. The room is large and spacious. I vaguely see tones of old oak but cannot tell what they belong to. A tall lady in black approaches, but does not seem concerned with me. I am sorry for her for I see she is suffering. He is dead, and she is his wife. I do not know who he is, there is no name, but I know it is someone I had loved. I experience a feeling that is almost religious, and I wish to touch the furniture that belonged to him. I have a feeling of profound and intimate communion with all that surrounds me, even with the carpet on which I am standing. I feel as though I would like to roll on that carpet, to share my grief with it and be happy at its touch. (Throughout the dream there seems to be a vague idea that the dead man is my friend F. but the name never comes though it always seems about to come.) I do not know what prevents me. The lady in black and her grief make me feel constrained. I remain silent, feeling moved, but reserved, while the lady in black displaces a gate-leg table by pushing it alternately on one leg and then on the other, rapidly directing it towards a large open door which leads into another room full of furniture. I see a butler in the other room, busily occupied amid the furniture. He is a round and very important man, with a round rather oiled head, and a calm, knowing, good natured smile. He looks at me, winks, and disrespectfully placing his right forefinger beneath his right eye, he gives me to understand that he knows my secret, but that she (the lady) has never known, for it would pain her, so what would be the good? I am rather annoyed at the butler's free and easy manner, and at his knowledge of my secret. But I am happy to be among the furniture that is so dear to me, and with which I feel a sort of physical communion.

Change of scené. I seem vaguely to see a path which is, I think, by a river. Beneath my arm is a book absolutely identical with one written by the friend who seems to have been on the threshold of the first scene of the dream. Something to do with cakes comes in here, but it is too vague to recall. Then the dream becomes clearer. I see a Vidal-Lablache Atlas. A man calls me to tell me I have to correct a map. The man is fair and shaved, with a round head, he is unknown to me. He wears brown trousers with a large pale spot, apparently because they are old and worn; he pulls them up as he talks and the gesture is displeasing to me. In referring to the map he tells me there are two rivers where I have only put one, and that Berlin is on the Oder. I reply: "Berlin is on the Spree. I can show it to you in the atlas I have." I find my Vidal-Lablache Atlas (seeing it as I saw it in childhood) and open at the right place. I find, to my surprise, two Oders, running parallel, one through Berlin towards Hamburg, the other to the West. I am surprised and not convinced, but I tell the man I will make the correction. He gives me back my book, which it seems I had handed to him, and I go into an adjoining room like an office. Then I am overcome with confusion, for I ask myself if in the book I had given the man, and which he has just returned, I had not left a letter I should not like him to read, beginning (in English): "You naughty man who made me sob." I look in the book which still resembles that written by my friend. Then I see the man, who is still pulling up his trousers, and he asks me if he ought to change them to go to the lecture. I dislike him with his brown trousers and false air and coldly tell him he had better change them. I awake.

It is certain that the dead man was my friend F., for during the day I had been thinking of happy times spent with him, and how much I should feel the loss of him, whether by absence in another country or by death. The other man, and the butler, are inexplicable. So is the lady in black, unless, by the gymnastics of dream thought, she represents my husband who might suffer if he knew. I believe I had written the English phrase of the dream in a letter to F. The feeling of communion with material objects is a well known feeling, but in old days I was inclined to smile at it; lately, however, it has become pronounced in me. I have always liked carpets and hangings, but have not been conscious of pleasure in touching them, though I like to touch, and even kiss, personal things like letters and books.

DREAM XLVII. Night of 2d July: Light supper and to bed a long time after, with a dose of quinine, for I have a cold and there is much influenza about.

The dream is vague. I am traveling with my father and mother, and brothers and sisters. We are busy. I see us all in a station restaurant. Then we are looking for a compartment in the train. My mother is nervous and agitated, and we are encumbered with luggage. It is not clear.

DREAM XLVIII. Night of 3rd July: A light supper and to bed a long time after. A dose of quinine which makes my ears ring. I fall asleep seeming to hear a motor as of a great Zeppelin over my head.

I dream that I have to go to Paris by train, but cannot have my passport. I am troubled and agitated. Then I see my mother. She has come to live with me and is transforming my little house. She likes beautiful furniture and hangings, and there are new curtains and pretty things everywhere. I like to see her hanging pictures on the walls. Then my elder boy knocks over a mahogany cabinet with many glass windows, one of the legs is gone, but the glass is not broken. I raise it up with my mother's help, and decide to stay at home until all is finished. But there is much to do. I shall lose my train. Never mind. For once I will not go to school, but will say I have the Spanish flu. The train haunts me. I awake.

DREAM XLIX. Night of 5th July: To bed two hours after a large supper.

I am on a large white bed and in the midst of changing a baby's diapers. I seem to be in my nightdress. I hold the child's feet delicately between the fingers of my left hand, raising them up, while operating with my right hand. "I want some more safety pins," I say to my servant. "Bother the child!" she replies, "he always wants something." (This is quite true to life.) I continue the operation. I need a sponge to clean the legs which are very long and lean. I do not know whether the sponge is brought, but I see the baby lying on its stomach on the bed, with bottom in the air, and this I kiss. Someone, I do not know who, asks his name. After what seems a moment of hesitation I reply that it is E., then O. It is E. O., my new son (E. and O. are the names of two of my brothers). He is beautiful. I love him. After this I think the dream went off in another direction, and I was troubled over the prospects of my children in the world. But my difficulties seemed about to be settled by a man who eventually turns out to be my friend F. I awake just as he puts his arms around me consolingly.

During the day I had been speaking of children and the American scheme of Mothers' Pensions.

DREAM L. Night of 9th July, a week after end of monthly period. A rather large supper and to bed immediately after.

I see a young man man seated on a garden bench with a young girl. He is tall and well-made, with dark brown beautifully curling hair all round his head. I cannot see the girl but I feel that she is of gentle and passive nature. The young man is talking to her, with bright eyes and an abundance of vitality which seems to please her. One might say that in listening to him so eagerly, as he turns towards her talking, she is every moment expecting a declaration of love. The young man, becoming more animated, declaims (in English): "There was once a young man who loved a young woman." She seems about to ask a question, but he continues: "The young man was myself" (I have a vague idea that he here mentioned the name of a doctor I am acquainted with) "and the girl was"—the name does not come into the dream but it was evidently not that of the young girl, for she stifles a cry of pain that the young man does not seem to perceive, for he continues, with increased animation and standing up, with his hair in the wind and tragic eyes: "Yes, and they killed her. She was warned not to go to the station but she gave no heed. She went, and they tortured and hanged her." I see a scene of savagery, though not clearly. It is like a distant picture in which I catch a glimpse of fantastic Blacks dancing grotesquely. The young man evidently sees the same thing; his gaze is fixed and pained, reflecting the terrible spectacle The young girl rises, and timidly. full of love, passes her left arm beneath her companion's right, placing her right hand on his arm, and looking into his face.

Change of scene. The young man is going along a street, on his right arm the young girl who, from the shock she has received, has become half imbecile and seems shaken by a nervous tremor like St. Vitus' dance. She walks at his side, convulsed and contortioned. He aids her, gently and tenderly, with left hand placed on her left hand which rests on his arm. His lofty head dominates her, with luminous gaze, but fixed and directed afar. He meets the parents of the young girl who had been so tragically killed and speaks to them of a pension for his companion. The dialogue is rather vague. The girl is to have money to which the dead girl had been entitled Of the parents, I only see the mother, a fair, gentle, middle-aged woman. She adds a remark (in English) I do not understand: "In any case he will not drive any more to the station, and they won't stop him again."

I awake, take a few notes, and go to sleep again.

DREAM LI. Same night: I see a flat in which we have just installed ourselves, and I am occupied in considering how I shall find enough beds for every one. I see my father, my mother, and a boy I do not know.

A sudden change of scene. I see, in a kind of court, the naked body of a dead woman, stretched on the earth. She is on her back, and I must be behind her head, for I seem especially to see the lower part of her body, her legs and the pubic triangle. I speak to a boy who is trying from a distance to kick a football between the woman's legs. This evidently seems to me quite natural, for I seek to place the body so that he may succeed. I have the impression that I am pulling the body by the shoulders and with difficulty, feeling its inert weight, across an asphalted court. I place it so that the separated legs face the youth, but the legs have a singular way of always closing as soon as separated. At last I succeed in keeping them in place. The young man gives a kick to the ball which I see running to the body, striking it, and rebounding towards the youth, who takes it, and starts again. It touches the spot aimed at, and the dead young woman rises and exclaims: "Well hit!" The ball had struck her sexual regions. This seems to give me sexual pleasure. (On waking and thinking of it I still felt sexual excitement, though at the same time feeling it was silly to do so.) The young man is vague; I do not know who he is.

Change of scene. I am at a table in a dining room like a restaurant, where there are many other small tables, all occupied. I am annoyed because I have to go out, and before going out to change my dress and put on my navy blue petticoat and a pink blouse. But I do not dare to get up and leave the table. My brother A., at the same table, is talking to me of a green cloak, and I think of my little boy's green velveteen jacket, and say, "No, it is not that!" Suddenly my mother at another table turns towards me and says, "Ought you not to change your dress?" I am pleased she has spoken and rise to go towards her, replying, "Yes. They are in the wardrobe." I go to the wardrobe to look for my petticoat and blouse. I reach a room I have to go through before arriving at the bedroom with the wardrobe. At the door I hear voices and the laughter of boys. I knock and ask if I may go through to the bedroom. Then I kneel down before a drawer looking for my blouse. One of my pupils, a fair, smiling, amiable boy, as he is in real life, gently and mischievously kisses me on the left cheek, leaning his head towards mine. With my right forefinger I playfully threaten him. Then I ask of my brother: "Could you bring me some warm water?" Then I awake, but neglected to note at the time whether I wanted to make water, but believe that I did. Garde-robe (wardrobe) is an old French name for w. c.

During the day I had been thinking of a story I had been told of a woman spy shot naked by French soldiers; the story had haunted me. In the evening I had felt much excited sexually, and could not

resist masturbation, I am ashamed to say, after refraining from it for a very long time. On awaking after the first dream I thought of my husband, of money which fails to arrive, and of my friend F., and found that I was sexually moved and wet. At the final awakening I noticed nothing remarkable, but detested both dreams.

DREAM LII. Night of the 10th July: I remember nothing except that I am flying, or rather I leap into the air from one foot. I am as light as a ball that rebounds. I rise in the air, float over people's heads, and then sinking I rise again. It is delicious. A man is looking at me; he desires me; he tries to catch me, but I always escape him by rising in the air and laughing at his failure.

DREAM LIII. Night of 11th July: A vague dream of a walk, a factory, a tramway, though I seem to see nothing, but I am on a bridge with a man, and before me there is a superb mass of water, an immense pool with waterlilies in the sun, and then all is vague again. I awake wanting very badly to urinate. It is as I do so that the dream comes back to me.

DREAM LIV. Night of 13th July: Late supper and to bed immediately after.

I am in my old flat of two years ago, but the furniture is new and I say to J., "It is all mine." "Of course it is not," she replies. "You know very well you have sold everything" It is really a furnished flat. "There is even a piano!" I exclaim. There are two or three pianos in a large room; I decide that they are badly placed, and begin to rearrange them. Suddenly I am in the corridor with J. I see a low door like a little cupboard on the floor. "What is this, I wonder?" I open the door and see a great yawning hole at the bottom of which a large fire is sparkling. "What is this?" I ask. "Is it the furnace of the central heating?" "No, the house is on fire" Then I see myself going down the stairs and calling out: "House on fire! House on fire!" Below, at the street entrance, there is already a fire engine. I call my youngest child and go upstairs again. H. is at the top of the staircase. I call him again. J. is agitated; she has him in her arms. "Give him to me," I say, "or you will fall. Go slowly." We go down, the child is in my arms and full of delight as he exclaims with amusement: "House on fire! House on fire!"

I am in the road. I can see neither J. nor the child. I am standing on a street refuge looking at the flames destroying the house. I see at one corner a fireman hacking down a partition with an axe. I awake.

During the day I had been reading to my elder child (who does not come into the dream) the story of "Joe, the Fireman's Dog."

My thoughts have also been much occupied with the question of a new flat; the conversation was throughout in English.

DREAM LV. Same night: It is vague, a room, a sort of drawing room. Near the window a little boy, dressed in pale blue, is on a seat with a hole in it, a kind of long wooden case, full of water. At the other end I can see the water, clean and deep. A lady is there, cleaning her teeth and spitting into the box. I put my head through the door, and say (I do not know whether in French or English), "Before going, I want to wash my teeth." The lady replies, "Come in and make yourself at home."

Change of scene. The child is still there looking at us, but I do not know if he is still on the seat. The lady is no longer there; now it is J., my servant. We are mending a broken toilet table. It is a difficult task. We need some pieces of wood. At last, after much trouble, and with many precautions, we get the table onto its leg and place it against the wall. It is of the half-moon shape with central leg, and being top-heavy will not stand well. It falls; I hold it. The lady comes back; she seems to be someone whom I used to know. I say to her: "I am sorry but we have broken your table. We have mended it, but it is top-heavy and won't stand." She says: "It is only because J. has not done it well." She shows me a piece of marble, with yellow lines on a white ground, and says: "This belongs to another table. The two sides are not alike, as J. has done them, and that is why it will not balance." I awake.

This dream is quite inexplicable.

DREAM LVI. Same night: I am in a large room with several women, whom, however, I do not see nor any details, for it is vague, but we seem to be at a table of hard wood. A man enters and says, "To-morrow morning," giving us a piece of paper on which are written two surnames, one of them mine, while the last is invisible. It means that to-morrow morning we are to appear before the tribunal. We are arrested as pacifists. The other name is that of a school teacher whom I like, but her opinions are in real life strongly militarist.

Change of scene. I and another woman, who is slight but only vaguely seen, await our turn. We can see the tribunal through a door. While waiting I feel nervous. I call out suddenly, "I have forgotten my handkerchief." I turn back, almost running. Someone, I know not who, gives me a handkerchief with a pink edge. I quickly return to my place. At last I hear a voice say, "Case No. 11." A man asks something and the voice replies, "The woman who has so many names," and he pronounces my name. An inspector approaches me, places his left hand on my shoulder and leads me along a corridor. He is tall and slender, in a gray coat; I do not see

his head. I ask myself why I was called "The woman with so many names"; can they know that I once had another name? The inspector is still leading me. I ask him the question. He replies that I will know everything soon. He asks me if I will remain quiet before the tribunal or if he must continue to hold me by the shoulder. I reply that I will remain quiet. We have to pass the corner of a street to enter the court, which is square, lined with light oak, much resembling Bow Street Police Court. The inspector leads me into a vacant space in the middle where I see a kind of platform resembling an overturned gilt fender. That is the place for the accused, but it is decided (I do not know by whom) that I am to be brought in front of a flat desk so as to face the judge. I see vaguely before me seats of oak on steps, the highest being that of the judge dominating me from above. I do not see him, but I hear his disagreeable voice declaiming in a dramatic way (the dialogue is all in French): "You see before you a young woman of some twenty years," and he repeats with a tragic air, "Twenty years!" as though to say, "Is it not sad?" I say to myself, "He is very flattering." But I do not wish to be treated as a child and I call out in an assured tone, as though to brush aside sentimentality and get to the point: "I am not twenty!" I hesitate for a moment between thirty-two and thirty-three and continue: "I am thirty-three. I am not so young as you think." Sensation among the public. My great assurance arouses astonishment. I see, however, at my right the back of a man who vaguely recalls Archibald Bodkin. This man reads out in a harsh and monotonous voice the charge against me During the reading the inspector continues to hold me so firmly by the shoulder that my green dress slips down, uncovering my left shoulder almost completely, which worries me, but he is packed so tightly behind me that I can hardlly move. I make a violent movement, however, with my shoulders to free myself, saying, "Let go; I shall not run away; besides, how could I?" pointing with my right hand to the court room. I add, "Besides, I like being here." The inspector then addresses the judge, "She says she likes being here." The judge turns to me, "Pay attention to what is said to you" Hesitating and trembling, afraid I may say something that will injure me, I reply: "I wsh to say that I am pleased to have an opportunity of explaining myself." "Yes," the judge replies, "many people have had that pleasure, and have had to pay for it with five years of hard labor." I imagine I may get two years, and wonder what will happen to my children. Then I say to myself that one must have trust. The inspector continues to hold me tight, but he is now holding my head. He pushes my hair back from my forehead with a gentle movement of the fingers of both hands, and he seems to like the operation. To

me it is very unpleasant; contact with the man is repugnant to me. "Why are you doing that?" I ask. "I must show your head to the judge," he replies. I feel that my forehead is large and beautiful, and the abundant hair standing out finely, and I am proud of it, though still disgusted with the inspector. At last the judge seems to come down from his seat, for it is vacant, and he is standing beside me, on the other side of the railing, gazing at us. He is at my right. He has in his hands a pair of woman's boots, very high and with ridiculously small soles. He continues to talk grandly and says pompously: "Look at these small soles, these pretty little small soles. Merely to look at the shape of these boots one feels that they are heroic. They have done their duty in the Vosges. And these"—pointing to others large and heavy—"these which leave a woman's leg visible, they smell of duty, but the others"—Here everyone is looking at me and I feel behind me people bending forward to see my feet, for he is speaking of the boots I am wearing, large, solid, and comfortable. I wonder to myself whether they will now turn up my foot like a horse's being shod, to look at the soles. I decide to pretend not to understand what that madman is saying. Someone seizes me by the leg, and I hear the judge saying, "But the others only smell of orange flowers." That is said with an air of contempt. I want to laugh for it seems to me better to smell of orange flowers than of duty, but he calls out, "No laughing!" and I reply, with a scarcely disguised smile, "I am not laughing. I am very serious." Then I hear the laughter of my two children as I awake.

The tribunal may be explained by the fact that I had been reading during the day the sad story of a conscientious objector I knew who after more than two years of hard labor is now said to be at the end of his strength; at this I had felt horribly grieved and indignant, for I recall him as a strong and vigorous young man. I can explain the uncertainty about my name; the orange flower has no associations beyond being a symbol of pleasure and luxury.

DREAM LVII. Night of 20th July: To bed immediately after a light supper.

I dream that I desire to masturbate but am afraid of being seen. I go into a bathroom, shut myself in and lie on the floor. I feel the draught from below the door. I am lying on my back. I raise my skirts in front, when suddenly a young girl comes in. I realize that I had left the key in the outside of the door when I shut it. I am annoyed. I quickly lower my skirts, saying that I am resting by lying on the floor.

On awaking, I find that I am really lying on my back, a position I rarely assume. I am hot and sexually excited. I can recall only twice having ever masturbated when dressed. The first time was

when mentally excited by preparing a lecture and when lying on a sofa I did it instinctively without ever having heard of such a practice. The second occasion was similar. It has never happened on the floor or in a bathroom.

DREAM LVIII. Night of 21st July: I am walking with my friend F., and we come in front of a palace of marble and gold. I see a magnificent staircase but cannot describe its fantastic architecture. Staircases seem to reach up towards the sky. The whole palace is nothing but staircases in flights of about twenty steps leading to terraces. F. says, "There you can recognize Italian art, all in terraces!" We ascend. Above we find young people drawing in a large room. They are engaged in an architectural competition. I look at their designs. One represents a fresco and seems meant to be over a door; there are rows of saints in long robes of bright colors, blue and red. I reflect that it is very Italian. Another young man with a few fantastic strokes of his pencil traces terraces which again remind me of Italian architecture. I awake.

I am unable to explain the dream.

DREAM LIX. Night of 25th July: Second day of monthly period. To bed half an hour after a light supper.

I am at my butcher's. I ask for sheep's kidneys. He gives me one. I ask, "Is that all I can have?" He says, "Yes; I have been without mutton for three months." He takes the kidney back with the air of saying that if I don't want it I can go without. I am furious and say, "I shall change my butcher." He seems disdainful. Then I see the Fire Station, but suddenly I am again at the butcher's and say, "There is going to be a storm." I hear thunder and see rain falling in sheets. I awake at six-thirty.

My servant tells me that it had rained and thundered towards morning. During the day she had been unable to obtain kidneys at the butcher's, and I had spoken of going to him.

DREAM LX. Night of 26th July: Last day of period After an evening spent with F., I had returned home and to bed immediately after a cup of cocoa.

I am walking with someone, I do not know whom, and we are in front of large masses of water, like reservoirs, with narrow cemented paths between them. We walk in single file along these paths at the risk of falling in, and at one point the path follows a square building of yellow bricks, around which we turn clinging to the wall. Then we take another path, always with the risk of falling into the water which is all around and very deep. I awake, with a strong desire to make water, which I do copiously, and then fall asleep again.

DREAM LXI. Same night: I am in a swing, in the air, my skirts raised. A man below me is looking, and I say indignantly, "You ought not to be there." The sensation of the swing is very pleasant. The man is still there, looking beneath my skirts. Then I am awakened by the children, but again want to make water. I feel sure that the dream, if continued, would have been erotic.

The day before I had seen an engraving in a book of a rather similar swinging scene from a picture by Fragonard.

DREAM LXII. Night of 28th July: To bed immediately after a light late supper.

I see a flat, winding, blackish road near a factory. I reach a point where I have to cross a slimy, marshy patch of road by means of a plank thrown over it. I realize that a river has overflowed. People behind me are awaiting their turn, for only one can pass at a time. I see no one, but I hear their voices encouraging me. I step on the plank, which slides back with the pressure. I nearly fall and feel afraid, but try again and succeed. I reach a slight elevation where I meet two, perhaps three, surveyors who with their instruments are taking measurements. I know that they are concerned with the repairs made necessary by the damage caused by the rain. Then I reach a flat dirty canal and follow a black path level with it. It seems a district of factories, as in certain parts of Northern France I am familiar with. I see dirty walls along the canal, and always the dirty water and the black path I am following. At the end of the path I seem to see a bridge with an ascending path I have to take.

I awake with the wish to urinate and a headache. This was an unpleasant dream; the previous dreams of water had been either agreeable or indifferent. During the day I had been thinking of the town I was born in and its ugliness.

DREAM LXIII. Night of 30th July: A light supper and then at once to bed.

I am about to sit down to table for tea. I am at the head of the table, half bending to sit down and with my right hand I am inviting some invisible person to take a seat. I know that the invisible person is my mother. I am happy, but I still do not see her. Suddenly I see a beautiful white swan on the chair to my right. It is my mother. This seems to me quite natural, and I am very happy. The swan's long white neck and black bill arise proudly with gentle undulating movements. I admire and love him.

On awaking I at once make water. The dream seems inexplicable.

(Later the dreamer spontaneously suggested that this was a bladder dream. In writing down the dream on awakening she

underlined the color of the bill, for it seemed to her wrong; but some time later she found that her sleeping memory was more correct than her waking memory, and that a swan's bill really is black.)

DREAM LXIV. Same night: We had been shipwrecked (though I do not know who "we" includes) and I feel that we have had many adventures, which I have forgotten, before we reach a great wall, smooth and slippery, and a man who is drawing me by the hand causes me to slide and fall down into what seems the moat of a fortress. There is, however, no water there; it seems a green terrace; I do not know whether of grass. The descent is perilous; the man, whom I do not see, is a sailor. I do not think he goes down with me, for I see him no more. I seem to be in the fortress, on the green terrace surrounded by crenellated walls, and at a sort of table is a woman like a school mistress I know; she approaches and says in a half-cold, half-friendly manner, seeing my rather pitiable air, "I am very sorry but we are not allowed to grant anyone the right of asylum here." At this I exclaim, "Damn!" which seems greatly to scandalize her. I tell her I must inform my husband, who is at another table at the end of the terrace. He is quite unlike real life, very young, in the uniform of an English naval officer and shaved; with a careless air he is playing some sort of game like chess. As I go up to him, I remark to myself that he does not seem worried. I seem to alter my intention of speaking to him, for I go back to the woman who had told me I must leave the fortress. She is seated; I fall at her knees, kneeling on my left knee, and bury my head in her lap. I can see myself from behind in this posture, observing the fair hair at the nape of my neck. I say to her: "You must not think I am not brave because I said 'Damn'; I am brave, but I have been through so much that I am very weary. If I must go, I will go." I weep in her dress for a moment, and then rise and call my children I do not know where they come from, but suddenly they are there, running about, active and without care. I also see several women like nurses, and they say: "Is it not a shame to send her away like that after all they have gone through?" The matron (for so the head mistress has now become) grows merciful and says I may stay to rest for a quarter of an hour. But we leave; my younger child runs to take my left hand which I hold out to him behind. He passes the matron laughing and jumping grotesquely, and she smiles and gives him a playful smack on his behind. We go down a steep path between two crenellated walls. The nurses follow and overtake us, saying, "It is a shame to let you go like this. Have you even enough money?" I open my green purse and say, "I have a pound and a little silver" (exactly what I had yesterday). A nurse

tries to slip a note into my hand but I refuse, saying, "I am going home to sell everything." She insists. I awake.

The dream is inexplicable, except as regards money.

DREAM LXV. Night of 31st July: To bed an hour after a light supper.

I see my mother and other people. There is a question of removal to a new house. But there is a nanny goat with an extremely long body and short hair which constantly annoys us. She is fierce and we are all afraid of her. I push her back with a long thick iron bar but she constantly returns and tries to bite our legs. At last she finds a large piece of bread which she takes between her teeth snarling and seems to expend her anger on it. We are no longer afraid of her. I awake.

In the evening I had read a story of Jack London's about a snarling wolf-dog.

DREAM LXVI. Night of 2d August: To bed immediately after returning from a visit to F. I think of him peacefully and hope to dream of him, but the Fates are not propitious.

I dream that I am at the hairdresser's to have my head washed, and that a young woman is occupied with my hair. I say to her, "I am sorry it is so sticky, but I have tried to make it curl with sugar-water." I tell her I am a singer at the opera and that my name is Blake. I know it is not true, but I make a good impression on her I tell her to spend care on my head because I must have beautiful hair on account of my profession. But suddenly she leaves me to join a circle of dancers. They are dancing very prettily in bright red and green and blue costumes which often cling to the body. It is charming and pleases me. I awake.

I had been speaking of my hair, rather sticky with soap, and my intention of washing it again on this account. The stickiness had evidently suggested the absurd idea of sugar-water. The idea of a singer was suggested by a recent concert, and that of dancing by the Russian ballet.

DREAM LXVII. Same night: A complicated dream in which many things are vague and escape me. My mother is in it, and a fire breaks out, but I see nothing clearly until I enter a white bedroom in which are beautiful pictures in very dark frames of brown wood. I say to my brother O. who is with me, "What a pretty room!" "Yes," he replies, "it is L.'s (our sister's) and I am sure it will please her; I arranged it." I admire the pictures; they are by another of my brothers, and I am moved at their beauty. I reflect that I had never imagined he could attain such a perfection of line; there is no longer any awkwardness or stiffness, and the colors are

brilliant, while the frames enhance these qualities. He had always said, I reflect, that the stiff and awkward period was transitional, and I see that these are like his earlier pictures but with a new force. I note two luminous heads of children close together (as in Reynolds) and behind them an immense golden fish, like a dolphin with arched back. The colors dazzle me, golden, rosy, flaming, but yet delicate. Then I see another picture—a man tall and well built, in the attitude of one of Isadora Duncan's poses in her dance of the Return of the Warriors. I see him from behind, walking with rhythmic steps, the left leg behind, the thigh in profile. He is handsome, dressed in a dark red clinging costume, so clinging that I see the curves of the buttocks and the lines separating them. I linger over this detail, asking myself why my brother has often emphasized the buttocks in his drawings. Then I vaguely seem to hear my mother calling me to speak about a dress, and I awake. I have to get out at once to urinate.

The subject of pictures had been suggested to my mind during the day, and a drawing of a dance pose by my brother resembling that in the dream is a favorite of mine, and I often look at it. The opinions expressed correspond to reality.

DREAM LXVIII. Night of 3d August: To bed directly after a light supper.

The beginning escapes me, being very vague. Then I see a street crowded with vehicles and tramways; on the wide footpath to the right is a sort of red kiosk into which climb men furnished with trombones, clarinets, etc. They are going to give a concert. But before they can begin a man and a woman commence singing and make so much noise that the band decides to move away, and I see them carrying off their kiosk on their backs and crossing the road. Then suddenly I am with a troop of people, men and women, and we are perched on the top of a sort of pyramid, made of sugar boxes. A well-intentioned lady passes behind us and pushes the cases to the edge of the footpath. She must be very strong for she scarcely seems to touch them. But her touch brings the structure down and we fall into the mud. I say to her, "Why on earth have you done this?" She excuses herself. "I thought you would be better placed on the edge of the pavement." She disappears behind a tramway. We seem to have crossed the road for we begin to reconstruct our pyramid on the left-hand side pathway perilously near the tramways. I am on the right of the pyramid near a man of our troop in the roadway, and suddenly I say to him, "You poor O." (the name of one of my brothers), "in what a state you are. You could claim damages." He is covered with mud, especially his brown waistcoat, but I realize that we cannot now find the lady who has disappeared

in the crowd. O. shrugs his shoulders as if to say, "Bah. It's our luck!" But I put my hands on his shoulders, and say: "Never mind, dear, I will clean it to-night." To which another man of our troop adds, "And mine, too, dear little girl." He puts his arm round my shoulders and I promise; I am feeling happy. I am awakened by the children, who are just now sleeping with me.

The details are inexplicable.

DREAM LXIX. Same night: It is vague. There are women friends and I show them a blue dress with pink flowers. It is a sort of muslin and seems vaporous and cloudlike. "How pretty!" they say "Yes, but it is merely an old dress that I am making up again." I show a seam behind and say, "You see this piece; I hope it will not show." I have the impression that I wish to finish the dress to look pretty for someone, but it is vague. I awake.

This dream agrees with reality.

DREAM LXX. Night of 6th August: To bed immediately after a light supper.

I am in a station, on the platform. I am going to take the train for Germany. I climb up with difficulty into a very high carriage. I cling to the slippery step and nearly fall, but someone from behind pushes me with so much force that I am thrown into the compartment with my buttocks uppermost. The sudden movement seems to have uncovered my behind, for my skirts are pushed up, exposing the flesh, and a man continues to push me by means of a long cane placed at the anus. (I am not quite sure that this does not give me a vague pleasure.) Then I seem to be on a red seat and a woman is talking to me through the open door. The train is so high that I only see her head as she says to me concerning my eldest child who is seated beside me (he had not previously been in the dream), "This child has scarlet fever." I turn towards him and observe that he is feverish. I draw him towards me and pet him, saying to myself that I hope he will not get worse before we reach the end of our journey. I want to put cold compresses but cannot find water in the train. I observe his tearful eyes and am worried.

Change of scene. I seem to be at my school, but the room is like the interior of a convent. A school mistress is with me, known as B. But she is not like the teacher of the same name whom I knew but more like a charwoman. I ask her to stay and have tea, but she says she must catch the train. As she is leaving we see two railway lines; we seem to be on a country station platform, and we see a train moving out, the train that should have taken B. to Germany. Forced to remain, she agrees to have tea, and we are once more in the convent when a packet arrives, I know not from whom, with chocolates for the children. I open it and find a small

piece of paper which I expect to indicate the sender, but it is blank I awake with slight colic.

DREAM LXXI. The same night: I am teaching one of my classes The children are noisy. I am tired and rather angry. I turn towards a little girl, more noisy than the rest, and tell her to write, "I am very disobedient," and to show it to the head master. The child is confused and I see tears in her eyes. I am worried at having been so severe. I would like to kiss the little girl. I awake.

DREAM LXXII. Night of 7th of August: To bed immediately after a light supper. I have a slight headache. The afternoon had been spent at Kew Gardens with my friend F.

The first part of the dream is vague; I seem to be on a station platform with my children, waiting for a train for Belgium. Then the scene changes and I see very distinctly a young woman I lost sight of seven or eight years ago. She is dressed in blue, but her petticoat comes below her dress. I wish to attract her attention to this and call her, though I do not seem to hear her name pronounced in the dream. I pull her skirt down on the left side to try to make it right, but cannot succeed; she will have to take her dress off.

Change of scene. We are in a sort of bathroom, which is quite white. The floor seems cemented. It is like a modern hospital There are combs on the floor. Then I am in a long corridor, painted white, and on the floor I see women's combinations. Some are white and embroidered. One is of coarse net, and this I take for my friend to put on, but I see no details of undressing and dressing. I know we are going to a banquet given by an important government personage.

Change of scene. I am at table with many other people in a large room, richly decorated and gilded I am surprised to see no one of importance, but they give us to understand that, being myself of no importance, I have been relegated with the small fry to a room where the great personage has given orders that we shall be properly gorged as is done with lacqueys. I yield to this, seeming to think that anyhow good cheer is always good. The person who has given me the information seems a servant and very much occupied. She piles good things onto my plates, hors d'oeuvres, etc., then unctuous mokas, and while I protest she tells me she has orders to look after us, so I attack my plate with a shrug, as much as to say, "Very well —go ahead." I bite into a Saint-Honoré which is a dream of whipped cream and preserved cherries and melts beneath the teeth. I awake

There was nothing to explain this gargantuan feast unless it was the headache. The young woman is a connection and I had spoken of her during the day.

DREAM LXXIII. Night of 10th August: The day had been spent in a delightful garden in the country; I go to bed an hour after a light supper.

I seem to be at a sort of fête, but I do not quite know what it is. I seem, however, to see a stage. Is it a theatre? But I seem to be in the open air. A friend is there. She is affected by nervous trembling. I am seated near her. I am happy. Suddenly I see a boy who is a connection of my husband's. He looks just as when I last saw him, except that he wears a navy-blue costume. I say, "If he is here it means my husband has arrived." I ask him. He replies, "He sent me to fetch you." I ask, "How are we going to do about beds?"

I am in the house. My husband is near me. I only see him vaguely but I feel his right arm round my shoulders. He talks to me gently and affectionately, never leaving me wherever I go. I am calm and quietly happy, but occupied about two low beds which I am trying to place close together so as to make one large bed. My husband approves without paying much attention, for he is occupied with me. He says, "This will do," but I am not satisfied. I awake.

The friend is a connection whom I had seen during the day similarly ill and nervous and I had felt troubled about her. The boy's costume is the same as that my own boy was wearing.

DREAM LXXIV. Same night: I distinctly see one of my pupils. We talk in a low voice near a window in the corner of the room. The head master is at a desk. He is writing. He hands a letter to the youth, who gives it to me. I read (in English): "Dear Madame ——(my real name): I am sorry I have not yet been able to send you back your essay on Suffragettes. I have just glanced at it—" There I stop. I find it funny he should write when he is quite close to me; but I say to myself that the letter is meant to count as having been written during the holidays that are about to begin. I smile, the youth smiles and points to the head master as much as to say that he is a little cracked. I speak to the youth, who admires my essay (having apparently read it) and I say: "That was done years ago in a better way than I have done it. I have always had these ideas but I know no one who has expressed them more clearly than F." I advise him to read the book of my friend F. The name of it is not mentioned, but I see a book that resembles it in form. I awake.

I do not know what provoked this dream.

DREAM LXXV. Night of 10th August: A light supper and then at once to bed.

I am in a carriage, a kind of diligence. There are several people. We seem to be at the top of a kind of dune. We descend a sandy

road. At the bottom we see the blue sea and rows of low houses along the shore. It is a village which I am sure I have seen before in a dream, especially the steep slope down of the road and the little low village shops. The diligence seems suddenly to go at a gallop along the shore level with the houses. The horses move with difficulty and the rising tide reaches to the wheels, to the terror of my little boy who is apparently there. I decide to stop at an inn, as the child is too frightened to proceed. I have to tell the coachman, whom I see on his seat, to stop the diligence. Then I am inside the inn. Small white tables are scattered about. We are in France and I am the only person who can speak French. I order dinner. It is to be a French dinner with a huge omelette aux fines herbes. I do not, however, see myself speaking to anyone. It seems a sort of monologue. I only see my child kneeling on a chair and looking out of the window. I put my left arm round his shoulder and show him something in the distance. He is no longer afraid. I awake.

I had spoken of the sea during the day.

DREAM LXXVI. Night of 14th August: To bed an hour after a light supper.

I am walking in the street with the lady who lives above me. We pass in front of the house, and I see a procession of young women and children entering. They are her children. I exclaim: "Bother! They will make a noise and wake my child." She looks quite amiable. I awake.

These people often wake me, and that evening, especially, they had been making much noise.

DREAM LXXVII. Night of 15th August: To bed immediately after a large supper.

I hear a bomb burst, then another, then a third, making a terrible noise. I take my elder child by the hand and reassuring him I begin to run.

Change of scene. I see a friend who is seated on a table. She asks me for money, and I say to her, "How could I give you any when I live on borrowed money?" She seems to look sorry for me. I awake.

I am told that in the distance there were sounds like cannon, three or four times. I heard nothing except in the dream. There have been money worries.

DREAM LXXVIII. Same night: I am in my bedroom of our old house in France. I see all the details: the large iron bedstead, the walnut wood night table with its green tiles, the blue flowered walls. I hear the servant moving in the next room, and my sister, appearing as quite a little girl, in short petticoats and with her hair

on her shoulders, enters at the door in the wall. She tells me to come as they are waiting for me downstairs. She looks happy. I go to the night table and below it I find many shoes. I look for a pair that suits me; I find a very small pair and ask myself if they would do for my sister. I awake.

I had been thinking of my early home life. The scene agrees with reality, except the shoes and they belong to recent occurrences.

DREAM LXXIX. Night of the 17th August: I am with a man in the street and we talk of the education of children. He criticizes the modern system. I see a square in front and hesitate to cross it. The man has become a woman. We are seeking a restaurant. Then the dream is vague but I am on the platform of a railway station.

I had been discussing education a day or two previously.

DREAM LXXX. Night of 18th August: To bed after a copious supper.

I am with my mother who seems busily occupied with me. She reproaches me with being badly dressed. "You are dressed like an Englishwoman." She worries me and I want to leave her. But she will not let me go, as my petticoat shows below my skirt. She calls me back. I think to myself, "I ought to dress as badly as Aunt Julia and then I should be left in peace."

Change of scene. My mother is undressing me and I am helpless in her hands, although I protest and grumble. A well known Labor politician (not personally known to me in real life) is seated on a low chair opposite me, with his left knee bent and his right leg extended. He calmly watches the operation, but seems to take pleasure in it. I am ashamed and uncomfortable. My mother reaches the last garment, a sort of pink drawers. Then suddenly I am seated on a low chair facing the Labor politician. There is a sort of gas warming apparatus between us. I seem now to be dressed. My mother makes some remark which does not seem to me correct, and a discussion arises, while the Labor man gently places his right foot on my left foot, as much as to say "Why dispute when you know that she will not yield."

Change of scene. The Labor man has become a woman and is trying ham. I awake.

DREAM LXXXI. Same night: I am vaguely aware that I ought to have an English lesson, where or why I do not know, but I see my teacher, a small active woman closely resembling an actual teacher of English I had when at the École Normale in France. I take the tram to return home, and my teacher is there before me; she is the tram conductress (in English). I am surprised she is there before me, and seeing me enter, she greets me with an amiable

smile. She seems much occupied. We are now seated in front of the tram, on a bench attached to a sort of platform, as on a Paris "bateau mouche." My English teacher, dressed in gray, holds a skein of wool in her separated hands and someone whom I do not see, is winding it, while I am seated near admiring the activity of the little woman in gray and wondering how she can do so many things at the same time. Either I say so, or she reads my thoughts, for she remarks: "You must have done all these things if you have been leading a very active life." I feel that she is the new type of war woman, busy, active, completely happy, it seems.

Suddenly we seem to be in a room. The little woman is still there, always busy, in a corner, talking gaily and amiably. She turns towards a young woman seated in an easy chair with green arms, seemingly of wood. The young woman herself is like a doll, pink, carefully tended, placid and pretty. She is A. L. whom I knew in my childhood and is like her, only embellished. I seem to sit opposite her. She is now married and I ask if she is happy. I hear no reply, but I see from a childish grimace that she is neither happy nor unhappy, and I know that her husband finds her exasperating Then for a moment I see a tall woman who speaks to the little woman in gray and runs away peacefully and happily. It is L. O She also is married, the little gray lady tells me. I am surprised and ask if she is happy, though the question does not seem to be definitely formulated. She replies that L. O.'s husband beats her every day, but that L. gives no sign of this and decides to resign herself. She adds, "Poor L., she was always such a nice girl." I awake.

L. O. is a teacher; she is not married A. L. is really doll-like. She is now married but I do not know her husband. There is a tram strike at present. I had been thinking of the Labor politician in connection with my husband.

DREAM LXXXII. Night of 19th August: To bed after a light supper. First day of monthly period.

I am in an underground lavatory of the English type. I wish to put a penny in the automatic lock. Then I find nothing but a washing basin. Suddenly I am seated in a w. c. with my skirts raised, but I feel uncomfortable for I am near a door by which ladies are entering. I awake with a a colic pain which is, however, very slight.

DREAM LXXXIII Same night: I am in a school, but it is more like an enormous bazaar with large strange gilded stairways serpentining overhead. There seems a crowd of people below. I am on one of the staircases leaning on the balusters I am looking for Mademoiselle Z. (a teacher in the French Lycée I was once at). I find her in the corner of a large hall (the place is something like

Selfridge's) and she shows me handkerchiefs with red and blue borders. There are other people present who admire them with us. Someone says (I am not sure whether in English): "After showing these don't show the others; they are not half so pretty." But Mademoiselle Z. shows other handkerchiefs of a much coarser kind, and someone says: "They look nicer on the wrong side." They resemble some of mine.

Change of scene. A rather loud voice, resembling that of the Head Master but yet being a woman's, announces that before entering in class there will be "assembly." We are soon all assembled in a large hall, and my pupils for French conversation are at my left seated along a table of planks. They lean on the table listening attentively. I dominate them from the height of a platform seated beside the Head Master who still speaks like a woman, and seems to have some resemblance to the head of my old École Normale. She makes quite a speech, I think in English, and has a dramatic air. Turning towards my pupils she says: "It is important that you should come to Madame —'s conversation classes." She uses my unmarried name and I ask myself why. I feel very self-conscious and look embarrassed. I avoid looking at my pupils but gaze over their heads. The voice continues: "—will pay attention to every word and to every defect." This time she calls me simply by my Christian name and I am astonished. She turns towards me as if to ask whether I approve. I smile vaguely, as if approving, but feel uncomfortable. I have the impression that there is a man behind us looking on. The Head's voice still continues: "Before going back to our class rooms we are going to open at last this mysterious cupboard." And suddenly I see a yellow cupboard. It seems to be made of cardboard with wooden uprights, rather like a theatrical property. It has a mouldy and dirty appearance. They are about to open it. This is a dramatic moment. I ask myself if a coffin will be found there or a mutilated body. I still feel the presence of the unseen man behind, looking on. It is much like a play. At last the cupboard is opened and I see, high up, something red like mahogany and say, "It is a coffin," but it is only a child's wheelbarrow. The playthings are brought out of the lower part of the cupboard, mostly of wood painted yellow and green. I do not know what these things are for, but there are many of them, and I note that they are in good condition. There is a train but I do not see the other things distinctly. I take some dusty books out of the cupboard, and look at them. There are, too, clothes and rags there. Someone pulls out a small girl's riding costume. All these objects belonged to her—a little girl who is dead, and her parents, who adored her, have thus preserved all her possessions. Suddenly a baby is taken out of the

cupboard. Every one bends over the minute creature which is in a quite small bed of white wood like a child's plaything. Someone says: "How ugly he is!" He is in fact making a grimace, but I, who understand babies, declare: "It is nothing, it is only a little colic." (See the previous dream.) I take the baby in my arms He smiles, he is beautiful, everyone admires him, but suddenly I perceive that it is only a doll. Someone calls out that there are eggs in the cupboard. It is the little girl's favorite fowls and someone declares (I believe it is I): "If the hens have been there all this time they must have laid eggs and many must have hatched." I find broken eggs in the dust, sticky and dirty. Suddenly I feel something scratching my posterior. I find it is broken shells, and that I must have sat on the eggs. From beneath my skirts I draw yellow sticky broken eggs. My hands are full of them, there are still more. After that, all is vague; it is raining and little girls are coming to school across the fields beneath. I awake and then arise to urinate.

During the day I had felt "sticky" and was surprised to find my periods had begun. The other details are inexplicable.

DREAM LXXXIV. Night of 22d August: A light supper and to bed at once.

The dream is very vague. I am learning to ride with a man I am seated behind him. Then he changes into a young woman dressed as a "land girl" in gaiters and breeches. We go to wash our hands for dinner. I awake.

DREAM LXXXV. Night of 24th August: To bed half an hour after a light supper.

It is vague. I dream of how to make cheese with milk curds I give a recipe. I think I awake before the next scene.

I am near my friend F. who is writing at a table. I am seated at his left, at a lower level, my head resting on his arm. I am very happy. I say to him: "Yes, I am rather tired of school work; perhaps I could do something with these." It is a question of writing articles. He says he will think about it. Then we go together to a window where the sun seems to enter. His arm is round me and my head on his breast. He says: "Which restaurant shall we choose?" I leave the choice to him. He adds: "Would you like a new one?" I agree to what he likes Then we seem to be near the fireplace, facing each other and close together. Suddenly I see that he had no trousers on, only drawers, and yet his buttocks are uncovered. I can feel them with both my hands behind him. I am all the time very happy. Then I feel his penis against my skirt. We seem now to be both dressed. At this point my younger child awakes me I am conscious of no agitation. The night before I had been slightly excited and I had also been thinking of F.

DREAM LXXXVI. Same night: I seem to dash into a passing taxi. It does not stop but I open the door and enter. There are already two gentlemen there, but that does not seem to disturb me. I sit beside them and we proceed. We reach Charing Cross. I open the door next to me on the left, and the gentleman near it opens the other door. He is my father. He is tall and slender with white hair, more like a well known Swedish politician than my father. I ask myself why I had not noticed him before, but I realize that the gentleman between us had obstructed my view. My father seems happy to see me but treats me more as a friend than as a daughter. He simply squeezes my hand and tells me he is going to France. I say, "How lucky! I am going, too, and we can travel together." I am going to look for my mother, but I must have my passport. I see a sort of ticket office. There the young girl asks me a question I do not understand and I reply "No" at random. "Oh! that settles it!" she remarks. "I cannot give you a passport." I am worried and discouraged, and I ask her, timidly and very politely. "Excuse me, could you repeat your question? I don't think I quite understood." She asks, "Where have you lived before in France?" I mention the name of the town where I was born. She writes it down in a register but spells it wrongly, and I am about to correct her, but saying to myself, "What's the good?" I go on to name the department. She writes down "Jura" instead, but I say to myself that these are merely formalities, and that all clerks are like that. Then I ask for my passport, but the employee replies very amiably: "You are too late; you must ask Mlle. Gabrielle," and I feel that I am losing my time, and that we shall miss the boat. But my father has my "identity book." I see it in his hands with its white cover. We find Mlle. Gabrielle and while she attends to me I am worried and say to my father: "We shall miss the boat. You go first and I will take the next boat." But he replies: "I will wait for you." Then my child awakens me.

DREAM LXXXVII. Night of 27th August: A week after the monthly period. A light supper after a hot bath and then immediately to bed.

I dream that I am in bed and that I see my husband enter my room. He wears a heavy brown winter overcoat and I know that he is arriving after a journey. I see a bed in the corner of the room, the bed of my elder child facing mine. My husband goes towards it, and bends down to kiss the child. This action uncovers his legs which are naked. He seems to have nothing on but his overcoat, and I see his buttocks and the anus when he bends. Then he sits on my bed, at the foot, on the right. He seems far away, I find him cold, and ask myself if he will kiss me. Suddenly I put one leg out

of bed, then the other, and exclaim: "How silly! I went to bed with my stockings." I begin to take them off, exposing my legs and vaguely feeling that this was a sexual appeal to my husband. I awake. I do not remember feeling sexually excited.

DREAM LXXXVIII. Night of 2d September. (After a week at the seaside during which there were probably several dreams but no record was kept.) To bed early after a light supper.

I seem to be in a room of which one side is pierced by arches seeming to form cellars. These cellars are open and I see they are full of coal. I am with a friend, a woman, perhaps my sister, and I make some remark I forget, about the coal. Then, still in a cellar, I see tables on trestles and a profusion of articles on them—linen, bed clothes, etc.—and I proceed to take what pleases me, I cannot now recall what, except eiderdown quilts. We pile up a lot of things, and I suddenly reflect, "This is stealing." But something happens—I cannot recall—to suggest that it is not so, that the things belong to us. I awake.

DREAM LXXXIX. Night of 3d September: On returning from spending an evening with my friend F. I went to bed at once. I cannot recall the dream except that F. came into it, and that also there was a sort of water tap for watering a lawn. On awaking, I had to rise to make water.

DREAM XC. Night of 7th September: To bed immediately after a large supper.

I was slightly excited sexually and thinking also about Russia, atrocities, Socialism, etc., having just received a letter with regard to Bolshevism. In spite of taking notes immediately on awakening, they were insufficient and I am not able to reconstruct the dream exactly. A man came in, with a whip which he flourished, as he walked in front of me. Sometimes it touched my cheek. That pleased me and I was confused that it should please me. The man lets fall a card which I pick up. It begins: "My dear Lenin," I reflect: "He is one of those Anarchists." I awake.

DREAM XCI. Night of 8th September: Hot bath and to bed after a light supper, still feeling slightly excited sexually, I do not know why.

I am in a house though I do not see it, busily making up parcels. I have my hat on and am ready to go. I speak to someone I do not see, a woman, and say: "If my husband is never coming I shall have to leave." The woman in a gentle and friendly way persuades me to do nothing of the kind, and suddenly the door opens and I exclaim, "There is my husband!" I do not, however, distinctly see anyone, and certainly not my husband, but I put my parcels down on the

floor and no longer think of leaving the house. Then I am in my husband's arms. But it is all very brief. He seems agitated and goes out in a hurry. We follow him and reach a grating; he disappears.

Change of scene. I am still there but I seem to be a little boy. My father (the same man who was before my husband) tells me to run towards the grating to find something. I now simply follow the little boy and the man who is my father. I run to the grating where someone, a woman, I think, gives me an envelope and I run back to my father who is on horseback going down a very narrow road. Another road crosses this and when I go along it to reach my father and arrive at the crossing, I see on my right the Kaiser galloping along madly. He sees my father who also sees him. My father is now a general; on seeing the Kaiser he acts promptly and puts his horse to the gallop. The Kaiser shouts to him: "I shall have it," and turns the corner in wild pursuit of my father, while I obliterate myself against the hedge. Then in an extraordinary way the road seems to divide and curve and the two men pursue each other while I glide along by the hedge avoiding the horses as well as I can each time they pass me, and wondering each time whether I shall be able to pas-

Another change. I am a woman again. I am above the road, anxiously gazing at the wild course of the two horsemen. It is absolutely mad. The Kaiser seizes the envelope that my father holds in his hand, reads something, and says, "Seventeenth of July. You have got wonderful dictation on your side, but we shall have you yet." My father snatches back the envelope and the race begins anew. I observe the little boy advancing. At last he runs into my skirts barely escaping the horses' feet. I awake. I am lying on my back, very hot and uncomfortable.

DREAM XCII. Night of 9th September: To bed soon after a bath and light supper.

There seems to have been a beginning to the dream which I cannot recall. Where it begins to be clear to me I am in a room rehearsing a comedy. A young woman is seated near a man who is my husband but does not at all resemble him. The young woman is fair; my husband is tall, handsome, and his head round. She says to me: "You must not say that I am in love with your husband." Someone, a woman, I believe, who is conducting the rehearsal, explains that the young woman is my husband's secretary.

Change of scene. I am seated in a low chair and my husband, who in the dream is called "George," kneels before me, with his head in my lap and his arms round my waist. I gently kiss the back of his neck. But I know that this is a rehearsal and that the man is not

really my husband. Yet I love him and the kisses please me. A voice says (it is that of the woman conducting the rehearsal): "Someone is coming." The man and I quickly jump up for we must not be seen kissing. I am exuberant and happy, and dance round the room. Someone enters. It is Marjorie (a young girl I knew some years ago and of whom I had lately been thinking); she is tall and beautiful, as ever, and seems not to suspect anything between us. I awake.

I cannot understand the details of the comedy.

DREAM XCIII. Night of 15th September: Second day of monthly period. To bed after a light supper.

A dark complexioned man is leaning over me and giving me little kisses on the neck. He is an Egyptian. The sensation of the kisses sends shivers of pleasure down my back, but at the same time I feel ashamed to experience this pleasure and I say to the man, "Are you not ashamed to be an Egyptian?" There must have been more, but I recall nothing else.

DREAM XCIV. Night of 19th September: To bed immediately after a light supper.

I feel myself suddenly bounding up in the air like a ball. I rise rapidly in the air with my legs very extended and vertical. It is delicious. I float in the air. I am in a vast room with a very lofty ceiling. It seems to be in a palace. Long red curtains, thick and heavy, no doubt of velvet, form an immense canopy, and hang as portières. Still floating in the air, almost stiff, without making any movement of my own, I come near the portières, separate them and pass into another large room. Several people look at me, and I hear them murmur: "I wish I could do the same." I reply: "It is quite easy; it only depends on the elements which compose your being." (I think this sentence was in English; the first one certainly was) Then the room seems empty except for a beautiful lady in black, seated at a heavy table where a little boy reads to her. The scene is of a medieval palace. I seem to see black and white marble flags beneath the lady's feet. I still float, still happy. The lady and the little boy turn towards me, full of admiration, and I remark to them: "You cannot say now that you have not seen an angel." I awake with a desire to urinate, which I do and go to sleep again. I cannot explain the dream but it was very agreeable.

DREAM XCV. Same night: I see a white curtain which moves and seems to descend along the window, and strike the glass. Then this curtain changes into hail which beats noisily against the panes, like a white curtain. I awake. It is not raining, but I am sure there had been a sharp shower.

DREAM XCVI. *Night of 20th September:* An almost cold bath just before supper and to bed directly after.

I am in a room with a large open window looking on the sea. The level seems much higher than that of the sea which appears in the distance like a sheet of silver, luminous with sunshine and covered by white sails. Suddenly an immense wave rises, enters the window and gently bathes the naked feet of my elder child. We are both standing near a white bed. His legs are naked; I have on a very short chemise. The wave, which only touches his feet, seems to ascend to my buttocks, though I am still standing. I feel the freshness of the water and have the soft impression of being seated on the wave which agreeably caresses the lips of the vagina, and they seem separated and throbbing. I go downstairs and say to my servant: "When the wave goes we shall have awful mud." I awake. I am sexually agitated and moist, and have difficulty in calming myself. A letter from my friend F. in the morning had referred to the seaside.

DREAM XCVII. *Night of 23d September:* To bed soon after a light supper.

I am looking on while a well known Pacifist is explaining to a young girl the trams she must take to reach the office. They are bending over a map which I do not see. She is like a pretty teacher I know, but with rather a stupid air which the teacher has not. He explains the map, at the same time wondering to himself, I know, how she can be so stupid as not to find out for herself. Suddenly an invisible person comes and tells her that her bath is ready, and as she fails to go at once I decide to take this bath. I enter the bath which is a cemented hole in the ground. Suddenly I observe the Pacifist at the other end of the bath. We are both naked and facing each other. My legs are separated and I ask myself if he can see my sexual parts. His legs also are separated and I wonder if I can see his sexual organs. I see nothing, and I reflect that if I make the water very soapy no one can see anything. I proceed to do so. A shelf behind my head worries me. I keep knocking against it. I decide to move to the other side. But I can only do so by going near my companion. I do so and we are seated side by side in the water. I awake with a longing to make water.

I had spoken of the Pacifist during the day.

DREAM XCVIII. *Night of 27th September:* A light supper and to bed after evening at a concert.

I hear music though I cannot catch the sounds, and I ask myself how thought can be rendered in music. I see a little boy making water, or, rather, I do not see the boy, only the golden arch made by the urine. It is an immense arch and I ask myself how that can be

rendered in music. Then a fish is shaken threateningly before my face, and I hear afresh the sounds of music which seem to tell of "the rebirth of the world." I awake with a desire to urinate but too lazy to get up or to make any notes, and saying to myself that I shall not forget, I fall into a light sleep again, but soon awake, repeating the word "rebirth" and get out of bed.

I had lately been advised by a doctor, in connection with a slight disturbance of health, to drink more water, and the results doubtless influenced some of these later dreams.

DREAM XCIX. Night of 19th October, the last day of monthly period.

I see a sort of seashore in a depression made of sand. I say to myself that it would be nice to lie on the sand and be softly caressed by the waves. I am in a bathing dress, with arms and legs bare, and I lie down on the sand. The sea caresses me and I enjoy the sensation, like a wave of velvet rising and falling on my body Suddenly from another side, in this strange basin, an immense wave from behind me rushes forward to meet the sea. I see that I shall be caught between these two masses of water unless I escape quickly. I run away though the water already reaches my thighs. Then I find myself seated astride of a wall against which I seem for a moment to rub my posterior holding on by both hands. This action seems to excite me sexually and I say to myself that I must mas turbate. I wonder where I can do so and suddenly think of the bathing cabin. Then I am there, stretched on the floor with my right hand applied to the sexual parts. I awake, asking myself if it had really happened, or if I had only dreamed it. It was only a dream, of which I am ashamed, but I was much agitated and the sexual region moist. I wanted to urinate and did so, copiously.

DREAM C. Night of the 20th October: I am going to a village near Southend looking for a house for my husband's nephew. When I reach Southend the sea breeze enters my nostrils, and I say: "I must see the sea, if only for a minute. How good it would be to be here with F." But reason prevails, and as I am not there to see the sea, I go on my way to the village.

The most elementary distinction in dreams, as elementary as that between land and water in geography, is, as the earliest scientific investigators of dreaming pointed out, that between presentative and representative elements, or whatever terms may be preferred to indicate the dream elements that are based on actual impressions on the organism at the moment and those based on stored up impressions of the past in memory. It is

a fundamental distinction, but scarcely one that it is profitable to dwell on. Every dreamer—one might almost add in every dream—is working with both kinds of elements, though the presentative element is not always easy to recognize on account of our imperfect knowledge of the condition of the organism. Theoretically, moreover, we can easily imagine a dream made up entirely of representative elements; but it is probable that our theoretical view is wrong. We may say, for instance, that a dreamer, who after a hard day's work seems to be continuing his work in sleep, is engaged on a representative dream, but it is highly probable that the fatigued organism stimulates the dream which thus has a presentative element. It is certain, also, that every presentative dream has representative elements; otherwise there would be no dream.

All the dreams here recorded may probably be held to contain both presentative and representative elements, very often quite clearly, and it scarcely seems that much would be gained by making the attempt, which could only be approximate, to estimate their relative proportion.

It may be worth while, and is certainly easier, to consider another common and ancient distinction: the proportion in dreams between representative elements of old and of recent date. It may well be that there are individual or other peculiarities (as of sex, age, temperament, and nationality) in this matter, so that the proportion is worth noting. When we consider the dreams before us from this point of view, it is seen that 21 of them must be put aside as vague or indefinite, for they present pictures which cannot be clearly associated with any single remembered event, recent or remote. There remains 70 which can be associated with recent events, occurring within a few days before the dream, most often the day before, and 45 which can be associated with remote events, sometimes fifteen years back, or in childhood. It will be seen that the new and the old frequently overlap in a single dream. Probably, indeed, in every dream of any length, it would be possible to detect the blending of recent and remote memories.

This is probably a normal result and true for dreaming generally. Probably, also, it is true of dreaming generally, as for the present dreamer, that there is a decided predominance of recent over remote memories. In order to discover whether there is anything peculiar in the balance of memories in the present dreamer we should have to bring forward comparable numerical proportions from other dreamers. In the texture of all fully-formed dreams—dreams that are more than mere floating fragments—we must expect to find the texture constituted by the warp and woof of these two kinds of memories, whether or not the proportion varies. Every dreamer's map must show the two blended, just as land and water are blended in the geographical map.

It is perhaps unnecessary to deal further with generalities It is more interesting, it is no doubt more significant for the establishment of individual personality through dreams, to as certain the chief groups into which a dreamer's visions of the night fell, to find out their relative frequency, and to note their main characteristics.

Something, however, may be said first as to the classes into which the *dramatis personae* of these dreams fell. From the point of view of their nearness to the dreamer I divide them into five classes and I note the number of dreams into which one or more members of each class fall (independently of the exact number of figures belonging to any class in a single dream): (1) Her children, in 18 dreams; (2) her parents, in 13 dreams; (3) other relations (usually brothers), 13; (4) other known people, not being blood relations, 37, (5) imaginary people, 48. Looked at broadly, there are two classes: real people and imaginary people. The imaginary people constitute more than a third of the whole population of the dream world, and play a part therein which is just as real as that of the real people, often indeed a more impressive part. From the point of view of the dream world one might even be tempted to say that the "real" people—the people whose proper place is in the waking world—must be regarded as merely intruders.

With regard to the distribution of classes of people in relation to kinds of dreams, the dreamer herself has made some remarks (not after the present series but after a later series which were noted down in a more summary manner) suitable for quotation here:

"I do not hold the theory that we people our dreams with beings absolutely unimportant or of secondary or remote importance in our life. It seems to me, rather, that we people them either with those who are closely and immediately important to us or, failing these, with utterly fantastic and imaginary beings bearing no connection with our life, abstract people for the most.

"I base this on the following facts:

"(1) In dreams purely physiological in origin, urination (if not associated with erotism), difficult breathing, etc., the characters are more than in any other kind of dreams absolutely fantastic. a vague friend, a flying man, a crowd, and seldom do they present the face of anyone one knows.

"(2) On the other hand in dreams belonging to the psychic sphere (affection, worries, work, disquietudes, and erotism) the characters are either very clearly defined and known people or else again fancy—pure fancy—rather than anyone remote or secondary in one's life.

"For instance in dreams of worries over work it has always been my headmaster or mistress or educational agent who has come in. Most close they are to my everyday life of all important work, and always the head, never other teachers, hardly ever vague, and never bringing remote or secondary people into the dreams.

"Dreams of worries over children are also clearly set. I never dream of children vaguely known to me as nieces and nephews, or of children of my youth, but of my own two darlings or else pure fancies. My own, however, occur far more often than the fanciful. The same applies to dreams connected with parents, brothers, etc., though these are not frequent, the ties of affection, though great, not as great as to

leave deep constant concern or worry as children do or a lover, except on occasions such as long silence, illness, etc.

"Beside all this, dreams are occupied with matters of detail, with people and things close at hand during the day preceding the dream far more than with remote people and things of the past. I find something of this kind in almost every dream I have. A remark during the day, a personality recalled through conversation, a face in a 'bus, offer far more fancies to build upon, for a leading part or for filling in details, than youthful or past things secondary in one's life."

When we survey broadly the sleeping life of this dreamer —and probably of any dreamer—we find that it reflects all the essential and fundamental experience of the activities of the organism, physical and psychic, those actually being experienced in the body at the time and those so recently or so persistently experienced that they have left traces easily perceptible to the dreaming mind. It needs scarcely to be remarked that the distinction between "physical" and "psychic" in dreams, however convenient, is merely superficial. All dreaming, on the one hand, is psychic, wherever the stimuli that set it in action, or that affect its action, may chance to arise. On the other hand, we cannot positively say that all dreaming is not, as regards the nature of its stimuli, physical, for we know nothing of the way in which experiences are registered on the organism. It may be convenient to talk (with Semon) of "engramms" but we do not know what an engramm is.

It is important to insist on this equality of character in the experiences of dream-life. It is all the more necessary because there is always a temptation to introduce our own social conventions in estimating the quality of dream experiences. Social conventions exist in dreams. That is to say, for instance, that the dreamer may be ashamed at finding himself in situations which would cause shame in waking life. But the dreamer is merely playing an unwilling part in a dream which he has not consciously had any part in producing. And that dream-drama is set forth with serene impartiality on a basis

altogether regardless of social conditions and exactly reflecting the functions of the organism in their relatively fundamental importance. In dreams everything that affects the human organism of the dreamer assumes its true value; there is neither "high" nor "low." So it comes about that many things that in the conventionally arranged life of human societies are emphasized are in dreams almost ignored, and many things that in society are almost ignored appear in the first order of prominence.

This is well illustrated when we group these dreams in order in accordance with the natural human functions which most frequently come into play. We find this order to be: *erotic,* 20; *parental,* 18; *eating,* 15; *vesical,* 14; *filial,* 13; *vocational,* 9; *intestinal,* 3. As there are one hundred dreams all these figures are at the same time percentages and the order thus revealed seems to be significant.

It will be seen that the erotic group comes first with the largest number of dreams (Nos. 1, 2, 6, 10, 21, 28, 35, 41, 43, 50, 51, 57, 61, 85, 87, 90, 91, 93, 96, 99), one-fifth of the whole. We are of course dealing with what are termed *manifest* dreams, the dreams of whose nature there can be no question, or, at all events, with dreams of whose nature there can be little dispute; we are not here viewing them psychoanalytically and therefore we are not primarily concerned with the question of a concealed meaning beneath the surface, that is to say, with *latent* dreams; that is a question which still remains obscure, even when we admit, as we can scarcely fail to do, that dreams often possess a meaning which is not on the surface.

This proportion of erotic dreams will still, however, seem to many a matter to contest. There are some persons who will be shocked to see so many; there are others who will assert there could not be so few. That still persisting opposition of attitude is due to the historical development of the study of this aspect of dreams. Down to nearly forty years ago even the most serious students of dream psychology had little or nothing to say about erotic dreams. Sometimes they

would deal with the subject of dreaming in an elaborately detailed and apparently comprehensive manner and yet never refer to erotic dreams. It seemed as though their most searching investigation of the sleeping mind had never revealed to them the play of the fundamental and singularly strong impulse of sex. Then the inevitable reaction took place. The pendulum which had been artificially drawn up to one absurd extreme swung violently back to the opposite extreme. Dream psychologists arose (it is unnecessary to say what persuasiveness the overwhelming genius of Freud lent to their argument) who declared that, so far from not finding sex in dreams, they could really not find anything else!

To-day (although survivors of both the ancient views may still be detected) it is at length possible to take up a more rationally balanced position. On the one hand we no longer pretend not to see the psychic operation of any human impulse; we *can impartially accept, and even welcome, them all.* On the other hand, we recognize that we are not narrowly driven down to a single root for all the variegated wealth of the mind, whether sleeping or waking. We can map out the vegetation in this rich field, finding different growths with different fundamental roots, although we cannot fail to find frontiers where the growths are blended or the roots uncertain. The efforts of doctrinary controversialists to reduce all these growths to a single genus cease to be of interest. We find it more interesting to trace the enrichment of genera and to determine their relative extent. This can never be quite the same for any two persons or even for the same person at two different periods. That is illustrated even by the example before us, for dreams observed in subsequent years, and even in the year immediately following that with which we are here concerned —some of them I propose to bring forward—indicate, though only in a slight degree, an evolving process of change. They develop because personality develops, or, as it were, exfoliates, revealing ever new phases from within; yet that newness is ever new only within narrow limits—or when the limits seem to be wide it is because we contain within ourselves com-

plementary and compensatory aspects—so that personality always retains its own outlines and those outlines always distinguish it from every other personality. It is the value of dreams that they reveal the real features of this personality more nakedly and in truer proportion than we could ever expect to see a personality revealed in waking life unless we had very intimately learnt to know it, and even then we could never be quite sure that we had justly estimated the exact proportion of its various elements. In dreams that is done for us; we only need the privilege of observation.

There seems to me reason to believe that the relative place of the erotic in the present dreamer's life is justly presented by her dreams—though it would be helpful to compare them with the observations of other dreamers—when we bear in mind that the dreamer was at this time enduring a considerable degree of sexual deprivation at a time of life when in a healthy and vigorous organism the spontaneous sexual impulse is strong. We dream of a thing, as is well recognized, because we want to do it, although, as is less often recognized, we also dream of a thing for other reasons, because it forms part of the logic of the dream, or because we do not want to do it, or even merely because we just happen to have done it. A dream of erotic excitement may occur immediately after erotic gratification and seems then, probably, to be an echo of the gratification rather than a sign of desire; provided, that is, that no actual physical excitement has accompanied the dream. There, indeed, we are brought up to an important criterion: how far are we entitled to call a dream erotic when no physical excitement can be detected by the dreamer on awakening? At least eight (rather less than half) of the present dreamer's "erotic" dreams were accompanied by physical excitement and were therefore erotic in the full sense (Nos. 1, 2, 6, 28, 41, 50, 57, 96). I am disposed to consider myself justified in regarding all dreams erotic in which the psychic content is erotic, quite independent of the physical accompaniment. But it is obvious that when we regard a dream as erotic where there are neither

obvious psychic indications of its erotic nature nor any physical sexual-accompaniment, we tread upon unsafe ground.

I do not propose to examine the details of these erotic dreams. They tell us a great deal about the dreamer's amatory and affective temperament and experience in waking life. But I am not here concerned with analysis, and the reader may therefore be left to study them from this point of view for himself.

It may, however, be of some interest, from the analytic as well as the synthetic point of view, to present a few of the subject's later erotic dreams, mostly dating from the following year. Those noted down seem to have been typical of the later dreams, though they undoubtedly represent the most impressive of them, and cannot therefore be considered quite average dreams. One is tempted to believe that they correspond to the subject's actual development at this period; they present a greater refinement and sublimation of erotic feeling, and the subject herself noted that actual coitus entered less frequently into her dreams. Yet this impression may be fallacious, as is indicated by two early dreams (CI, CII) dating just before the main series, which I have brought forward. They chance to be very instructive in the light they throw on the subject's erotic temperament, occurring within a few days of each other, and illustrating the two sides, spiritual and physical, of her erotic nature. They might very well be regarded as the prelude to the series of dreams which they immediately preceded.

DREAM CI. (This and the following dream as well as CIV and CV are written in English by the subject.)

The dream begins with a dull dreary earth where suddenly comes a dear child, most certainly sent from fairyland. The child looks like a girl though I could not tell the sex and has big brown eyes shining like bright jet. Her locks are a soft golden brown, and, everywhere she looks, beautiful flowers grow, and everywhere she breathes, wonderful light appears. Soon the earth is transformed. I see, right over the hills, far away, a magical light glowing, and going into a wood, I find the undergrowth full of pink and firm anemones. As I marvel at them I notice that, high above my head,

stand tall and splendid red lilies. I do not know where to look, the earth is a real paradise, and I exclaim: "I must gather some lilies for mother." I am just going to break the strong stalk of one of them, when I see, entering the wood, the tall lanky figure of a dear man I know. His beautiful head is a glowing contrast to the red lilies near which he stands. There was no name, but there could be no mistake, it was the head I love so much. He looked grave and somewhat sad, and this caused me to pause in the act of gathering my wonderful red lilies. Then suddenly the beautiful child came into the wood and ran to him. She looked tired and haggard. Her flower-like eyes seemed bigger than ever, but stared strangely as if for ever condemned to remain open. She almost fell into his arms and he supported her as if he had been waiting for her and knew she would come in this dreadful state. The sadness of the face deepens and the child says softly, "They are asking too much of me. I shall have to leave them." And I understand that they are men and women, and that the fairy child is bound to leave the earth. I could not gather the lilies.

There the dream stopped. I never came near him. He seemed not to notice me. I was the mere wonder-bound spectator of this enchanting scene. Would you call this an erotic dream? It left me in a most beautiful state. Was the child Love. Did it mean: Abuse love and it goes, and with it the flower and light, and itself the most glorious flower of all?

DREAM CII. (Two nights later): Last night I had a wicked erotic dream. Coming home from school a man boarded the bus who, I am sure, is a French professor at the great college near here. I had never seen him before but have been shown his photograph. He looked so French, so professor-like, and so like the photograph, that he interested me. Well, in the night, he, of all men, a perfect stranger, not even pleasing to me, did what no man has ever been allowed to do without being kicked in the face. And I simply loved it, though I quarrelled with myself and kept on repeating: "How dare he when only one man is allowed to do this?"

It was an idiotic dream, which left me disgusted at my wild enjoyment.

DREAM CIII: I had a dream last night which, though neither charming nor agreeable, may be of interest as combining erotic and vesical elements. I was in a crowd at a great railway station in Paris, going to take a ticket for my birthplace, and awaiting my turn at the booking office with a number of very French people, in shawls and hatless. People press against me and a fat lady tries to pass in front of me saying: "I was there before you," to which I reply, knowing she is telling a lie: "Indeed! I am going first however."

Which I proceed to do, elbowing my way, I fear. I ask for a third class ticket for —. The clerk says: "Have you your papers?" I reply: "No. I did not know they were needed." He tells me the gentleman beside me will tell me what I must do. Then I see a man at my right who explains vaguely that I must go and see M. —, pay two francs, telegraph for my papers, etc. (I don't recall the details clearly.) I see myself quite small, like a school girl, in a light dress, and thinking that by pretending to be innocent I may get through without all these worries; so I innocently say: "I have a passport at home," and think to myself that I will telegraph to my servant, who is at a hotel with the children, to send it. The man is taken in by my angelic air, says, after the clerk has given me my ticket: "Come with me to see the superintendent [the word I think in English] and the matter will be arranged." "But I shall lose my train?" "Oh, no, you have plenty of time." So we go, I, quite small, beside him, and telling him that I have been to England several times during the war and must therefore have a passport in order. As I walk or rather run after this man who strides ahead, I drop a sixpence and then a half penny which roll on the ground. I stoop to pick them up when to my horror I find they have rolled in front of some men's urinals, but not wishing to lose my sixpence half penny I pick the coins up quickly and awkwardly and go on. We reach at last a room, which I enter, following the man, without at first realizing that the place is full of urinals (holes in the floor covered with earthenware) and I put my foot into a pool of golden urine. I become very red and uncomfortable, and then I see that my companion is opening his trousers and preparing to urinate. I rush out and knock against a large, strong, short-skirted woman (of the "Land Girl" type), carrying a bucket, who has come to clean the urinals, and who says to me smiling broadly: "You made a mistake?" which makes me feel still more confused. But the man comes out as though he had noticed nothing amiss and we enter another room which looks at first like the other, but I soon notice that, above holes in the floor, are taps, at one of which my companion washes his hands, afterwards saying to me: "Where is my handkerchief then?" He searches his pocket in vain, then suddenly throws himself on me, takes me in his strong arms, draws my head back and leaning over me seeks my lips. I struggle and exclaim: "What are you doing? I shall call out!" I see behind me a window through which is visible the station crowded with people. I repeat: "I shall call out!" and I try to do so but he plants his tongue in my mouth saying: "I know how to prevent that!" This seems horrible to me at first and I continue to struggle. He is powerful like the navvy who sometimes appears in my dreams; he holds me as in a vise, and

little by little I begin to find that agreeable. He seeks to raise my skirt—a skirt of a golden color—in front—and I aid him in doing so! He is exciting me with his finger in a most agreeable way when I awake.

It was a dream of the handsome brute kind, such as two years ago my erotic dreams nearly always were, though of late much more rarely.

DREAM CIV: She had been to see her friend F., who had a sore throat.

I was out for a walk, rather in a hurry, very busy, I believe, on going shopping. When at the corner of a quaint little French street there was a man waiting for me. It annoyed me as I had nothing to do with men, so I pushed on hastily, never looking at the man. When I came back, however, I began to wonder if he would still be there, and on coming to the corner I saw him and was not at all surprised to find that it was F. In a teasing mood, and giving myself the excuse that I was too busy, I passed him, head in air, though pleased and happy that it was he. I had no sooner started on my way up another quaint little street than I was sorry for what I had done, and felt I had been extremely unkind, but on looking back I saw F.'s sad and somewhat sexually greedy face (which is a look I have never seen on his real face) peeping at me through the doorway of an open-air sort of "lavoir," and looking sadly resigned to my naughty enticing ways. I then pictured what he must have done to have the chance of seeing me. I saw him, retrospectively, so to say, entering boldly the lavoir full of women at work washing, crossing it to cut short the street corner, and, when he saw me looking back, hiding himself hurriedly, while I, playing hide and seek, came softly against the wall to surprise him. When we saw each other face to face we both looked radiant and happy, as in real life, but automatically each put out a long tongue to show the other (oh, horror) that it was black with a throat lozenge (such as I had given F. during the day) which meant we were both suffering from sore throat, and must not kiss. It was a gesture as of two children, and with the same mirth and gusto. In the end, however, the tongues united in a real kiss, and then in high and childish bliss we walked up the narrow little French street lightly, arm in arm, swearing mutually: "We shall cure one another." Then I awoke extremely happy at this ridiculous yet so delicious little dream. I wanted to urinate.

Like the previous dream, this dream may be regarded as erotico-vesical.

DREAM CV: The beginning is vague. I am with W., a young lawyer to whom I was engaged more than ten years ago. He is

urging me to something, but it is very vague and I recall no words or gestures, only a desire on my part not to yield, and a feeling of boredom that he should be so pressing. At last, still suppliant, and now with his arm round my waist, he is beginning to move me when he hears a sound in the next room. He goes to see what it is; it is F. who is there, looking sad and overwhelmed, and I mysteriously seem to see him through the wall. Not less mysteriously, I know that F. is pretending that he feels it to be quite natural that I should take a lover of my own age, but his dejected air contradicts that assurance. That would have settled the matter, but in dreams our hearts are made of stone. W. comes back from the room, laughing cynically, and somehow indicating that he cannot believe that F. is my lover. He seems sure of his approaching victory, and while F. is preparing to retire and leave us entirely alone he catches sight of the impatient W. in an act which he would no doubt have postponed had he realized, like me, F.'s sad attitude. It was the placing of his finger beneath my skirt, and penetrating the sexual parts For the moment I was strongly excited and forgot F.'s sad face. I even believe that for a few seconds I experienced a delightful languor. But suddenly I saw F. leave the house, looking crushed. I heard someone say: "They cannot make him eat; he will never get over it." Then I knew that it was F. I loved, that I needed his magnetically vivifying caresses, and to the astonishment of W. I rapidly threw on a rose colored dressing gown, and ran up the stairs, to find myself soon in F.'s arms and see his radiant face bending over mine. It was immensely sweet. But W. had followed me. He was there in front of us, and still sheltered in F.'s arms, I said to him: "Yes, this is the man I love, and I shall never love any other." Meanwhile, apparently attracted by the disturbance, a number of boys and men seemed to be seizing and insulting F., while I (a good Pacifist!) suddenly became a tigress, violently throwing at them whatever projectiles I could find and protecting F. with my body. I awoke.

DREAM CVI: While still, as it seemed to me, half awake, I was seeing and caressing F.'s head. This continued in dream, very happily. Suddenly the bed seemed to become immensely long. and F. appeared, far away at the foot of it, only his bearded face showing, as it rested on the sheet, gazing towards my legs. At my end of the bed I was white and small lying on my back, with feet towards the threatening beard. Then the face began to advance towards me like a long serpent on its belly, and suddenly the head is between my legs, and I have the impression of coitus, but cannot say whether it was not just a kiss. Then I awoke.

DREAM CVII: This dream occurred just before a visit to Cambridge, which place I associate with W. who was at that university.

I see W. in my dream, though not at all resembling him in physical appearance (but I am never able now to recall his features). He is tall and slender, with long dark hair, the air of an artist in the popular notion, and a negligent but elegant costume. We seem to have met after years of absence, and he looks at me with attention and tenderness, as if to see if I am unchanged. Then in a slightly biting tone, his eye becoming rather hard and cynical, but his face yet keeping, as though in spite of himself, a ray of tenderness, he throws out the remark: "No need to say, you have much thicker eyebrows than the rest of your family, and that indicates passion, tragic passion, but still passion. Vous êtes uné grande passionnée!" As, with intense and tragic desire, he cries out these last words, the agitation and suffering of my friend affected me too in the same way, although at the same time the words he used made me smile, and then laugh, for I seemed, below all this, to see F. whom W. could not see, and, at the reference to thick eyebrows in connection with tragic passion, my overflowing and assured joy associated other ideas. How could he not see that passion is always the sister of joy! And then the idea suggested a little secret, for "thick eyebrows" are associated in my mind with a certain little triangle of dark hair elsewhere. These thoughts, difficult to render, passed panoramically across my mind, while my friend looked at me with a wounded air, puzzled at my gaiety, and so I, softening the outburst of a laugh which might hurt him, replied: "Ah, if you had said that two years ago I should really have been frightened. But now I can no more be frightened, no more; it is joy!" This phrase rearoused my friend's ardours, and he began to soliloquize on his side: "Passionate, yes, passionate. Tragic perhaps; but she will be my wife." And I, who guess what he is feeling, am full of pity. How can I say, without wounding him, that there is now F., and that after the joy and light that have come to me I can never belong to him, that he belongs to the past? I do not recall whether I said this to him. The dream became vague as I awoke.

DREAM CVIII: This dream begins with the idea that a Chinaman is to be my husband. I do not know whether my mother was the despot in this matter but I am being put into an immense bed, and they (who remain vague) bring to me a Chinaman who is to sleep with me and be my husband. Horror! this man grimaces like a monkey; his nails are cut short, but with a sharp projecting point in the middle which transforms them into claws. When he comes near me these points prick my skin like needles and his body is hairy. The physical repulsion is painful and agonizing and no monster could be better fitted to provoke it. But he does not take me, someone interrupts. Two young girls are looking for a bed and they

propose to occupy that next to ours in the same room. But the sight of the monster shocks them; they rush out with tragic gestures, making with raised hands and arms, in the direction away from which their faces are turned, the classic gesture of certain Egyptian bas reliefs in pushing off a horrible vision. But it seems to be a country in which beds are scarce, for these girls had hardly left before a whole procession of others passes through with the same end in view; at last two remain and, in spite of the Chinaman, occupy the vacant bed. My man was thus obliged to keep quiet, to my great relief.

The scene having changed, I was in the street with my Chinaman and several young girls; we were walking in a row, one might almost say arm in arm, the Chinaman at the end of the line and I at his side. He had become singularly changed. His bronze or coppery complexion suited him wonderfully; he was handsome, he was noble, and now completely shaven, with all his horror and grimacing gone. I felt myself leaning against him, and the presence of all these women embarrassed both of us. Suddenly my companion seemed no longer able to stand it, and as if by magic we both entered a room, leaving the young girls behind. There my personality became doubled. There was one me on the bed—it must have been me and it spoke French distinctly—but there was also another me remaining spectator. The woman on the bed was lying on her back and she said in pure French to the Chinaman (and the words remain very clear to me): "There is a flower; the most beautiful of flowers, and so finely constructed." Was this a command? My Chinaman seemed to understand it so, for he approached his sweetheart (she was certainly that now), and turning her over on the bed, with a light movement, the thin drawers that covered her fell as by magic, and discovered two beautiful buttocks, rosy and firm, at the edge of the bed. Having only admired (but not touched) what he had thus revealed, my Chinaman, still in a charmingly playful way, turned this "flower" onto the other side, thus exposing the sexual parts, which were like those of a little girl, without any shadowing hair. He seemed struck with astonishment at the beauty of this sight and still not daring to touch stood back the better to contemplate the sight, finally drawing away to a corner, where he squatted on the floor. The French woman on the bed, now modestly lying on her back, was a little astonished that he should go away, and after a few moments she said to him gently: "You know there is another flower and I should much like to know if it is well made." The Chinaman then, quite naturally, unbuttoned himself and drew out an organ which was small but erect and firm as though made of bronze, with a patina of copper, harmonizing with his face, which was so gentle and firm and noble. I do not know which admired it most, the woman on the bed or the woman who was looking on, but

both felt great admiration for what seemed to be an object of art. And suddenly this beautiful object became a serpent, grew elongated and opened its mouth, but still in an altogether artistic way, and then the Chinaman rose and came and made love to the little woman in a position which I am sure none ever thought of. He lay down beside her, both of them on their backs, and seeming not to touch her (he always seemed to fear to use his hands as though in his admiration he desired to minimize the contact) but I know that the serpent did his work, drawing himself out and twisting himself extremely, but so sweetly and voluptuously, with no trace of venom; I cannot say that I was violently stirred, it was all so subtle; I cannot even recall the entry of the serpent; the dream tells me that it was so, but I do not know; I doubt it; I only hear divine music which my Chinaman was playing for me on a flute. What music! I really cannot describe it, any more than his way of playing it while lying close beside me, his two beautiful bronze muscular but rather slender arms holding the flute to his lips and raised towards the ceiling, both lying on our backs, so calm, so peaceful, so serene, that the sense of what the dream openly declares to have taken place was lost in the sounds of the flute, which filled me with ecstasy.

The me, spectator, was during this time much occupied in seeking some method of shutting a door formed of two mattresses to prevent the profane noises and gross language of two harridans quarrelling on the first floor from penetrating to the lovers. It was specially what one of these vixens was saying which scandalized the spectator me, a woman doing journey-work for the proprietor of the house. She was making a furious onset on the mistress of the house on account, she said, of the scandalous goings-on. She had profanely attempted to enter the room in the midst of the lovers' ecstasy. I had quickly chased her out as one throws out filth, but her loud talk with the mistress of the house seemed to me a sacrilege and I was so afraid that it would be heard on the bed that I vowed I would sew together these mattresses, which persisted in falling back on me, if I could not otherwise hold them in place. Then I awoke.

Why a Chinaman? That I do not know, but it was a jewel of a dream, which made me laugh afterwards. My son had been to see *The Tempest* and told me of Caliban and his costume and sharp claws; that clearly influenced the dream.

DREAM CIX: This dream took place four years later and is of rather different type, seeming to indicate a more mature stage of development.

I cannot remember exactly how the dream began, but I see myself in bed with my favorite brother (lost in the war); we were both naked and lying spoon-fashion, I with my back to him. (It was the position in which I had actually gone to sleep.) It is my brother,

but at the same time it is Death. He is dear to me. We are loving each other tenderly but yet he is Death as well as Love, those two divine things, which he is forever in my thoughts since Death took him from me. This mystic lover—Death, Brother, and Love—is loving me and caressing me, and I feel very happy with his flesh against mine. He caresses me with his hands, covering all my naked body, especially the thighs and legs, with large slow movements full of tenderness. I feel all through how much he is a lover, but also how much he is Death, and how sweet and tender. Though my back is turned to him, I seem to see him, lean and bony, like a skeleton, hardly covered by flesh, and yet that flesh is so sweet to me, and the head, which I also seem to see, is small (as those of skeletons seem to be compared with those of the living), bald, beardless, but not terrifying; without definitely recalling my brother's features, I know that it is his face, rosy, with a tender rosiness like a child's face and quite unlike a death's head. Yet it is indeed Death that is loving me, and at the same time it is indeed my brother. After these pleasant caresses, he sits up and throwing back the bedclothes and finding me lying flat on my back he raises the nightgown which I then seem to be wearing (before we had both been naked) and uncovers my legs, stomach, and body, which is then seen to be, on the left side, from beneath the breast to low down on the belly, adorned by a very beautiful picture in colors, a landscape. My brother says tenderly, and with gentle pride: "That is the expression of our love, which you have produced," and I am lost in wonder. I wanted him to go on caressing and loving me, so that other beautiful things should come out and cover my legs and thighs with fine landscapes, to express in color all that I am feeling; but my brother says gravely: "No, that is not for the present. To find in colors the expression that you are seeking you need solitude." Here the dream became vague. The name of B. seems to float before me and the words "expression in colors." (Here it should be explained that B. is the author of a book, read just before I went to bed, in which I had much admired the power to express color. It may also be added that my brother was a painter.) After my brother's remark I felt at first a little sad that he wished to leave me alone—it is so good to be loved—and then I felt that he was right. Still I need company and I decide to leave my brother's bed and go and sleep in my sister's. She is lying, not yet asleep, in a small bed which I ask her permission to enter. She consents, even seems pleased, but soon falls asleep, and we are in an uncomfortable position, back to back, her rather large buttocks against mine. In sleep her body arches, and her bottom is thus propelled as a sort of battering ram, pushing me to the edge of the bed, so that I fear I shall fall out and begin to

think that it is not pleasant to sleep with a sister who is so inhospitable and whose buttocks are so fleshy and firm. Then I awake for a few seconds and on going to sleep again find myself with my brother—here again also my lover and Death—both of us naked. Again he is loving me with large tender caresses and again, as before, he throws back the bedclothes and lifts my nightgown very high, then kisses me at length between the legs, so that I nearly lose all sense of the real world, save of my brother's gentle hand covering and caressing my left breast. He stops in the midst of the long kiss to ask: "Would you like me to kiss your breasts?" But I, in a trance, reply, "No, go on," and the delight of that kiss again absorbs me entirely. But he stops, and seeing me lying flat on my back gazes at my legs and body; on the left from below the breast to the bottom of the belly there was a great brown patch. My Brother-Lover-Death exclaimed: "There is no more picture, but that is where it was; it has left traces. Everything in you, with the help of our love, is preparing for it."

After that I seem to remember no more. I awoke much moved by this dream which seems to contain the mystic and erotic essence of my intimate life and affections.

Before passing on from the erotic dreams of this subject, which have now been revealed, with singular frankness, in all their aspects and all their intimate personal recesses, from the crudest to the most spiritual, it may be of interest to consider briefly the personality of the lover in these dreams. We are not here called upon to do this analytically, because, without going beneath the surface, these dreams reveal manifestly and quite accurately the emotional phase the dreamer was in real life passing through. It used to be said, and is indeed still often repeated, that in dreams there is a "censorship" which suppresses or distorts wish fulfilments. That may be prominently true in the case of many abnormal or neurotic dreamers, but such censorship is not pronounced in the case of normal, healthy dreamers, and indeed the significant fact for us to remember is that, as Freud has truly said, the heavy pressure of the "censorship" is really suspended, or at all events very much weakened, during sleep. Therefore it is enough to summarize the results synthetically. It will be found that the largest number, as many as eight, of these erotic dreams were enacted with completely unknown men, of lower social class,

usually vigorous working men, ultra-virile, inclined to be rough and aggressive, occasionally dark-skinned foreigners; in this group the physical excitement was most apt to be pronounced, and most easily detected on awakening. Of the other dreams, one concerned the man to whom she had been engaged many years earlier; three her husband whom she had not seen for a year or two before this series of dreams began; six a new friend for whom at this time her affection was growing; one a more distant friend; one a man of her own class only known by sight and for whom she felt no attraction; one a half allegorical figure associated with her brother; one was of masturbation; one of swinging; two were mixoscopic, the sexual excitement arising from the scene witnessed.

The erotic picture thus presented seems fully adequate to all the excitations likely to be presented in daily normal life. Yet the largest group of all, the first, cannot be thus obviously explained, and corresponds to no pronounced emotions in the dreamer's waking life. It thus becomes of some psychological interest.

There is little doubt that what is misleadingly called "marriage by capture" has been common in primitive society. There has not usually been any violence or rape involved; the woman has retained her right to decide; but the man has exerted a show of force, and so is enabled to manifest his robust virility while she is enabled to manifest her feminine modesty. The courtship in this group of erotic dreams is clearly of the nature of "marriage by capture." The dreamer is impelled to invent a powerful and primitive lover whose sudden and ardent advances alarm and repel and disgust her; but gradually she is won over, the lover seems more and more attractive, and the scene tends to end in intense physical and emotional satisfaction. It would seem that we may properly regard dreams of this group—which are without correspondence in the dreamer's waking experiences or desires—as atavistic: but only in a very restricted sense. That is to say that they are the correlated psychic aspect of the most fundamental primitive sexual desire. When in the sleeping woman the phy-

sical sexual impulse is making itself felt apart from her daily civilized life and her personal affections the ancient deep-seated associations of that impulse will assert themselves and the dreamer imagine that she is playing her part in a "marriage by capture." Most women, asleep or awake, are aware of the presence within them of this primitive desire to be carried away by force, even though in actual experience they would resent it and never yield to it. In dreams they can give it free play. I would propose to term the dream of this type *the Marriage-by-Capture Dream.*

Flying Dreams.

I introduce the discussion of these dreams immediately after the erotic group, because there is some reason to think that in part—though, I believe, only in part—they lie on the borderland of the erotic group. When I wrote at length on such dreams in my book, *The World of Dreams,* many years ago, I did not find that they were ever erotic. I associated them with exaggerated rhythmic muscular movements, especially with the rise and fall of the chest wall in more or less excited respiration. The evidence seemed to make that clear, and I had no evidence in favor of a sexual origin. Then came Freud who asserted that dreams of flying are the expression of a sexual wish, a kind of symbolization, of sexual origin yet without organic stimulus. It might, of course, be possible to attach too much importance to this assertion. Freud at that time believed that the majority of dreams are the expression of erotic wishes.[1] So it seemed to me that he had no choice—

[1] Thus in *Die Traumdeutung* (3d. ed., 1911, p. 205) Freud writes: "The majority of the dreams of adults deal with sexual material and express erotic wishes." He merely added, as by an after-thought, that he would not "exclude the appearance" of numerous dreams dealing with hunger, thirst, etc. Fourteen years later, in his "Selbstdarstellung" (Grote's *Medizin der Gegenwart,* 1925) Freud states the matter much more clearly: "I have never set forth the opinion, often ascribed to me, that dream interpretation shows that all dreams have sexual content or lead back to sexual impulses. It is easy to see that hunger, thirst, and excretory pressure may just as well produce dreams of satisfaction as any repressed sexual or egoistic tendency." Thus stated—though he has not always stated it so clearly—Freud's position is the same as that I maintain.

evidence or no evidence—but to make the same assertion of flying dreams. But I was quite willing to take the suggestion seriously, and I gave fresh attention to the matter. Freud had brought forward no convincing evidence on the point, but I found that—while the respiratory origin of some dreams of the group could not be questioned—there was ground for believing that an erotic element must not be excluded. I found that in some of these dreams a distinct erotic coloring could be traced, and also that such dreams tend to disappear in late life when definitely erotic dreams also tend to disappear, though this later consideration is not decisive since in later life all dreams tend to become less vivid and less definite. It will be seen that there are two dreams of flying in the present series (LII and XCIV). On account of the interest of the subject I asked Mrs. N. to make further records of such dreams during the three or four subsequent years, carefully noting the circumstances under which they occurred. This she was kind enough to do, and I am thus able to bring forward six additional and highly instructive dreams of this class.

DREAM CX: It was a very agreeable dream. I was flying on a huge aeroplane with many planes, and I was able to move about on the wings of the monster, like a fly on the wall, without even endangering its equilibrium.

I am suffering from a sore throat.

The dreamer subsequently added that during the five following days, still suffering from her throat, she had two other similar flying dreams.

DREAM CXI. Menstrual period: I had a rather pleasant dream of flying last night. I was floating in the air and being admired by a little crowd, amongst which was one of the masters of the school. "It is quite easy," I explained, coming to the ground. I proceeded to demonstrate this: "Take a long breath, lifting the chest; then, always holding your breath, bend down on your knees and take a sudden bounce, springing like a piece of elastic." I went on to do so. It was most delightful, but, alas, I awoke.

This dream is of peculiar significance because we find that, even in the dream itself, the dreamer realized the respiratory foundation of it.

DREAM CXII: Last night I dreamed I was in a kind of office with a man, dressed in brown, rather fat, and a stranger to me, who

was my boss. He told me that some document was missing but that we should find it in Irene's room (Irene is pure fancy), where he had gone to wash his hands. So we went up together to find the document, but, once in Irene's room, the man changed and became my friend F. and suddenly lifted me high in his arms, bringing me down again to sit on his hips, with my legs clasping him tight and the sensation of his coat and buttons against my bare flesh, for the flying motion of lifting me had raised my skirts like a balloon. The same movement brought my face above his, so that I looked down on it. Then I put my tongue forth just to touch his lips, but suddenly it became hard and swollen and I pushed it far into his mouth. It was so sudden that he was quite thrilled and his happy face amused me and I laughed cheerfully; I was feeling happy and highly mischievous. At the same time I felt strangely excited sexually, though this seemed only due to the contact of my bare flesh with the rough coat and a button close against the vulva. But then the dream became confused and fantastic, and the feeling of pleasure disappeared.

DREAM CXIII: I do not remember the beginning, but I see myself floating in the air. Unlike those flying dreams in which I simply let myself be borne up by the air passively in a vertical position and in a state of delicious ecstasy, I am full of energy and, as it were, swimming in the air. I make a movement of the legs, though only one leg seems to move, rather similar to that in swimming (in former years I often used to swim) and my body is extended horizontally on the side, while moving forward. In these movements of the legs it seems to me that people below can see beneath my skirts to the sexual parts, and that annoys me. I attempt while swimming to drape my skirts chastely around my legs. But all my efforts are vain. I suddenly find myself in a vertical position, with a man gazing at me from below. He makes a sign to me to descend, and I plane down to earth. I am no sooner there than this gentleman caresses me with his hands between the legs. I can feel his finger and I think (though I am not quite certain) that at the same time he was slightly smacking my buttocks. I felt much thrilled and excited, to such a degree that in my dream I felt a strong desire to masturbate and dreamed that I was doing so, with such a sense of reality that on awaking I felt sure that I had really done it.

I have a bad cold and am unable to breathe through the nose, so was sleeping with my mouth open.

DREAM CXIV: I have had a flying dream which was clearly erotic and apparently with normal respiration.

The beginning was very vague, bringing in a friend of my youth with her beautiful complexion, and a man, a perfect stranger, small and with beautiful hair. When the dream began to interest me was when, leaving my friend, I started to leap about in mid-air in the most delightful way, laughing at the stranger below and teasing him, as I thought he would not be able to imitate or catch me. My position was not that usual in flying dreams, though there was no idea of swimming. I do not indeed recall the position in the first movements of rapid leaping and flitting about. Soon, however, I see myself with legs bent at the knees, as if I were kneeling in mid-air but with the knees much apart. The motion of the air lifted a thin chemise above the hips, and thus exposed the sexual parts to the little stranger below me. Then, very slowly and with great pleasure, I seemed to descend on his lips and receive a most delicious kiss in mid-air.

DREAM CXV: I had gone to bed much worried with the troubles of the day and full of fierce revolt against society in general. I tried to soothe myself by thinking of the calmness of F.

I do not know at what hour of the night I seemed to find myself, suddenly, quite naked, in a beautiful landscape bathed in dazzling sunlight. I was walking on alone full of joy to be thus bathed in light; my skin grew firm, my breasts stood out hard and round, with two little points. Only there remained on my body the wrinkles of childbirth which my hands instinctively tried to hide, while my heart said gently to me: "They are the wounds of the war to which women go; he cannot but love them." I knew that he must love all the little defects of my body, and I lived in joy to think that at all events my skin was growing firm for him and my breasts regaining their beauty and youth. And now, I said to myself, I can tell him that I have discovered a corner in the world where one may walk quite naked in the sunshine, and without shame, even of one's imperfections. I continued to walk, intoxicating myself with the air and sunlight, but I was no longer alone. There were inquisitive people around me, possibly sympathetic, but I was not sure of them, and I began to fear that, after all, the world was returning to torture me again. There was only one, a Chinaman, of whom I felt sure, for he followed me in an ecstatic dream and seemed to wish to kiss my feet every time they touched the ground. He had understood my way of celebrating the worship of the sun, and he followed me like a great artist or a great child, to be at my side to help or guide me. He was disturbed, as I was, at the crowd, not knowing whether or not they would spoil everything. "Could we not find a corner where we could be quite alone?" Saying this to him, I saw before me a superb avenue where the sun seemed to

play through a kind of golden foliage. The Chinaman (I do not know whether he really had the traits of that race or whether it was simply a label applied to him in the dream) then made a sign that he understood and that nothing could be more favorable than this avenue. As soon as I entered it the crowd disappeared and I could more easily abandon myself to the joy of nakedness and freedom. But now I was no longer walking; I was dancing, or rather flying, near the tops of the trees, with dance rhythms in the air, seeking to leap forward and ever higher. It was a combined flight and dance, with half descents and bounds (I do not recall having had this sensation before), and with a laughter more delightful than that of humans. The Chinaman continued to follow me in ever greater ecstasy, seeming to fear nothing but my fall. At a little cry of mine he anxiously asked what was the matter. "It is nothing," I said, "only some holly." I had got into a clump of holly, very highly situated. But I once more bounded into the air. Then the dream was suspended and completely changed its character. I was on the ground again and with a cloak around me, and a procession of acrobats, giants, dwarfs, hunchbacks, and jugglers passed before me, apparently emerging from the avenue. The dream had been delicious at first, but it gradually took on a rather nightmarish character.

I may conclude this series of flying dreams with two by other subjects, also both women.

DREAM CXVI: I had dreamed many times of flying but the scene of the dream had always been out of doors, when I had seemed sometimes to float to the top of tall trees picking flowers from the highest branches, or when in a field or meadow I had tried to teach others to fly. None of these dreams had ever seemed to have any sexual connection. But last night I had a quite different flying dream. I was lying on a couch with a man whom I had known only as a friend but whose fine physique and handsome face I had always admired. At the end of a long voluptuous kiss, which ended in an orgasm, I floated from the couch to the ceiling, circling the room several times, and then awoke as I was about to take from the wall a picture which would ordinarily have required a ladder to reach.

The last dream of this series is recorded by a woman medical student, aged 30 I here condense it.

DREAM CXVII: She had been spending the evening with a man to whom she felt a strong attraction, and had been smoking rather excessively. She took tea on going to bed. In the early part of the dream she is waiting, a little impatiently, for a man who, the last

time she saw him, wished to make love to her but for whom she felt no response. He appeared, and the dream continues in the subject's words: "With him there is a boy of eight or nine years of age. He is a beautiful bronze color, like some Indian, brown eyes and hair [she recalled later that he was like an attractive picture she had recently seen of Otto Braun as a boy], and is absolutely naked. I admire him intensely. I talk to him and he replies in a deep musical voice. Then my favorite brother comes on the scene and admires him, too. He puts his arm around him caressingly and touches the boy's penis I am worried and wonder how I can tell him to desist without attracting the boy's attention. Then I am relieved for my brother has stopped. They fade away. I still seem to be in the same place. I hear the noise of an aeroplane (they always fascinate me) and run to look at it. I see it take a dive and am horrified. Then I see it again with relief. The scene changes. I am in a field with several other people and a number of men are flying, but instead of aeroplanes they have wings, strapped to their waists, which open out as they fly. They offer to let me and other women try. The wings are strapped on and we start running round a sort of course. Soon I feel my wings have caught the wind and I soar most deliciously for a few moments. Then I come down again. I try hard by running round to rise again but the wind always seems wrong. The wings are taken off and we hand them on to a fresh crowd of people.

Before summarizing the results of these dreams of flying it may be helpful to refer to the most instructive investigation of this dream-type hitherto made. Mourly Vold, whose posthumously published work in experimental psychology, *Ueber den Traum,* is a classic in the study of dreaming, by the methodical care with which it was carried out and the scientific caution in the statement of its conclusions, devoted a certain amount of attention to flying dreams.[1]

Mourly Vold definitely associates flying dreams, not only with unsupported soles of the feet but with respiration (though respiration of a light and agreeable kind), even as a *sine quâ non,* but he admits he was not able to bring forward objective evidence of this association. He also attaches a certain signifi-

[1] Professor J. Mourly Vold. *Ueber den Traum,* 1912, vol ii, pp. 791 *et seq.* He makes no reference to Freud, and his observations (from 1876 to 1897) were of earlier date than Freud's writings. They had not appeared when I published *The World of Dreams* in 1911.

cance to flexed extremities which he had sometimes found associated with these dreams. It should be noted that Mourly Vold was well aware that the sleeper is constantly subjected to a great mass of stimuli, motorial and others, of all kinds, so that only the most powerful of these can pass the threshold of sleeping consciousness, thereupon using their predominance to effect a harmonious psychic coördination with the other conditions.

The most powerful motive to flying dreams Mourly Vold found in vibration, not of the limbs but of the body, and especially of the loins. The activity thence arising, he regarded as "obviously of sexual nature." The muscular vibrations are of the same nature as those which in a stronger degree produce actual detumescence; but they arouse more vaguely voluptuous and sentimental emotions, and these express themselves in a flying dream. So that, according to Mourly Vold, it is rare for such dreams to accompany actual orgasm but common for them to precede or follow it. He states that during some twenty years he analyzed twenty-five flying dreams of his own. In fifteen of these he was able to observe some degree of sexual vibration on awakening; in the remaining ten he noted no such manifestation, but he considers that as these mostly belonged to an early period he may possibly at the time have failed to detect it. He regards such dreams as being most frequent in youth and in the convalescent period after acute illness. He legitimately argues that the feelings, not only of enjoyment, but of pride and self-complacency which accompany the dreams are further evidence of their erotic origin. He also makes the interesting suggestion that the typical witches' dream in old days, of riding on a broomstick to the Devil's Sabbath, may be regarded as an erotic flying dream conditioned by the special superstitions of ancient times.

It might have confirmed Mourly Vold's opinion on this point if he had known of any folk-lore evidence of the erotic significance of flying dreams. This has been supplied by Professor Seligman who has lately stated, on the authority of a personal communication from Dr. Röck, of the Vienna

Museum, himself Tyrolese, that in Tyrolese folk-lore the flying dream is regarded as a preliminary to a sexual emission.[1]

These observations of Mourly Vold's, thus confirmed by folk-lore, I regard as carrying great weight. They are not responsible for the modification which has taken place in my own view, for that occurred earlier when, in the light of the Freudian conception, I re-surveyed my own experiences and found reason to believe that I had overlooked an element which, while far from being so clear as in Mourly Vold's experience, was yet traceable—to a degree that caused me to feel surprise I had not suspected it before—to a sexual source. But Mourly Vold's evidence is decisive for at all events the possibility of the occurrence of this factor in flying dreams, and the more so as he was by no means an investigator with an *a priori* determination to find a sexual causation of dreaming.

Freud's slight discussion of the matter, while highly suggestive, carries less weight, if only for the reason that he gave a less detailed and scrupulous attention to the matter. He discusses flying dreams in his great book on dream interpretation.[2] Stanley Hall would have found an atavistic origin for flying dreams in the experiences of the ape-like ancestors of men when they flew from branch to branch among the trees.[3]

[1] C. G. Seligman, Presidential address on "Anthropology and Psychology," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. liv, 1924, p. 44.

[2] *Die Traumdeutung*, 3d ed., 1911, pp. 201-4. Freud admits other explanations, such as a horror of pollution. "Some faint reminiscent atavistic echo," Stanley Hall would say ("A Study of Fears," *Am. Jour. Psych.*, 1897, p. 158.) "Do we not dishonour the soul," he asks (p. 169), "by thinking it less complex or less freighted with mementoes of its earlier stages of development than the body?" This point of view has been more recently supported by Dr. C. S Myers in a discussion of "Heredity in its Physical and Mental Aspects" at the Oxford (1926) Meeting of the British Association, where he argued that what is inherited is something more akin to mind than to matter.

[3] If so we might expect to find such dreams more prominent among more primitive peoples. But among, for instance, the Lango tribes of the Sudan, Driberg states (*Man*, Aug., 1927, 94) that they are unknown. I may remark here that Stekel (*Der Fetischismus*, p. 453), from the psycho-analytic standpoint, explains dreams of flying quite differently, as not reminiscent but symbolic, and characterizing ambitious people. It would certainly be plausible to suppose that rising in the air indicated a desire to rise in the world. But flying dreams occur in all kinds of people, and often in those who have no marked ambitions.

Freud finds the explanation, not in the early experiences of the race, but in the early experiences of the individual, when as a child he "flew" into his uncle's arms, sometimes in these movements, he adds, sexual sensations being aroused. No attempt is made to prove that such childish experiences are associated with later dreams of flying, or even to prove that in their absence dreams of flying fail to arise, though evidence of this kind would obviously be valuable. Yet Freud regarded this speculation as "good ground" for rejecting the evidence (now here made more definite) that the conditions of the sleeper as regards skin sensations, respiratory state, etc., are able to evoke such dreams.

Some years later, however, in his lectures on psychoanalysis, Freud very briefly touched on dreams of flying, and other typical dreams, in a way that suggested that he was no longer able to speak so definitely on the matter, and was willing to leave the interpretation of such dreams to the gradual widening of our comprehension. His discussion of the matter was slight and hardly satisfactory, but it was suggestive. It sufficed to induce me to review my own experience and seriously to revise my interpretation of these dreams long before I saw Mourly Vold's book.

It is now possible to realize the significance of the flying dreams in the present series. As they are presented in full it is enough to sum them up briefly. There are ten (twelve if we count the two similar to CX, but not recorded in detail) of them, all but two in the same dreamer, and all in women. In one there was no traceable cause but a desire to urinate on awaking; in two (really four) there was obvious respiratory trouble due on one occasion to a sore throat, and in the other to inability to breathe through the nose. In as many as seven (even eight if we include a dream that occurred during menstruation and may possibly therefore be of sexual origin) the dream either contained sexual suggestions or else.[1] and more

[1] I could add a further dream by a fourth dreamer who imagined she was being violently made love to by a man who in real life does not attract her, while both were gazing from a window at a huge aeroplane; this dream was felt to be unpleasant.

usually, was accompanied by definite erotic feelings; and in one of these there was also at the same time respiratory trouble. There are thus only one or two dreams of the group that we cannot account for. We are justified in believing that in some dreamers, in a most pronounced way, flying dreams are erotic. We are also justified in believing that this is not the only factor in flying dreams, but that, in the absence of the sexual factor, the respiratory factor is amply effective.[1] Finally it is seen that the respiratory and sexual motives may act together.

A consideration of this group of dreams, I am now convinced, thus amply justifies a modification of the view I put forward in *The World of Dreams,* confining the causation of such dreams to disturbed or excited rhythm of the chest or heart. Accurately speaking, it is not so much a modification as an extension of that view which is required, for sexual activity also is ultimately a muscular rhythm. The original view that a flying dream may be purely respiratory is decisively confirmed by such dreams as CX and CXIII which were accompanied by definite obstruction to respiration in the nose or throat. The view of Freud that flying dreams may be associated with sexual excitement is confirmed by the definite occurrence of the phenomena of flying in what are distinctively erotic dreams. Moreover we find—and in two dreams—the coincidence of respiratory phenomena and sexual phenomena in the same dream, indicating an "over-determination" (to use the Freudian term) of visions of flying by two allied classes of muscular rhythm operating in association. Further evidence scarcely seems necessary, for it would hardly be possible to adduce any more precisely to these points.

[1] Mrs. N. remarks that the suggestion of swimming in a dream such as CXIII, with difficult breathing due to catarrh, may be evoked by the sensation of the resistance which has to be overcome in respiration. Ferenczi (*Versuch einer Genitaltheorie*), on a very different basis, believes that swimming, with its suggestion of fish, water, etc., is the symbol of both coitus and the fœtal position in the womb, so the dream of swimming would imply an actual reminiscence of previous aquatic life in a lower vertebral stage. Before we accept this fancy as fact we must, of course, wait for evidence; if we have to wait a long time we must not feel unduly anxious.

Vesical Dreams.

This group of dreams resembles the group of flying dreams in raising a similar problem as to the question of sexual origin. The point of view that we shall here find reason to adopt is that in sleep, as we know also to be the case when awake, sexual excitement is aroused or increased by the pressure of a full bladder, but that the impulse of urination, being fundamentally a primitive and distinct instinct, can act independently, exactly by the same right as the impulse of sex, in constituting dream activity. The present dreamer, as has been pointed out, having a readily contractile bladder, is peculiarly liable to dreams in which urination is prominent, so that we may expect to find illustrations of various types of vesical dreams in her experience. It is important to note that there is no history of enuresis in childhood. It seems, therefore, of interest to record a few more of her dreams in this class, noted down during the three or four years following the series already here recorded.

DREAM CXVIII: I cannot remember how it began. I only know that I am practicing urination in front of F., and that it pleases me infinitely. He seems to be in a corner of the room, and we are laughing and joking together. In the dream I see myself lying flat on my back, or at least I know that I am in this position, and a huge fountain rises up almost vertically and with prodigious force. Then I am standing though I still do not see myself, the jet alone being visible. Suddenly I draw F.'s attention to a buffet with glass doors provided with curtains midway up the window; all along the panes golden pearls are dropping, seeming to detach themselves from the curtain, one by one, and well-rounded. I call F.'s attention to them, though I do not recall speaking; it is all very vague, and we laugh at the sight. It is my fountain which has scattered in golden drops behind these curtains. We are full of admiration for these pearls to which the sun, penetrating into the room, has given the golden tones. All the panes of the buffet are glistening with gold. The curtains seem of the same color, and everywhere gold is streaming and falling in drops. It is fairy-like. Then I wake, greatly wanting to urinate and also with a strong longing to masturbate, which I did, and some time after urinated very copiously; it seemed very hot.

DREAM CXIX: I have had a delightful dream with rivers of flowing water. I was hunting for a pretty sight of my childhood, a

water mill, for me full of dazzling magic. I was in my dream going to this mill with some kind but vague companion, and asking everyone where it was. I was always following water, for the most part swelling and impetuous, and sometimes as in a mirage, and from the top of lovely hills I could see the mill in the dstance in a glory of glittering water. Copious urination on awaking.

DREAM CXX: I arise to urinate and do so largely. On returning to bed and sleep I dream that I am in a shop buying a hat; a shopman shows me one, a fancy Tam o'Shanter, and I declare that it will never suit me. But on putting it on I find myself very pretty, and I place the corner at different angles, pulling here and there, making one or another lock of hair appear, turning before the glass under the eyes of the man, who approves. Then I try a sky-blue velvet ribbon round the Tam o'Shanter but it does not suit it. Suddenly I see the shopman, who is strangely like my grocer, leaning over his counter and whispering mysteriously to a pretty little lady close to me, "She [that is to say I] will tell you how that goes; she bought one of them the other day." I understand that it is a syringe for very intimate injections, and I protest, a little embarrassed, that I have not it with me; but, smiling in a cunning way, the tradesman to my great astonishment points to the instrument in the basket on my arm. It is in fact there, brilliantly new and exposed in all its nudity. Very surprised I exclaimed, "I must have left it in my basket all these days." The tradesman very affably hastens to say to us: "If the ladies would go to the back of the shop it would be easier for them to show how it works." We are now in a pretty little room like a hall, apparently at the back of the shop, where I feel it will be easier to explain than in the shop before a man, but to my horror I suddenly see that my grocer is still there, although he makes himself small and is always very obsequious; he never leaves us for an instant. He is seated on the last step of an oak staircase behind us, and is of course listening without seeming to, and always preserving his polite tradesman's smile. He makes me feel horribly uncomfortable but I begin my explanations in a firm voice and scientific manner. The lady is seated before me, a large black hat shading her face; I am turning my back to the grocer I explain, "Here you place a tube which goes . . ." I see the tube but the explanation is confused. I cannot explain where the tube goes and I try vainly to convey the idea of a tank of water. There is another tube which also goes towards the water; I see the water but my explanations are not forthcoming; I am awkward and cannot explain what I want to. But suddenly I see the sexual parts of a woman opening like a flower. Whether they are my own I do not know, for now I only see delicious fountains arising, I know not whence,

but without doubt from me, for I am covered with the drops which fall back.

I am cold; I awake to cover myself; I still want to urinate, but more moderately; I do not do it, however; the dream is so stupid that I get into bed without doing it in order to see what will happen, but nothing happens.

DREAM CXXI: In the first part of the dream I had been vainly waiting at a railway station for my sister. After having seen many trains pass, I said to myself: "It was ridiculous to invite her when she is just starting for America; of course she is very busy and has gone out shopping." Then the idea came to me: How does one translate into French "she has just gone out shopping"?—"Elle est partie faire des courses." And therewith I am logically transported into my classroom, making my pupils translate, "She has just gone out shopping." The head master is in the room, grave and solemn. He says, "Now, now, what is the French for that sentence?" Suddenly I feel a terrible desire to urinate. What can I do? Brilliant idea! I will sit on one of the benches as I often do, and then I will let it all flow. But I shall have to raise my skirt; I skilfully do so and sit down with assurance and dignity. There are spaces between the boards of the bench. It comes! What a torrent, what a noise, and what a relief! In spite of myself an expression of beatitude passes over my face. The children must know nothing, so I repeat in a very loud voice, "Elle est partie faire des courses," and the head master, who has mentally changed into my friend F.—although in appearance he still remains the head master of real life—this ambiguous F. becomes my accomplice, repeating in a very loud voice: "Voyons, mesdemoiselles, elle est partie faire des courses." But I cannot keep it up, the noise is too terrible, the cascade too impetuous, and my happiness too great; in spite of all F.'s affectionate little signs of encouragement, I am silent and given up to my enjoyment. F. tries hard to drown the sound, he talks loudly, he is agitated, but one terrible little girl has discovered everything by leaning over, and while F. continues to repeat, "Voyons, mesdemoiselles, elle est partie faire des courses," and when I at last stand up, our pupils are all leaning over towards the pool and pointing it out to each other.

Then I wake with a feeling of laziness, astonished that I have no wish to urinate, and wondering whether in spite of appearances it was really a vesical dream. I half turn round and fall asleep on my stomach to a new dream which begins with a slight caress at a region so excited that it must after all have wanted to urinate as it always is so when one wants to badly. I say to myself, "I would like to be whipped a little, that would be delightful," and I raise my nightdress.

A light hand seems to give me two little slaps and then wander over my buttocks. I can no longer contain my enjoyment. I am shaken by great thrilling movements. I awake in the midst of an orgasm; my nightdress is raised but my hands are not near, so that I can hardly believe that I raised it myself, though I am not sure. Anyhow I then had to urinate.

DREAM CXXII: It seems to me that there was a green and soft lawn and near this lawn a small cottage. My mother and I and a third person (who was vague but I think a woman) were on the lawn and were much worried how to undress and go to bed (though there was no bed there). Our worry was due to the cottage being inhabited by a witch who seemed to be able to see everything and whose chief concern was to torment people. One of her tortures was to prevent rest. I cannot recall actually seeing the witch but I felt her as a constant presence, wicked and obsessing, small with a crooked chin, extremely swift and active, able to see everything and to know everything. By what miracle we had escaped her vigilance I cannot tell. But anyhow we succeeded in undressing and conceal ing ourselves beneath the flowers, my mother beneath a rose, a single great red rose on a bare, slender rose-tree, without any other flower or any leaves, and I under another rose, I think, but am not sure, while our companion seemed to have disappeared.

Our flowers, however, were not a protection for long; the witch saw us and prepared our punishment, which was to consist in an avalanche of water suddenly falling on us from above. A benevolent spirit (also felt but not seen) wished to save my mother and suddenly her rose and rose-tree began to grow until they reached fabulous proportions. I had the feeling of being drawn up from above, while I saw the rose-tree growing as if magic fingers armed with a magnetic fluid were making it rise and rise and rise. I was wonder-struck and I believe that my rose-tree, too, was growing (although that is vague), but suddenly, coming from above, a flood of clear rustling water fell heavily on my mother's rose-tree. Poor mother came from under her rose, falling like an ant beneath the gale, and like an ant she was small and frail and of course dripping with water, a dress of black taffetas clinging to her body and shining with reflections of silk and water. I seemed to have escaped the flood; my only anxiety was my mother and my fear lest she should catch cold, etc. I awoke and had to urinate

The evening before I had been reading the chapter on magicians, kings, and gods in Edward Carpenter's *Christian and Pagan Creeds.* It may be remarked that "aller cueillir une rose" (to go and gather a rose) was formerly in France, as the English equivalent in England, a polite euphemism for to go aside and urinate.

DREAM CXXIII: I dreamed that a troop of comedians bearing the name of my own family, of whom it chiefly consisted, was giving a representation of some old-fashioned play and I was very anxious that it should be successful, since, though not acting myself, the reputation of my relations was at stake. I was in the audience. The play must have been Greek, and was acted, as it ought to be, in an open theater with seats in a semicircle on a hillside. The actors down below looked small and their efforts seemed to me rather to miss the mark. I was afraid this great drama would not be finely interpreted by these people who were so dear to me. My anxiety was great. Suddenly my friend F. appeared on the stage as one of the troop. He was dressed as a hunter, carrying a kind of primitive rifle with a great beard spread fan-like, looking fierce and terrible and puffing in a frightful way to imitate the noise of the rifle. His cheeks were puffed out like those of a cherub when represented as blowing to produce the North Wind. Everyone thought how silly he looked, but after a moment's hesitation I disagreed with everyone, thinking that no greater artist had ever been born and that this realistic way of imitating the spitting crack of a rifle could not be surpassed.

In place of an altar in the middle of the stage was a small building looking like a Y. M. C. A. hut and reserved for lavatories. Between two acts I decided to disappear there and found at the end of a long corridor a closet where, standing over the seat and slightly bent forward, I let fall a great stream. Coming out in the corridor I found that I was not yet relieved and looking behind I saw another closet which, however, did not seem inviting, so I resolved to empty myself in a huge foot-bath on the floor in the corridor. This I did in a standing position, legs each side of the bath and skirts held up, thinking how enormous these streams were. Then I awakened with an urgent desire to urinate.

DREAM CXXIV: She dreams that she is with an early boy friend P. He has done something wrong in his French lesson. His punishment is to be changed into a fish, rather like a haddock, but very large, and to swallow an enormous quantity of water which he must retain; if he fails to do so he will die. The water seems to come from a spring or waterfall and the fish is placed underneath it with gaping mouth trying to catch it all. All the time the dreamer is conscious that the fish is P. and that she must save him from death as she is fond of him. But he is unable to retain the water which flows out from near his tail. He wriggles about and is very wretched, as is the dreamer. The only way to save him if he cannot retain the water is to collect it in a bucket as it flows from his tail, and not a drop must fall outside the bucket or he will die at

once. In her anxiety the dreamer puts him in the bucket, holding him under the stream and watching the bucket getting full, frightened lest it should overflow, and perpetually changing the bucket as soon as full. Then she awoke with a desire to urinate.

The same dream—almost identical in details—had occurred to her once, and she thinks twice, before. Most of her vesical dreams are pleasant, but this with its anxiety and the disagreeable sensation of touching the fish was unpleasant.

The next dream, dating some two years later, is the last of this group recorded.

DREAM CXXV: I was with my friend F., very happily and lovingly walking in the country, and suddenly I wanted to urinate. F. said to me: "Nothing easier; there is no one about; you could even raise your skirts." So I stood with raised skirts, and the stream jetted forwards just like a boy's, and I enjoyed it like a mischievous boy. The wind suddenly raised my skirts behind, though without wetting them, for I held them firmly, and at the same time by its force drove the stream to one side, in what seemed a deliciously playful way, so that I had to make a sudden movement of the hips to bring it into a straight line again, and even at the same time, just like a boy, I seemed to use my hands to guide it, as though furnished with a boy's little apparatus. The wind repeated its game, and I mine, several times in succession, to our great amusement, for it seemed as if the stream would go on forever. Then the scene became vague, the operation ceased, I dimly saw people in the distance and wondered if they had been able to see me. Then I lost sight of F. and went in search of him.

It will be seen that, with the eight supplementary dreams, the present series includes twenty-two dreams of vesical type. This is possibly the largest series of mostly consecutive dreams of this type so far brought forward, and it may well enable us to form fairly certain conclusions concerning such dreams in their broad outlines. They form, we may well be entitled to believe, an unusually large proportion in the dreams of this subject, and that not because she belongs to the urolagnic type, abnormally sensitive to what I term Undinism—although that may be so in a slightly and scarcely abnormal degree—but simply because of an acquired irritability of the bladder, the result of childbirth. This fact is, however, itself instructive. It enables us to realize clearly—what surely might have been

suspected—that the vesical dream exists in its own right and is not a disguised form of some other type of impulse.

Many years ago Jung stated dogmatically that the vesical dream is in children an infantile sexual surrogate and in adults the garment of a sexual impulse.[1] In other words, whether as substitute or disguise, the vesical dream is always erotic. It is probable that Jung has since modified that view. He has perhaps realized, at all events, that the impulse of vesical contraction is often of imperative urgency, and that no day-dreams about a sexual-surrogate are needed to account for it. But this view is still worth noting, as perhaps not yet entirely extinct. The wide survey afforded by the present investigation shows us that, for ordinary vesical dreams, no such far-fetched explanation is demanded. We see that in a subject whose erotic dreams are very plain and undisguised, vesical dreams form, for the most part, a distinct class and they form a large class for a definite reason which involves no sexual factor. It were strange if it were otherwise. We are concerned with an excretory function which is zoölogically more ancient than sexual conjunction and is capable of existing in the absence of sexual organs. The supposition that it has no psychic autonomy is too fantastic for serious consideration.

I have, however, been careful to point out that while vesical dreams inevitably form an independent class, we cannot say more than that they are "for the most part" distinct from other classes. They are without doubt often closely connected with sexual impulses; that fact is as inevitable as their fundamental independence. In both sexes the vesical sphere and the genital sphere are bound together. When an impulse arises from one of these spheres there is always a possibility that it may involve the neighboring sphere. Whether it does so, and how far it does so, naturally depends largely on the condition of that neighboring sphere and the extent of its irritability at the moment. In one direction it is a fairly familiar fact, both to men and women, that a full bladder

[1] Jung, "L'Analyse des Rêves," *L'Année Psychologique*, 1909.

heightens sexual feeling, while, in the reverse direction, it was known even to Brantôme, four centuries ago, that in a woman sexual orgasm may occasionally cause sudden and involuntary expulsion of the contents of a full bladder. These phenomena of waking life occur, as we should expect, on the psychic plane of sleeping life in a much more vivid, dramatic, and picturesque way than is possible in waking life, for now the mind is on its receptive side in delicate and precise adjustment to the stimuli that reach it, without being liable to deformation or repression, in one direction or another, by inhibiting influences from its own higher controlling centers. The facility of association between the vesical and sexual centers is probably, it seems to me, indicated by the usually pleasurable and sometimes romantic character of vesical dreams. There seems no obvious reason why a purely excremental somatic need should become idealized and pleasurable before its fulfillment. As a matter of fact, the dreams aroused by the need for defecation (and those that proceed from the gastro-intestinal canal generally) do not seem to be idealized or to become pleasurable (see, for instance, the three dreams of this kind in the present series, LV, LXX, LXXXII), and this is intelligible when we bear in mind that little or no involvement of the sexual sphere is here possible. (The anus comes within the sexual sphere, but the anus is not here involved.) In the dreams of the present subject, it will be noted, vesical dreams follow closely after erotic dreams and flying dreams (which we have seen reason to associate in many cases with erotic dreams) by the large proportion containing elements of a romantic and pleasurable character. There are many indeed which are not of this character, and these we may perhaps regard as of more exclusively excremental origin, not involving in any degree the sexual sphere. About 12 out of the total of 22 may be said to be of this character, and were either commonplace, as when a water-tap is seen or a bath or visions of children urinating, or else actually distressing as when alarming floods seem to be taking place. The rest, of which five (3 per cent. in the original series) were definitely erotic, are of pleasurable and often charming

nature.[1] The subject is enjoying the spectacle of fountains and rivers and lakes in Nature or she herself is urinating copiously and sometimes producing fantastically beautifully fountains. There are three of this last type (which occurs in the dreams of other women) and one of them erotic. Another of them must be specially mentioned (CXXV) because it belongs to a type of dream otherwise unrepresented in this subject's dreams.

The tendency to adopt the mental attitude and habits and costume of the opposite sex is one that I term sexo-esthetic inversion, or, more simply, Eonism. It is a tendency which, in a slight degree, is found in otherwise perfectly normal people, especially girls and young women. I have elsewhere in this volume described a case in which it existed only in the dreams of a young married woman. The present subject has shown no clear trace of this tendency, either in waking life or generally in her dreams. But in this dream, which stands alone, we find a distinct trace of this tendency emerging, and the dreamer imagines herself as urinating like a boy and finds great pleasure in so doing. It may be noted that Adler has already referred to this practice in girls, or the attempt at it, as a common indication of what he terms "masculine protest," though it must not be supposed that the adoption by woman of the erect attitude for urination is to be regarded as necessarily or commonly a "masculine protest."[2] It is often adopted and even with great satisfaction by women who are completely heterosexual; thus a sexually normal young woman doctor notes: "I have discovered that this posture gives me an enormous and curious pleasure."

When we survey the whole series of vesical dreams here

[1] It is possible that some of the dreams classed as erotic (like Dream VI) may be of partly vesical origin. But we cannot say that a dream is of vesical type when it contains no actual or manifestly symbolic vesical elements.

[2] Karl Abraham went much further and fancied (*Klinische Beitrage*, p. 301) that in a woman to dream of floods of urine itself necessarily indicated a strongly marked "masculine complex." There was no such complex in the present case, and to have imagined it would have led us entirely astray.

presented we may see that they include nearly all forms, direct and indirect, realistic and symbolic, which such dreams tend to take. In five of them the dreamer pictures herself as fantastically or more prosaically performing the act; but in all the other dreams the act is either objectified or symbolized, so that there is no indication in the dream that the dreamer is herself experiencing the desire for it. In two dreams children are seen urinating. But in all the remaining dreams—some two-thirds of the whole number of such dreams, and as many as twelve out of fourteen of the original series—the idea of urination is never presented to dream consciousness at all. We may say, indeed, that there is perhaps no class of dreams in which the underlying motive is more often concealed and presented dramatically and picturesquely in a symbolic form than in vesical dreams. The test of such a dream is, of course, the sensation of vesical pressure on awaking or the presence of an urgent desire to urinate. That was nearly always verified by the subject in the present investigation. But even in the absence of such verification, when we are once familiar with these dreams we cannot easily fail to recognize their vesical source. Rivers, fountains, lakes, reservoirs, baths, water-taps, fish, swans—such images, well illustrated by the present subject, seem to be those commonly called up to dreaming consciousness by a full bladder. That was noted as regards some of these symbols by Scherner in Germany in the middle of the last century,[1] so it would seem that these symbols are largely independent of the subject's age and nation and rooted in the mechanism of the human mind.

It must not, of course, be concluded that in ascertaining the somatic stimulus that arouses a set of symbols, even when these symbols tend to be widely spread among very different people, we have said all that there is to say. It is well recog-

[1] R. A. Scherner, *Das Leben des Traums*, 1861, pp 187 *et seq.* He showed much insight in tracing the vesical symbolism of dreams and noted that it included fear of danger from floods and (in case of a mother), drowning of her child, when vesical distension was extreme, though the dream was pleasurable if distension slight.

nized now that a dream may tell us far more than the source of the stimulus that evoked its symbolism. Even the symbolism thus directly evoked may differ widely, and differ significantly, in its character. Thus in another married woman, Mrs. C., of about the same age as Mrs. N., a frequent vesical dream is of being pregnant or in childbirth.[1] It seems an entirely natural vesical dream, the pressure of the bladder being interpreted by sleeping consciousness as pressure of the womb. But here an interesting and perhaps deeply significant fact emerges. Mrs. N., who has had two children, with difficult confinements, and therefore might be expected to experience such a dream, but who has no wish for more children, has no dream of this type to record; it is Mrs. C., who has never had a child but who would much like to have one, to whom the dream is liable to occur. This not only brings out clearly that it is not merely the nature of the stimulus to the dream, but the disposition of the dreamer on whom the stimulus acts, which fashions the dream, but it also seems to indicate a great fundamental truth concerning the nature of dreaming. Dreams are not only based on the past, with its actual experiences and ingrained impressions, they are also based on the future with its merely desired experiences and impressions. Dreams are not determined solely by a force from behind, but also by a force from in front. In a large number of dreams, even when the fact may not be immediately apparent, we are really concerned with a wish-fulfilment.

It is noteworthy that Mrs. N.'s numerous dreams of water seldom became associated with fire, although the combination of fire and water is very common, and is recognized in various countries. The following dream by another lady may serve to illustrate this association: She seemed to be in a wood with a man friend (with whom she had actually walked through a wood a fortnight earlier) and proposed that they should lie down together on the grass. She then noticed the ground was wet, and the friend objected, but they remained lying. She next observed splashes of fire between the trees,

[1] She writes, for instance: "Last night I dreamt again that I was having my much desired baby. I needed to micturate badly on rising; hence the congested feeling that started the dream."

but her friend said it was water. She thereupon realized that it was water, coming towards them and threatening to overwhelm them, and was frightened. She could now plainly see approaching streams of water and woke with a strong desire to urinate (having drunk much water the previous evening), but with no consciousness of sexual excitement. It will be noted that the fire is spoken of as appearing in "splashes," as though it were water, and it is evident that there are many links between fire and water, the one calls up the other, the sensation of water is sometimes "burning," and smoke resembles steam. Freud refers to this association in dreams as connected with earlier nocturnal enuresis (*Die Traumdeutung*, 1911, p. 204), as also Adler, and Ernest Jones (*Essays in Applied Psychology*, p. 306). Epilepsy has been recorded with enuresis and dreams of fire (*Ztblit f. Psychoanalyse*, 11 Jahrgang, Heft 9, p. 535). In Japan there is considered to be a connection between enuresis and fire (Krauss, *Geschlechtsleben der Japaner*, p. 188). Westermarck has been impressed by the associations in popular belief in Morocco of fire and water (*Marriage Customs in Morocco*, pp 121-2), and elsewhere (*Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, vol. i, p. 300) states that in Morocco it is held bad to play with fire at night, and he who does so, especially if a child, will wet the bed. As far away as Ancient Mexico the belief in the unity of fire and water was marked. The Fire-God was the patron of water, and the Fire-Goddess was marked by the sign for rain. The Comanches expected rain from the Sun-God, and the Tarahumari of today pray to the Sun-God for rain (K. T. Preuss, "Der Ursprung der Menschenopfer in Mexico," *Globus*, Bd. 86, 1904, p. 117).

Dreams of Eating.

Dreams of sexual and allied origin have of recent years attracted such wide attention—by a reaction from the almost complete neglect which was formerly meted out to them—and they have aroused so many interesting and debatable problems, that there is a tendency to neglect the dreams which have their source of stimulation in other organic impulses. When, however, we are concerned with the synthesis of dreams we are compelled to recognize impartially the whole of the sources from which dreaming proceeds. If we do this, it is not surprising to find that the great fundamental function of eating is almost as conspicuous as that of loving; if indeed we include the whole digestive process, the incidence is about the same.

In the present series, against the 20 erotic dreams, we have 15 that are concerned with eating, and 3 of intestinal origin, in all 18. When, however, we remember that we have seen reason to conclude that the purely erotic group must be enlarged by additions from the vesical group as well as from that of dreams of flying, it may seem that food and digestion, which constitute so much more regular and constant an element in life than sex interests usually furnish, is inadequately represented But, it must be pointed out, that is precisely the reason why eating plays a relatively small part in dreaming. It is the strong and irregular impulses that are likely to affect dreaming most conspicuously, while the constant and rhythmic action of the heart and lungs, so long as they are not stirred into unusual activity, fails to touch dream life. In the person of sound digestion, living a simple and normal life, eating in this respect tends to become more analogous to breathing than to sexual activity. No doubt there are individual variations, and in the dreams of another woman, in whose life, it may be, the question of food is more interesting, dreams of eating have a larger place, being 26 per cent.

It must not be supposed, however, that the food dream presents no problems.

Two of the food dreams in this series have indeed no obvious significance and no known relation to the actual condition of the dreamer's digestion at the time. But of the rest it is noted that 8 took place after a light or early supper, and 5 after a heavy supper, often immediately before going to bed. Two of the dreams of food after a light supper were merely a repetition of what had taken place during the day, and they may not, therefore, have had any reference to the dreamer's condition at the time of dreaming. The other dreams were either of preparing food or of seeing others eat or of being present at a meal or in a restaurant. It is probable that some of these dreams were associated with the actual readiness of the dreamer's organism for a meal.

It is well known that a state of hunger or of semi-starvation conduces to dreams of large and delicious meals Ex-

amples have been recorded in the narratives of many travelers who have undergone privations.[1] Some have been brought forward by Freud, as well as by earlier investigators of dreaming, although, as Freud rightly points out, the significance of such dreams is not necessarily exhausted in the statement of their primary somatic source of stimulation. These dreams are, obviously, dreams of wish-fulfilment in its simple and direct, so-called infantile, form.

But, as we shall see, there are other dreams of food which cannot thus be explained as dreams of wish-fulfilment. They form a large and common group, and they are conveniently ignored by the writers who believe that wish-fulfilment is the key that will unlock all doors in the world of dreams. We find that 5 of the dreams of copious meals, or of dining at a restaurant or of seeking a restaurant, occurred after partaking of a large meal or on going to bed immediately after a meal. It is evident that this group of dreams cannot be regarded as of wish-fulfilment. If wish-fulfilment is the rule in dreams then they must be regarded as exceptions to the rule. But, as Darwin was wont to insist, apparent "exceptions" are highly significant; they cannot attract our attention too strongly, for they indicate that our rule is not large enough, and that we need a more fundamental rule. It may be quite obviously true that the stimulus to the dream, in a large group of food-dreams, has been furnished by the wish for food. But a wish, it must be remembered, is a non-intellectual conation, outside the sphere of reasoning, and dreaming is essentially a process of *reasoning*—the fundamental process, that is to say, in the minds of men and other animals[2]—and the wish can only be an external stimulus which has chanced to set the reasoning process to work. When the organic state is that of

[1] So also among half-starved war prisoners, see, for example, Dr. Amadeo dalla Volta, *Studi di Psicologia e di Psichiatria sulla Prigionia di Guerra*, Florence, 1919.

[2] "Our conceptual logic," Jules de Gaultier truly observes (*La Sensibilité Métaphysique*, 1924, p. 28) "exists virtually in the mentality of other biological species than man. It is not reason, pure reason, which distinguishes man from other animals; it is, on the contrary, that which he has in common with them."

hunger, the reasoning process, answering to the wish the organism transmits to it, sets up the appropriate mental process. And when the organism transmits an impression of repletion the reasoning process again begins to work. But this time it is not to fulfill a wish, it is to explain, which is an equally native function of the reasoning process. When a sensation of repletion is transmitted to the sleeping mind the natural mental reaction is a picture of eating, the dreamer imagines that he must be engaged in absorbing a copious meal, although —unlike the case of the really hungry dreamer—the picture may not be agreeable, and the food eaten sometimes seems unpleasant or disgusting, even filthy. This class of dream is by no means confined to the present dreamer. It may be found in the experience of many, if not all, dreamers, although its significance has not always been apparent to dream analysts. It may most easily be discovered in the dreams of those whose digestion is imperfect, especially when they have been tempted to indulge in a too late or too unwholesome meal.

The three intestinal dreams, which presented the act of defecation, were probably due to a slight impulse to the fulfilment of that act. In two of them there was slight colic on awaking, and the third occurred on going to bed immediately after supper.

The food dreams of this subject are confirmed by the experience of another subject—the woman dreamer previously mentioned—of whose dreams I possess a very long series. Thus, on one occasion, she had indigestion and nausea from eating just before going to bed food which did not agree with her. On falling asleep she dreamed of large dishes of food which, although not hungry, she was eating, very slowly, in order not to waste it. Then the dream continued with the discovery of lice which she killed with much disgust. Here we see clearly how dreaming is fundamentally a process of reasoning. The message of repletion is sent to the mind which thereupon, to account for these phenomena, assumes the act of eating. But as absence of hunger is reported the mind is obliged to assume that eating is due to a sense of duty, and, further, in order to

account for the disgusted feeling of nausea experienced, the mind argues that something very disgusting must have happened, and supposes it to have been the discovery of lice, a supreme symbol of disgust to the modern civilized mind. In other dreams of the same subject belonging to this group filth and excrement are introduced to account for the dreamer's sensations.

In my book, *The World of Dreams,* I endeavored to make clear the essential part played by the logical process of reason in all dreaming which goes beyond the mere presentation of disconnected images. It is common to speak of dreams as lacking in logic and reason, but it is actually the reverse; they are full of logic and reason. There is ground for bringing that fact forward in this place since the reaction of the sleeping mind to gastric repletion furnishes such definite evidence of a logical process. A *wish*—and especially a *wish for explanation*—furnishes the motive force in the elaboration of the impressions and memories present to sleeping consciousness. It is strictly a *conation,* the movement of an impulse in a particular direction. But it cannot furnish an explanation of the dream itself or reveal its mechanism. It is, if we like, the fuel; but it is not the engine. That is in the sphere of reason, and though we may often (not always) find the reasoning bad—sometimes wildly or fantastically bad—because of the limited, peculiar, or distorted nature of the material which sleeping consciousness has to deal with, it is still reason. If the logical process of reason could be abolished during sleep there could be no coherent dreaming at all, nothing but unrelated impressions and memories.

Dreams of Clothing.

Dreams of clothing and dressmaking and embarrassing absence of dress may here be mentioned, since food and dress are to be considered as associated needs, alike resting on a physiological basis. The dreams in which dress is merely noted without becoming a guiding motive in the dream may be disregarded. We then find dress may be said to be an active par-

of the dream in 12 per cent. of this series. I do not propose to discuss the various aspects of these dreams of clothing, merely remarking that the subject may probably be said to possess a fairly average and feminine interest in the subject of dress and that she frequently makes her own dresses. Bearing this in mind the part played by clothing in her dreams seems by no means excessive, being rather less than that played by food. It may be of interest to compare her in this respect with the other woman dreamer of whom I have a long series of dreams. This subject has taken an active interest in dress and in dress reform; she is also rather unusually interested in food. In her dreams clothing (as well, it has already been noted, as food) plays a large part, in no less than 34 per cent. of the dreams, so that with her, though interest in food is unusually marked, interest in clothes is even larger.

A certain amount of attention has been given by some writers to dreams of embarrassing absence of dress. In its typical and pronounced form it hardly seems that the dream of this type comes into Mrs. N.'s experience. There are, however, two dreams of undress (II and XXXII) and these are instructive as showing the origin of this type of dream. It is probable, indeed, that careful examination would usually reveal the real source of such dreams and that there is little need to devise any fantastic explanation of them. The dreamer really is in a state of undress, and it would be strange indeed if the consciousness of that fact failed at some moments of semi-awakening to penetrate to consciousness and cause embarrassment.[1] Both these dreams, it is instructive to note, occurred on going to bed immediately after a hot bath, and one was accompanied by a sensation of cold ultimately followed by a reaction of heat and then became erotic; this succession seems

[1] Professor Maurice Parmelee has mentioned to me the perhaps significant fact that while he formerly had such dreams, they have not occurred since he has investigated the German *Nacktkultur* Societies and became used to being naked in the presence of persons of both sexes. When the fact of being naked is no longer associated with embarrassment, we may suppose, it no longer makes any impression on dreaming consciousness.

natural. Freud regards such dreams as exhibitionistic.[1] I have no evidence for this explanation, which will not suit the present case.

Dreams of Traveling.

It may be thought strange to introduce this group. There seems to be, however, from observation of many dreamers, good reason to believe that such dreams—with which I include dreams of preparing to travel and preoccupation with luggage—have, in a large proportion of cases, a common origin, which is really organic.

This need not seem surprising when we consider their number. In the present dreamer's experience we find that they account for 13 per cent. of the whole number of dreams, so that dreams of traveling were more frequent than dreams of clothing and almost as frequent as dreams of eating.

No doubt a certain proportion of such dreams are simple memories, determined along paths which have no traceable relation to the dreamer's present organic condition, just as some of the dreams of food certainly are, and most of the dreams of dress. The present subject, during the war, in the years immediately preceding this series of dreams, had been obliged to undertake numerous journeys in France, sometimes under difficult and painful conditions, and memories of these experiences might easily recur to sleeping consciousness.

But there is a considerable group of traveling dreams which I regard as the rationalization by the sleeping mind of an actual organic condition of the blood-vessels of the head and the nervous system. This can often be demonstrated. Thus in another subject, who had been living for many weeks far from railway trains and noisy thoroughfares, I have a record which is to this point: he went to bed and woke up with a slight headache and during the night dreamed that he was wandering about a busy thoroughfare where many trains were passing along, and he was vainly seeking to find one going in

[1] S. Freud, *Die Traumdeutung*, 1919, pp. 167-71.

his own direction. It is fairly obvious that to sleeping consciousness the throbbing head recalls the vibrating railway train and finds in it the symbol, and the explanation, of the sensations actually experienced. In Mrs. N.'s records no note was made of the presence or absence of headache or other similar cause of the numerous dreams of traveling, with, however, two exceptions, but they happen to be crucial. These dreams (XLVII and XLVIII) occurred on two successive nights when quinine had been taken as a prophylactic before going to bed. It is well known that ringing of the ears, or pronounced pulsation of the blood-vessels of the head, tends to occur after a dose of quinine, and its occurrence is specially noted in the record of the second dream. During both nights the dreamer was haunted by images of luggage or railway trains. There can be no doubt that, in our society, the railway train is a normal symbol of a throbbing heart. With the increase of aviation the aeroplane will probably tend to take the place of the railway train in this type of dreams.

It would be easy to consider other aspects of this series of dreams. That, however, the reader if he chooses, may easily do for himself. The object of the present study has not been to investigate a particular person, and still less to analyze a particular case. The object has been to illustrate a method. This has been rendered possible by the gracious and highly intelligent assistance of a charming lady who has condescended for this occasion to become the *corpus vile* in which *experimentum fiat*. Therewith, it has, I hope, been made clear that, while the value of dream-analysis remains unquestioned, there are yet certain pitfalls into which when too narrowly followed it may sometimes lead, and that an important complementary guide to knowledge is furnished by the method of what I have termed dream-synthesis.

VI.

THE CONCEPTION OF NARCISSISM.

The figure of Narcissus had wandered down from classic times to modern times, from legend into literature, and thence into popular phrase, long before it entered into sexual psychology. I do not propose to trace these wanderings. It cannot even be said that they always help us to understand the scientific re-incarnation of Narcissus. But it is worth while to note a few of the sign-posts on the road.

The history of Narcissus in classic times was long ago traced by Wieseler. He considered that Narcissus belonged to the Thracians, being specially associated with places that were their seats or closely connected with them, this being also supported by the relationship of Narcissus to Selene and Endymion who were specially honored among the Thracians. The myth thus, he believed, originated from the symbol, the kernel of the myth being nothing else than the history of the flower. Narcissus had a water-god as father because the flower grows by the water, and his mother was Liriope because the flower is a lily. The name of the personification is the name of the being's symbol, and the name indicates the effects of frost, terror, syncope, death, these effects being attributed to the action of the plant. To the ancients generally Narcissus came to represent not only cold self-love but praiseworthy abstinence, while later some philosophers of the Platonic schools found in this figure a deep sense and a morality for life.[1] But for the most part Narcissus continued to be, as commonly represented in ancient art, a beautiful nude youth by a pool, languishing for love of his own fair image. How far the modern psychological conception implicit in this figure was vaguely apprehended remains obscure.

[1] F. Wieseler, *Narkissos*, 1856.

It has, however, recently been suggested that there really was present in the Greek mind the idea of Narcissus as embodying an attitude of mind which would now be termed autoerotic. In a fragment of a comedy by Kratinos there is an uncertain phrase which Meineke reads as "the olisbos of Narcissus."[1] The olisbos, as we know, was primarily an instrument for the sexual gratification of women. But there is reason to believe that even in the days of Greek myth it was recognized that such a device could have a masculine use *per anum,* and there is a story of Dionysus in point.[2] Kratinos would thus be making fun of a Narcissist, though as he wrote in the spirit of caricature and parody he was only concerned with a physical manifestation of that disposition.

The figure of Narcissus was, however, clearly predestined to be the emblem of the absorbed self-love of youths and maidens who had not yet reached the stage of falling in love with another person of the opposite sex. It has, moreover, always been familiarly at hand, for it has chanced to assume its most charming and elaborately detailed shape at the hands of Ovid,[3] who has come down, alike through medieval and Renaissance days, as the most attractive and popular of all the poets of antiquity. In Ovid's poem we see Narcissus, the beautiful youth who has disdained the love of Echo,[4]—herself, as Otto Rank expresses it, "the personification of corresponding acoustic self-mirroring,"—condemned, for punishment, to fall

[1] Quoted by Athenæus, Bk. XV, 676. (In the English translation by Yonge, vol. iii, p. 1080, where the phrase is left in the original.) As regards this instrument, see Havelock Ellis, *Studies,* vol. i; also *Herodas,* edited by Headlam and Knox, 1922, p. 288, and F. S. Krauss, *Das Geschlechtsleben der Japaner,* 2d ed., Ch. XIV.

[2] See Hans Licht, "Olisbos und Narcissismus," *Zeitschrift fur Sexualwissenschaft,* Dec., 1925. Prof. Licht regards Meineke's reading as highly probable.

[3] Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* lib. iii, 339 *et seq.*

[4] It is interesting to note that it is Echo who brings us to the Greek explanation of the origin of masturbation. Pan was in love with Echo but could never succeed in laying hands on her, and his father Hermes, out of pity for his unsatisfied desire, mercifully taught him the secret of masturbation, hitherto unknown. But masturbation was known to other gods before the days of Hermes and the Greeks, for among the Egyptians we hear of "masturbating gods." See W. Max Muller, *Die Liebespoesie der Alter Ægypter,* 1899, p. 7

in love with the image of a beautiful youth he saw in the water, not knowing that it was his own image. Through Ovid, Narcissus has entered the European poetic tradition.

Calderon in Spain, in the middle of the seventeenth century, may be said to effect the transition between the classic and the modern approach to Narcissus. It was a subject that appealed to Calderon's romantic love of the dream-like and the visionary which he often dealt with so happily. In *Eco y Narciso* he narrates, in three "Jornadas," following the general outline of the ancient story, the life of Narcissus, the unreturned love for him of Echo, his relation to his mother, and his own self-love, the nature of which his mother explained to him. The whole is related in Calderon's beautiful musical verse, in a sort of pastoral drama of which, in English, Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess* is the type; but no clear modern interpretations are yet revealed.

An important stage was reached when Milton, a few years later in the seventeenth century, represented Narcissus in that feminine shape to which in modern times his attitude has always seemed best fitted, and showed the first Mother of Mankind in the typical Narcissistic attitude of adolescence before she had met Adam. Later, Eve tells Adam how she had heard a murmuring sound of waters from a cave, flowing to form a silent pool. She proceeds:

> "I thither went
> With unexperienct thought, and laid me downe
> On the green bank, to look into the cleer
> Smooth Lake, that to me seemed another Skie,
> As I bent down to look, just opposite,
> A Shape within the watry gleam appeard
> Bending to look on me, I started back,
> It started back, but pleasd I soon returnd,
> Pleasd it returnd as soon with answering looks
> Of sympathie and love, there I had fixt
> Mine eyes till now, and pin'd with vain desire,
> Had not a voice thus warned me, What thou seest,
> What there thou seest fair Creature is thyself,
> With thee it came and goes."[1]

[1] *Paradise Lost*, Bk IV, 456-469. At a much later date Doughty described his Adoma in the same situation.

It may not be out of place to remark here that the poets, alike in dwelling on water as a mirror and as revealing the presence of what seems an independent being, are true to the facts of primitive life. Thus Ehrenreich, in his expedition to Brazil among tribes untouched by civilization, found that the Bakairi were not impressed by a mirror; they called it "water."[1] Water is the primitive mirror, the only way primitive man has of objectifying himself, of seeing his own soul. Holmberg, referring especially to the Lapps, remarks on this as explaining the early belief in spirits that dwell in the water, and points out that when the Lapps say that the soul dwells in the water they mean that man sees his own image there.[2] A similar relationship is today seen in the dreams of youth. Thus in Forrest Reid's autobiographical book, *Apostate,* which contains much about dreaming in early life, a dream is recorded in which the youth imagined himself gazing at his own image in a pool, an image, however, entirely unlike his real self—which caused him no surprise—but much more like that he would wish to be. The dream was so vivid that on awaking he had to get out of bed to look at himself in the glass to make sure no miracle had occurred.[3] This dream would now be regarded as exquisitely "Narcissistic."

It can scarcely surprise us to find that Rousseau, who was so great a pioneer in the discovery of the modern soul, had not failed to invoke Narcissus. It is certainly remarkable, however, that it was when he was himself at the age of adolescence that his attention was drawn in this direction. *Narcisse ou L'Amant de lui-même* was a comedy, not performed until 1752, but stated by Rousseau to have been written at the age of eighteen. In the scanty extant letters of Rousseau in youth I find no indications that point to *Narcisse.* He had just then first met Madame de Warens, but one gains the impression that his life was much disturbed. At the age of nineteen,

[1] P. Ehrenreich, *Zt. f. Eth.,* 1890, Heft 3. p. 97.
[2] Uno Holmberg, *Die Wassergottheiten der Finnish-Ugrischen Völker,* 1913, p. 45.
[3] Forrest Reid, *Apostate,* 1926, p. 102.

however (in 1731), he was occupied with plans of idylls and beginning to think that music and musical composition would be his career in life.[1] It is here that we must place the origin of *Narcisse*, but we may be permitted to believe that, when he produced it twenty years later, it had been much revised. It was produced anonymously at the Comédie Française, though Rousseau acknowledged the authorship immediately afterwards and professed much indifference as to the play and its fate.[2] Next year (1753) it was published. The long Preface, however, tells us little about the play. The story is of a young man, engaged to be married, who is much occupied with his own personal appearance and with feminine details of the toilette in the care of it. His sister, to tease him, secretly has a portrait of him painted in which he is dressed as a woman and this is placed in his room. He fails to recognize it as himself, falls in love with it, and cannot rest until he has seen the original, meanwhile trying to postpone his marriage. All ends well, however, with his discovery of the trick, and his marriage.

We may leap over more than a century to the *Genio y Figura* of the distinguished Spanish writer, Juan Valera. This is one of Valera's best novels, and reminiscent of his own life as Ambassador to the Argentine. We are here only concerned with one passage in the book, but to that passage special significance attaches. The heroine, Rafaela la Generosa, a Spanish courtesan of the higher grades, writes here, in her "Confidencias," of the admiration she aroused in her Argentine maid: "But I do not think she flatters me when I get out of my bath and she dries me and looks at me with a thrill of pleasure and says: 'Ah, my child, every day you grow more beautiful. Lucky the man who may look at you like this!' The fact is that I also look at myself with much complacency in large opposite mirrors and feel in full agreement with Petronila's opinion. I will confess all: when Petronila has left me alone, I do a childish thing which whether it is innocent or vicious I hardly know. I only know that it is a purely con-

[1] *Correspondance Générale*, vol i, p. 14.
[2] *Correspondance*, vol ii, pp. 33 *et seq.*

templative act, a disinterested admiration for beauty; what I do is not out of gross sensuality but æsthetic Platonism. I imitate Narcissus; and to the cold surface of the mirror I apply my lips and kiss my own image. This is the love of beauty for beauty's sake; the expression of affection in a kiss towards what God has made manifest in that disembodied reflection."[1]

Novelists have not only noted the spirit of Narcissus in their creations, they have sometimes demonstrated it in themselves, consciously or unconsciously. This is perhaps true of Oscar Wilde, the author of *Dorian Gray:* It is indeed supposed by Merejkovski to be also true of one of the greatest of novelists, Tolstoy.[2] But the evidence for this statement is far from clear, and it is hardly supported by Tolstoy's *Childhood, Boyhood and Youth,* which is generally regarded as a truthful picture of the author's own intimate feelings in early life. At the beginning of the section on Youth in this book he has a passage much to the point where the writer says that when nearly sixteen he spent much time in looking at himself in the mirror: "However I always turned away with a vague feeling of depression, almost of repulsion. Not only did I feel sure that my exterior was ugly, but I could derive no comfort from

[1] Juan Valera, *Genio y Figura,* 1897, p. 181. How true to life is Valera's narrative may be seen by quoting a few sentences from the statement to Sadger (*Die Lehre von den Geschlechtsverirrungen,* pp. 448 *et seq.*) of a young actress of 21: "I like being naked, as in the morning when washing; I take everything off, and at last wash myself, or usually let a chamber-maid do it, as formerly my mother did. As she washes and dries me I like looking in the mirror and it does me good, as though it were massage. When I am alone I like lying down and reading with my hand held to my breast. As a small child I liked running about the house naked and was not at all ashamed. Nor am I ashamed today before anyone. I have a longing to go walking in the moonshine with my friend [a handsome young officer], both of us naked, and to know how he would behave when he saw me quite naked. I once served as a model to a painter and hoped he would want me to take all my clothes off. At last he did. I stood naked and looked at myself in a mirror, and admired the picture in the mirror so much that I quite forgot the presence of the man. . . . When I have been manicured, and my hand looks beautiful, I kiss it. I also kiss myself in the mirror"

[2] Merejkovski remarks (*Tolstoy as Man and Artist,* p. 69): "We may say of him that from the moment when, as a child of three, he first noticed and admired his own young naked body, he has never ceased to worship it."

any of the usual consolations under such circumstances." It seemed to him that he was quite commonplace, just like a simple moujik, with the same big feet and hands. "All this seemed to me very shameful." Here we have described for us an attitude which seems that of the real Tolstoy throughout, a sensitive admiration of beauty, a constant preoccupation with self, at the same time an anxious self-dissatisfaction. It was Tolstoy's attitude even to the end and it seems to indicate not so much self-worship as defective Narcissism, though it must be added that from a psychoanalytic standpoint it would be quite possible to regard it as excessive Narcissism.

Tolstoy, whose insight into others was so profound, had no corresponding insight into himself. We admire his self-description; we are less sure of his self-comprehension. Marie Bashkirtseff, though not a novelist, was an artist in psychology and not only knew how to describe herself but also how to comprehend herself. She was an exquisite type of a mental state which had not yet been named, but she herself invoked the name of Narcissus in connection with it. In the very last of her letters she refers to "this unique and marvellous me, by which I am enchanted, and which I adore like Narcissus."[1]

It is a state of mind, which, as we shall have to recognize, is common in women, and another Russian woman, Madame Merejkovsky ("Zenaide Hippius"), wife of the well-known writer, and herself described as a charming person and accomplished writer, has written: "I love myself; I am my God."

All these writers, when describing in themselves or in the creatures of their imagination the mental state of Narcissus, had no thought of presenting a condition of mind which formed, or could properly form, a subject of study for the student of sexual psychology, normal or abnormal. But after the middle of the nineteenth century, when sexual psychology was beginning to become a recognized study, we find—under

[1] *Lettres de Marie Bashkirtseff*, p. 277.

one name or another or under no definite name at all—various references which here concern us.

Thus in Italy, Nicefero in 1897 described numerous cases, all in adolescent Italian youths, which we should now consider to have an extreme or even morbidly Narcissistic character. One, a healthy boy of fifteen with good heredity, would derive pleasure from the spectacle of his penis becoming erected, and even the idea of this would give him voluptuous emotions; he would also draw and color a picture of the organ and gaze at it when masturbating. Another youth had no pleasure in masturbating unless at the same time he could see his legs. A third youth of sixteen, in good health, had much pleasure in masturbating before a mirror which showed his sexual organs, and he said that this practice was quite common in his college.[1]

In Germany, about the same time, Moll described the occurrence of more or less erotic self-admiration in several cases, especially in connection with homosexuality. Thus he tells in detail of a man of 43, with a high degree of sexual hyperæsthesia and sexually attached to both men and women, who found much pleasure in gazing at his own image naked in a mirror, and who would compare his shape with that of other men he knew.[2]

In France, Féré, about the same time, gave the name of auto-fetichism to the case of a girl who was in the habit of kissing her own hand and at the same time experiencing sexual excitement.[3] All such cases, even if scarcely representing true or complete Narcissism, suggest its presence. We are approaching the point at which the conception began to take more precise shape.

Like other people, I had of course been familiar with so well-known a poetic figure as Narcissus. I had, moreover, read on publication with much admiration Valera's novel *Genio y Figura,* and been impressed with his description of Rafaela. It was, therefore, inevitable that when I became acquainted in

[1] Nicefero, *Le Psicopatie Sessuale,* pp. 25, 27
[2] A. Moll, *Untersuchungen über die Libido Sexualis,* 1898, p. 824.
[3] Féré, *L'Instinct Sexual,* 2d. ed., pp. 271, 275.

real life with a woman who possessed these characteristics in a high degree I should recall the image of Narcissus. This woman, perfectly healthy, by none regarded as anything but normal, and clever in business, I described in 1898 (the year after the publication of *Genio y Figura*), in the earliest paper to which I gave the name of "Auto-erotism," as the extreme type of the tendency. She is still living, nearly thirty years later, still unmarried, and now able to retire from business to a country estate she has purchased in her native county She has never known—though it might please and would certainly amuse her to know—the stimulus she has provided to psychological conceptions.

In this first paper, "Auto-Erotism, a Psychological Study," in the St. Louis *Alienist and Neurologist*, vol. xix, April, 1898, I wrote: "To complete this summary of the main phenomena of auto-erotism, I may briefly mention that tendency which is sometimes found, more especially perhaps in women, for the sexual emotions to be absorbed, and often entirely lost, in self-admiration This Narcissus-like tendency, of which the normal germ in women is symbolized by the mirror, is found in minor degree in some feminine-minded men, but seems to be very rarely found in men apart from sexual attraction for other persons, to which attraction it is, of course, normally subservient. But occasionally in women it appears to exist by itself, to the exclusion of any attraction for other persons" etc. In the volume of my *Studies*, containing the study of Auto-Erotism, which appeared in the following year, this discussion was further elaborated along the same lines.

At this point comes in Nacke, although not in time to be mentioned in my Study. I had been in friendly relations with Dr Paul Näcke, Superintendent of the Asylum at Hubertusberg near Leipzig, for many years. He was accustomed to send me his publications when they appeared, and I to send him mine, he would summarize mine in German medical periodicals and I would summarize his in the English *Journal of Mental Science*. He was a man of vigorous and pioneering intellect who did much good work along various lines, though not of a specially original character, and was quick to take up and elaborate, though often in a critical spirit, the ideas struck out by other workers. Himself born, in what was then St. Petersburg, of a German father and French mother, he was international in his outlook and delighted to keep in touch with fellow-workers in other lands; we never met though from time to time he wanted me

to come and stay with him; it was perhaps his good fortune to die just before the Great War which could not but have been a cause of deep grief to him.

So to Nacke in the ordinary course went immediately a reprint of my first paper on Auto-Erotism and in the ordinary course his notice of it speedily appeared. I have a vague and perhaps erroneous notion that there was an early notice I cannot now recover. The chief notice, which naturally came into the hands of German psycho-analysts who never saw my paper, appeared in the Dutch *Psychiatrische en Neurologische Bladen*, No. 2, 1899, and the German *Archiv für Psychiatrie* for 1899 (vol. xxxii, No. 13), on "Kritisches zum Kapitel der normalen und pathologischen Sexualität." This article deals fully with my *Alienist and Neurologist* article and in the course of it he writes: "Viel seltener als das Tagträumen ist der Narcismus, die Selbstverliebtheit. Hier ist die Grenze gegen blosse Eitelkeit zu ziehen und nur dort, wo das Betrachten des eigenen Ich's oder seiner Theile von deutlichen Zeichen des Orgasmus begleitet ist, kann mit Fug und Recht von Narcismus gesprochen werden. [I had not said this, and cannot accept the statement.] Das wäre dann der klassischte Fall von 'auto-erotism' im Sinne von H. Ellis. Nach ihm soll Narcismus besonders bei Frauen sich finden, vielleicht weil der normale Keim dazu 'is symbolized by the mirror.' Auch hier giebt es moch viel zu forschen." It will be observed that Nacke does not put forward the term "Narcismus" with any air of inventing a novelty, but apparently simply as a translation of my "Narcissus-like tendency."

Thus I seem responsible for the first generalized description of this psychological attitude, and for the invocation of Narcissus; the "ism" was appended by Nacke. It seems correct to attribute to me the description of the condition as a normal state with morbid exaggerations, but the *term* should only be attributed to me in association with Nacke, though Näcke himself used it as though it were my term.

The matter is trivial, though a little complicated, but desirable to explain since various people have shown a wish to know the precise origin of a term which has since been so widely used.

The next step was taken by Freud and the psycho-analysts and it represents the decisive moment in the later development of Narcissism. In the first edition of Freud's almost epoch-making little book, *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*, published in 1905, there is no reference to Narcissism. Freud was certainly at that date acquainted with the conception in its

earliest form, for he there adopted the term of "auto-erotism" with which in my writings it was associated. But in the second edition (1910) there is a reference to Narcissism, which is here regarded simply as a stage in the development of masculine sexual inversion, the subject being supposed to identify himself with a woman (usually his mother) and so acquiring self-love. Sadger, about the same time, recognized Narcissism somewhat similarly. Then at once the conception began to develop in the hands of the psycho-analysts.

To Otto Rank in 1911 is owing the earliest important study of Narcissism on strictly Freudian lines.[1] He begins by stating that while various investigators have touched on this "pathological condition" as he calls it, since I first called attention to it, "apart from one or two very interesting casuistic and literary indications, especially by Ellis, nothing has become known as to the origin and deeper significance of this singular phenomenon." He then proceeds to deal in detail with the definitely Narcissistic dreams of a young woman in whom this condition was in waking life well pronounced. Rank argues that there was a latent homosexuality of which the subject was not herself conscious. She was attracted to a man and had thus passed beyond the stage of early normal Narcissism. But she stated: "I can only love him when he loves me, else I couldn't." Rank considers this remark significant, as indicating that for a man she can only experience a love which has made a circuit through her own person. It is mentioned that she would sometimes feel sexual excitement when seated before a mirror doing her hair, and Rank refers, though only passingly, to "the apparently very intimate connection between Narcissism and masturbation." Rank's study, full of interest and suggestion, was marked, as his work has always been, by its wide knowledge of the earlier scientific and literary suggestions of the subject in hand.

The first and most important study by Freud himself in the development of the conception of Narcissism dates from

[1] O Rank, "Ein Beitrag zum Narzissismus," *Jahrbuch fur Psychoanalytische Forschungen*, Bd. iii, 1911, pp 401-426.

1914.[1] He assigns to Rank the credit of having given to Narcissism "a place in the regular development of human beings," Narcissism, he imagines, having previously been merely a perversion.[2] By this extension, Freud more carefully and more characteristically states, it becomes "the libidinal complement to the egoism of the instinct of self-preservation, a measure of which may justifiably be attributed to every living creature." Especially in persons whose libidinal development has suffered disturbance, their own selves are taken as the model. They seek themselves as a love-object and their type of choice of love-object may be termed Narcissistic. The human being has two primitive sexual objects—himself and the woman (usually his mother) who tends him. "Thereby we postulate a primary Narcissism in everyone." In the end it may sometimes dominate the object-choice. So there are two types of object-choice: (1) the *anaclytic* (Anlehnungstypes)—the leaning up against preference—of which the mother is the primary embodiment, and (2) the *Narcisstic*. Complete love of *anaclytic* type is properly characteristic of men. In women, there is more likely to be an intensification of the original Narcissism. "There arises in the woman a certain self-sufficiency (especially if she ripens into beauty) which compensates her for the social restrictions on her object-choice." But in childhood this is normal. "The charm of a child lies largely in his Narcissism, his self-sufficiency and inaccessibility, just as does the charm of certain animals." In the Narcissistic object-choice there are various alternatives, according as a person loves (a) what he is himself, (b) what he once was, (c) what he would like to be, (d) someone who was once part of himself. Adler's "masculine protest," Freud adds, contrary to

[1] S. Freud, "Ueber Narzissismus," *Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische Forschungen*, Bd. vi. It was some years later reprinted in Freud's *Sammlung*, Fourth Series, and translated into English in Freud's *Collected Papers*, vol. iv, pp. 30-59.

[2] On this statement I may comment that while Narcissism was first put forward by me as the extreme form of auto-erotism, auto-erotism in my sense is not a perversion.

what Adler himself believes, is really Narcissistic, though derived, Freud considers, from the castration complex.

In later writings Freud has frequently introduced incidental references to Narcissism extending, or sometimes modifying, the earlier psycho-analytic conception. Thus in 1916 he stated that the libido of the early Narcissistic phase is not *completely* transferred to objects; "a certain degree of Narcissism continues"; the libido can flow backwards and forwards between object and ego, and in so doing is performing a healthy function. In the same year, writing of the Narcissism of sleep he makes this point clearer: "Narcissism and egoism are one and the same; the word Narcissism is only employed to emphasize that this egoism is a libidinal phenomenon as well; or to put it in another way, Narcissism may be described as the libidinal complement of egoism." Near the end of his *Lectures* Freud explains the Narcissism of dreams: "In the sleeper the primal state of the libido distribution is again reproduced, that of absolute Narcissism, in which libido and ego-instincts dwell together still, unified and indistinguishable in the self-sufficent Self."

It was inevitable that, in Freud's conception, Narcissism should become a characteristic of primitive man, and thence that he should trace to it the origin of magic, as an exercise of excessive Narcissism. But the general Narcissism of man has, Freud considers, received three blows from science: (1) Copernicus destroyed the belief in the centrality of the earth and so gave human self-love a cosmological blow. (2) Evolution, through Darwin, taught that man is an animal, and so Narcissism received a biological blow; and finally (3) psychoanalysis showed that man is not, as he thought, master in his own house, but subject to instincts and influences from the subconscious not completely under his own control, and so Narcissism received a psychological blow.

In the fourth edition (1920) of the *Drei Abhandlungen* Freud presents Narcissistic ego-libido as the great reservoir out of which object-love is put forth and into which it is again withdrawn, the primitive condition realized in the first child-

hood, and still maintained beneath later outgrowths of the libido which merely conceal it.

It may be added that other psycho-analysts of Freud's school usually speak in the same general sense on this matter. Thus Sadger refers to Narcissism as "a frontier conception, in which the separation of the sexual impulse from the ego-impulse is reduced to a fundamental unity." He regards it as essentially normal, only its fixations and extravagances as pathological. A certain degree of Narcissism is compatible with object-love, for "everyone is in some degree in love with himself." But he adds the significant observation that what we can place to normal egoism should not be reckoned to Narcissism. We must sharply distinguish between self-seeking egoism and libidinous Narcissism which rests on an over-valuation of the subject's own body. It is an attitude characteristic of the child, and the attitudes of his elders favor it; Sadger quotes a remark of Friedjung that to get on with a child, as in clinical examination, one must appeal to his Narcissism. In women, Sadger believes, love usually remains at this stage. "It is herself she is loving in love, and with a man only because he loves *her* and not on account of his own qualities. She does not need to love but to be loved. On that account she is free from the sexual over-valuations which are peculiar to men in love." Sadger also thinks that friendship is not so much, as some have supposed, a spiritualized homosexuality but an extended Narcissism, and we speak of our friend as our "alter ego."[1]

Even the psycho-analysts who have fallen away from strict Freudian orthodoxy, usually continue to attach great importance to Narcissism. Thus Stekel, even in his later voluminous writings, still gives an ever greater importance to Narcissism, though along his own lines. He regards hate as more primitive, more primary, than love, which he considers a "Kulturprodukt." Love is originally directed only towards the self. Every creature is originally oriented in a Narcisstic

[1] Sadger, *Die Lehre von den Geschlechtsverirrungen*, pp. 21, 74-5

direction. Thus Narcissism becomes the source of altruistic feelings: I love you because you give me pleasure. Hence the love of the suckling to the mother or nurse. In another direction, Stekel regards Narcissism as offering the explanation of all sexual perversions: they are all manifestations of wounded self-love. The Masochist, the Sadist, the Fetichist, are all really occupied with themselves, although apparently the object of their desire is outside themselves. "All the various morbid variations of the sexual impulse are but mirror pictures of the morbid inner nature."[1]

Sadger's brief discussion of Narcissism, while that of an orthodox Freudian psycho-analyst, brings out points of difficulty in its definition which Freud himself, who avoids definitions because his conceptions are always growing and expanding, had left undecided. But they have not been disregarded by others, outside the field of psycho-analysis, and have perhaps induced some psychologists to be shy of Narcissism on account of the vast and shadowy outlines it has sometimes assumed. McDougall in his *Abnormal Psychology,* while most sympathetic towards Freud's general conceptions, gives but small space to Narcissism. Rohleder, indeed, places it (preferably with the awkward name of "automonosexualism") among the three fundamental sexual impulses: Narcissism (sexual feeling towards the self), homosexuality, and heterosexuality. But he regards it as rare, having only met with a few cases, and he defines it strictly. He holds that it does not exist unless there is definite sexual feeling. Otherwise we merely have an exaggerated vanity. He regards it as related to other anomalies, to transvestism and especially to fetichism. His cases, one a very complete type, are all in men. He believes that the cause may be an inborn defect in the sex-center of the brain.[2] This standpoint is obviously far removed from that

[1] W. Stekel, *Sadismus und Masochismus,* 1925, pp 15, 486. In his *Psychosexueller Infantilismus* (1922), Ch XXII, Stekel discusses Narcissism at length, defining it as the condition of being in love with oneself, and normal in the child, while most adults have a period of Narcissism.

[2] Rohleder, *Vorlesungen uber das gesamte Geschlechtsleben des Menschen,* 4th ed., 1920, Bd. iii, Ch. LI.

of Freud, for whom Narcissism is a normal stage of development.

Hirschfeld in the main agrees with Rohleder—though not regarding the phenomenon as so rare—and uses his term, automonosexualism, to cover Narcissism, with other extensions towards transvestism, fetichism, exhibitionism, etc., not usually so covered. Hirschfeld decisively rejects the Freudian doctrine that Narcissism is a normal stage of all psycho-sexual development, or that the Narcissist belongs to a definitely youthful stage in which he permanently remains. The failure to react to sex attractions is a specific defect which must have an exceptional and weighty cause we do not yet know. It is a well-defined sexual perversion, with relationships to other perversions, especially scoptophilia. Hirschfeld suggests that there is a kind of splitting of personality, one part looking on at the other, an "ideal partner," as Petermann had previously supposed, to account for the mirror fascination.[1] One may note, however, that this "ideal partner," another self, is normal and not uncommon in the day-dreams or even the actual dreams of children, who invent an entirely imaginary companion to share their feelings and experiences.[2]

Freud, as we have seen, was not to be held back by any precise practical clinical considerations. In his hands the conception of Narcissism took on a new significance and became of immense importance. Everything that Freud has touched—that indeed is always the mark of genius—takes on a new significance and becomes of importance. For my own part, I regard this transformation as a legitimate application of the original observation from which Narcissism started. For me Narcissism was the extreme form of auto-erotism, which, it must be remembered, was a term devised to cover all the spontaneous manifestations of the sexual impulse in the absence of a definite outer object to evoke them, erotic dreams in sleep being the type of auto-erotic activity. Auto-erotism was thus not

[1] M. Hirschfeld, *Sexualpathologie*, Part I, Ch. VI.

[2] This phenomenon has often been described, recently by Forrest Reid in his autobiographic book, *Apostate*, Ch. X.

properly a perversion though it might become so when deliberately pursued at the expense of the normal objects of sexual attraction. The psycho-analysts in adopting the term "auto-erotism" have given it a different meaning which I regret, as being both illegitimate and inconvenient. For the psycho-analyst "auto-erotism" generally means sexual activity directed towards the self as its object.[1] That is illegitimate, for the ordinary rule is that a word compounded with "auto" (like automobile or autonomous) means not *toward* itself but *by* itself. It is inconvenient because if we divert the term "auto-erotism" to this use we have no term left to cover the objectless spontaneous sexual manifestations for which the term was devised.

However this may be, having narrowed and changed the conception of auto-erotism it was difficult for Freud to retain Narcissism within its limits. Narcissism became a later stage of what in the infant had been auto-erotism. And while I had regarded all these manifestations as, though in origin natural, not of invariable occurrence in the life of every individual, Freud sought to establish them as almost inevitable stages in the development towards adult sexual maturity, perhaps normally indispensable.[2] It was an impressive and fruitful conception, though when thus universalized, it could not but be regarded by many as somewhat speculative.

That indeed has been the attitude of many of the most able and cautious of the older representatives of sexual psychology outside psycho-analysis. Thus Lowenfeld, whose opinion always deserves attention, after tracing the conception of Narcissism back to my earliest observations, and remarking that it only becomes a perversion when it leads to actual sexual excitement, adds that he cannot agree with the psycho-analysts that Narcissism is a normal stage of transition between auto-erotism and object-love, though inclined to agree with Rank that it rather favors homosexuality.[3] Within the Freudian

[1] But Dr. Ernest Jones states that he regards auto-erotism as objectless, and Narcissism as distinguished by having an object, the self.

[2] *Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische Forschungen*, Bd. iii, pp. 53-4.

[3] Lowenfeld, *Sexualleben und Nervenleiden*, 5th ed., 1914.

School that latter view has from the first been specially maintained by Sadger. "We can say of homosexuality," he observes, "that it is the Narcissistic perversion *par excellence*," adding that the chief characteristic of inverts is their vanity (a statement, however, that is not always true) and that they never forgive a wound to their Narcissism.[1]

The classic Narcissus was a youth, though always represented as of rather feminine type. My own first observation was in a woman, as was that of Rank, who remarked that this characteristic forms a good piece of the whole normal feminine disposition, especially in constituting vanity. One may recall, with Róheim, the Japanese saying, that the sword is the soul of man and the mirror the soul of woman. As it is a man who is speaking there may be interest in turning to a feminine psychologist. Dr. Else Voigtländer, who is not a psycho-analyst, in dealing with the problem of sexual differentiation has some remarks that are worth quoting, and the more so as she seems to show no awareness of the existence of the conception we are here discussing. After pointing out that masculine activities are directed definitely to an object, confined to that object, not streaming out beyond it, and ceasing with the attainment of the object, she continues: "Feminine activity has *not the same clear relationship to an object;* it is lived out in quite another way, *in itself,* exhausting itself in its own movement, in its own excitement, having its course in itself, in its own interior, and therein the woman lives and moves, swimming as it were, in her proper element."[2] It seems evident that by this statement, which is further developed, a feminine distinction is indicated which may perhaps

[1] Sadger, *Die Lehre von den Geschlechtsverirrungen*, p. 148. A special association between Narcissism and homosexuality is also asserted by K. W. Gerster, a pupil of Stekel's ("Beziehungen des Narcissmus zur Homosexualitat," *Fortschritte der Sexualwissenschaft,* Bd. ii, 1926). He believes that in homosexual persons there is a polar tension between the masculine and feminine elements of the personality, and that this can only be bridged over by Narcissism.

[2] Else Voigtlander, "Zur Problematik der Geschlechtsunterschiede," *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft,* July, 1923.

be more simply and clearly expressed by saying that women are more Narcissistic than men.

Another woman psychologist, this time an acknowledged psycho-analyst, Dr. Sabrina Spielrein, also accepts Narcissism as a peculiarly feminine characteristic. It is so, she subtly seeks to explain, because it is connected with a woman's need to lose herself in the object of a man's love, out of instinctive identification with him.[1] So that, as Rank found, in the Narcissistic woman object-love would be circuitous, only here the circuit is in the opposite direction, not through the woman's person to the lover, but through the lover to the woman's person. In both cases, however, there is object-love. So that evidently we must not too hastily generalize that Narcissism, at all events in woman, is a stage antecedent to object-love; it can exist without ever reaching the stage of object-love, or it may simply be the accompaniment of such love. At the other end, it is recognized that Narcissism may sometimes develop very early. Jekels tells of a little German girl of twenty-seven months who showed great pleasure in her own image naked in a mirror and said: "Trudi schon."[2] Abraham, indeed, regarding it as normally an infantile characteristic, would define Narcissism as "that stage in the development of the *libido* in which the child is himself the center of his own narrow world and in which he receives proofs of love from other persons without himself giving any return." Abraham also puts object-love back into infancy, though at a later age.[3] He would, further, accept a middle stage, between the two, of a partial object relationship, a kind of fetichism.[4]

It is to Abraham that we owe an interesting—even if at times rather questionable—extension of the conception of Narcissism. It is important, however, because he uses it in a highly ingenious and plausible way to explain the widespread

[1] *Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische Forschungen*, Bd. iv, 1912, p. 483.
[2] *Int. Zeitschrift f. aertzliche Psychoanalyse*, 1913, Heft iv, p 375.
[3] K. Abraham, *Klinische Beitrage*, p 269 The paper from which this passage is quoted was originally published in 1916.
[4] K. Abraham, *Versuch einer Entwicklungsgeschichte der Libido*. 1924.

defect of *ejaculatio præcox*. Abraham argues that Narcissism in infancy may take the form of an over-valuation of the penis, leading to an exaggerated urethral pleasure, with the result that the infant enjoys wetting the persons with whom he is associated, and he mentions infants who seem to select special preferred persons for their favor. When this disposition is preserved in later life, Abraham proceeds, instead of passing on to the normal adult stage of sexual activity the penis deals with semen as in infancy with urine; the partner then is merely wetted and no intercourse takes place.[1] The theme is developed by Abraham with many interesting elaborations. He admits that the treatment based on this theory is difficult. He regards it as the aim of the treatment to free the patient from his Narcissism and bring him into a normal state. But the tendency is increasing to magnify the place of Narcissism in normal life, and Abraham himself later sometimes lent himself to that view, as by regarding an injury to Narcissism as the cause of war neuroses. It leads to "a deep-seated sense of inferiority." The patient is compelled to react against his repressed Narcissism by assuming "a jerky conceitedness" to take its place.[2] So that if a psycho-analyst succeeds in exorcising a patient's Narcissism without beneficial results the resources of psycho-analysis must not be regarded as exhausted, since it may be equally successful in restoring the lost Narcissism. Or *vice versa*. Nor can the practitioner in other and older departments of medicine fail to recognize the orthodoxy of this ambivalent attitude of psycho-analysis. In every department of medicine, from the beginning of medical history, directly opposite methods of treatment have been applied to disease, even to the same disease. Nor can it be said that this is not still true today.

One of the elaborations in Abraham's paper is an extension of his view of *ejaculatio præcox* to women by seeing its

[1] K. Abraham, "Ueber Ejaculatio Præcox," *Klinische Beitrage.* This paper was first published in 1916.

[2] E. Jones, "Mother-right," *Int. Jour. Psycho-analysis,* April, 1925, p. 129.

precise analogue in feminine frigidity. Ernest Jones has also subsequently remarked that sexual anesthesia in women is associated with an exaggerated tendency to Narcissism, partly as a cause, partly as a result of the anesthesia; "the woman, unable to give what the man most wants, attaches in a compensatory way an excessive value to her other charms.[1]

Narcissism is again invoked by Abraham in the course of the paper, so fruitful in ideas, just quoted, to explain a fairly common aberration, exhibitionism. Stekel, also, who emphasizes the persistence of an infantile element in exhibitionism, regards exhibitionism as a specialized form of Narcissism, a belief in the magical power of bodily charm.[2] The supposition of such a connection easily presents itself, and in the instinctive and casual exhibitionism of the child it may probably be accepted. But in exhibitionism as an adult sexual aberration, the phenomena are much more complicated. Here, too, an early Narcissistic trait may sometimes have persisted as a basis for the anomaly, but it is by no means a necessary assumption in every case. In a typical exhibitionist the act is prompted, consciously or instinctively, by the desire to gain sexual pleasure by the spectacle of emotion—whether of corresponding pleasure or of confusion or of horror—in a person of the opposite sex. This impulse may well be favored by a Narcissistic attitude, but it may also easily exist in the absence of that attitude.[3]

The part of Narcissism in the girl and woman, we have seen, has scarcely been disputed. But the conception of the castration-complex, which has more recently attracted attention, has had a certain repercussion on the earlier conception of Narcissism. It has involved some re-adjustment—though we may regard the castration-complex itself as having a Narcissistic basis—and this has been attempted by, for instance, Härnik of Berlin, working on the lines of Freud and Ferenczi. There is an original Narcissism, and in the purest and truest

[1] E. Jones, *Papers on Psycho-analysis*, 2d ed., p. 550.
[2] W. Stekel, *Twelve Essays on Sex and Psychoanalysis*, 1922, p 247
[3] See the discussion of Exhibitionism in vol. v, of these *Studies*.

feminine types, Hárnik agrees, this undergoes an intensification at puberty. But before puberty the sex life of women has had a masculine trend with concentration of excitability in the clitoris; the girl had virtually possessed a penis. With the coming of puberty there is a reinforcement of sex inhibitions and a development of the secondary sex characters. The consciousness of beauty correspondingly develops, and Narcissism is intensified. The young woman's "beauty" and "charm" compensate her for the loss of her infantile masculinity. The male, on the other hand, retains the Narcissistic estimation of his penis, not transferring his self-admiration to his face, though the underlying bisexuality renders possible in the male also a secondary Narcissism extending to the whole body and resembling that of the female. Hárnik recognizes in the male also another secondary Narcissism—though it might better be regarded as a primary and normal phenomenon—appearing as "manliness." In women, also, this may exceptionally occur as a transference to athleticism.[1]

It will not have escaped some readers that in this discussion there is already assumed the existence of a conception of which no definite account has been given, the conception, that is, of the individual psyche itself as arising from a Narcissistic source. Rank was here again the pioneer in a study of the hallucination of the "double," published three years after his first study.[2]

But before dealing with Rank's study, some reference should be made to an earlier writer, the distinguished English investigator of primitive thought, Sir J. G. Frazer, who was a pioneer on this side of the Narcissistic conception and is frequently quoted by Rank. Indeed by the very title of the section of his great work entitled "The Soul as a Shadow and a Reflection" Frazer had obviously already set forth the germ of some of the large future developments of Narcissism and

[1] G. Hárnik, "The Developments of Narcissism in Men and in Women." *Int. Jour. Psycho-Analysis*, Jan., 1924.

[2] O. Rank, "Der Doppelgänger," *Imago*, 1914, reprinted in the same author's *Psychoanalytische Beiträge zur Mytherforschung*, 1919, pp. 267-354.

assumed an origin for them in the individual's reaction to the vision of his own image.[1] The savage, says Frazer, "often regards his shadow or reflection as his soul," and he gives various examples from many parts of the world. Frazer believes that mirrors are turned to the wall after a death for fear the soul if projected on the glass may be carried off by the dead man's ghost—not perhaps a very plausible or even intelligible view—and on referring, in this connection, to the Greek belief that one must not look at one's reflection in water lest the water-spirits should drag that reflection, which is the soul, under water, and leave the man soulless, he remarks: "This was probably the origin of the classical story of the beautiful Narcissus, who languished and died through seeing his reflection in the water. The explanation that he died for love of his own fair image was probably devised later, after the meaning of the story was forgotten."

Rank considers that this view is possible, and that if so the later development is connected with pain in accepting the idea of death. Rank's approach to the question is not, however mainly from the primitive side though he recalls that in the previous year (1913) Freud had accepted and emphasized the view that the primitive man, like the child, is "frequently Narcissistic." He begins with an extensive discussion, aided by his wide acquaintance with literature, of the idea of the "double" (the shadow, the mirror image, the embodiment of the soul) as manifested in poems and novels, as well as in the actual lives of some poets, for, as is well known, Goethe, Shelley, Alfred de Musset, and others had the experience of meeting their own doubles. This approach is justified on the ground that the artist reproduces the primitive man. In this connection Rank gives due prominence to Oscar Wilde's *Dorian Gray*, which illustrates various aspects of Narcissism, to a greater extent probably than any other imaginative work in English literature, and in it Wilde directly invokes Narcissus. Rank quotes the saying of Schlegel that "the poet is

[1] J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, "Taboo and the Perils of the Soul," pp. 78 *et seq.*

always a Narcissus," and, following the view of Freud that paranoia is "a fixation of Narcissism," he shows how on this side the poet may become psychically morbid. But in his normal aspects Rank asserts (with Freud) that the poet represents the theme of creation based on the tendency of man to perceive the surrounding world as a repetition of himself. Rank thus branches out in various directions from his initial topic of the "double" in his usual discursive, fruitfully suggestive, and always well-informed way. He here blends the sexual-psychological thread of Narcissism as presented by me with the general psychological and pathological threads of Freud and the folkloristic of Frazer, for all of them enter into the later conception of Narcissism.

Starting from Rank's study, Dr. Géza Róheim of Budapest, in an elaborate and learned volume, has carried this conception into a special region of folk-lore, the superstitions and charms connected with the mirror in many parts of the world.[1] "Truly, he who has seen, heard, understood, and recognized his own Self, to him this whole world is known"; that saying from the Upanishad is the motto of the book, and Dr. Róheim —working out at one special spot the Freudian idea that Narcissism lies at the basis of magic—seeks to show that the chief popular practices and beliefs in connection with the mirror—the occasions when it should or should not be looked at, the significance of breaking it, etc.—have an unconscious Narcissistic reference, the mirror being regarded (and the guardian-angel likewise) as the representative of Narcissism. For Dr. Róheim the taboos placed on children with respect to mirrors are forms of the repression of Narcissism and exhibitionism, and mirror-gazing is the emergence of the uninhibited impulse. The adult seers who use mirrors in magical rites can dispense with the aid of children as they themselves retain traces of infantile Narcissism. The custom of looking into the mirror for the image of the lover, again, indicates the progression of libido from Narcissism to object-love, the lover being chosen

[1] Géza Róheim. *Spiegelzauber*, Internationale Psychoanalytische Bibliothek, 1919.

on a Narcissistic basis. The mirror, further, by magical substitution, can become identical with the person whose image it shows; hence the significance of breaking a mirror, the break with Narcissism being, however, primarily thus indicated. A key to all the collective representations and rites which center in the mirror is thus found in Narcissism. And as that stage of psycho-sexual development belongs essentially to childhood, mirror taboos are largely concerned with the child: and when the adult finds his own infantile stage in his child, mirror-gazing leads to re-incarnation.

The problems of mirror folklore, which had primarily been explained by animism, are here explained by the individual-psychological principle of Narcissism, the psyche being regarded as the Narcissistic image of man, for what in the life of humanity has been called Animism corresponds in the evolution of the individual to Narcissism. Herewith, Dr. Róheim concludes, we do not overthrow the results already obtained; on the contrary we find for them a new support. The only difference is that the new methods go deeper, explain more, and reveal more intimate impulses [1]

We thus approach the imposing final development of the conception of Narcissism. This has sometimes been dubiously traced back—notably by Abraham in the important paper on Ejaculatio precox already mentioned—to a primitive infantile origin in coprolagnia and urolagnia.[2] The primitive conception of "the almightiness of thought," Abraham states, is parallel with the conception of "the almightiness of the bladder and bowel functions" (as illustrated by the little boy with constipation who dreamed in the night of pressing out the universe in an action of the bowels): in both conceptions the same *Narcissistic self-overvaluation* is visibly expressed But there is some confusion here and a lack of psychological subtlety in precise differentiation. In all self-valuation or self-overvalua-

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 263

[2] K. Abraham. *Klinische Beiträge*, p. 268, and especially another paper in the same volume written four years later (1920), "Zur Narzisstischen Bewertung der Exkretionsvorgange."

tion, such as Narcissism essentially is, there must, consciously or unconsciously, always be an implied comparison, or at all events selection; otherwise the gratification experienced can scarcely be called Narcissistic. Abraham himself in another place clearly realized this by speaking definitely of Narcissism as a sense of the individual's superiorities, that is to say over other individuals ("die eigene Vorzüge"). For the psychoanalysts it was doubtless an outburst of extreme Narcissism when a German boy, on the eve of a serious operation on his mother, opened the window, shook his fist towards the sky, and exclaimed: "You Dog, if you let my mother die, you will have to deal with *ME!*"[1] He had instinctively assumed that he was himself the superior of God. But the enjoyment of an elementary physiological function in its simple form can scarcely be Narcissism; it involves no preference for the self nor any comparison of the self with other selves, such as is involved, implicitly or explicitly, in all Narcissism. The enjoyment of an inhalation of the lungs in the bright morning, even if it suggests to us that we are inspiring the spirit of the universe, involves no Narcissistic comparison; and the expulsive force of the bowels, whatever magnificent ideas it may suggest, is in its origin,[2] equally apart from Narcissism. The satisfaction of these physiological functions brings the self into union with other selves rather than set the individual self apart from them. The implication of comparison and selection and preference, even superiority, lies, consciously or unconsciously, at the basis of Narcissism.

If, therefore, we are to bring these large alleged extensions of Narcissism legitimately within its frame, we must understand that we are no longer concerned with the Narcissism of the individual self. We shall have to recognize group-Narcissism, then, especially *National Narcissism* and *Specific*

[1] Walter von Molo reports this of his brother in boyhood, "Mein religiose Fuhlen," *Kunstwart*, Dec., 1925.

[2] It is scarcely necessary to make clear that by a secondary development Narcissism may in either case come in, as when it is a question of comparing the relative cubic capacity of the lungs or when little boys compare the distance to which they can project the urinary stream.

Narcissism. Patriotism and the vulgar hatred of foreigners would thus be manifestations of National Narcissism,[1] while every glorification of humanity and the future of mankind would be a manifestation of Specific Narcissism.

In the wide sense, Narcissism, as now understood by psycho-analysts, tends to be identified with the whole development of the self, and thus to be a normal and essential part, even the whole part, of all individual development.[2] Its more special development occurs just before puberty when, according to Kapp, it gives way, on the one side, to object attachment and, on the other side, to a revaluation of early sensational elements. "Each increase in the child's Narcissism represents an achievement, a triumph of activity over passivity, of accomplishment over auto-erotism. It has been won at the sacrifice of an indulgence. These activities stand between him and his repressed auto-erotism and fill him with a sense of right-doing It is largely this sense of right-doing which carries along the Napoleons of this world (who are strongly Narcissistic types) and enables them to carry other people along with them." It is this feeling which shows itself in the normal boy just before the genital stage is reached. "He embraces outdoor exercise and positively worships bodily fitness. He despises courting as being 'soft and womanly.'" So that all sport and athleticism become a form of Narcissism. The youth, Kapp says, is thus fighting against the biologically necessary return of sexual feelings because they seem to him a regression to the earlier auto-erotic forms of sensation. Kapp would call this the ascetic or asocial Narcissistic stage. Following a hint of

[1] The necessity for the definite distinction of National Narcissism is recognized by some psycho-analysts, as Roheim (*Int. Jour. Psychoanalysis*, March, 1922, p. 103). It is a Narcissistic ego-ideal, Róheim believes, strongly marked in savage men, which forms the affective background of the group; "the group is that part of the world which has been introjected into the Ego." This becomes National Narcissism, and glorifies the humble past of a nation into an age of heroic activity, and at periods of danger from external foes results in patriotism

[2] Reginald Kapp, "Sensation and Narcissism," *Int. Jour. Psychoanalysis*, July, 1925 Walder, in the same number of this Journal, similarly identifies Narcissism with ego-development.

Wälder's, he recalls that Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, Kant, Newton, Spinoza and Nietzsche were unmarried, and suggests that we may regard them as Narcissists who have found the right outlet for their Narcissism in developing the internal aspects of the outer world.

It is inevitable that along these lines we should reach the conception that all creation is essentially an exercise of Narcissism. That is clear when we realize that typical creation is the making of things in the image of the creator, as the world itself is fabled to have been made. "In reality Man creates God after his own image," Róheim remarks, "but in the myth God creates Man after his own image. Every psychic creation can arise from a projection of the personality of the creator, and that is why the Gods create Man after their own image."[1] It is of the essence of Narcissism, Wälder states, "to create a world for oneself, *sich seine Welt zu dichten,* to use a fine phrase of Strindberg's *Totentanz;* we may call a method Narcissistic if it allows us to build constructions out of our own minds, comparatively freely and arbitrarily." This is a function, Wälder insists, which may be exercised in a way entirely compatible with reality, as it is, for instance, in the mathematical sciences, which may thus be termed Narcissistic.

It is doubtless in this spirit that Ernest Jones speaks of the belief in immortality as "an originally Narcissistic conviction," which we extend to those we love or respect.[2] Lord Balfour has lately pointed out, though certainly without deliberate intention, how unconquerable the element of personal Narcissism has here become: "No man really supposes that he personally is nothing more than a changing group of electrical charges."[3] As Dr. Malinowski, the penetrating psychologist of the savage mind, remarks in the same volume: "The more closely a case

[1] G. Róheim, *Spiegelzauber,* p. 113.

[2] E. Jones, *Papers on Psycho-analysis,* 2d. ed., p. 661. The opposite view, it need scarcely be pointed out, is at least equally tenable; that is to say that at the outset primitive man was more concerned with the persistance or the death of those he loved or feared or respected than with his own personal immortality.

[3] *Science, Religion and Reality,* ed. by Joseph Needham, Sheldon Press, 1925.

has to do with the person who considers it, the less will it be 'natural,' the more 'magical.' "

Even yet we have not reached the limits to which it is now sought to extend the conception of Narcissism. All human efforts, and man's most sublime aspirations, are brought within the Narcissistic sphere. But it is further suggested that Narcissism extends far beyond Man, far beyond even the range of comparative psychology, and is the guiding motive of Nature herself. Thus Ferenczi, one of the most daring pioneers of psycho-analytic speculation, has hazardously suggested that Narcissism is part of the process of evolution, not only in the formation of special organs, as in the apparatus for producing sounds and music, for instance, but in the whole process of evolution and adaptation to environment, which would thus be on a thoroughly Lamarckian foundation; and consequently Narcissism would be a factor also in pathology, concentrating the libido by a process he calls pathoneurosis into the imperilled part of the body for its repair in disease.

It will be seen that we have moved a long way since the days, only a few years ago, when the classic figure of Narcissus —the beautiful youth who gazed in the stream with desire at sight of his own image—was invoked to symbolize what seemed a rather rare and not specially profitable aspect of human invention.

VII.

UNDINISM.

"Toute civilisation consiste en somme à jouer avec l'eau."

—JEAN GIRADOUX.

I.

The remote ancestors of Man, we cannot doubt, were salt-water animals. Their deepest experience of life was inextricably mingled with the contact and movement of salt water. That ancient fact is preserved in the whole constitution of human embryonic life, and in a few vestigial traces even in the adult, such being the ocular conjunctival fold called the *plica semi-lunaris,* a relic of the nictitating membrane which in fishes is needed to cleanse the eye in the water.[1] The future human being in the early stage is a rather frog-like creature which cannot breathe, though it may possess rudimentary gills, and passes its whole time in a medium of salt water,—so constituted by passing through the fetus's kidneys,—not to emerge until birth. In recent years a distinguished physiological investigator, René Quinton, has emphasized this function of salt water and shown its significantly beneficial influence even in human therapeutics today. The first animal cellules were of marine origin; the original marine environment remains the vital environment of the cells, even in vertebrates, even in Man. Sea water is the organic environment throughout the whole animal series. Quinton was thus prompted to propose the substitution of sea water for saline fluid when required for injection in the blood in medical treatment. Sea water is found to be isotonic with the corpuscles of the blood, so that it is the

[1] Most of the human embryonic structures reminiscent of fishes, such as gills, disappear in early development. But they are sometimes retained as abnormal adult features. See, for instance, Sir G. Bland Sutton, *Evolution and Disease.*

only medium in which the blood corpuscles can live for more than twenty-four hours, a very remarkable fact for it shows that sea water resembles the natural physiological serum of the blood, while, further, the salts of sea water are the same salts that are found in the body, and found, indeed, almost in the same proportion, except as regards the magnesium.[1]

There can be no doubt that this fundamental organic significance of salt water has had a profound result on psychic disposition. The perpetual reverberation of that great primitive fact, constantly renewed in the developmental life of every individual, has imparted a rare emotional potency to water Even in the highest civilization the charm of water, altogether apart from its utility, still persists, and water in some form or other makes a constant appeal to the poets. Indeed, "most of us," it has been said, "have a personal and intimate memory of some far-away brook or lake of our childhood.[2] It is a significant fact that these memories should especially belong to childhood.

In some regions this primitive association of the origin of Man with water has even become embodied in folk-lore, and in the beliefs of children, so that it is believed that babies come out of the water, or that the womb is a place of water. This is especially found in Germany, and German psycho-analysts have seen evidence in dreams of a symbolic connection between water and the womb, a connection which, as we know, really has a physiological basis. With regard to this wide-spread German idea that children come out of the water, Holmberg observes in his study of the water deities of northern peoples: "Schombach and Muller, among others, mention that it is very commonly believed that new-born infants come out of wells or

[1] René Quinton, *L'eau de Mer Milieu Organique*, 1904, and an earlier communication by the same writer to the Société de Biologie, May, 1898 J. Jarricot has written a large book on the therapeutical virtues of seawater (*Le Dispensaire Marin: Un Organisme Nouveau de Puériculture*, Masson, Paris, 1921) based on the doctrine that sea water stimulates metabolism, assists in removing noxious products, and places the cells in a favorable environment for the performance of their functions.

[2] Ellen Burns Sherman, "Writ in Water," *North American Review*, July, 1914.

ponds, and that in nearly every district there are special ponds or wells of which this is said. After mentioning several, they remark of one fountain that 'out of it a water-maiden fetches new-born children.' According to A. Wuttke, also, it is believed that human souls come out of fountains; 'in northern, central, and north-western Germany nearly every town has its Baby-well.' "[1] Holmberg adds that the origin of this idea has been variously explained and quotes Mogk as to its frequency in Saxony, especially in Hesse and Franken. It has become embodied in nursery-tales and associated with the stork and a lake full of babies.[2]

Nor is it only as an interest of childhood that water makes its appeal. It is also an adolescent and adult interest. It has, moreover, a more or less vaguely felt erotic appeal which is evidently normal because it is not only experienced in civilization but is also felt by primitive peoples. The erotic suggestion of the fountain has been admirably embodied in Jean Lahovary's poem, "La Vierge et le Jet d'Eau." A girl wanders in the moonlight along an avenue to a fountain basin from which a great jet of water rises up into the air and "scatters its liquid kisses." The young girl's monologue is reproduced, becoming more and more emotional, ever closer to suggestions of love, its ravishing pursuits, its plaintive or exalted murmurs, its visions of radiant unknown paths. She is ravished in thought and comes nearer,

[1] Uno Holmberg, *Die Wassergottheiten der Finnisch-Ugrischen Völker*, Helsinki, 1913, p. 269. Otto Rank (*Der Mythus von der Geburt der Helden*, 1922, pp. 97 *et seq.*) brings together a number of legends, etc, chiefly German, bearing on the connection between birth and a source in water.

[2] It seems that the bladder is sometimes involved in this theory, at all events in Germany. Thus a very intelligent hysterical patient (a married woman) of Marcinowski's, explaining in hypnosis a dream of her own of coitus on a ship, said: "Water is known to me in earlier dreams as a symbol of the mother's body. When a child, I looked upon the urinary opening as also the sexual opening, and I know that many others also do, and that many therefore believe that in coitus one goes into the bladder, as it were into the water, and that the belief thus naturally arises that children come out of the water." J. Marcinowski, *Jahrbuch f. psychoanalytische Forsch.*, Bd. v, 1913, p. 540.

—"quand soudain, tremblante autant qu'une herbe,
Le jet d'eau, triomphant, l'embrasse de sa gerbe
. . . .
Ecoutez chanter l'âme de la fille
Qui connut l'amour du grand jet d'eau blanc."[1]

The intimate emotional potency of water, it cannot be doubted, is powerfully supported by the fact that even in the highest vertebrates a perpetually renewed fountain of salt water continues to bear witness to the marine environment which once surrounded our remote ancestors and is still needed to bathe and vitalize the cells in our own bodies. The periodic eruption of the urinary stream, manifesting itself in childhood with more or less involuntary force, is one of the most impressive facts of infantile life, the more so as at that age the volume of the stream, the energy of its expulsion,[2] and the extent to which vesical contraction fills the psychic field are relatively far greater than in later life. As puberty approaches, while the infantile urgency and impressiveness of the phenomenon may diminish, on the other hand it acquires a new interest and significance through the recognition of its intimate local association with the sexual life, and the facility with which it symbolizes, both physiologically and psychically, the sexual functions.

But puberty is also the period of development of the intellectual activities and the ideal aspirations These seek to thrust into the background any preoccupation with urination as being trivial or unworthy. In large measure that repression is successful and the urinary interest is transformed into a sexual interest. Yet the earlier interest is not entirely abolished, being supported by the fact that it is based on a fundamental vital need of the organism; when suppressed it may be driven

[1] *Le Monde Nouveau*, 15 Jan, 1922 It may here be noted that among distinguished French writers Henri de Régnier has in his poems and novels constantly dwelt on the charm of water, especially in fountains, and occasionally in connection with urination.

[2] Little boys of 8 or 10, as may be noted in the street, are sometimes able, evidently by a deliberate effort, to urinate to a distance of between six and seven feet.

into the subconscious rather than completely transformed into the sexual; while in some cases its transformation is delayed or permanently inhibited, and in a yet larger number, it is effected but is incompletely effected. In these ways urination comes within the sphere of modesty, and tends to be guarded with the same sensitive care as the sexual functions. In these ways, also, it tends to acquire some of the same interest which belongs to these functions, to supply a similar material for curiosity, and at the same time to furnish a similar basis to the imagination.

An important factor in the psychic significance of urine is the extreme emotional sensitiveness of the bladder in its contractions as well as of the kidneys in secretion. This is a familiar fact in ordinary life in its main manifestations, since it is well known to all how an emotional stress, sometimes when only of a few moment's duration, may cause either increased urinary secretion or active contraction of the bladder.

In a paper on "The Bladder as a Dynamometer," published in the *American Journal of Dermatology* (May, 1902), I brought forward a systematic series of observations showing that the expulsive power of the bladder, when measured by the distance to which the stream can be expelled, is not only an index of individual energy but is subject to constant variations under the varying influences of daily life. A number of circumstances, including the state of the weather, were found to affect the expulsive energy of the bladder. Nervous depression tended to have a depressing vesical influence. A sea-bath had a powerful stimulating effect, sometimes not appearing at once but long prolonged. Placing the hands in cold water immediately beforehand also stimulated vesical energy, which accounts for the common experience of a wish to urinate following washing the hands. Sexual erethism was found to stimulate, and seminal emissions in sleep to diminish, vesical power. Both mental and physical exercise were stimulating. It was found that the energy of the bladder tends on the whole to rise during the day (though it must be remembered that the morning distention is not favorable to expulsive energy). No monthly curve was detected, but there was a weekly rhythm with a marked fall on Sundays, quickly recovering to a climax on Tuesdays There was also a yearly curve, with a minimum in autumn, followed by a slow rise to a height maintained through the spring and reaching a climax in August. It was more

difficult to make observations on women but one series on a nulliparous woman of 32, of entirely feminine conformation and disposition, made with the subject lying on her back with separated nymphæ, showed as far as they went, concordant results. The average distance of the jet was 48 inches (which agrees with that of some women in the erect position) and the maximum, with very full bladder and some general excitement, as much as 75 inches, which indicates an energy probably not often exceeded by the female bladder.

It may be added that the experiments of Vurpas and Buvat on the vesical reactions of a number of more or less insane subjects showed that the more sane and intelligent the subject is the more delicate are the bladder reactions. (A. Vurpas and G. Buvat, "Contribution à l'Étude de la psycho-physiologie de la Vessie," *Rev. de Psychiatrie*, Dec, 1901.)

The sensitiveness of the bladder is, however, even greater than ordinary observation can indicate, for it responds in a minor degree to the faintest stimulus, to a touch or a word. This was clearly demonstrated by the classical experiments of Mosso and Pellacani on young girls in 1882. A catheter connected with a tube leading to a plethysmograph was inserted into the bladder, the subject lying quietly on her back, and it was found that the very slightest sensory emotional or mental stimulus could be measured and registered by its effect on the bladder. The conclusion was that "every psychic event and every mental effort is accompanied by a contraction of the bladder." There is no more delicate aesthesiometer in the whole body.[1]

The bladder has in modern times been called "the mirror of the soul," while Elie Reclus mentions[2] that the Eskimo Innuit regard it as a chief seat of the soul. The Hebrews also, as appears from Driver's glossary, regard the kidneys as "the springs of feeling"; "thou hast possessed my kidneys" says the Hebrew Psalmist (139 v. 13), though, in English, we generally prefer to say "my heart."

[1] Mosso and Pellacani, *Arch. ital. de Biologie*, vol. i, 1882 H. Ellis, art. "Urinary Bladder, Influence of the Mind on the," Hack Tuke's *Dictionary of Psychological Medicine*, vol. ii.

[2] E. Reclus, *Primitive Folk*, p 18.

We have here a root, and it may well be the chief root, of the mythic and magic significance of urine.[1] In some of its aspects, even though much transformed by tradition, even though never thus clearly recognized, water, in its deeper significance, is urine. Inversely expressed, urine is water *par excellence,* and in it are concentrated all the supernormal qualities of water. Pure water and urine, both alike derivatives from the ancient salt ocean which was the remote cradle of our primitive organic life, have reciprocally heightened each other's potent qualities. The more primitive man frankly accepts the sacredness of urine, for it is more personal and organic, more richly various in its constitution, and he dimly realizes, perhaps, that it is more approximate to the original ocean. The less primitive man, acquiring a new disgust for the physiologically natural, and at the same time developing a new symbolic conception of purity, tends to transfer all the qualities of urine to pure water. In Christendom this is so even today; Protestant and Catholic alike symbolize the purification and regeneration which every member of the Church must undergo in the sacred rite of Baptism by water. For those who believe they have outgrown the revelation of the ancient religions a belief in the symbolic significance of the ancient rites still often subsists. This is well illustrated by Feuerbach who wrote eloquently of the deep and true significance of baptism regarded as a symbol of the value of water itself, not merely of its physical but its moral and intellectual effects. "In the stream of water the fever of selfishness is al-

[1] It is not easy to be sure that prehistoric and early historic man represented the act of urination in art, but the numerous rather crudely executed ancient bronze figures in which a man holds his hand—usually the left, which may be significant—to his penis, has suggested this act, though this explanation is not accepted by Saloman Reinach. (Bourke, Krauss, Ihm, *Der Unrat,* p. 516). In his *Répertoire de la Statuaire,* however (Tome II, p. 65), Reinach reproduces figures of Silenus with his left arm around a nymph who watches him while with averted face he holds his right hand to his penis. Of female figures the crouched Venus sometimes suggests the act of urination, as in a figure represented by Reinach (*op. cit.,* p. 372) in which the figure supports herself on her right heel and left foot and presses her hand against the inner part of her right thigh.

layed. Water is the readiest means of making friends with Nature. The bath is a sort of chemical process, in which our individuality is resolved into the objective life of Nature. The man rising from the water is a new, a regenerated man."[1]

We can understand how it seemed reasonable to Stanley Hall, many years ago, to suppose that the influence of a life "that has been lived aquatically since its dawn should still make itself felt in the soul," and leave occasional faint traces of struggle, traces of love and traces of fear. "Deepest of all the feelings for water," he added, "is the old love, sometimes suddenly reinforced to the intensity of an imperative and uncontrollable impulse by the recrudescence of the archaic element."[2] He referred to the love and fear of water so common in children, and to the preference for suicide by drowning among women as due to the feminine organism being more conservative of archaic elements than the male. This may be connected with the greater tendency among women than among men of the psychic disposition we shall here be concerned with.

It is in this way that we may most easily explain the peculiarly attractive, potent, and sometimes magic qualities which, even in civilization, water may under certain conditions possess. Water for lustral purposes, conferring purity or effecting benediction, is found associated with the sacred rites of many peoples in various stages of culture in nearly all parts of the world. Among more primitive peoples, this lustral water may itself be urine, and even among peoples in higher stages of culture who employ water in sacred rites it undergoes modification which confers on it some property of urine. Salt, which to the primitive mind seems the essence of urine, acquires all sorts of magical properties in addition to its real

[1] Feuerbach, *The Essence of Christianity* (Eng. trans. by George Eliot), p. 272.

[2] Stanley Hall, "A Study of Fears," *Am Jour Psych.*, 1897, p. 169. A few years later Stanley Hall inspired a comprehensive study of "the influence that water has exerted in shaping and molding man's psychic organism, from the early days of his pelagic ancestry onwards (F E. Bolton, "Hydro-psychoses," *Am. Jour. Psych*, Jan., 1899). This study touches on embryology, physiology, psychology, mythology, religion, philosophy, and folk-lore.

chemical qualities, as a result of its urinary origin or connection. It is on this ground added to water, and the Catholic church has always attached special virtues to salt and water.[1] Sometimes water is colored yellow in apparent imitation of urine. Sometimes the pure water alone retains the virtues which once belonged to urine. Thus in the opinion of many peoples water is the foe of evil demons as urine is among the Indians of some parts of North America. Water sometimes has the power to remove *tabu*. In India water has a strongly marked protective power, and sprinkling with water was an important part of Babylonic ritual. In Islam, the bride and the bridegroom are sometimes sprinkled with water as a protection against Satan, just as in some parts of Africa they were sprinkled with urine. Holy water, as Ernest Jones concludes, "is the direct descendant of urine."[2]

Among the Hottentots, when they first became known to Europeans, Peter Kolben described (and illustrated) how the "priest" (as he termed him) urinated on the bridegroom and then on the bride in the wedding ceremony.[3] In the next century Mungo Park tells of his visit to a negro wedding in the Islamic region of Africa bordering the Great Desert. After he had returned to his hut "an old woman entered with a wooden bowl in her hand and signified that she had brought me a present from the bride. Before I could recover from the

[1] The Church borrowed this custom from the Greeks and the Romans who used salt and water as a purifying charm. Thus Theocritus (xxiv, 94) described the purificatory sprinkling on the ground of fountain water mixed with salt. See *e.g.*, J. J. Blunt, *Vestiges of Ancient Manners and Customs in Italy and Sicily*, p. 173.

[2] Ernest Jones, "Die Bedeutung des Salzes," *Imago*, Heft 5, Dec., 1912, and "The Symbolic Significance of Salt" in the same author's *Essays in Applied Psycho-analysis*, 1923, especially pp. 156-170 *Cf.* Goldziher, "Wasser als Damonen abwehrendes Mittel," *Archiv fur Religionswissenschaft*, vol. xiii, Heft. 1, 1910, and Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, vol. i, Ch. XVI; Heino Pfannenschmid, *Das Weihwasser im heidnischen und Christlicher Cultus*, 1869, pp. 166 *et seq.*

[3] P. Kolben, *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum*, Nuremberg, 1719, p. 453. Capt. Cook later referred to this "nuptial benediction" of the Hottentots, Hawkesworth, *Account of Voyages*, 1775, vol. ii. p. 533. Wedding ceremonies with similar sprinkling with urine still existed more recently among the Namaqua, as was ascertained by Theophilus Hahn (quoted by G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Sud-Africa's*, 1872, p. 330.)

surprise which this message created, the woman discharged the contents of the bowl full in my face. Finding that it was the same sort of holy water with which among the Hottentots a priest is said to sprinkle a new married couple, I began to suspect that the old lady was actuated by mischief or malice; but she gave me seriously to understand that it was a nuptial benediction from the bride's own person; and which, on such occasions, is always received by the young unmarried Moors as a mark of distinguished favor. This being the case, I wiped my face, and sent my acknowledgments to the lady."[1] In Central Africa the king's bride cannot urinate too much, and the female attendant in the king's bedchamber must urinate and wet his feet before he may safely rise in the morning.[2] J. G. Bourke,[3] refers to the Russian custom for the water in which the bride has washed her feet to be sprinkled on the bridal bed and over the guests, and to the old English custom for the bride to sell bride-ale, and it is suggested that all such customs are attenuations of the primitive customs associated with the magic qualities of nuptial urine, the priest's or the bride's, since, in the progress of civilization, a time was bound to come when prim spinsterly aunts would declare that the original rite was ludicrous, and, in fact, "quite disgusting."

It is not surprising that while along the line of orthodox religion, holy water, with the advance of civilization, has become completely dissociated from urine, along the line of magic and witchcraft the association continued. Thus in French ritual witchcraft the Devil used holy water which was sometimes urine, and with this all present were aspersed.[4]

The primitive religious use of urine extends beyond its

[1] Mungo Park, *Travels*, 1817, vol. i, p. 205.
[2] J. Roscoe, *The Bakitara*, pp 92, 152.
[3] *Scatalogic Rites of All Nations*, 1891, p. 231.
[4] See, for instance, report of a case in Cologne, in 1614, as given by Miss M. A. Murray, *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe*, pp. 148, 248, also Dufour, *Histoire de la Prostitution*, vol. v, p. 124, quoting De Lancre. Montague Summers (*The History of Witchcraft and Demonology*, 1826, pp. 154, 171), again, refers to the use by witches in France of holy water made of urine.

lustral employment as holy water; it enters, alike, into ceremonies of initiation and harvest festivals of generation. Thus in the Papuan Gulf, in initiation ceremonies, the chief stands over the youth and urinates into his mouth; having passed this test the youth becomes eligible as a warrier and enters the final stage of initiation.[1] In some regions drinking urine, as well as eating dung, was once an essential part of certain religious festivals connected with the harvest. According to Preuss, a goddess was termed the Dung Eater, and those who incarnated her must follow her example, at the same time being drunk and exercising coitus. In a similar spirit German folk-lore terms the Corn-mother the "great whore."[2]

If we take a wider view of the psychic place of water in the history of civilization, it would appear that at many of the chief places of origin of the higher human cultures—Egypt, India, Persia, Greece[3]—water was often regarded, by a premonition of the modern scientific view of the pelagic origin of life, as the source of all things. This belief was sometimes erotically tinged; Venus (Anadyomene) arose from the sea, and the classic nymphs had erotic associations, which are preserved and emphasized in the term nymphomania, while the connection of public baths with prostitution, which began in classic times and was pronounced in medieval times, is hardly yet extinct. Iwan Bloch, in his history of prostitution, deals with the original place of the bath as an adjunct of sexual intercourse and its subsequent association with prostitution; the flourishing period of bath-prostitution in Rome was at the end of the Republic with the introduction of mixed bathing (*balnea mixta*) by Agrippa, B. C. 32.[4]

[1] Rev. J. Holmes, *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, 1902, p. 424.
[2] K. Th. Preuss, *Globus*, vol. lxxxvi, 1904, p. 356.
[3] Forchhammer in his *Hellenika* insisted on the influence of water on the Greek mind. He has since sometimes been held to have exaggerated this influence, and his views are now in part antiquated. But the influence of water was certainly great, especially on Greek philosophy. (See, *e.g.*, Bolton, *Am. Jour. Psych.*, Jan., 1899, pp. 189-195). When we recall that the Greeks were a sea-faring people, almost surrounded by the sea, and never more than a few miles away from it, this influence cannot be surprising.
[4] I. Bloch, *Die Prostitution*, Bd. I, pp. 172-196. These pages are rich with historical facts and references.

The more widely we observe the influence of water the more frequently we find that the special representative and symbol of water is held to be the urine. This is specially to be observed in the conception of cosmic phenomena. Thus in myth, saga, popular belief and speech, the analogy of rain with urine is familiar. Rain is indeed, as Ehrenreich has observed, with striking frequency conceived as the excretion (not always urine but sometimes sweat or spittle) of a heavenly being.[1] In many parts of the world, indeed, rain is regarded as the urination of a divine being, more usually though not always feminine, to whom is sometimes attributed the origin of seas and rivers in this way. (Young children, similarly, as Rank remarks with illustrations, often have the same idea.) Among some of the old Australian aborigines of Victoria, according to Brough Smyth, there was a belief in a primitive Deluge, when the great Bundjal, being angry with men, urinated abundantly for many days until all were drowned save a man and woman who were preserved to carry on the human race.[2] Among the American Indians, especially as Boas has shown, in the sagas of the Indians of British Columbia, urination plays a large part. In South America, Alexander von Humboldt mentioned in his *Kosmos*, some Indian tribes call meteors "the urine of the stars," while the ancient Mexicans represented the Butterfly goddess of fire, Itzpapalotl, as urinating, while the two Bird-goddesses, and the Dog god, Xolotl, are also represented as urinating Divine Water for the benefit of vegetation.[3] Similar conceptions may be traced more ob-

[1] Ehrenreich, *Die Allgem. Mythologie*, 1910, p. 140, quoted by O. Rank, "Ein Traum der sich selbst deutet," *Jahrb. f. psychoanal. Forschungen*, Bd. ii. 1910, p. 532, and also in "Die Symbolschichtung in mythischen Denken," *Psychoanalytische Beitrage zur Mythenforschung*, 1919.

[2] Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, vol. i, p. 429; and see Van Gennep, *Mythes et Légendes d'Australie*, p 88.

[3] K. Th. Preuss, "Der Ursprung der Religion und Kunst," *Globus*, Bd. 86, 1904, p. 355. Father Joseph de Acosta in the sixteenth century (*Natural and Moral History of the Indians*, Bk. v, Ch. XXVII, translated by Grimston) said that the Mexicans were accustomed not only to eat and drink in honor of the gods but "also to pisse in the honor of them." In the Great Atlas the exposure of a woman's urinary organs

scurely in the ancient religions of the old world. Goldziher derives the Arabic name, Kuzah, for the god of weather and rain from a word signifying to urinate, while the Hebrew word bûl, rain, may be conected with the Arabic bala to urinate.[1] It has been held that the legend of the origin of Orion implied urination of the gods, and though this opinion is regarded as etymologically false, it may still, Otto Rank remarks, possess a psychological rightness, and the Greek word for urination united the ideas of emitting both urine and semen, thus still further emphasizing the idea of impregnating the earth.[2] In folk-lore Preuss refers to popular sayings in East Prussia which indicate the continued existence of the primitive belief that urine is the source of rain, and he considers that the Manneken-Pis at Brussels has a like reference to the same connection. Rank refers to the German word *schiffen,* to urinate, as being also used for rain, and in the paper already referred to, psychoanalysing a normal young woman, he finds that rain may stand for urine. Marconowski's hysterical patient, also, once dreamed of her little girl (standing for herself, as often happens in dreams) with a stream of urine flowing from her drawers, while the child was soaked with rain, urine, and tears.[3]

The psychic connection between rain and urine, moreover, may be two-sided. A friend tells me that having drunk more than usual in the evening she was awakened, without any conscious dream, by the need to relieve a full bladder and, then, retiring to bed and falling asleep again, she dreamed she was in the house of a friend, a doctor, near which she had passed the previous day, and had so strong a desire to urinate that she asked the doctor if she could go into his lavatory; he

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aids the rites for obtaining rain (Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco,* vol. ii, p. 271.)

[1] Goldziher, *Der Mythos bei der Hebräern,* p. 89, quoted by Rank.

[2] A. Berny, *Imago,* 1913, Heft 6, p. 543; O. Rank, *Psychoanalytische Beitrage zur Mythenforschung,* p. 102.

[3] She was accustomed to regard the desire to urinate as a sign of sexual excitement, and Marconowski would view all these three forms of water (after the manner cherished by psycho-analysts) as symbols of semen.

replied this was impossible as it was being removed by workmen, and as he made no suggestion as to what she should do instead and she felt unable to control herself longer, she went into the front garden and immediately felt herself urinating as she stood outside the door. She awoke with some anxiety as to what had taken place in bed, and found no desire whatever to urinate, but rain was falling fast, and through a leak in the roof dripping on the floor of the room. Thus, not only may rain be the symbol of urine but urine the symbol of rain.

When we recall ancient beliefs and the associations of urine it is easy to understand why, especially among the young, urine should be identified with semen. C. G. Jung has referred to a girl of eleven who imagined that the husband urinates into the wife and that the embryo is thus formed. She had a dream of rain and storm and a stork connected with this belief, which has archaic and mythological associations.[1] Frink similarly tells of a young married woman in America, with an intense longing for a child, who had a craving at times to go out in the rain; when thoroughly soaked she would return home greatly relieved and satisfied. As a girl of 8, an elder girl offered to explain to her how children are made, and. instructing her to lie down with raised skirts, lay down on top of her and discharged a stream of urine against her genitals Naturally this method received support from the patient's knowledge that water "makes things grow."[2]

It is in this way that the attraction of urine for the primitive mind becomes subtly blended with the attraction of water. Behind that physiological source of water which man found in himself lay a subconscious sense of the beneficent and emancipating mystery of Nature's rain and oceans and rivers. Behind the natural sources of water in the world, on the other hand, lay a subconscious sense of the intimate personal mystery of this human stream, inevitably tinged by the place of its origin with generative and erotic associations. To the primitive mind,

[1] C. G. Jung, *Jahrbuch f. psychoanalyt. Forsch.*, vol. v, 1913, p 436.
[2] H. W. Frink, *Cornell Univ. Med. Bull.*, Oct, 1914.

too closely in contact with great natural facts to be touched by the refined disgusts of civilization, the urinary stream became a beautiful and sacred symbol. We shall meet with the suggestion that in the device of the fountain we have an attempt to imitate the stream of which human beings are the source, and the suggestion is perhaps not so absurd as at first it may seem. To the primitive and popular mind even today the fountain-like jet of a streamlet suggests urination, and this analogy is sometimes embodied in the names given to such streamlets; thus the jets which gush out from the cliffs near Etretat in Normandy are named "Les Pisseuses."[1] There is a "Cascade de Pisse-Vache" between Geneva and the Simplon. An "Ode à Pissefontaine" is included by Paul Fort in his *Tristesse de l'Homme.*

The opinion that the fountain of human art was suggested by the human urinary fountain and originally intended to imitate it was put forth by Sadger in the important study of urinary eroticism to which it will later be necessary to refer. "Fountains," he asserted, "are merely an imitation of the urinary stream." One's immediate response to this view is not favorable. But on consideration there is much to be said for it. We have clearly to recognize that to the natural human mind, and still constantly to children, a little stream leaping out of its channels suggests, and is itself suggested by, the human urinary stream; this is indicated by ancient philology and is instinctively felt by modern children. Thus an American lady remarks to me that as a girl she liked looking at fountains but did not like anyone to see her doing so because she was conscious the fountain had an attractive resemblance to the act of urination. An English lady of pronounced urolagnic disposition writes: "The attraction of water running into water

[1] In English, by a reverse association of ideas, the name Piddle which was formerly used in England to designate a stream or small river, has become attached among the feminine inhabitants of rural regions to the act of urination, to the complete exclusion of its chief and earlier sense, so that the inhabitants of Piddletown in Dorsetshire have in recent years sought to confer refinement on their town by calling it "Puddletown."

is, I suppose, universally admitted. In designs for fountains we frequently find a mass of center figures giving forth in some fashion or another jets of water that descend in elegant sprays into a basin of still water below. The charm of this is felt by most persons. Unconsciously perhaps we aimed at this effect when as children we urinated in the bath or better still out in the open in some secluded spot in the wood, where there was a brook. It is of course difficult to say how common this liking for urination and water may be since the persons most in secret enjoyment of it are just those most likely to be secretive." It is significant that throughout its known history the fountain of artificial device tends to have the closest possible resemblance, alike in size and in curve, to the urinary stream. We do not know who invented artificial fountains.[1] But their characteristics are the same at the earliest point at which we can observe them. No doubt they would only become common at a period in civilization when luxury and refinement were beginning to appear, that is to say at a period when the urinary stream was beginning to be thought indecent in an untransformed shape, and not decorous to represent literally, even in marble, except in children. Since Sadger's opinion was put forward I have noticed in San Vitale at Ravenna, on the left as one faces the choir apse, a large and beautiful bas relief (facing a corresponding one on the opposite side of the entrance to the apse), said to be taken from a frieze in the Roman temple of Neptune; two children, apparently boys, act as caryatids to support a platform on which are smaller children

[1] The earliest artificial fountain mentioned in the article "Fountain" of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is a carved Babylonian basin, of about B.C. 3000, found at Tello, the ancient Lagash, while Layard mentions an Assyrian fountain he found in the gorge of the river Gomel They were very common in Greece, and dedicated not only to nymphs but to gods, goddesses, and heroes The nymph Piren shed such copious tears over her son slain by Orion, that she was changed into a fountain, an example of another physiological association of the fountain. At Corinth a statue of Poseidon stood on a dolphin from which the water issued, a kind of imagery frequently revived in the Italian Renaissance. The famous fountain of Callirrhoe at Athens was directed through nine pipes and was elegantly appointed as seen depicted on Greek vases. It still runs, though now it has become sordid and we may often see washerwomen of the lower class at work there.

with shells and tridents. Both the larger children have had their sexual organs struck out and this has revealed in each a hole corresponding to the urethra (one filled up by a black rod). It would appear that, at one time at all events, these children were fountains. The attitude of the children is entirely consistent with this view, especially that of the boy on the left, whose hands rest on his slightly separated thighs, while his face expresses attention; the other child stands with crossed arms. It is scarcely necessary to refer to the famous Manneken-Pis of Brussels, executed in the seventeenth century by François Dufresnoy, a sculptor of high distinction (born at Brussels and an enthusiastic student of the Renaissance in Rome), but probably continuing a much more ancient idea since this fountain is invested with an almost sacred character. The accepted Belgian legend, however, as given by Otto Rank (following Wolf) is that when Brussels was still a small town a nobleman of the place had an only son who as a punishment for his father's offense in making violent love to the patron saint of the town, and the boy's own impertinence in urinating against the door of a holy hermit's cell, was condemned never to grow up but to be turned into a stone image and to urinate forever.[1]

The almost complete absence from statuary art of the posture of urination in women (unless we except the figures of the "Crouching Venus") is naturally to be associated with the fact that at the time when European conventions in art were formed that posture was, as largely it still is, the humble squatting attitude which seldom lends itself easily to art. But it would be a mistake to suppose that that attitude has been everywhere and always customary with women, just as it would be a mistake to conclude from

[1] There is an extensive literature concerning the Manneken-Pis. See Bourke, Krauss, and Ihm, *Der Unrat*, p. 509; Otto Rank, *Ztblit. f. Psychoanalyse*, Heft 12, 1911, p. 578; and especially Dr. G. Vorberg, "Manneken-Pis," *Geschlecht und Gesellshaft*, 1923, Heft 1. Vorberg refers to a counterpart of the Manneken-Pis formerly in Brussels, Les Trois Pucelles, three girls in stone, squatting to urinate and supplying water to the quarter of the Place des Trois Pucelles. When they became dilapidated they were replaced by three girls standing erect with streams issuing from their breasts, and these later were replaced by a simple corner-stone stream. The name of the Place was then altered to Marché aux Tripes.

prevalent European custom that the erect attitude has been everywhere and always prevalent among men. As a matter of fact there are widespread variations, though it is comparatively rare for both men and women to adopt the same attitude, and with the usual sexual contrariness, where the women adopt one attitude the men tend to adopt another, or *vice versa*. J. G. Bourke in his *Scatalogic Rites of all Nations* (1891, pp. 148 *et seq.*, G Friederici, *Beiträge zur Völker-und Sprachenkunde von Deutsch-Neuguinea* in *Mittheilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten*, No. 5, Berlin, 1912, pp. 62-3; also Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman*, 6th ed., pp. 78-9, brought together some of the variations in different parts of the world, but it may be worth while here to give a further account of the matter.

We are instinctively inclined in such matters to regard our own prevalent customs as the proper and "natural" method of the higher civilized races. But if we go back to Egypt we find Herodotus (Bk ii, Ch. XXXV), after stating that "Egypt claims our admiration beyond all other countries," bringing forward the evidence to show that women enjoyed a freer and more active life than elsewhere, and mentioning that "women stand erect to make water, the men stoop" (This seems to indicate that the Greek custom was opposite, though Hesiod says that a man should squat if not standing against a wall.) In another ancient centre of culture, Ireland, where also it may be said that women occupied an important place, Giraldus Cambrensis stated in his *Topographia Hibernica* (*Opera*, 1867, vol. v, p. 172) that "the men discharge their urine sitting, the women standing."

It may indeed be said that all round the world the primitive custom seems generally to have been the reverse of that which we have come to regard as normal: the women stand and very often the men squat. It was not only so among peoples like the Egyptians whom we place high in the scale of cultures but still more among the most primitive peoples. Thus among the Australians the native men in their aboriginal condition invariably squatted to urinate; this custom was rendered almost necessary by the *Mika* operation of splitting the penis, though Basedow states (*Jour. Anth. Inst.*, 1927, p 146) that among the sub-incised tribes both men and women either stand or squat. But the native Australian women in many regions stood to urinate. This was noted by the earliest scientific investigator of the intimate customs of the Australian aborigines Miklucho-Maclay (*Zt. f. Ethnologie*, 1880, p. 86). Carl Lumholtz made a similar observation. In South Australia, Lindsay Crawford states (*Jour. Anth. Inst.*, Nov., 1894, p. 180) that while the men squat the women stand, spreading their legs open. In Victoria, Mr. Justin Curr (son of the well-known writer on the aborigines, Edward Curr) informed me that various men who had lived among the

natives in their wild state told him that while the men squat there was no general rule among the women who would sometimes squat and sometimes stand. In Queensland, Dr. W. Roth states (*Ethnological Studies of the Queensland Aborigines,* 1897, p. 184) both sexes always adopt the squatting position in micturition, scratching up a few handfuls of earth for this purpose (and not for defecation only), afterwards covering the spot with earth, and using sand to cleanse the person with. When camping small mounds of earth are made, scooped out at the top like a miniature volcano and beaten down, holding at least a quart; this is for the women to urinate into. In the Trobriand Islands of New Guinea, Dr. Malinowski informs me, the men now stand to urinate, the women stand or squat. In New Zealand, Mr. Edward Tregear, the leading authority on the Maoris, wrote to me in 1892: "It is quite useless for a modern observer to give any valuable evidence on this point as to New Zealand or Polynesia; the adoption of garments introduced by Europeans has altered the native custom. In New Zealand it is *now* invariably the rule for both sexes to squat down while urinating, that is, if wearing mats or blankets. In old days, although waist mats and shoulder mats were the common dress of men and women, the working and fighting dress was the *maro* or girdle, consisting of plaited string tied round the waist, to which strips of flax or tassels of fibre were suspended; it is the common waist-girdle of the savage, although the New Zealander's love of beauty led him to refine his fringe. The women's often come to the middle of the calf, the men's to about two inches above the knee. The Maori men, who squat to urinate, have often told me that they thought European men fools to stand up to urinate as in that position the bladder is not completely emptied, and, they say, gravel results. It was common for the women to urinate standing; a Maori told me he has seen his nurse do it a hundred times. The natural position of the sexual organs makes it possible for a woman to urinate standing without wetting her clothes or exposing herself, but a man in a mat or robe would have to expose himself or wet his mat." It may be added that at Tanna in the New Hebrides, the present practice is for the men to stand in micturition while the women and children sit (*Jour Anth. Institute,* 1898, p. 129).

In China in old times it was the custom for men to urinate standing; at all events that is what we are told by the Mohammedan traveller in China, Soleyman, as recorded by Hasan Ibn Yazid in the ninth century (*Relations des Voyages,* tr. by Reinaud, 1845, vol. i. p. 118). "The Chinese," it is here reported, "urinate standing. Such is the custom of the people among the natives. As for governors, generals, and notable persons, they use polished canes, a cubit long,

and open at both ends, sufficiently large to introduce the penis. When one wants to make water, therefore, one stands and turning the tube away from oneself, one discharges the urine. The Chinese declare that this method of urinating is more salutary for the body, and the disorders of the bladder, especially stone, are solely due to squatting to urinate, adding that the bladder cannot be completely discharged unless one performs the operation standing." It is not stated whether women adopted the same attitude. At the present time, according to Friederici, the attitude for men, at all events in North China, and the Canton Swatow region, is usually squatting In Japan it is the women who usually adopt the upright attitude for urination, according to Wernich, quoted by Ploss in *Das Weib*, and he attributed it to a peculiarity in the Japanese feminine urethra William Anderson, the surgeon, my teacher in anatomy and still well known for his collection of Japanese art, informed me that Wernich was correct in his fact but not in his explanation, as there was nothing peculiar in the Japanese feminine urethra; "the erect posture," he wrote, "appeared to me a more convenient one for women in consequence of the tightness with which the skirts embrace the legs and the difficulty so opposed to raising the skirts." But he added that it might be, as I had suggested, a survival of primitive custom, like the Japanese attitude in parturition. In Ceylon also the Tamil man squats to urinate, the woman stands, a resident medical man informs me, and the same statement is made in *Untrodden Fields of Anthropology*, vol. i, p. 96. In Sumatra, as another doctor tells me, the men often squat to urinate, and never open their *sarong* or trousers for this purpose, believing that it is dangerous to expose the penis, or rather scrotum, and might lead to impotence; the women also squat to urinate and keep their legs close together in the act.

As regards Africa the custom of the sexes in urination in ancient Egypt has already been mentioned. At the present day, while the old custom has not completely died out, and Egyptian fellaheen women, Sudanese women and Abyssinian women, I am told by a Cairo hospital surgeon, sometimes adopt the erect position, the prevalent position is that of squatting, and at the hospital all the sanitary arrangements are of this kind and there is an attendant servant to show patients where and how to micturate and defecate It must be remembered that the general Moslem custom is for both sexes to squat to urinate and with the progressive march of Islam in Africa this custom has become widespread. The precepts of the Koran enjoin this position on good Mussulmans and an act of ablution should follow. Minute instructions are given by Sidi-Kelil and other Moslem teachers Dr. John Fryer (*A New Account of East*

India and Persia, 1672-1681, Hakluyt Society, vol. i, p. 94), says: "Among them all it is common to make water sitting, as when they evacuate the other way, and it is a shame for anyone to be seen otherwise, they sarcastically saying, Such a one pisses like a Dog (which is held unclean) standing"; and elsewhere he states with regard to the women squatting to urinate: "Nor do the women scruple to do their Occasions in Publick streets or Highways, going hand in hand for that purpose at Set-times of the day, and if any pass by in the interim will turn their bare Backside upon them, but will hide their Faces; and this at Sun-rise and Sun-set every day they do in Droves, Men by themselves and Women by themselves" He adds that they use the left hand for the subsequent ablution, "because they feed themselves with the right." In Morocco, I have noted, it is common for a little group of women to squat for this purpose only a few steps off the public path, but quite modestly and without raising the garments, so that they feel no need to show any embarrassment. The men do the same, though not in groups. In British Central Africa, Sir H. H. Johnston (*British Central Africa*, p 406) states that, except when Mohammedanism has introduced the squatting posture, the men stand, the women squat. But Dr. Stannus (*Jour. Anth. Inst.*, vol. xl, 1910, p. 288) states that, at all events south of Lake Nyassa in British Central Africa, among mixed peoples of Bantu stock, the men usually squat to urinate, while the women kneel, a rare modification of the erect attitude. But in some parts of Africa untouched by Islam, it would seem that what is perhaps the more primitive attitude is still preserved. Thus P. Reichard (*Ausland*, vol. lxiii, p. 428), states that among Negroes in some regions the men always squat and the women always stand The Kavirondo women in East Africa, a medical man tells me, always urinate standing, and sometimes as they walk. In Angola, according to Bourke, both sexes stand to urinate

It is, however, when we turn to America that we find the most convincing evidence of the existence of that sexual distinction in the posture for urination which I am inclined to believe indicates primitive custom all over the world. Everywhere else we find occasional evidence, especially when we are able to look far back, that the men squat and the women stand, but in America nearly all the evidence from the extreme north down to South America indicates the general prevalence of the custom, which may well have been the custom which the early inhabitants of America carried with them from the early home of Man, whether (with Osborn) we place the early home in Central Asian plateaus or elsewhere. Writing of the Eskimo of Hudson's Bay, Henry Ellis (*A Voyage to Hudson's Bay in 1746 and 1747*, p. 198) remarks: "They differ from almost all other nations in

their manner of making urine; for here the men always squat down and the women stand upright." Frère Sagard in his *Histoire du Canada* in 1636 (reprint of 1866, vol. i, p. 179), writing apparently of the Hurons at Kebec and describing them in their canoes, says. "I admired the honesty of their action in making water, for besides retiring aside they squat down with much modesty, in the manner of the ancient men of Egypt, in this more polite and honest than their women, who for this purpose stand upright, without going much aside." The Apache men, Bourke states, always squat to urinate, while the women always stand; he adds that the Mojaves of the Rio Colorado follow the same rule. George Alsop in his book dating from 1666, *A Character of the Province of Maryland* (reprint of Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, 1880, p. 81), writes of the naked Susquehannas of Maryland: "It doth not become any man to piss running or eating. These Pagan men naturally observe the same Rule, for they are so far from running, that, like a Hare, they squat to the ground as low as they can, while the Women stand bolt upright with their arms a Kimbo, performing the same action, in so confident and obscene a posture as if they had taken their Degrees of Entrance at Venice," in other words as if they were courtesans. But Alsop was a wild and roystering youth, and it is scarcely necessary to remark that European prejudices have led him into injustice. He had himself just pointed out that the Susquehanna women are modest, chaste, and faithful to their husbands. So also in Florida, and Captain Bernard Romans wrote in 1775 in his *Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* (vol. i, p. 42): "A savage man discharges his urine in a sitting posture and a savage woman standing" Lionel Wafer at the Isthmus of Darien in 1699 (*A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, p. 141) neglects to mention the women but says of the men that they are ordinarily quite naked but wear a penis-case, of silver or gold or at least of a plaintain leaf, fastened by a string round the waist. "They leave the scrotum exposed, having no sense of shame with reference to that, as they have with respect to the penis, which they never show uncovered, but the men will turn away their faces even from one another, if by any accident it be uncovered; and when they would make water, they turn their backs to their companions, and squatting down, slip off the funnel with one hand, and, having done, put it on again very nimbly." (It may be remarked that the use of the penis-case here and in other parts of the world has been well and fully discussed by Friederici, *op cit*, pp. 154 *et seq.*) He adds that, with regard to defecation, "they have a great sense of shame" and both men and women go down to the river for this purpose; "and in general they are both a modest and a charming people." Pierre Barrère (*Nouvelle Relation de la France Equinoxiale*, 1743, p.

164) says likewise of the Indian men of Guiana that they squat to urinate. Of the Indians of Nicaragua, Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés, writing in the middle of the sixteenth century (*Historia General y Natural de las Indias* (Madrid, 1855, vol. iv, p. 38), says that the men squat to urinate and the women stand, doing this wherever the need takes them. I am not acquainted with other references to the custom in South America, but it seems probable that the general practice was the same in the south as in the north. I may add, however, that I hear from an Englishman long resident in a rural district of Bolivia that he there sometimes observed a woman, without attempt to avoid observation, lift up, while she walked, the numerous petticoats which Spanish women wear, tuck them round her waist, and proceed to urinate while still walking.

At the present time in civilized countries there is a general recognition among men that the erect attitude is to be preferred. It is probable that the primitive attitude for men to squat for urination was associated with magic terrors and fears of exposure that were not primarily concerned with modesty but with the preservation of the generative functions. We seem to see a lingering trace of this even in Greek civilization at the period of Hesiod who enjoined the avoidance of exposure during urination lest any divinity should be offended But these fears would not be evoked in women who had no penis to expose, so that for them the squatting position would not be adopted until the closed garment or the supposed claims of modesty made it desirable or imperative. At the present time there is among civilized women a tendency to abandon the squatting position so long ago given up by civilized men. This need not be regarded (though by some it has been so regarded) as a sign of the masculinization, or still less the homosexualization, of women, but rather as part of the tendency to the social approximation of the sexes which marks civilization generally. (In the days of the Roman Empire women were gaining many of the rights and freedoms of men, and if we may judge by what Juvenal says of some ladies they were adopting the custom of urinating in the erect position, though, as we should expect, that old-fashioned satirist disapproved of the practice.) It is largely based on practical and hygienic considerations, and the risks of dirty public conveniences are now recognized, while the serious accidents due to sitting on chamber vessels are familiar to all medical men. In January, 1910, *The British Medical Journal* published an editorial note advocating the provision at railway stations for urinals for women, in a similar way as for men, and numerous doctors supported this proposal, while "A Doctor's Wife" wrote (in too unqualified a way) that "we all stand." From a letter in this *Journal* (15 Jan.) I quote: "Apart from the fact that an arrangement of this kind, by saving time, would be a boon to women who

are in nervous haste to catch a train, it is very unjust that women, who are usually less able to afford it, should be called upon to pay a tax which is never (since the days of Vespasian) demanded from men. All the tendencies of our civilization are in the direction of giving the same rights and privileges to women as to men; in this department, at all events, no one can grudge women their claim to equality of opportunity." The Railway Companies were induced to take up the matter, but not many arrangements of the sort desired were introduced, as it was found at that time that most women were still, even when their garments permitted, too conservative or too awkward to appreciate the change.

We do not seem to find among the remains of antiquity a completely feminine statue presiding over a urinary stream, in part doubtless because a penis better lends itself to this device, but largely because the erect position for urination was not at the period the traditional position. But we find a very near approach to it in a hermaphroditic statue of considerable artistic quality in the Capitoline Museum in Rome. It is 1 m. 20 in height and is placed on a pedestal in which there are three steps. The right thigh is slightly raised, probably to support a shell or bowl born by the two hands which are extended forwards. Head, hair-dress, breasts, and contours, are entirely feminine, but the small sexual organs are ithyphallic, the penis transmitting a jet of water to fall into the shell or bowl. Behind and above the head is a lyre-like ornament ending above in a single horn which evidently acted as a conduit for the water. "Here we have a Manneken-Pis," remark Amelung and Hülsen, in communicating the facts to Reinach, "not the only one antiquity has bequeathed to us, but doubtless the only one of this type." Reinach considers that the motive is Syrian or Alexandrian.[1]

Among the abundant public fountains of southern Europe, largely of Renaissance origin and not seldom beautiful and

[1] S. Reinach, *Cultes Mythes et Religions*, vol. ii. An illustration of the statuette is here given. Prof. Hans Licht has dealt with the indications of urination in Greek art ("Skatologishes in Griechenland," *Zt. fur Sexualwiss.*, March, 1927) and refers, for instance, to a vase in Berlin where a girl points to a scaphion (the boat-shaped vessel used by women) which a handsome youth hastens to bring to her.

elaborate, we cannot expect to find much evidence of actual representation of the urinary stream. But the suggestion of such representation is common and sometimes very close. This is well illustrated by Ammanati's colossal Fontana del Nettuno in the Piazza della Signoria in Florence, a sixteenth century work of the school of Giovanni da Bologna, the famous Douai sculptor. Here we see Neptune above, with Tritons, Nereids, and Dolphins below. The Neptune shows a stream proceeding from between his legs just below the penis, though bubbling up rather than flowing down, and there are others around, while one of the sea-goddesses has a dolphin from whose mouth pours a stream corresponding in size and curve to what her own might be and in some aspects appearing to come from her.

At Bologna we may see in the Piazza del Nettuno a fountain by Giovanni himself (erected 1563-7) which, even more clearly than that of his pupil at Florence, suggests multiple urinary streams. The four Nereids at the angles of the base send out streams from their breasts which their hands are squeezing, but between their thighs are dolphins which emit streams sideways from their mouths. Higher up at the angles of the pedestal on which Neptune stands four boys sit holding dolphins which emit streams from their mouths though from a side aspect they easily appear urinary. From Neptune's feet spring four small jets rising as high as his head, but one of the jets strikes his penis and drips down thence. It seems evident that the sculptor desired to refrain from shocking the spectator's modesty by too direct a representation of the urinary stream, while yet he has been constantly preoccupied with the effort to approach as nearly as possible to such representation.

Again at Bologna, in the fountain in the courtyard of the Palazzo Galvani (now the Museo Civico), I note the little boy who firmly puts forward his foot to press on the wine-skin resting on the pedestal between his legs, which sends up a curved stream such as little boys love to emit for themselves. Here, once more, we see the artist obviously inventing an ingenious method of attaining an end

which he feels debarred from reaching by the direct and obvious method.[1] But it was sometimes reached and Falda represents the Fontana di Venere, a Baroque structure in Rome, with two children from whose sex organs large streams jet forth.

It is worth while noting that the term "fountain" was used in connection with the human body at a very early period, possibly before Man began to make artificial fountains in the image of those of Nature. The human fountain gained significance at this early period because it had become the symbol of the sexual function to which it was so closely joined. This is clearly revealed in many passages of the Bible and other sacred writings of the Jews, as well as in the sayings of numerous peoples in various parts of the world. In Leviticus (Ch. 20: v. 18) we hear of uncovering "a woman's fountain," by which is clearly meant the vulva. Elsewhere a woman herself is referred to as a "fountain." Sarah was a cistern from which Israel flowed, and the heroine of the *Song of Songs* a fountain of living waters. Among the Romans, as well as in more remote lands, an identity between women and fountains is assumed In men, also, the "stream" is likewise spoken of by the Hebrews and other peoples in a sense that was intended to express the seminal and procreative power. In the Talmud it is said: "His semen was like a running stream," and the Romans also used the word "water" for semen[2]. The custom of regarding semen as "water," or at all events of so speaking of it, is indeed widespread, and we can scarcely help associating it with the belief that water itself may suffice to fertilize a woman. This belief is found as far away as New Guinea, and Mali-

[1] Sadger refers to Hermann's Brunnenbuberl and the Tugendbrunn at Nuremberg, where women send out streams from their breasts, as belonging to the same sphere of ideas. Occasional papers on scattered fountains have been written, and in 1675 G. B. Falda published a large illustrated work, *Le Fontane di Roma,* but a comprehensive and systematic study of fountains seems never yet to have been attempted.

[2] Ludwig Levy, "Die Sexualsymbolik der Bibel und des Talmuds," *Zt. f. Sexualwissenschaft,* Nov., 1914.

nowski refers to a cycle of beliefs and ideas about reincarnation in the Trobriand Islands which imply an association between the sea and spirit-children. Mature unmarried girls have to observe precautions, on this account, when bathing. There is, indeed, here believed to be an association between ordinary conception and bathing; the *waiwaia* (the embryo or river-incarnated spirit-child) most usually, it is thought, entering a woman while bathing.[1]

It is not surprising that in connection with the sacred and mythological qualities of urine we should also find in nearly all stages of culture a tendency to attribute to it magic qualities. This may, for instance, be frequently noted in the legends of the Indians of the northwest coast. Thus in one of these a woman gives her lover some of her urine and says: "You may wake the dead if you drop some of my urine in their ears and nose.[2] In Australia and among the now extinct Tasmanians, special virtues, it is said, were attributed to the urine of women. Among the Salish Indians of British Columbia, according to Hill Tout, in one story a young woman married to an owl begs to be allowed to come down from the tree to the earth to make water, and then escapes home, bidding her urine to tell her owl-husband that she is not yet ready to come up to him.[3] Among the Tamans of Burma (who are considered to be probably of Chinese origin), "if a man wanted to turn himself into a tiger he made water on the ground, stripped himself, and rolled in the earth he had wetted. He could then fight and kill other tigers.[4]

[1] *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, vol. xlvi, 1916, p. 404.

[2] Boas, *Zt. für Ethnologie*, 1894, Heft 4, p. 293. The power of urine is frequently referred to in these legends. They were collected among the Indians in British Columbia and the north Pacific Coast, and among the Eskimo, by Dr. Boas, and have so far been published in full only in German in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* from 1891 to 1895. The editor of the yearly reports of the Washington Bureau of Ethnology, Dr. Boas states, refused to publish these innocent and primitive stories, which are of much scientific value, in full, as being unsuited to the character of that publication. A sad confession!

[3] Hill Tout, *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, July-Dec., 1904, p. 347.

[4] R. Grant Brown, *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, vol. xli, 1911, p. 306.

In Morocco, Westermarck, in his *Ritual and Belief in Morocco,* enumerates many magical properties of urine, and there are all sorts of occasions, times. and ways in which urination must be avoided by good Moslems.

The Jews, who have devoutly preserved so many ancient beliefs, have attached many magic properties to urine. As among all peoples, says Ludwig Blau, it plays an important part among them. "It breaks every charm. Forty-day-old urine, if a little glass of it is drunk, heals wasp's sting," and larger doses produce still more powerful effects. "Old peoples urinated on everything which they believed to be dangerously enchanted." Simon ben Jochai is quoted as saying that "there are four things which God hates and which I do not love: to enter one's house suddenly: to hold the penis in the hand when urinating; to urinate naked before one's bed; and to exercise coitus in the presence of another person." All these things are connected with magic, and for the same reason to urinate in prayer-time destroys the prayer's efficacy, and holy books must not be used in the presence of urine unless a little water is first thrown into it.[1]

In the sixteenth century Bodin quoted the case of a girl belonging to a village near Constance who, annoyed at not being invited to a village wedding and dance, went to a hill near by (transported thither by the Devil, it was believed), made a hole, urinated into it, and uttered a certain magic formula. So at all events the neighbors believed, and a hailstorm which followed and caused the dancers to return home, was attributed to her machinations. The unfortunate girl, suspected to be a witch, was compelled to confess, and was burnt alive.[2] In Germany a newly married young woman will still sometimes pass a little of her urine into her husband's coffee, believing that she will

[1] Ludwig Blau, *Das Altjüdische Zauberwesen,* 1898, p. 162. Many examples of urinary magic are also brought together by Géza Róheim ("Das Selbst," *Imago,* 1921, p. 17) who seeks to interpret it psychoanalytically.

[2] Bodin, *De la Demonomanie,* 1593, Bk. ii, p. 220

thereby intensify his love, and bind him to her forever.[1] Even among educated people a belief in the mysterious powers of the act of urination seems sometimes to survive in a playful form, and Stekel mentions a mother at Vienna who said to her little boy as she urinated: "Don't look or you will become blind."[2]

At the present day in Europe it would seem to be among the Southern Slavs that are to be found the most prevalent and various ancient customs concerning the mysterious power of urine and the act of urination still actively subsisting. As a kind of holy water, as a sort of initiatory rite, as a *tabu*, as a magical stimulus to vegetation and procreation, as a method of effecting harm or preventing harm —all the various beliefs concerning the potency of urine and the significance of the urinary act seem here to flourish, while there are many occasions in life when it is necessary to exert the influence of urination or to carefully refrain from doing so.[3]

The belief in supernatural beings closely associated with streams, so easily developed among primitive peoples of mythopœic mind, greatly flourished in Europe. It was not by any means always, or even frequently, associated with the idea of urination, though, as we have seen, there is a natural tendency to associate the physiological aspects of water with its more cosmic aspects, and in myth, as still in dreams, the act of urination may easily be the source of a mighty stream; an early example is furnished by the dream of Astyages, King of the Medes, as narrated by Herodotus, in which that monarch imagined he saw his

[1] Wittlich, "Sexualität im Zigeunerleben," *Ztblft für Menschenkunde*, 1925, Heft 8, p. 369. Bourke in his *Scatalogic Rites* has collected much material that bears on the supposed magic qualities of urine, this material being still further increased in the German translation, *Der Unrat* by Krauss and Ihm.

[2] *Jahrbuch f. psychoanalytische Forschungen*, Bd. i, 1909, p. 484. But, it must be remembered, it is an ancient and familiar notion that blindness is the punishment for seeing any forbidden thing.

[3] The condensed summary of these beliefs and practices by Dr. Krauss occupies many pages of Bourke, Krauss and Ihm, *Der Unrat*, Section LX.

daughter, Mandane, inundate the whole of Asia by the stream of her urine; in the version of Ktesias, which, as Rank remarks, is more probable, the dream is ascribed to Mandane herself when already pregnant with Cyrus; it is typical alike of the process of dreaming and of a common primitive conception of rivers and floods.[1] In several parts of the world it is believed that the first woman created the sea by urination.

There is, indeed, reason to believe that the ancient legends, already mentioned, concerning a primitive flood drowning the world—of which Noah's flood with his ark is the familiar Biblical representative—are really connected with primitive dreams, and associated myths, of urination. This view appears to have been put forth both by Stucker and by W. Schultz, but it has been most elaborately developed from the psycho-analytic side, especially by Otto Rank, in the paper, already quoted, on the stratification of symbols in mythic thought, and his wide-ranging discussion of the subject seems to make this view probable. In accordance with his conception of symbols as falling into parallel layers, Rank finds that a sexual and generative idea may also be concealed in such myths, with the significance of birth from the water, and in Hebrew (Rank states) the same word is used both for Noah's ark and for the ark in which the infant Moses was found in the Nile.

In some legendary literature the act of urination has a more simple human basis as furnishing an occasion for competition in trials of skill. Thus in an ancient version of the Ulster legend of Cuchulinn we are told how such a contest had fatal results for Derbforgaill whom that great

[1] Herodotus, Bk. i, Ch CVII. In the sixteenth century *Moyen de Parvenir* Béroalde de Verville records a French legend of a woman who, having obtained a magical promise that she would be able to spend the whole day on what she began doing in the morning, resolved to have a good day's washing, but having taken what she considered the wise precaution of first going into her yard to urinate, it was in that act that she was compelled to pass the day, thus becoming the source of a great stream. This suggests a more primitive version of Goethe's "Der Zauberlehrling," which Dukas has put to music.

hero had given in marriage to his page Lugaid. "One day towards the end of winter there was a great fall of snow, and the men made a pillar of snow. The women went to the pillar and hit upon this device: 'We will make water on the pillar to see which of us can melt it most. She will be best among us who is able to penetrate it through.' They could not succeed in doing this. Then they called Derbforgaill for her to try. At first she would not for she was not foolish. But nevertheless she mounted on the pillar and melted it to the earth. When the men heard of this they could not endure her superiority over the others." The conclusion was tragic; they mutilated her so that she died, and her husband also died, of grief, at the sight of her, whereupon Cuchulinn made a great slaughter in revenge for her death and sang over her a song.[1] In the great Irish epic, again, Queen Medb, at the head of her army fought for three days and nights with no chance of making water. At last she felt that she could hold it no longer. " 'Do thou, Fergus,' she said, 'undertake a shield-shelter in the rear of the men of Erin till I let my water flow from me.' 'By my troth,' replied Fergus, "tis an ill hour for thee to be taken so.' 'Howbeit, there is no help for me,' Medb answered; 'for I shall not live if I do not void water.' Fergus accordingly came and raised a shield-shelter in the rear of the men of Erin. Medb voided her water, so that it made three large dikes, so that a mill could find room in each. Hence the place is now known as Fual Medbha (Medb's water)."[2] Far away in a myth of the Salish Indians of British Columbia, given by Hill Tout, a contest between males is described as to which could urinate furthest and highest,

[1] Zimmer, "Keltische Beitrage," *Zt. f. deutsches Alterthum*, Bd. 32, 1888, p. 218. Rhys considered that Derbforgaill ("the drop glistening in the sun") was originally a goddess of dawn and dusk. I have elsewhere (*Studies*, vol v, Erotic Symbolism, p. 53) referred to a folk-tale of Picardy (again a somewhat Celtic region) telling how a princess worried the King, her father, by urinating high over hay-cocks, but became unable to perform this feat when she was finally seduced.

[2] *Táin Bó Cúalgne*. Translated by J. Dunn, p. 360, 1914.

the victor, a shaman doctor, being able to make his stream rise over the mountain top.[1]

Thus in the ancient Celtic world[2] we clearly find the physiological mystery of urine blended with the meteorologic mystery of rain and streams. In the mythology of the Slavs and Teutons, the physiological seems to recede, however it may subsist in the unconscious, but the fascination of water as a mythic motive is all the more strongly pronounced. In pagan Germany it was believed that Heaven and Earth were formed from Water, the source of all Being, and would return to Water. The souls, that come out of springs of water at birth, would return to them at death. The water was also the clouds, and it was sometimes thought that Holda, the water-goddess, dwelt in the clouds.[3]

It is notable that the associations of water in Nature-myths

[1] *Jour. Anth. Inst.*, July-Dec., 1904, p. 361. It may not be out of place to remark here that the old legends of vesical competitions, even though they may be the vestigial degradations of primitive religious myths, still possess an element of truth to human nature today. I have been told of a high class English ladies' school where the elder girls—who, we may be sure, have never heard of Derbforgaill or the folk-tales of Picardy—were accustomed to engage in contests of urinary skill. On Saturday afternoons (a lady who was a pupil there states) the girls would buy chocolates, pool them, and engage in a trial of skill which consisted in attempting to perform the feat of urinating in the erect position into a bottle placed on the floor. The victor in the contest was entitled to carry off the chocolates. Quite similar contests of women were formerly held (I hear from a Belgian lady) at village *Kermesses* in Belgium, but have now fallen into disuse. Reference is made to this old custom in *Anthropophyteia*, vol. x, p. 372, "In't fleshken pissen." There were two bottles in a case with funnels in them and the two competing women stood at a distance; the woman who most nearly filled her bottle carried off the prize. Men were not allowed to be present. The game is illustrated by figures in the Museum of Folk-lore at Antwerp. The spontaneous appearance of such manifestations at all stages of both barbarism and civilization indicates that they are rooted in human nature and must not be dismissed as marks of obscenity.

[2] It need scarcely be said that the worship of water and water spirits in Europe is much older than Celtic times. Déchelette (*Manuel d'Archéologie*, 1910, vol. ii, Part II, p. 452) quotes Gaidoz and Dottier to show that the nymphs of the waters in which ex-votos have been found in Gaul (Aventia, Divona, Ura, etc.) are seldom Celtic.

[3] H. Pfannenschmid, *Das Weihwasser*, 1869, p. 99. See also as regards water-spirits in primitive Germany, Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, pp. 398 *et seq.*

are chiefly with women and feminine spirits.[1] Not only among the Teutons and Celts is this so, but also among the Slavs, and the Russian Rusalkas are figures of much poetic charm though apt to be malicious. The Serbian Veele (Vela in the singular) are water nymphs of even greater charm and less malice. Traces of their worship may still be found in Serbia where they play a large part in superstitions. Serbian bards from the fourteenth century to the present day have glorified the Veele, describing them as beautiful and eternally young, robed in the finest white gauze, with shimmering golden hair flowing over their snow-white bosoms; their voices are sweet and they love dancing and sometimes bear bows and arrows; they can be kind and helpful to men but are cruel if offended or irritated.[2]

There was one type of water-maiden in whom the seductiveness, and the risks, of water were especially embodied. In modern literature she was given final classic shape in the figure of Lorelei. But the same figure appears in old German legends and in the tradition of allied or neighboring northern peoples under a great variety of different names. Holmberg describes the slight variations of this water-maiden among numerous related peoples of Finno-Ugrian race and recognizes a probable or certain Germanic (or Slav) influence. The water-maiden is generally seen, on the rocks or in the shade of a tree, combing with a golden comb her long golden or sometimes black or occasionally red hair. She is very beautiful and usually naked, though she may be dressed in white or more gorgeous raiment. She may sing or dance, but she is shy and

[1] Jacob Grimm (*Deutsche Mythologie*, 4th ed., vol. i, pp. 405 *et seq.* and English translation, *Teutonic Mythology*, vol. ii, pp. 583 *et seq*) deals with the German veneration of water and water-spirits which were nearly all feminine, though the Romans possessed river-gods. No male spirit of the Rhine is mentioned in ancient tradition. See also Mullenhoff (*Deutsche Altertumskunde*, vol. v, 1908, p. 106), who mentions that Asinius Pollio, one of the first witnesses for German antiquity, states that the wise women of Germany prophesied from the eddies of streams —so that wisdom, knowledge, and foresight dwelt in water.

[2] Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, pp. 139 *et seq*; W. M. Petrovitch, *Hero Tales and Legends of the Serbians*, 1914, pp. 16 *et seq*.

speedily disappears in the water when seen by human eyes. But she has been known to love and even to marry men. She is found with different names among the Ostiaks, Wotiaks, Esths, Finns, Hungarians, and allied peoples.[1] In modern times this fascination has been embodied and perpetuated in the feminine figure of the Undine.

The name Undine was used for water-nymphs in the sixteenth century by Paracelsus, in his *Liber de Nymphis, Sylphis, Pygmæis et Salamandris.* The Undines had an erotic tinge. The earliest legends concerning them tell of their unions to human lovers of whom they were so jealous that they disappeared for ever to return to their own element immediately the lover became unfaithful, and H. Ehrlich believes that many a mediaeval story of Undines had behind it a real abbess or nun or noble maiden. It was Paracelsus's book which offered the suggestion which has made the name Undine famous as a designation for water-nymph, and especially a fourteenth century story of the Knight of Stauffenberg and a lovely Undine, met on a rock, who gave herself to him on condition he should never marry a human woman, lest he die. But at last he was persuaded to marry a king's niece, whereupon the Undine left him with the warning that he would see a naked foot as a sign of his fate. At a feast a wondrously lovely woman's foot appeared through an opening in the ceiling, and three days thereafter the knight died.[2] This legend touched the imagination of Friedrich, Baron de la Motte Fouqué (born in Brandenburg in 1777) who belonged to an old French family of Huguenot refugees which had entered the service of the King of Prussia, and in the spring of 1811 appeared *Undine* which has never since failed to find readers. The peculiarities of those human water-folk with whom I am here concerned I propose to call by the rather arbitrary but convenient name of *Undinism.*

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[1] Uno Holmberg, *Die Wassergottheiten der Finnisch-Ugrischen Volker,* Helsinki, 1913, pp 40. 65, 67, 98, 166, 173, 203, 204, 259.

[2] W. Pfeiffer, *Ueber Fouqué's Undine,* 1903.

II.

We have so far been mainly concerned with the psychic influence of water in general, and urination in particular, on the normal life of humanity in the more primitive stages of culture, together with their extensions into civilization. We have seen that interest in the act of urination, and in urine as a sacred and even magical manifestation of the natural qualities of water, is deeply based on a biological foundation which finds its expression in custom, ritual, and belief. As civilization progresses that influence tends to become, on the one hand more secluded, more transmuted, if not altogether suppressed, while, on the other hand, against the background of this increasing obscurity of urinary psychology, it begins to be seen that in certain individuals the primitive and infantile importance of water in general and urination in particular continues beyond puberty into adult life. This may happen either by delayed or inhibited development of the psycho-sexual activities, which normally replace or conceal these earlier manifestations, or by incomplete substitution of the former for the latter, so that the merely subordinate position which the earlier interests normally tend to maintain in the adult, even in the sexual sphere with which they are intimately associated, becomes unusually prominent, or else by inhibition or decay of the later activities appears as a regression to the earlier stage of development. This may be regarded as an infantile psychic condition because in civilization this tendency is found in the most marked and the most normal form among children. For children are nearer to primitive modes of thinking and primitive culture than are adults. In this way they habitually reveal primitive tendencies which in civilized adults are usually, though not always, transformed, submerged, or altogether lost, save, it may be, in the unconscious.

Stanley Hall who, by the fruitful exploration he instituted, has opened up so many archaic strata in the psychic constitu-

tion of childhood, could not fail to come across this prevalent aspect of children's customs and rituals, however concealed as a secret mystery, and duly referred to it; he considered that it culminated at the age of ten or twelve, that is to say at the eve of puberty.[1] But he never dealt with the subject in detail or published the data at his command. The lacuna still remains unfilled. But it is easy from observation, from memories of childhood, and from the fragmentary incidents recorded in sexual histories, or similarly obtainable, to form a picture of the psychic activities which in childhood center in the act of urination. Dr. H. von Hug-Hellmuth, from the psycho-analytic side, in her *Study of the Mental Life of the Child,* gave a number of details bearing on this point.[2] Tausk, again, stated that in his experience the sexual life of children at the latent period bears especially the character of a desire to see the process of excretion, and that this bodily function, since it invites an association with the genitals in a way corresponding to the child's knowledge and to the necessities of the educational environment, supplies the greater part of the sexual fantasies of the latent period.[3]

The exploration of this matter could not fail to commend itself to psycho-analytic investigators. The first important step was taken by Sadger, one of Freud's chief adherents, in 1910.[4] Freud had attached much importance to the already recognized fact that the anus—normally in children and occasionally in adults—is a sexually erogenous region and had developed the idea that the individuals in whom

[1] G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence,* vol i, p. 116; *ib.* "Early Sense of Self," *Am. Jour. Psych* , Ap. 1898, p. 361.

[2] English translation by James Putnam and Mabel Stevens, *Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series,* No. 29, Washington. See especially pp. 26, 29, 39, 49, 91. She refers to the pleasurable interest of young children in the emptying of the bath tub and the gurgling of bath water, and believes that fondness for water means a strong urethral eroticism.

[3] V. Tausk, *Int. Zt. f. Aertz. Psychoanalyse,* Sept., 1913. He gives dreams of an intelligent boy of 10 showing a desire to visit the w. c. of the girls at the mixed school he attended.

[4] J. Sadger, "Ueber Urethralerotik," *Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische Forschungen,* Bd. ii, 1910, pp. 409-450.

this is most markedly the case tended to show a mental type with special psychic peculiarities so that it seemed possible to speak of anal eroticism (*anal-erotik*).[1] Sadger started from this point and proceeded to argue that there is a corresponding urethral eroticism (*urethral-erotik*) or, as a synonym, Urinary Eroticism (*Harn-erotik*). He uses this term in a wide sense, to cover not only the urethra and urine but the erogenity of the whole peripheral urinary apparatus from the bladder to the external urethral orifice. At and shortly before puberty urethral eroticism not seldom presents the type of the whole later sexual life, even though infantile urinary eroticism is normally only a natural transition from one secretion to another secretion; and, similarly, urinary irregularities (like spermatorrhea and coitus interruptus) may be transferred from the urinary sphere. "Sexual neurasthenia," also, in Sadger's opinion, is fundamentally more a disturbance of the urinary than of the sexual functions, and Maximilian Steiner, the Viennese urologist, informed Sadger that his sexual neurasthenics complain less of disturbed sexuality than of disturbed urinary functions.[2]

Urethral eroticism, Sadger argued, extends to the highest psychic sphere. It is in the regulation of the urinary and bowel functions that *duty* first appears to the infant. In well-bred children this duty may be imposed and obeyed before they have completed their first year. So that on the basis of this conception of Sadger's it may be said that the moral attitude of adult life has a primary urethro-anal basis, and that children to whom these urethro-anal inhibitions are difficult will find difficulty in adjusting themselves to the normal moral attitude.

In any case, children who at the third year or later have not been brought to accept this elementary duty are, Sadger found, for the most part decided urethral eroticists, and may also become anally erotic. They are often, even in early life, obliged to urinate fre-

[1] S. Freud, "Charakter und Analerotik," *Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre,* Second Series, 1909, pp. 132-137.

[2] Sadger finds that urethral eroticism is, in a certain sense, hereditary; its subjects often descend from fathers with urinary troubles, and their mothers are specially interested in the subject, being apt to attend to the children's wants in this matter even when the children are quite old enough to attend to themselves.

"At that moment he began to kiss me and stroke my arms and my delight was but increased by my surprise

"Yet, feeling he must be less desirous than I, I commenced to fondle and arouse him further. This I was unable to do for I cried out that if I were not gratified at once I should have hysterics I snatched the penis and attempted to crowd it into the vagina but found this—owing, as I fancied, to my extreme state of excitement—difficult and painful.

"At this crisis I awoke to find myself in the unhappy condition of having a distended bladder and a hot, wet, and palpitating vagina.

"As far as I can tell, I have never dreamed of sexual intercourse with any definite man but my husband, and among the mass of unpleasant incidents it is at least agreeable to know my dreams have nothing in "the irregular and uncertified line," as the Romany Chi expressed it."

This may well be so, but it is clear that other men besides her husband played a vaguely accessory part in the erotic imagery of her dreams. That is to be expected in the erotic dreams even of the most whole-heartedly faithful wife or husband and must not be taken as having any profound significance. In this respect erotic dreams correspond to erotic revery in the daytime. A woman in her erotic day-dreams may experience sexual excitement (whether or not followed by masturbation) in connection with the figure of an attractive male acquaintance who is not in love with her, with whom she is not in love, with whom she has never had or even desired to have any intimate relations, and while she is all the time in love with another man.

This dream well illustrates how the original vesical impulse (indicated by the lines referring to the flowing stream) arouses an erotic impulse which becomes predominant and draws to its service all recent related mental imagery, here, notably, first in the form of poetic sentiment,[1] and then in the image of the cat which had clearly im-

[1] Shakespeare's sonnet XXX runs.

"When to the sessions of sweet silent thought
I summon up remembrance of things past,
I sigh the lack of many a thing I sought."

"To Dianeme" several of Herrick's most delightful lyrics were addressed, and it is not clear to which the dreamer here referred One of them has a definite urinary allusion, rare in poetry.

"Show me that hill where smiling Love doth sit
Having a living fountain under it"

Another contains the lines·

"O Dianeme, rather kill
Me, than to make me languish still!
'Tis cruelty in thee to the height,

pressed the subject in waking life by his curious simulation of erotic emotion. The cat may, in any case, be regarded as an erotic symbol, while milk is everywhere a symbol of semen.

It is also interesting to note how the growing sexual excitement of the dream is accompanied by a growing sense of confusion, of apology, even of sacrilege, although these feelings are dislocated from the sexual phenomena to which they seem to belong and attached to a trivial misdeed, the parody of Herrick's poem. A look of reproach, it will be noticed, is turned on the innocent cat, evidently a symbol of the dreamer's erotic condition, waiting to be fed. This feeling of guilt may perhaps be connected with the fact that the dreamer is, at the same time, imagining herself in her brother-in-law's bed, although dreaming that she is with her husband. There is probably some significance in the insistence on the possession of the good edition. It may be recalled that in the subject's early Hänsel and Gretel day-dream there was a somewhat similar blending of indulgence and disapproval.

Dream II. 16th September.

"Yesterday I had a very slight headache for which I was unable to account. When I undressed for bed, I noticed my nipples were sore and darker than they had been. Then I recollected this was about the date of my menstrual period. I gave no further consideration to the matter and I did not wonder if I were going to have a dream.

"After I was in bed my husband, who is occupying a room in a remote part of the house, came into my chamber to get some clothes. After having performed several little services for me, he merely called out a goodnight as he left the room. The character of the parting of lovers who are accustomed to regard the night as ill that severs those it should unite, caused me to think of something I intend writing you in an attempt to controvert your remark about the benefits of separation. I commenced to form this letter in my mind, asserting my belief that an artificial separation is unnecessary when children are allowed to come to married people since the enforced bodily separation during pregnancy seems sufficient. There

> Thus, thus to wound, not kill outright;
> Yet there's a way found, if thou please,
> By sudden death, to give me ease."

Campion's lines are from the lyric "Rose-cheeked Laura, come," in *Observations in the Art of English Poesy*. It is remarkable that they should have been reproduced so accurately, if they had not been read for years, and one suspects that the dreamer may have verified her quotations.

is a spiritual rebirth and a renewal of love which comes with the first cry of the child and this seems a contribution of nature toward making monogamy tolerable.

"I continued my imaginary letter until I fell asleep. I awoke about one o'clock. I usually awake about two and warm myself a dish of cocoa. I try to avoid this when I can, and on this occasion I merely drank a full glass of water and urinated. At two I awoke from my dream.

"The dream was very chaotic but I will recall all I am able.

"My first recollection was wanting a cigarette. I should state that I have not smoked in some six or seven months and then but occasionally. I only indulge when I am enjoying a long evening of conversation with my husband or one of the two or three men who are close friends and who are smoking. I like them, though, but forbear just as I do from wine, tea and coffee, which I almost never allow myself. I suppose it is because these things are seldom used save in the company of the men I am most attached to, that they have a slight—a very slight—suggestion of sexual attraction.

"So, then, I wished for a cigarette and, not being able to find one, I thought, 'Dr. Ellis will give me one.' Quite as I desired, I felt on the floor beside the bed and found an entire box. Then I got out of bed and began not to walk, but to *float* (in a perpendicular position) less than a foot from the floor. I floated out of my room onto an open balcony that adjoins it from which I viewed the misty night landscape. Then I floated into the bathroom where my husband stood nude in the moonlight. His skin is exceedingly fair and I have always thought the flesh of his arms and breast very beautiful, with the blue veins showing under the delicate covering I admired him as I floated in, the moonlight striking on his breast and shoulders. (I am quite sure in these dreams his face is always obscure if not in shadow). I floated beside him and put my arm about his shoulder wondering that, owing to my noiseless entrance, my embrace did not startle him. The contact of the flesh excited me I took the soft penis and commenced to rub it against the clitoris This was easy because, floating off the floor, I was above him When it became partially erect, I forced it into the vagina. Then I awoke. I was not experiencing the orgasm as is usually the case but there was moisture of the vulva. I put my hand on my abdomen and, not being entirely sensible, felt startled to find it big. I turned on my side that the change of position might dispel the dream. I became conscious of a bladder full but not uncomfortably distended. Regretting I had not taken nourishment before and remembering that the glass of water had probably filled the bladder, I arose and warmed the chocolate. I was very hungry.

"I think there might have been other causes than a full bladder contributing to the dream. There must have been some congestion for my feet were cold, my head and hands hot, and I afterward had a severe cramp in my leg.

"At 7 A.M. my temperature was 97.7° F. and it has been normal or very slightly subnormal all day."

In this dream the vesical impulse was evidently not strong and constituted merely a contributary cause, as the subject herself recognized, in pointing out that there was probably an element of pelvic congestion associated with the cold feet. Possibly it was owing to the absence of any great amount of bladder distension that sexual excitement failed to reach the orgasm.

The conspicuous part played by the cigarette in this dream cannot fail to be noted. It is now recognized that the cigarette may sometimes be a sexual symbol, and this has been supposed to be due to a resemblance to the penis. The subject in the present case more reasonably suggests that the slight sexual suggestion of the cigarette in her mind was due to its association with the idea of familiar intercourse with husband or masculine friends.

It may further be noted that there seems to be a trace of what psycho-analysts term *transference*, here, however, to a person whom the dreamer had never seen.

The imagery of floating then enters the dream. It has been too hastily assumed that floating or flying in a dream always indicates a sexual wish. It may well be, however, that it has that significance in the present case, for as we see, the act of floating serves here to bring the dreamer into a definitely erotic situation. The subject was not liable to dream of flying, though in youth she had had dreams of falling.

During this month, it may be noted, the subject was, on the whole, in excellent condition. "I am feeling well and very happy," she wrote, "and I hope to produce a god."

Dream III. 5th October.

"Last night I had a dream which was of a sexual character but it was not marked by any outward manifestation of excitement. When I awoke the sexual organs were entirely passive but the bladder was distended.

"The dream was in retrospect and the passionate mood was as something that had passed away. I dreamed it was morning (but it was not the present time), and I was relating to my husband how I had suffered through the night from sexual desire, that I had hesitated to arouse him, sleeping in another room, and how I had tried various means to gratify myself. He replied that he, too, had

been restless all night from the same cause and had not liked to come to me. In my dream I reviewed the attempts I had made to allay my passion but I cannot recall more than one. Yet this one is interesting.

"I dreamed I was telling him how I had pressed the labia together over the clitoris until it became erect. Spasmodic contractions of the vulva followed which were intensely exciting but in no way satisfying. This well illustrates the close sympathy between the bladder and the sexual organs in women, and is a case of one function symbolizing that of another, the contractions of a distended bladder no doubt suggesting the contractions of the sexual organs under excitement.

"I have often thought the natural tendency felt by women and little girls to squeeze the lips together when attempting to retain urine, or under excitement of any kind, must press the clitoris so that voluptuous sensations follow. To press one leg against the labia and then the other, at the same time voluntarily contracting the urethra, is a common method often noticed. As I look back at my own childhood, I remember the pressure of the soft fat leg against the labia which in turn pressed the clitoris, while the bladder was distended, as an agreeable if not a voluptuous sensation.

"Perhaps this was unconsciously performed in my dream."

There seems no occasion here to add to the subject's own sagacious comments. This may be said to be predominantly a vesical rather than an erotic dream, the sexual imagery being here a symbol of the real vesical tension There was no real sexual excitement.

Dream IV. 7th October.

"Two nights after the first October dream, I had one of slightly sexual character. There seemed to be no emotion experienced on my part. My husband came to me and told me he could not endure this abstinence (owing to my pregnancy, of which I seemed conscious) and I replied that it was quite unnecessary that he should so suffer, that I was sure indulgence would not harm me—and so on. I could remember very little of the dream when I awoke, except he seemed petulant rather than excited, and that it seemed impos sible for us to be alone together, the house being full of people. The bladder in this case was but slightly distended."

This is a wish dream of simple type. It may be said to represent the erotic dream in the earliest and most elementary form, not yet developed, to any emotional activity. As is usual in dreaming, the impediment to the fulfilment of the wish is disguised, as the "houseful of people,"—in reality the womb filled by the child.

Dream V. 11th October.

"I had an interesting dream but unpleasant to remember and to tell. I was in a large women's tailoring establishment. Counters of woolen goods were displayed and a number of women were being fitted. I chose and had cut and tried on a black and white shepherd's plaid of small pattern.

"This place melted into an establishment, also full of women, which seemed conducted for the sexual gratification of its customers. It had none of the character of a brothel and no Oriental atmosphere. It seemed as business-like as the tailoring establishment. I saw but one of the women. I was led upstairs into a bedroom. On a wide bed was a man, small, withered and very like an automaton, who was evidently the property of the woman occupying the chamber. He was offered me but I waved him aside, saying that I could not endure to have him near me, that his presence made me fairly ill. He therefore crouched, almost fell to pieces as though he were made of wood, in one corner of the bed. I should have said he was fully dressed, partly bald and made no effort to attract. The woman who lay on the bed was large of frame, but not coarse, neither young nor fair and certainly business-like. I felt or expressed a desire to have my clitoris rubbed. She offered herself and I, taking the usual male position in intercourse, pressed my own against hers. This gave me the most intense throbbing in the clitoris. I at once awoke to find it erect and the bladder much distended. Other sexual organs were undisturbed.

"I suppose it is folly to attempt an apology for such utter depravity as this dream would indicate. I realize I am not responsible for inherited tendencies and I believe we all have homosexual desires which might—under certain circumstances—be aroused.

"Yet I have not cared much for the companionship of women, and for close contact, never. No woman has ever been able to inform herself of any facts of my private life. The common and innocent intimacies of girlhood made little appeal, and confidences of older women have ever been detestable to me Yet beauty in women makes a strong appeal, and even—on the stage—has, I think, excited me sexually, and once, I am sure, off the stage. Usually, though, it is difficult for me to make a proper show of cordiality to women."

The interesting feature of this dream is certainly the emergence of a homosexual element in an entirely normal subject who was quite unconscious of possessing any homosexual tendencies, though as a girl she had cherished a passionate non-physical adoration for a woman. It has sometimes been maintained that a homosexual dream infallibly indicates a homosexual tendency. Careful observa-

tion shows, however, that this is a rule to which there are many exceptions.

The opinion is widespread that children have bisexual tendencies, and a homosexual trace would thus be regarded as the revival of an infantile character. It is perhaps in favor of such an interpretation that the active and aggressive part played in this and some other of the dreams by the feminine dreamer is certainly a childish characteristic and has been noted by Bell and others as marking the sexual manifestations of little girls. The subject herself clearly recognized this as true of her own childhood; she wrote:

"It seems worth while to remark that in the dreams I have recorded I seem to take the aggressive part. It was so in the sexual impulses of childhood. My clitoris then seemed a sort of penis with which I wished to act." It may be recalled that even in her adolescent years the paper penis she once made and wore seemed to be an organ that belonged to herself, and was a very definite indication of the "penis-envy" of girls.

I may add that the subject's comments on this dream are entirely concordant with the attitude of a large number of reserved and feminine women, not only as regards the difficulty of intimacy with other women, but also as regards the sexual appeal of beauty in women. This is not the manifestation of a homosexual impulse (although it is of course strongly felt by inverted women) but is due to the fact that womanly beauty and grace have become the general symbol of sexual fascination, a symbol, therefore, by which women themselves are to some degree affected, however normal they may be. In such a case the feminine onlooker may be said to be sympathetically excited by the emotions suggested, rather than carried away by any masculine desire to possess the person suggesting these emotions.

Dream VI. 17th October.

"I dreamed of riding in a motor car with a man of whom I am very fond. He does not attract me sexually in the least.

"We were stopped by a common friend who is a musician I complained of a headache and the man with whom I was riding drew my temples against his cheek, saying this always cured my headache. I was much embarrassed that he should do this before our friend. Moreover I did not care for the contact of his flesh although I felt I had liked it on other occasions.

"Apparently there was a period of dreamless sleep before I found myself seated alone in a swing which is suspended from our garden veranda. It has just occurred to me that I have spent many evenings in this swinging seat with the man I was with in the dream motor car.

The connection did not strike me until now. The dream was very fantastic. I rocked gently in the swing and urinated, the water forming a fine spray which whirled as fountains sometimes do. The spray went far away from me and there was something ethereal about it, for I remarked it did not in the least wet my clothes. My skirts seemed to open out in a flower-like manner to allow the fine stream and mist to play."

This dream (which opens with an association between riding and headache not uncommon in dreaming) interestingly illustrates the frustrated or accessory part frequently played in this subject's dreams by men other than her husband. Slight physical contact is initiated with the friend, leading to a sense of embarrassment which is attributed to the presence of another friend. The erotic process is now developed (the friend still playing a part, now become latent) by the introduction of the swing. The act of swinging actually tends in some cases to produce sexual excitement and (as I long since pointed out) swings are associated with erotic festivals in various parts of the world. We know, moreover, that the present subject, even in her adolescent days, would awake from erotic dreams finding her body in rhythmic movement. We hazard little, therefore, in concluding that the swing is here an erotic symbol. But the process is carried still further. The rhythmic motion of swinging culminates in a forcible act of urination. This may fairly be regarded as here the symbol of orgasm. The dreamer omitted to mention any notable distension of the bladder on awakening, the omission, as she subsequently explained, meaning that no such distension was present. There is, therefore, no reason to suppose that the imaginary act of urination here sprang, as is often the case, from a vesical impulse. Moreover, there are cases in which normal men, when the sexual orgasm is occurring during sleep, dream that they are urinating, and that the urinary stream is of great volume and force, although these men have no sexual association with the act of urination in waking life. (In this dream we see, too, that the urinary stream had a forcible and fountain-like character, which recalls the contention of Sadger that the urinary stream furnished the idea for fountains). We know, moreover, that our present subject in early life felt an intense and quasi-sexual interest in urination. It is reasonable to suppose that that interest here reappears, and the reason for its reappearance may not be obscure: the faint sexual emotion aroused by the male companion in the motor car is thus enabled to discharge itself, symbolically, without moral reproach.

We see here a process the reverse to that displayed in Dream III. In the earlier dream the sexual imagery may be regarded as a symbol evoked by the vesical impulse; in the later dream the urinary

imagery is a symbol evoked by the sexual impulse. This relationship between the two spheres, of which either may be primary, corresponds exactly with what we know of the sexual and vesical activities and their mutual relationships during waking life. It is a fact that in young girls sexual tension may be relieved by urination.

At the end of the month the subject writes:

"This closes the account of erotic dreams for October. During the month I did not once experience strong excitement, or the orgasm. At about the period of menstruation, I suffered considerably from inflamed ovaries and congestion and nervousness, but the dream of the 17th shows the only depression noted in my sleep."

Dream VII. 21st November.

"I dreamed I was laboriously climbing the stairway in the house where Tess d'Urbervilles spent her bridal night. I felt the same dread of the pictures of her ancestors sunk in the walls that she is depicted to have felt. I thought my clitoris was elongated (perhaps the size of a small baby's penis), that it was exposed, and was erect.[1] It ached and some one said to me: "Press your finger upon it. That will give relief"! When I did so the contact of the harsh, dry, finger hurt. The same voice thundered: "Wet your finger." This I was reluctant to do. The person—who never materialized— urged me. I finally put it in my mouth. The saliva began to flow. At this point I awoke with a full bladder."

This I should regard as a mixed vesico-erotic dream, the imagery being symbolic both of erotic and urinary processes. As in other of the subject's dreams, the imagery is at first only remotely though definitely erotic, to become more markedly so as the dream progresses.

We see here clearly the early desire so often attributed to young girls for a large and penis-like organ, corresponding to the actual relatively greater size of the clitoris in infancy.

Dream VIII. 16th December.

"I dreamed I saw a woman dressed for the evening in a frock of my own. It is of blue silk and fashioned in a surplice effect to disguise my figure at the present time. I wear with it a net yoke. The woman had discarded the yoke and thus made of it an evening dress. As I looked I saw the draped front was fastened so that a

[1] It is sometimes said that women often dream of the clitoris being a penis; see e.g. *Ztblft. f. Psychoanalyse,* Jahrgang IV, Heft 9, p. 530.

portion of the right breast and all the left breast were exposed. I thought, 'Why, that is *my* breast.' Then I noticed her hair. It was my own. The identitiy of the woman, however, remained intact. I approved the color scheme and noted the effect of the blue upon the hair and how the dark red nipple stood out, accenting as a jewel might. I was highly pleased. Then I noticed that the gown was open lower down. I saw the brown pubic hair was parted and curled back on either side. It had been done with curling tongs (I have never owned a pair) and I thought, 'That is neat, and a good idea, too. But she is not in evening dress. She had made her toilet for sexual intercourse.' Then I awoke, but after I awoke—it seemed to me—I thought, "I must get some curling tongs!"

"My bladder was, as usual, full."

In this dream we see the usual gradual progression towards an erotic climax which is never quite attained; the vision, at first dim and shifting, is, as it were, ever more and more definitely focused on the central point of sex

It can scarcely be described as a homosexual dream. It evidently represents a manifestation of Narcissism, all the more interesting as the subject showed no exaggerated tendency in this direction during waking life, beyond an evident admiration for her own good physical points, especially hair and skin. As so often happens in dreams, what was merely germinal in waking life developed in sleeping life.[1] The advantage of this dream process is that the dreamer is thus enabled to enjoy her own beauty to the utmost, without scruple or reserve.

There were no further dreams in December or indeed any unquestionably erotic dreams at all during the remainder of the pregnancy. "I have been awakened many times by pressure from a full bladder," the subject wrote towards the end of December, "but the dreams have not occurred. I am glad to know that writing them does not induce their greater frequency." At this time the subject was becoming more disinclined for the effort of writing. Most of her time was now spent lying down. She also, for the first time, became vaguely apprehensive of danger in the termination of the pregnancy.

The last dream recorded was not regarded by the subject as erotic, but opinions may differ on this point.

[1] Otto Rank, in his study of Narcissism (*Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische Forschungen*, 1912), brings forward a somewhat similar dream in which the dreamer sees a portrait of another woman which she recognizes as really presenting her own features in a favorable light.

Dream IX. 23d January.

"I dreamed of walking in a garden enclosed by a wall. There was but little shrubbery. A naturalist and his assistant were collecting specimens and it was assumed that I should assist them. The impressions of our work are vague. After a time I saw snakes of the usual size with their heads against the wall where green things grew. The bodies extended into the clear spaces and they lay straight and still with stiff, pointed tails. I was expected to pick them up and place them in jars which the men carried for that purpose. This I could not summon courage to do. I excused myself, saying, 'But my father could do it. He did not mind picking them up by the tails at all!' Then I awoke. I do not know whether I arose and drank a glass of water or whether I merely thought of doing so. At any rate, I fell asleep at once again and dreamed of taking up a glass to drink which, instead of water, was filled with a thin, writhing snake.

"The intestinal disturbance was marked. For some days I had been troubled—due, perhaps, to warm weather and my own increasing inactivity—with intestinal indigestion accompanied by slight headaches and loss of appetite. Disliking particularly at the present time to resort to drugs, I concluded, after the dream, to do so and since then I have been perfectly well.

"An interesting incident of the dream is the allusion to my father who has been for some years dead. When I was, I think, eleven, possibly twelve, he was one evening about sunset working in his garden. I was going from him into the house. He called he had something for me, and, turning, I saw a long angle worm which he had hung across his forefinger. I shuddered and ran from him, crying hysterically for a long time. I believe I then first realized that my former childish admiration and interest in snakes and worms had turned to loathing. It is odd that an event of twenty-three or four years ago should be so casually referred to in a dream."

It may be added, however, that this definite revival of a forgotten incident from childhood supports the conclusion, suggested by some of the earlier dreams, that we have here been frequently concerned with the re-emergence of infantile ways of thought and feeling.

"I have come to think," the subject continues, "that intestinal disturbances, in women at least, tend to arouse erotic thoughts, if not erotic dreams, just as bladder pressure seems to do. From personal experience and inquiries put to others, I believe there is a connection between snake dreams and intestinal indigestion. I

think that women have these oftener than men. (I have more than once wondered if the snakes seen in dreams caused by indigestion are not really the intestines made visible. This idea I had considered too fantastic to speak of to anyone until I heard of autoscopy). I had, however, had no snake dream for—I should think—more than a year, and certainly not during the last nine months."

It is noteworthy that though the subject thus associated indigestion with snake visions, and both with erotic impulses, it never crossed her mind that this dream might be erotic. Yet the dream has in it imagery—the stiff snakes that are to be put into jars, and the emotional excitement accompanying this operation—which suggests a sexual significance.

As the subject in this case happened to be specially interested in the psychic significance of the snake, it may be worth while to quote some of her experiences and feelings in this connection: "That the penis in the process of erection is like the swelling of an angry adder," she wrote, "I suppose everybody has suggested. It surprises me, however, to find no mention of the resemblance between the movements of the serpent and of a woman in the transport of the sexual embrace. The movements of the Oriental dances which have for their object the stirring of the passions must suggest these sinuous movements of the reptile and, to those who have seen snakes mating, the entire enwrapping of the man by the woman must at once occur.

"I had a dream, years ago, which seems to me significant. I saw a woman lying on the floor of the palace of an Oriental king. She was endeavoring to arouse the passion of her lord who sat in a remote part of the hall. Slowly, by twisting her body one way and another, she worked her way toward him, while he bent toward her, hypnotized by her sensuous grace. I have thought there is a certain resemblance to the perfect stillness of the serpent before it strikes in the attitude of a woman who is being wooed. Suddenly she darts out her arms and smothers the man in her embrace.

"I have for long pondered over what seems to be evident, the growth of the fear of serpents with the coming of puberty. I remember, when about six years old, thinking snakes were pretty, and once, finding one dead in the road, offering to pick it up and pet it, but an old man, who was my walking companion, told me it would not be dead until sunset, which mystery added another fascination I cannot trace my change of feeling but the horror of crawling things grew upon me until it obsessed me. When I was about eleven, I had hysterics because an angle worm was held up to view. Snakes haunted my dreams and I suffered tortures at the thought of them. I was told that this horror would be diminished if I ever

killed one, and this I managed to accomplish when I was about eighteen. When I found how easily they were disposed of, I did somewhat overcome my loathing, and now, when meeting them in a state of nature I am little affected. I am made almost ill, however, if they writhe. Just darting about, a bright spot of color amidst the green, they seem a part of the serene landscape."

These remarks by a single subject may alone suffice to show that the question of the psychic significance of the snake is somewhat complex. To assume that whenever the snake image recurs to the mind we are in the presence of a symbol of the penis reveals a crude and childish conception of symbolism.[1] There is a case of a man whose first and vivid memory in early childhood was of finding a brilliantly colored dead snake. In such a case we can evoke no sexual associations. The snake, by its shape, its color, its behavior, its method of progression, the halo of terror due to its frequently venomous character, would always be a highly impressive object even if the penis had no existence, and sexual symbolism were altogether excluded. Anyone who in a snake country is suddenly confronted by a hissing snake finds no need to invoke any sexual associations in order to explain the impression he receives. The snake is a natural phenomenon with a highly complex impressiveness on the human mind. Its sexual symbolism, while undoubted and definitely met with in varied parts of the world,[2] is far from exhausting all its significance.

Before setting down a few general considerations regarding this series of dreams, it may be well to refer to a point which, though psychologically extrinsic to the dreams, has a direct bearing on their interpretation: I mean the question of menstrual periodicity. The subject herself was at first inclined to consider that there was a tendency to such periodicity, and that at least two of these dreams occurred at a menstrual date, one of them (No. II) taking place with the appearance of certain familiar menstrual molimina. If a strict menstrual periodicity were demonstrable it is obvious that vesical stimulation, or any other influence extraneous to the physical generative system, must play but an accessory part in the dreams.

The last menstrual periods previous to conception occurred on the 3d February, 3d March, 29th March and 23d April; they were thus somewhat irregular. The dates of the dreams from the time that they began to be noted, were: 19th July, 26th August, 16th

[1] We need not on that account doubt the reality of such symbolism in many cases of snake imagery; some good examples are given by Maeder, "A Propos des Symboles," *Journal de Psychologie Normale et Pathologique*, Jan.-Feb, 1909.

[2] See *e.g.*, Appendix A. to *Studies*, vol. i.

September, 5th October, 7th October, 11th October, 17th October, 21st November, 16th December and (if we include the snake dream) 23d January.

The subject believed that the dream of the 19th July was on the exact menstrual date. That, however, could scarcely be the case. There seems, however, to be a rough menstrual periodicity, for, putting aside October, a dream occurred every month. But the interval is not regular, and October, with its four dreams, flagrantly contradicts any menstrual rules. It is interesting to note, however, that none of the October dreams were accompanied by strong excitement or orgasm, the periodic sexual storm having been, as it were, broken up on this occasion.

On the whole it would seem that a tendency to menstrual periodicity is a real influence in the causation of these erotic dreams. But we are clearly concerned with a periodic nisus which is easily deflected. Its existence, therefore, by no means puts other causative factors out of court.

I. It will have been observed that in my comments on these dreams I have regarded them as presenting images which are frequently symbolic of the physical sexual phenomena arousing or accompanying the dream. To many this may seem a hazardous if not altogether unjustifiable proceeding.

I have elsewhere[1] argued, with copious illustrations, that dreaming is necessarily symbolic. That is to say that the conditions under which consciousness acts during sleep make it impossible for any stimulus reaching consciousness from within or from without to be perceived, directly and immediately, for what it is. The rich store of mental imagery is drawn upon to supply sleeping consciousness with an image which appears to correspond to the unrecognizable stimulus, somatic or psychic, which is knocking at the door of the brain. The birds' song evokes the image of an orchestral concert; the laboring respiration leads to ideas of rhythmic flight; a breath of cold air suggests a mountain ascent. All these images are symbols which mirror and represent actual facts. It is of such symbols that dreaming is made up, for even psychic stimuli—the wishes and fears and other emotional impulses which surge into sleeping consciousness—act in precisely a similar way.

We cannot, however, play at random with our symbols. If we wish to be on sure ground we must proceed from the facts to the symbols, and not from the symbols to the facts. The latter course may merely lead us into a fantasmagoric world from which science is banished. Let us be sure of our facts; then we may perhaps be able to recognize the symbols. Otherwise we may be liable to

[1] *The World of Dreams. passim.*

assume that all dreaming is symbolic of the digestive process, or the respiratory process, or the vesical process, or of any other organic process—it will most likely be the sexual—which happens to interest us. Dreams are, there can be little doubt, symbolic of all these and any other physiological or emotional process, but of which process in any given case we cannot be sure unless we have evidence that there is special organic activity present at the time. If we go beyond this firm ground we enter the sphere of undemonstrable (though not necessarily unprofitable) speculation.

That is why, in interpreting these dreams, I have hesitated to assume that the imagery exhibits any sexual symbolism unless there was ground to believe that sexual activity was really present at the time. That, also, is why I have left open the question of the erotic symbolism of the snake dream. This seems a sound and reasonable position, which no extravagance of symbolic interpretation we may chance to have heard of should lead us to abandon.

II. Another preliminary point is the nature of the organic sexual process accompanying these dreams. The subject was fairly explicit on this point, and there seems to have been some degree of physical excitement in nearly every dream, with the almost certain exception of the final snake dream. In some cases the subject definitely notes that there was orgasm on awakening. But the dreamer herself, whose powers of self-observation were considerable, had no belief in the possibility of sexual satisfaction for a woman during sleep "I believe I am safe in drawing the conclusion," she wrote with special reference to the first dream of this series, "that a woman is never satisfied by a sexual dream, while a man may be" This is by no means an isolated personal experience. Many women, having full experience of sexual satisfaction in normal coitus during waking life, are emphatic in stating that the sexual excitement of sleep fails to produce sexual satisfaction and seems usually to be only a manifestation of sexual desire. No absolute law can here be laid down. If orgasm is really occurring as the dreamer awakes—and the phenomena experienced certainly indicate that this is sometimes the case—it is difficult not to believe that some relief of sexual tension has taken place.

It seems evident, however, that while the auto-erotic experiences of men during sleep are sometimes depressing and unsatisfactory, it is still more difficult for a woman to achieve spontaneous sexual satisfaction during sleep. That indeed is a conclusion that might almost have been anticipated. The conditions required for detumescence in men, when once tumescence has been attained, are simple and involve little more than such pressure as may easily occur during sleep. But in women they are much more complicated, and

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On the whole it would seem that a tendency to menstrual periodicity is a real influence in the causation of these erotic dreams. But we are clearly concerned with a periodic nisus which is easily deflected. Its existence, therefore, by no means puts other causative factors out of court.

I. It will have been observed that in my comments on these dreams I have regarded them as presenting images which are frequently symbolic of the physical sexual phenomena arousing or accompanying the dream. To many this may seem a hazardous if not altogether unjustifiable proceeding.

I have elsewhere[1] argued, with copious illustrations, that dreaming is necessarily symbolic. That is to say that the conditions under which consciousness acts during sleep make it impossible for any stimulus reaching consciousness from within or from without to be perceived, directly and immediately, for what it is. The rich store of mental imagery is drawn upon to supply sleeping consciousness with an image which appears to correspond to the unrecognizable stimulus, somatic or psychic, which is knocking at the door of the brain. The birds' song evokes the image of an orchestral concert; the laboring respiration leads to ideas of rhythmic flight; a breath of cold air suggests a mountain ascent. All these images are symbols which mirror and represent actual facts. It is of such symbols that dreaming is made up, for even psychic stimuli—the wishes and fears and other emotional impulses which surge into sleeping consciousness—act in precisely a similar way.

We cannot, however, play at random with our symbols. If we wish to be on sure ground we must proceed from the facts to the symbols, and not from the symbols to the facts. The latter course may merely lead us into a fantasmagoric world from which science is banished. Let us be sure of our facts; then we may perhaps be able to recognize the symbols. Otherwise we may be liable to

[1] *The World of Dreams. passim.*

assume that all dreaming is symbolic of the digestive process, or the respiratory process, or the vesical process, or of any other organic process—it will most likely be the sexual—which happens to interest us. Dreams are, there can be little doubt, symbolic of all these and any other physiological or emotional process, but of which process in any given case we cannot be sure unless we have evidence that there is special organic activity present at the time. If we go beyond this firm ground we enter the sphere of undemonstrable (though not necessarily unprofitable) speculation.

That is why, in interpreting these dreams, I have hesitated to assume that the imagery exhibits any sexual symbolism unless there was ground to believe that sexual activity was really present at the time. That, also, is why I have left open the question of the erotic symbolism of the snake dream. This seems a sound and reasonable position, which no extravagance of symbolic interpretation we may chance to have heard of should lead us to abandon.

II. Another preliminary point is the nature of the organic sexual process accompanying these dreams. The subject was fairly explicit on this point, and there seems to have been some degree of physical excitement in nearly every dream, with the almost certain exception of the final snake dream. In some cases the subject definitely notes that there was orgasm on awakening. But the dreamer herself, whose powers of self-observation were considerable, had no belief in the possibility of sexual satisfaction for a woman during sleep. "I believe I am safe in drawing the conclusion," she wrote with special reference to the first dream of this series, "that a woman is never satisfied by a sexual dream, while a man may be." This is by no means an isolated personal experience. Many women, having full experience of sexual satisfaction in normal coitus during waking life, are emphatic in stating that the sexual excitement of sleep fails to produce sexual satisfaction and seems usually to be only a manifestation of sexual desire. No absolute law can here be laid down. If orgasm is really occurring as the dreamer awakes—and the phenomena experienced certainly indicate that this is sometimes the case—it is difficult not to believe that some relief of sexual tension has taken place.

It seems evident, however, that while the auto-erotic experiences of men during sleep are sometimes depressing and unsatisfactory, it is still more difficult for a woman to achieve spontaneous sexual satisfaction during sleep. That indeed is a conclusion that might almost have been anticipated. The conditions required for detumescence in men, when once tumescence has been attained, are simple and involve little more than such pressure as may easily occur during sleep. But in women they are much more complicated, and

much more difficult to secure during sleep, while the psychic compensation for their absence involves an hallucinatory effort which must often be incomplete or perverse.

This seems to explain why it is that in some cases women tend to become charged to a dangerous degree with accumulated sexual energy. It also explains why in hysteria, ancient and modern, the nocturnal erotic experiences of women have often taken on a bizarre and perverted form rare or unknown in men.

III. It is notable that these dreams express the inhibited erotic needs of the subject very clearly. She is, on principle, without the sexual satisfaction which is at other times habitual and of which her temperamental need is strong. This condition of things is translated into the clearest imagery in her dreams. They represent the gradual approach towards the gratification of an organic erotic wish. Such dreams are sometimes termed of the "infantile" type. It may be that this term is not altogether felicitous. No doubt infantile dreams are emphatically of such a type. But under normal and healthy conditions are not adult dreams so also? In proportion as they are not so, it may fairly be argued, that is not due to the fact that they are adult rather than infantile, but to the accident that they have been suppressed and transformed by prudery or neurosis. Now the dreamer in the present case, though reserved towards the world, was not prudish; her conceptions of life were sound and normal; she had no reason whatever for not being perfectly frank with herself. Her dreams, therefore, while not excluding a natural symbolism, tend to express her intimate nature in a form which may be called "infantile," but equally well "adult." The subject was not a very copious dreamer and had previously given little attention to her dreams, the most vivid of which seem to have had precisely a vesico-erotic source. The record for the period under consideration, it may be inferred, covered all the dreams that were vivid enough to be recalled in the morning.

It has been stated indeed that in spite of a clearly Undinist disposition and the predominance of urinary day-dreams in early life, there seems to have been (we cannot speak positively for she had given no careful attention to her dreams before this pregnancy began) no specially large proportion of vesical dreams in her ordinary dreaming activity. She had associated erotic dreams with bladder pressure, but not with imagery suggested by the bladder. But in these dreams during pregnancy we see that the vesical type constantly tends to appear. That is the final point brought out by this history, and I am inclined to regard it as normal. It is so, not because of any folk-loristic association between pregnancy and water, but because of the increased vesical pressure in pregnancy. A

woman physician of nearly the same age as Mrs. R. S., and in her first pregnancy, informs me that she has made the same observation. In ordinary life vesical dreams have been rare with her, but since the third month of pregnancy there has been frequent urination in the day time and frequent vivid vesical dreaming at night.

IV. The central problem presented to us by this series of dreams, from the present point of view, is the relationship of the vesical stimulus to the erotic stimulus. Both stimuli were clearly present in most of the dreams. Which was primary, which secondary?

There has been a tendency in the interpretation of dreams to assume that the sexual impulse corresponds to the earliest and deepest psychic stratum, and that, therefore, all other impulses may be regarded as less profound and as mainly symbols of this more primitive impulse. To a certain extent this view is justified. But it is not justified when we bring the sexual impulse into relation with the excretal impulses. Phylogenetically, the impulse of urinary excretion is at least as old as that of sexual union. In the life of the individual it is older, and for the child the bladder covers an incomparably larger and more vivid field of consciousness than any impulse of sex. Therefore we are not entitled to assume, as a matter of course, that urination in dreams is a symbol of sexual desire, although it very frequently is so. We may quite as reasonably assume that the sexual impulse is a symbol of urination. Every individual case must be independently examined.

In his skilful and elaborate study of vesical dreams, Otto Rank patiently psycho-analyzed the vesical dreams of an excellent subject, a young woman especially liable to such dreams, and also occasionally to nocturnal erotic excitement. In his interpretation of these dreams, Rank doubtless showed much insight. But it is notable that when vesical and erotic elements came together in the same or successive dreams, Rank always assumed, without question, that it is the erotic impulse which is primary, and the vesical impulse secondary. He makes painfully ingenious and complicated efforts to prove that the vesical elements in such dreams are symbolically erotic and without any true vesical source. Now this assumption is quite out of place. Observation in waking life shows that either the vesical or the erotic stimulus may be primary, and that when either is set up the other tends to follow. Sexual tension leads to vesical excitement, and vesical tension leads to sexual excitement, both paths of nervous action being specially marked in women. This relationship of the two centres seems evidently to be maintained during sleep. If we are in doubt as to which is primary, it is important to determine whether the vesical distension was slight or considerable. If the amount of urine is large and the pressure exerted

by the bladder considerable, there is a presumption that the vesical stimulus was primary. If, on the other hand, the distension of the bladder was scarcely considerable enough to account for the impulse to urinate, there is a presumption that the erotic impulse was primary, and the vesical activity merely secondary. This is a fairly safe criterion. We cannot apply it to Rank's dreamer because, usually, beyond stating that on awakening she had to go "auf die kleine Seite" she gives no information concerning the state of her bladder. The subject in my series of dreams, although not asked to be precise on this point, frequently gives a helpful clue as to the amount of the vesical distension. In many cases, it would appear, vesical tension was primary. If we may assume that it was so also in Rank's subject, then some of the dreams for which he has sought far-fetched interpretations may be simply and naturally explained.[1]

It is important for the right understanding of the vesical significance of these dreams to bear in mind that, notwithstanding the large part which vesical interests played in the subject's consciousness, there was no pronounced urolagnia in waking life. She fails to present the complete vesical type of sexuality, or compensated sexuality, Sadger's "urethral eroticism," which is said to be usually preceded by a prolonged infantile nocturnal enuresis.

The essential traits of abnormal vesical sexuality, or as we might call it, abnormal "vesicality" (for the psychic impulse in such a case is rather the compensatory substitute of sexuality than itself definitely sexual), are not met with in the present subject. She revealed, indeed, in childhood an intense vesical life which to some extent persisted in the psychic background throughout life. But it was never after puberty deliberately cultivated—such cultivation being marked in persons of the fully developed vesical type—this being doubtless due to the fact that it was from adolescence altogether dominated and subordinated by a strong normal sexual impulse which during the whole of adult life found adequate satisfaction.

V. The element of penis fetichism in the subject's early experiences and in her erotic dreams may need comment. Penis-fetichism is not usually pronounced in women—less so than in male inverts—

[1] I may here remark that after a summary of the present case was published in the *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, Rank wrote in a paper on "Die Geburts-Rettungsphantasie" (*Int. Zt. f. Aetz. Psychoanalyse*, Jan., 1914) that I had "unfortunately left unconsidered the fact that all these vesical dreams dated from the time of pregnancy." He means that I had not considered the folk-lore belief concerning the association of birth with water. But I had found no evidence for that item of folk-lore, which seems so common in Germany. It is noteworthy that the series of so-called "Birth dreams" of water brought forward in a more recent essay of Rank's (*Der Mythus von der Geburt des Helden*, 1922, pp. 88 *et seq.*) are of entirely different type from the dreams of Mrs. R. S.

and it seems rather rare in childhood—notwithstanding all that has been said in recent years concerning "penis envy" in young girls—when sexual desire is not very definitely localized. The explanation here is to be found in the fairly obvious fact that in the present case the penis-fetichism of childhood was not really sexual at all, but a vesical manifestation. The subject knew nothing of the penis as the organ of sex; she only knew it as the organ of urination, and the fascination which the penis held for her in childhood—however it may have been supported by latent and unconscious sexual interest—was connected with its urinary functions. The attraction was transformed in a sexual direction at puberty, as we see in the incident of the paper penis, sinking in adult life to a degree which can scarcely be regarded as beyond the limits of normal variation, only to re-emerge in dreams.

VI. A word may be added as to the appearance of a homosexual element in one of these dreams. I have elsewhere pointed out that a homosexual erotic dream is no necessary evidence of a genuine homosexual impulse but may be due to that confusion of imagery which is part of the normal mechanism of dreaming.[1] In the present case, the subject disclaimed any homosexual influence in her life. It must be remembered, however, that in girlhood she had experienced a passionate devotion to a woman friend. It cannot, therefore, be taken as certain that the homosexual element in the dream is accidental; there may quite likely have been latent traces from the early period when so often sexuality seems to be undifferentiated, not yet formulated as a conscious heterosexual impulse. It is easy to observe how often in these dreams the dreamer is brought back to facts and emotional attitudes of infantile and pubertal life, as in the penis fetichism, the aggressive sexual attitudes, the almost forgotten memory embodied in the snake dream, etc.

In this, so far as I know, unique record of the auto-erotic manifestations of sleep during pregnancy, we have what may probably be regarded as a definite type of erotic dreaming in a normal and healthy woman, with fully developed sexual emotions, during pregnancy. We see how such dreams tend to begin in a correct and conventional manner; we see how an attractive man who in real life has made no conscious impression on the subject may glide into the dream with faint obscure amorous suggestion; we see how a procession of symbols may present the underlying sexual process in ever clearer imagery; we see, as the actual physical excitement grows more acute and urgent, how the expression of erotic desire may force its way nakedly into the dream, this direct manifestation being aided by the fact that only accidental circumstances, not any intimate conflict of

[1] *Studies*, vol. i. "A Study of Auto-erotism."

impulses, had led to the repression of sexual desire during waking life; we see, notably, how the vesical element, in this case aided by a pronounced predisposition, attains a peculiar prominence under the special conditions of pregnancy. All this—though in many feminine erotic dreamers the earlier stages may be condensed or absent—is to be regarded as entirely normal and typical.

While, however, in main outline the dreams are doubtless typical, in their details they illustrate more special problems. They show us how the germs of all sorts of aberrations or what are commonly regarded as aberrations—which in real life for the most part have long been left behind or else scarcely existed—may clearly emerge in dreams: homosexuality, narcissism, masturbation, fetichism. Especially they illustrate the influence of the vesical impulse and the nature of its relationship to the sexual impulse. We realize how the sexual impulse and the vesical impulse are two closely allied yet distinct forces which tend, under these circumstances, to play powerfully upon sleeping consciousness, how each may arouse or further stimulate the activity of the other, how the two may become almost inextricably blended.

We see in Mrs. R. S. a woman of strong sexual temperament in whom the urinary complex, taking on a definitely erotic tone, was highly developed, certainly to a greater degree than is usual, in childhood. Yet there was nothing morbid in this development or in its manifestations, and it remained within the range of normal variation. This was conclusively shown at puberty. The sex emotions developed in full vigor and the urinary ideas receded into the background or fell altogether below the threshold of consciousness. A certain amount of pleasure and interest remained associated with the urinary function, but she never showed the slightest inclination to dwell on this, though there were at times vesically aroused dreams, and though the full bladder had also the power of arousing the sexual mechanism during sleep, which is, in more or less degree, an entirely normal phenomenon. We see here, throughout, a natural disposition towards Undinism which follows every path of least resistance in its manifestation. But the resistance yet always remains normal and effective because we are concerned with a healthy person, endowed with a rich, many-sided, and intellectual nature, and placed under singularly happy conditions.

In the case of Miss E., which follows, circumstances were unfavorable to normal sexual development and throughout life she continued to show a pronounced urolagnia, with suggestions of the Undinist temperament, still not entirely freed from a coprophilic element and combined with some homosexuality and mild traces of other perversions.

Miss E., now nearly 60 years of age, is the daughter of a clergyman and has always led a quiet and retired life, with few opportunities for congenial society. Until recently she has lived with members of her own family so that she has always been under some restraint. "We are an awful 'proper family,' " she writes, "all our uncles and our cousins, and grandfathers even, were clergymen, and nearly all the young men we used to know were curates; and nowadays [she was writing at the age of 52] everyone who calls on us is a vicar or a rector or someone specially worthy." It has been difficult for her even to receive letters from a man which she is unable to show to the family circle. She now lives by herself in a small seaside town, but at her present age she is shy of personal approaches, though by no means through any loss of sexual desire for she still feels that to have an attractive person with whom she could do what she liked in sexual gratification would be the greatest of pleasures. She has thus never had any opportunity for close friendship, scarcely even for ordinary acquaintance, with a man, while she looks so "fearfully respectable," she remarks, that a man would hesitate to make any advances to her. She has, however, been for some years in intimate correspondence with one man (whom she has never met) and with several intimate women friends, with whom she has had slight sexual experiences, never so much as she desired. She is inclined to be active in her advances towards women when she thinks they are not likely to be repelled. But with men she is shy, the more so now since she is no longer young (though "not hideous," she writes). It is on the correspondence with the man and one of the women—with both of whom I happen to have been at one time or another independently in correspondence—that the present imperfect sketch of Miss E.'s history is based. She had no objection to these letters being shown to me but she was disinclined to enter into correspondence, stating in the only letter I received from her that there was nothing more to tell.

Miss E. has had no need to earn her own living, nor apparently any impulse to do so. This has been a contributory cause of her extremely secluded life. She is, however, by no means lacking in intelligence and even possesses a skilful literary hand in the field of humor. Some years ago she was a rather frequent contributor of articles and verses to *Punch*, but in recent years her manuscripts have not proved acceptable.

Miss E.'s sexual history is the direct outcome of her circumstances, and reflects the repressed and arrested conditions under which her whole life has been lived. She evidently possesses a sexual impulse of at least average, probably more than average, strength, but the impulse has never attained on the psychic side a

fully adult form or had the opportunity for such a development. It remains to some extent sexually undifferentiated, with even, owing probably to the greater opportunities, a homosexual preference, and it is concentrated on the urinary sphere, and to some extent the scatologic sphere generally, with a strong mixoscopic tone as regards men, women, and animals, while the only gratification attained has been by the auto-erotic method of masturbation.

Nothing is definitely known of Miss E.'s family history; her own health and general condition seem to her normal and satisfactory. In anthropological type she is of medium pigmentation with brown hair inclining to fair on the pubes.

Menstruation began at 12. She had been told nothing about it beforehand, and waking one morning to find her nightgown marked with blood she ran in alarm, and just as she was, to her mother's room. Menstruation has always been very copious, so that she has to get out of bed several times during the night, but she has no pain or headache at the period, merely feeling limp and unable to go out of doors; when menstruation is passing off the sexual feelings tend to be strong.

As a result of her retired life Miss E. had no early initiation into sexual matters, and throughout life her knowledge of these subjects has remained slight, though she not only reads French novels, such as Zola's, but seems to have had access to some French erotic novels of rather pornographic type. But because of her ignorance, both theoretical and practical, her curiosity has remained all the more eager and vivid, while she is at the same time willing and pleased to write of all that she knows. She writes in a simple, natural, unaffected way, not using technical terms of which she is ignorant, but describing what she means clearly, though seldom coarsely. Notwithstanding the risky nature of the subjects she writes about, she turns her phrases deftly and neatly. As often happens—though not invariably—in women naturally prone to Undinism, she is evidently a person of feminine temperament, not lacking in refinement and charm of mind, in spite of the nature of the subjects that are so interesting to her. She cannot be described as vicious. She presents us with the picture of a woman possessing an insistent sexual impulse which has never been allowed the opportunity of normal adult gratification, and therefore continues to seek such outlets as it can find in more youthful channels of relief, and especially in a form of Undinism, or at all events urolagnia.

Her earliest experiences of sexual emotion, as casually recorded in her letters, seem to have been in connection with animals. She recalls how at the age of 11 a fox terrier that was temporarily in the charge of her family once stood on his hind legs and clasped her

leg with his forelegs as she sat in the sitting-room, straining with such violence that he had to be pulled away by force. Even yet any exhibition of sexual activity in animals is apt to be sexually exciting to her.

It was when she was nearly 20 that Miss E. first attained, spontaneously and without premeditation, to that form of auto-erotic gratification—that is to say masturbation of urolagnic type—which has ever since constituted the main though not the sole trait of her sexual life. "I was sitting in a nice warm bath," she writes, "and I felt I wanted to make water, and it was too much trouble to get out of the bath, and I suppose some vague sexual feeling made me first clasp my hand right over and against that part of me, and then I began to make water in my hand, and somehow it gave me a sort of anguish of tantalizing pleasure, and I instinctively moved my hand up and down it while the water poured through my fingers, and in a few second it *happened.*" By this incident—an incident which frequently proves significant in young women with tendencies to Undinism—the auto-erotic activities of Miss E.'s life became henceforth consciously molded. Whether the urinary interest, as is probable, had appeared earlier is not clear from the extant information, but it was with this incident that masturbation began. She prefers to practice it with the minimum of actual contact, holding the vulva open, and with one finger at a little distance straining the body towards the finger until it is able to stir the stiff and excited parts. Tumescence and detumescence occur easily and even spontaneously with her, the clitoris projects and there is much emission of mucus, and complete orgasm follows with little delay. Friction seems, however, to be necessary to her to attain detumescence, which however she sometimes avoids. "When I am thinking of exciting things in bed," she writes, "sometimes I keep from touching myself at all—I lie on my back with my legs apart, and however much my thing opens and shuts and quakes and craves, I won't touch it. It is more delicious than satisfying it would be and of course goes on much longer. Only it is very difficult to keep from touching."

A homosexual interest appeared, so far as the record goes, about the age of 25. At the time she had a friend, a girl of 15, for whom she cherished a great passion. "But she was innocent and I was too conscientious to do anything but kiss and hug her." For many years afterwards Miss E. never met her friend, though they remained in occasional correspondence. The friend is very religious and conventional, but, like Miss E. herself, she suffers from sexual repression. Twenty-eight years later, when Miss E. wrote to her and referred to sexual satisfaction as possible between women, this friend after an interval of some months, replied confiding to Miss E. her

own sexual longings and proposing to come to her for a week if Miss E. would do what she could to satisfy these longings. "She said she had such wild feelings in her body, and her breasts had become so large and soft, and she was always playing with them; and that if she came I could do whatever I liked to her." At this time of her life Miss E. seems to have acquired greater freedom of action. She took rooms in London and looked forward with great pleasure to her friend's arrival. But at the last moment the friend hesitated and felt scruples. "'Would it be considered a sin?' So I had to say that it *was* considered a sin, but that *I* didn't consider it sin, but simply natural pleasure. So she did not come and I felt an awful ass." The difficulty was discussed in letters during some weeks while the friend hesitated. "A few days ago," writes Miss E. "she frightened me by a letter saying she was getting so desperate for relief for her sexual feelings that she had tried to hear of some 'bad house' where a man would have her. It seemed to me risky for a person of her age and respectable looks to do that; they would think she was a spy or she might get insulted." Miss E. recommended masturbation as a method of relief, but her friend thought that too sinful. "It seems," comments Miss E., "that a man is the least sinful way out of her difficulty!" Miss E. considered whether it might not be possible to bring her friend into contact with her male correspondent but the suggestion after further hesitation was rejected. "After a few weeks' pause she wrote to say she had made up her mind it was better to be pure and wouldn't I go and stay with her and talk it over? I refused as she had promised I might do every kind of thing to her and I didn't see the fun of going to sit up and talk of purity." That was the end of it. Miss E. clearly states the kind of gratification she herself desired with her friend. "When I wrote to her I said I should like to watch her stand and make water. She wrote back that it would shock her very much and she was sure she could never 'unveil her body' to me (though she had promised a few weeks ago that I might kiss her there), but she added that ever since receiving that letter she had *longed* to stand and make water and that any pressure against that front part made her want to go. I think this sensitiveness in wanting to pee is the beginning of the sex thrill which she had never felt, she says, only a great heat and pressure." In another letter Miss E. writes: "If my friend had come here I should have hugged her and kissed her a lot, and then stroked and kissed her 'large soft breasts' and rubbed and kissed her under her arms. Then, when she was regularly stirred up and excited, I should make her lie back and I should turn up her clothes. I think I should like to lay my cheek against her thick hair and rub it. Then I would pull it apart and move my lips about on these

parts, and then I should start kissing passionately. She would get pretty wild by that time! Do you think when she felt my lips pressing against these inner parts it would make her pass water? Do women ever do it in bed when they are excited?" Her actual experience with any woman had never gone as far as that, but had been confined to stroking the sexual parts and to kissing the breasts.

There had, however, been another proposed adventure which had, like that already mentioned, come to nothing. In this case it was a 'grass widow' of 28, whom Miss E. only knew by correspondence, and she had never been loved by a woman, but she seemed to like the idea: "Will you really kiss me everywhere?" she wrote to Miss E. "The idea of it makes me hot all over to think of. It would be lovely. " Miss E. arranged for a meeting in London, but, again, on the other side it was postponed at the last moment on the pretext that Miss E. no longer seemed so "keen" about it. Later she again promised to come, but Miss E. allowed her to write three times before replying, and nothing came of it. "I don't fancy we shall meet after all," wrote Miss E. "I think she is too well supplied with men to trouble about me. She writes about once a fortnight instead of twice a week. She usually ends up her letters with: 'Write me something sweet and warm.' But she only writes about dances and dresses and admirers, which only bores me." So it was that Miss E.'s homosexual desires were never gratified. "If only a woman would try to take liberties with *me*! *I* have always done all the courting myself," wrote Miss E., "and with practically no success." Only, it seems, in one case had she been intimate with a woman—a married friend with whom she stayed in rooms in London—and on that occasion she stroked the sexual regions and kissed her breasts, and under the arms and indulged in furious colombine kisses until both were pale and exhausted (it is noteworthy, however, that she never experienced the orgasm), "and in the end when she had had enough she turned round and called *me* sensual!"

Her heterosexual impulses attained even less gratification. She never met the man to whom she wrote the letters on which this account is mostly based. He seems to have been willing and she dallied pleasurably with the idea of a meeting he proposed, but she delayed, saying that she was craven-hearted and nervous, and finally decided that she was too old. "I suppose you wouldn't think it worth the trouble to take an excursion here some day?" she wrote. "Though I should love to come to you, yet I believe I shouldn't have the courage. This is a very quiet place and down on the beach under a breakwater we could be quite undisturbed. We couldn't do much from your point of view, but to me it would be all wonderful and new and entrancing. You could let me see your thing . . . .

and I should want you to make water (don't do it at the station when you arrive). . . . . I don't wear closed combinations but open drawers, so if you put your hand up you could feel it at once. If you sat on the shingle and I stood in front of you, I could make water so that you might watch me. Perhaps we could manage for me to lie back so that I could be excited by you on me. If these are all castles in the air, they are lovely to think of." "If I were with you," she wrote again to him, "I should like to stand with my lower part bare and I should like you to kneel in front of me with your face against my part there and I should like to make water then . . . . And I should like you to stand about a yard in front of me and to make water from that distance, steadily, against my part." She also expressed a wish to perform what amounted to *fellatio*, and added that it would give her great pleasure also to have *cunnilinctus* whether from a man or a woman, and she would also like to do it. "I have made water on this paper," she adds in pencil to one of her letters to this correspondent; "I hope you don't mind. I wanted to very much. Pee on your next letter a little. I should love it." Her friend apparently indulged this wish, for she writes subsequently: "It was only a bit washy but it pleased me." She remarks elsewhere that she had desired one of the women friends already mentioned to urinate on her letter before sending it.

Her ideal seems more often to be homosexual than heterosexual, but this is partly, though not perhaps entirely, because she was in closer contact with women than with men. "What darlings women are!" she writes, "you wonder how it is I have had no experience with men. Well, really and truly, I have never cared two pence about them. For one thing I never came into contact with them. But the chief reason is I always fell in love with some girl or other, and men had not the slightest interest for me. I daresay one is born like that, shouldn't you think so? Indecent sights of men always excite me, but men as one finds them in ordinary society are such sexless-looking things. A woman has beauty and shows it. You are encouraged by her way of dressing to notice her breast outline. And at a dance, *décolletés*, how beautiful! And then the scent of under her arms! That always seems almost to madden me, though if it is of a plain woman, or one I dislike, it offends and disgusts me extremely. I don't think I could ever have a passion for a man, though I should like to do indecent things with him. But for women I have quite violent passions." She was, however, bisexual in the sense that she mingled the attractions of the two sexes. This is well indicated by a significant passage in a letter to her male correspondent: "I think I should like a man better if he was in woman's clothes I should like to turn up his petticoats in front as

he stood, and pull apart his drawers, and get his chemise out of the way; and directly his thing could be seen I should like him to begin making water instantly, as if he had been in a great hurry to do it" It may be noted here that Miss E., who was sensitive, in a quite spontaneous way, to many erotic refinements, consciously realized the erotic significance of clothing. "It is much more exciting," she writes in another letter, "when a person has clothes on. When I was in London in rooms with the married friend of mine, on a Sunday afternoon, she had on a black satin tight-fitting costume and soft white lisse frill round the neck and she lay on the sofa in the large drawing room we had and opened her bodice for me to kiss her breasts. She looked far more naked like that than in an ordinary blouse or in a bedroom. I like myself better, too, with clothes on. I wear the old-fashioned open drawers, and if I stoop down and put my hand in under my clothes from in front it gives a delicious unexpectedness to the thrill if my hand happens to reach through without pulling the drawers aside."

It is, however, perhaps a little misleading to describe Miss E.'s attitude as homosexual, heterosexual, or bisexual It is mainly and fundamentally urolagnic and all "sexual" elements are preliminary or subsidiary to the urolagnic interest. It will be noticed how this interest is predominant even in all her conceptions of homosexual and heterosexual relationships. It also had an independent auto-erotic existence continued from the time of her first spontaneous discovery of sexual pleasure when urinating in the bath, a practice which seems to have continued. She also likes urinating out of doors in the standing position and in summer is accustomed to leave off the wearing of drawers; she has never been caught doing this and is indeed too nervous to risk being seen; when she attempts doing it out of doors in the crouching position, she says, she is so nervous she can hardly begin. Like many women with a tendency to Undinism—and of course many who are not—she is very shy, on account of the sexual associations of the act, about urinating in the presence of a friend "When I was sleeping in the same bedroom with my married friend," she writes, "she used to joke me about it every night before I got into bed. She would sit down and do it at once, as loudly as possible, and then skip into bed, and say to me, 'What are you doing, dear? Hurry up or I'll come and spank you.' I felt so embarrassed, I could only do it by small instalments, and I really blushed as I did it." This shyness has prevented her even in private from urinating, as she would find pleasure in doing, in unusual or indecorous ways. "Sometimes in a remote country station," she writes, "where there is just one w. c. and no attendant, one finds a whole lot of pee on the edge of the

seat and run down on the floor in a pool. I suppose a woman has done it on the edge of the seat on purpose. I have often felt I should enjoy doing that; or just stand up and hold up my clothes and do it straight down on the floor. But I feel I should look guilty if I met someone as I came out." This confession seems to explain a condition of things found even in lavatories reserved for young women of good class and often shocking to those who are not impelled thus to violate propriety; the motive is not uncleanliness but a tendency to Undinism which is undoubtedly more prevalent than is usually realized. It is a pleasure for Miss E., and sometimes produces definite sexual excitement, when she sees youths and girls urinating, especially if they playfully do it on each other, or if some trivial mischance occurs in the act. "Such things," she remarks, "make me in a fearful hurry to do it in my drawers." She relates with gusto in the course of her correspondence various little episodes of this kind—as well as in regard to defecation—she has seen or heard of. Occasionally she illustrates her narrative with crude little drawings of, for instance, a man urinating on the genital region of a woman, or of a dog attempting to mount a bitch, a sight which causes her physical excitement, and she constantly asks her correspondent to send her photographs of urination in men or in women, and of sexual acts, normal and abnormal. All indecency gives her pleasure and she has the impulses of a *voyeuse*. After describing a youth she had seen slowly walking along with his hands in his pockets and his penis exposed, urinating as he walked, she adds "It looked lovely," and of another rather similar incident she says: "It excited me wildly." Discussing the question more generally she writes: "I believe that, however they may look, in their hearts all women love to see a man exposing himself. They tell stories to each other of having come across a man in such and such a condition, and they say: 'Wasn't it *dreadful*, dear!' But they gloat over all the details. We are all brought up to pretend not to like it, and we make ourselves 'look the other way,' as it were. If we get a chance to glance at anything we mayn't even show by our face that we have seen. If as we look away we feel a passing of desire we daren't show it. What a bondage we are in!"

The whole picture presented by Miss E. herself in these letters is of one who has been all her life long in bondage, subject to repression, and it is unnecessary to quote further. There has never in her life been even the fair possibility of a normal heterosexual relationship, not even within the bonds of affectionate friendship. It has thus come about that she has never attained the development which her fine intelligence and her delicately sensitive temperament seemed to promise. Naturally the repressed impulses sought escape as they

could. Thus there was a tendency to a homosexual orientation; there were the impartially diffused inclinations of a *voyeuse;* there was, more definitely, on account of the special circumstance under which the physical orgasm first occurred, a predominant urolagnia which was maintained throughout, though it never seems to have become a fully developed Undinism. All these impulses, though they have a natural basis, may be described as abnormal when developed as they have been in Miss E. Yet their variety and frequency, the freedom with which they have been in secret indulged, have really been the means of delivering Miss E. from more serious abnormality She has neither suffered from any serious psycho-neurotic condition nor has she fallen into any gross perversity. The dammed up stream of natural instinct has found a variety of trivial outlets which have relieved the dangerous pressure of internal repression and enabled her to live a life, which, though maimed and incomplete, has been in a fair measure healthy and happy.

We may now turn to a case, again a woman, in which the conditions also always failed to permit the normal sexual balance but in which such development as was reached was almost exclusively Undinistic. Here we have the full picture of Undinism.

Miss A. P. was born in the country (Cornwall) and of working class parents. She possessed, however, a native intelligence above that of her class and family, and her parents desired, but were unable, to give her a superior education and make her a teacher. She also displayed a correspondingly natural refinement and gracious distinction of manners, quite free from affectation, which caused even people of upper social class to regard her as a born "lady" She began by earning her living as a nursemaid in the uncongenial atmosphere of a common tradesman's family; this man once made some kind of attempt at a sexual approach which she never described but it evidently shocked her, and she resented it She won the confidence and affection of later employers who afforded her opportunities for development. Finally, at the age of 32, she emigrated to Australia to join her married sister there in a business partnership; she died, after influenza, at the age of 36.

Her father was a man of somewhat violent disposition and there was little affection between father and child. She was, however, much attached to her mother, a gentle and patient woman who during the last years of her life exhibited a mild degree of mental aberration of a senile type. There were three children in the family. The brother, stolid and hard-working, of excellent character

and normal disposition, was at one time, after an attack of influenza, liable to periods of depression; he married happily. The sister, the youngest of the family, was in every respect healthy, normal and commonplace; she married and had a large family.

A. P. had convulsions in infancy. It has been frequently noted (as by R. O. Moon, "The Prognosis of Infantile Convulsions," *British Medical Journal*, 17 Dec., 1908) that infantile convulsions tend to be associated with rather unusual habits of mind or character or some slight psychic peculiarity in later life. As a child she wetted the bed. It is well recognized that this early weakness of inhibition may be of considerable significance for later development. The terror of committing what is felt to be a shameful act, especially for a nervous and sensitive child, powerfully concentrates attention on the urinary function and heightens its normal aptitude to become a focus of emotional activity. Even some twenty years after she had outgrown this childish weakness, A. P. once dreamed that she had wetted the bed, and experienced an immense relief on recovering full consciousness to find that it was only a dream.

A. P. grew up into a strong and fairly healthy girl and woman, tall and slender, muscularly powerful out of proportion to the size of her muscles which, however, though apparently delicate, were very firm. The hips were not largely developed but sexual development was apparently complete and normal, the mons veneris was well covered with dark hair and the darkly pigmented nipples were of full size. There were, however, somewhat infantile traits of feature and expression traceable in the face, which was otherwise pleasing though not beautiful It is quite likely that this suggestion of infantility was significant of a general slight though not obvious tendency to infantility which may help to explain A.P.'s Undinism. She always retained the excessive reserve and shyness of a child, though this was concealed by her natural good manners and her gracious formality with strangers. Her more homely sister, who might be considered prettier, possessed nothing of this modest reserve and well-bred distinction, nor any of the same tastes. A.P. loved birds and flowers and fountains, and from such sources received the keenest enjoyment she was capable of. On the human side she was not highly developed. However sensitive and refined in some respects, she was not notably sympathetic, and not easily inclined to be friendly except with those she had known and become familiar with during many years, and even with them she remained so reserved that they rarely had any real knowledge of her. She seemed to them to be herself one of the birds she was so fond of, or even an elusive and non-human fairy. On the whole, by those who knew her and even by those who only casually met her, she was

regarded as an unusual and attractive personality. A visitor to the house where she lived, knowing nothing about her, remarked that she seemed to belong to the race of mermaids, and one who knew her well said that her graceful figure gave the impression of a primitive being whose subconscious need was to fly or to swim.

She was in fact fond of water and of being in the water. She delighted in sea-bathing, and when taking a bath indoors she would occupy an inordinate time over it, and on this account preferred a bath at night. One of her earliest recollections, as a child and little schoolgirl, was of a fondness for urinating into her bath and especially into the streams and brooks near her home. This obscure impulse, a fundamental trait of Undinism, to mingle her own stream with the streams of nature, arose instinctively and was never clearly thought out. But it persisted throughout life. When a grown-up woman she admitted that it was still a fascinating idea to think of herself as standing in the moonlight on the bank of a river and sending forth a stream of her own to fall afar into the water.[1]

For a feat of this kind she was, anatomically and physiologically, peculiarly gifted. This is noteworthy, for it illustrates a point often overlooked but clearly to be seen on careful investigation: the natural physical basis of many psychic "aberrations," as we are usually inclined to consider them. We are too easily prone to content ourselves with some mere psychic explanation in trivial infantile experience, while a keener insight shows that, beyond these, a deeper cause exists in the organism itself, and what seemed a psychic "aberration" was really the natural expression of organic constitution.[2] I have elsewhere shown how, in the case of "Florrie," the analytic unravelment of the psychic history may immensely help to explain the condition, but fail to explain it completely until we go deeper. In A.P.'s case the nates were not largely developed and deviated from the common globular and protuberant type. The line of curvature began at the waist, following closely and firmly the curve of the sacrum, with no sudden expansion but some resemblance to the Spanish type of *ensellure* or saddle-back It was probably associated with that form of pelvis and buttocks. Her figure, as sometimes occurs in Cornwall, was of Southern rather than Northern European type, and it has been noted, probably with truth, that in Southern women the genitals are placed more forward and upward than in Northern peoples. In A. P. (as normally happens only in young

[1] Is there some instinctive sexual association? A lady of quite normal disposition told me that after the orgasm her involuntary feeling is that she is lying beside a stream which is flowing past her.

[2] Alfred Adler refers (*Fortschritte der Medizin*, No. 16, 1910) to the desire of women in "psychic hemaphroditism" to urinate standing

girls) the urinary stream was directed in an unusual degree forward, and also (which is again an infantile characteristic) with an unusual force. Her favorite method of urination when circumstances permitted was in the erect position with raised skirts. In doing this she had discovered the device of placing her open hands in the groins and drawing them slightly upwards and outwards, so separating the labia, and thereby both liberating the full energy of the stream, and securing a minimum wetting of the parts, a point to which she attached importance as she was fastidiously cleanly. It seemed to her that the special vesical powers she possessed were a legitimate source of satisfaction, from which she was entitled to receive all the enjoyment possible. She especially enjoyed the exercise of her powers in the garden in the dusk of evening and would brave even the risk of detection, which she always carefully sought to avoid, however, having no impulse of exhibitionism. She would sometimes take exact note of her own vesical force. Thus she once found that, standing erect in a raised position at one end of a long bath and separating the labia, the stream would be projected a distance of from 42 to 48 inches, striking the wall at the further end. In the garden her achievements were much more remarkable. Thus, on one occasion, she was able to spurt the stream to a distance of 75 inches. She was conscious of not exerting her full force on this occasion, and a few days later, with an effort, she attained a distance of 105 inches. At this time she was thirty years of age. There was slight polyuria (associated with absence of marked perspiration); this rather more than average need to urinate, accompanied by an excessive shyness, as well as laziness in seeking relief, contributed to attract her attention to the urinary function. She sometimes found useful the discovery she had made, when lying in bed awaiting the hour to rise, that the desire to urinate could be temporarily relieved by simply imagining that the act was being accomplished—a discovery which, as Maeder and others have remarked, many people make unconsciously in their dreams.

Throughout these years A. P. was leading an active and fully employed life, sometimes in London, occasionally abroad, but mostly in the country. She enjoyed the excitements of town life, theatres and picture galleries, showing indeed a discriminating natural taste in pictures. But country life appealed to her most, and she experienced a rapturous delight in old gardens, in flowers, in birds. Her

and send out the stream to a distance, but makes no reference whatever to the anatomical and physiological conditions which alone render this possible. Since the work of Kretschmer and others the physical basis of psychic traits is receiving more of the attention it deserves, and Constitutionology is now a recognized field of investigation.

tastes were otherwise somewhat exotic, and she was fond of various foreign foods for which the liking is usually only slowly acquired, and for the most part not at all by people of the class into which she was born. This delicacy and refinement of taste was probably connected with defective vitality, even if, as has been said, that defect was not obvious on the surface. The limitations of her strength, although within these limits there was no failure of energy, led to a sensitiveness which was not rooted in heredity, and at the same time induced a reflective tendency which imparted to her mind a quaintly philosophic caste, and a deliberate avoidance of those occasions for strong emotion which are an expenditure of energy.

Her sexual and general affectional tendencies were in accordance with this disposition. While not seeking solitude or disliking companionship, she had no very intimate women friends and was not very susceptible to the attraction of men, although quite capable of feeling some attraction for a congenial man. She never had any wish to marry or bear children, and it is probable that she was never really in love. By most of those who knew her, indeed, she was regarded as probably insensible to sex feelings. Her extreme and skilful reserve favored that impression. She was capable of considerable affection and admiration for women, and it is possible that had her sexual nature developed it might have taken a homosexual direction. As it was, however, her sexual feelings were of no great intensity and never led to masturbation or other active and definite auto-erotic manifestations. But she occasionally felt definite spontaneous and local sexual sensations. Moreover, at the age of twenty-eight, though never before, she once at least experienced spontaneous orgasm in sleep, after falling asleep with conscious sexual feelings. She was awakened by an entirely novel sexual explosion, with muscular twitchings, which somewhat disturbed and alarmed her. Sexual interests, however, never played any prominent part either in her thoughts or her life.

It will be seen that in A. P. the urinary psychic life remained throughout more actively prominent, and a more definite source of interest and pleasure, than the sexual psychic life. It was never, as normally happens, superseded by the sexual life, nor was it even merged into it. A. P. certainly believed that these two intimate pleasures, vesical and sexual, would naturally tend to go together in relationship to a loved person who had the insight to divine impulses she would not spontaneously divulge. But her own private urinary experiences, with her love of water generally, were a source of in-

dependent enjoyment, without sexual accompaniment. That is why A. P. may be regarded as a typical representative of what is here termed Undinism.

It seems clear that constitutional conditions, and a somewhat defective heredity, witnessed by infantile convulsions, combined to produce a predisposition which specially favored the establishment and preservation of the Undinist temperament It is notable that the aberrations were otherwise in the background, and never developed. Of special interest is the suggestion she gave to those who knew her of a "mermaid" or other spirit of the woods or the waters. That suggestion induced me to adopt, for the temperament she embodied, the name of Undinism.

VIII.

KLEPTOLAGNIA.

By kleptolagnia is meant theft associated with sexual excitement, or sexual "kleptomania."[1] The question is thus at once raised whether it is to be regarded as a subordinate variety of kleptomania. This further leads to the inquiry as to what kleptomania is, a long debated psychiatric and medico-legal question. The subject of kleptolagnia is thus of considerable practical as well as psychological interest, and it is desirable to attempt in some degree to clear up its nature and position.

This history of kleptomania begins in the eighteenth century.[2] Lavater incidentally referred to morbid thefts and Gall later (1825) dealt with the subject systematically. He regarded the child as naturally a thief, the youthful tendency to ignore the rights of property being modified with growth by happy organization, the influence of education, habit, and the fear of punishment. But in some individuals the tendency is so strong that these motive forces are ineffective. The judge must therefore seek to fortify imperfect personal inhibition by progressively aggravating the punishment. So that Gall would evidently have approved the judge who when a de-

[1] The term "Kleptolagnia" or "Kleptolagny," to indicate theft associated with sexual emotion, was devised by the late Dr. J. G. Kiernan of Chicago, a pioneer in America of the study of sexual psychology, about 1917 or a little earlier, on the analogy of "Algolagnia," and he advocated it in the *Urologic Review* for that and some subsequent years. He had previously studied "Kleptomania" in the *Alienist and Neurologist* for 1912 and elsewhere and pointed out its frequent sexual associations When he suggested the new term to me I immediately adopted it, and in the New York *Medical Review of Reviews* for May, 1919, I published an article on "Kleptolagnia." I similarly adopt (following Kiernan) the term Pyrolagnia for "sexual Pyromania." Stekel has studied this anomaly in several chapters of his *Peculiarities of Behaviour.*

[2] It has been summarized by Juquelier and Vinchon, "Histoire de la Kleptomanie," *Revue de Psychiatrie,* Feb., 1914.

fence of kleptomania was pleaded before him observed: "That is what I am here to cure." At that time the doctrine of distinct "monomanias" was being set up by the psychiatrists, of whom Esquirol was the most distinguished, but neither he nor Pinel went so far as to assert positively the existence of a definite kleptomania. That step was taken in 1840 by Marc who originated the term "kleptomania" and regarded the disorder as an instinctive monomania. The kleptomaniac, in his view, was a hereditarily morbid person whose resistance to theft was diminished by some occasional cause which permitted him to be distinguished from the delinquent, but Marc entered, at the same time, a warning of the dangers of a too large or irreflective use of this doctrine. Trélat in 1861, also starting from Gall's doctrine of the normality of theft in childhood, held that if this natural tendency persisted after the age of thirteen there was a reason to fear its incurability and the subject would be a kleptomaniac. Marc in 1862, while admitting the delicacy and difficulty of the question, sought to give precision to the conception by insisting on the small value of the objects chosen, their often peculiar nature, the little use made of them, the social position of the thief, his heredity and mental state and physiological condition. In 1876, in the *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique des Sciences Médicales*, was set forth the doctrine of the day that, apart from the evidently insane, there exist kleptomaniacal persons whose acts are morbid and who on careful examination reveal signs of predisposition. Some years later, in 1900, Krafft-Ebing, while disavowing the doctrine of monomanias, accepted an impulsive insanity on the basis of degeneration, and placed in it, aside from definite insanity, a true kleptomania, in which theft was the isolated impulse of psychic degenerates.

There was, however, another stream of expert opinion definitely opposed to the conception of kleptomania as in any form a distinct monomania. On this side Morel was the leader in the middle of the last century. He only admitted the tendency to theft as associated with various other definitely insane symptoms, pathological manifestations, often periodic, of

"instinctive mania." Magnan popularized Morel's conception, and kleptomania became, especially in France, one of the episodic syndromes of degenerescence, rare in its true form, that is to say an irresistible obsession impelling to theft, with resistance, struggle, anguish, and finally, after the act is accomplished, the relief of tension. In Germany Kraepelin also based kleptomania on a predisposition; it was for him a rare morbid impulse, connected, like other obsessions, with manic-depressive insanity. That tendency has been wide-spread, and Ballet so classes kleptomania together with all other obsessions. But many observers everywhere have also insisted on the association of kleptomania with the early stages of general paralysis, and with epilepsy. The position in 1911 was summed up by Dubuisson and Vigouroux in their *Responsabilité Pénale et Folie.*

Kleptomania, they say, is becoming less and less invoked as a defence since the pretended kleptomaniacs belong for the most part to categories already known, classed, and labelled. Cases may, however, they continue, still be admitted who seem to carry to the utmost the rule of "art for art" in theft, yet always with a motive, for it is difficult to find "true kleptomania" with an irresistible impulse to motiveless theft.

On the whole it may be said that the idea of kleptomania or morbid theft arose towards the end of the eighteenth century, in the movement of humane individualism characteristic of that time, as against the unintelligent pressure of society and law. During the last century, however, a reaction took place; the claims of society were set up against the anti-social acts of the individual, and it was felt that the assertion of these claims acted as a wholesome inhibitory force even on a morbid tendency to theft. The definition of kleptomania, and the classification of its forms, became most variously modified, and it was no longer usual to describe it as an absolutely irresistible impulse. But in some form or another, and indeed in many forms, the conception persisted, however vaguely, though there has been no clear realization of the motives for the morbid theft, beyond an attempt by Régis and others to regard it in its most

typical form as a mania of collectionism, and usually motives have been denied.

It is from this confused but persistent mass of facts and opinions that the definite conception of kleptolagnia as a clear, positive, and demonstrable group of cases, has slowly emerged. It may be said to have cast its shadow before. When Magnan and others described true kleptomania as an obsession with resistance, struggle, anxiety, followed by the act, with the satisfaction of relieved tension, they were describing, without knowing it, the actual psychic state of tumescence and detumescence in the sexual process. Others, again, came near the spot when they referred to the frequency of sexual perversion in association with kleptomania, and Garnier came very near when, though he failed to suspect sexual excitation, he described the case of a man who would steal satinette for the sake of the agreeable physical sensation the stuff gave him. But it seems to have been Lacassagne of Lyons, always a pioneer with the insight of genius, who first realized (at the Geneva Congress of Criminal Anthropology in 1896) that the theft may be accompanied by sexual excitement due to the emotional radiation of the fear of detection, and that this voluptuous element in the act is its motive. Lacassagne's illuminating statement seems to have attracted little or no attention.[1] The new situation was hardly grasped even by Zingerle who in Austria (in the *Jahrbuch für Psichiatrie* for 1900) made the next step forward by a careful medico-legal study of what we may now probably regard as a typical case of kleptolagnia. It concerned the young wife of an official, a woman with decidedly neurotic characteristics, who had no sexual satisfaction in marital intercourse but had experienced from her schooldays, usually at the end of the menstrual period, a high degree of sexual excitement when stealing various objects, especially if of brown leather. Afterwards she would destroy those objects or throw them away. Zingerle regarded the act as a sexual perversion, and concluded that the case was one of periodic and

[1] It was Kiernan who, many years later, brought it effectively under my notice.

brief acute psychosis in a psychic degenerate, involving irresponsibility. He made no reference to kleptomania but remarked, evidently without grasping the dynamic connection, that in degenerates trifling ideas were sometimes associated with sexual excitement.

During the next few years there was little progress, though the field was being prepared by the study of the sexual associations of anxiety. In dealing at some length with "Love and Pain" in the third volume of my *Studies,* I brought together much evidence showing how states of anxiety and allied emotional disturbances might overflow into the sexual sphere and produce sexual gratification, and that such methods of gratification were sometimes instinctively or deliberately employed. I was describing precisely the mechanism that underlies kleptolagnia, but I was not aware of it, and no one else seemed to know any better. Janet made fruitful observations on the instinctive effort in states of depression to gain necessary stimulation by violent means, one of which was stealing; Cullerre in 1905 showed that anxiety could act as a sexual excitant; and Freud attributed to *Angstneurosis* a sexual origin. Pilcz in 1908 recognized kleptomania as a sexual anomaly manifested in voluptuous emotions. But even in 1909 P. Hospital, studying "Kleptomanes et Vols aux Étalages" in the *Annales Médico-Psychologiques,* made no reference to sexual excitation, and concluded that kleptomania is rare and belongs to "the group of essential impulsive monomanias," though in the same year Kraepelin referred to the cases as numerous in which sexual excitement accompanied the act of stealing a sexual fetich, and in 1907 Gudden, who made one of the most careful and extensive studies of shop-lifters, concluded that they are mostly women near the menstrual period, yet he regarded the thefts as usually motiveless. The attitude of Kraepelin and Gudden is that maintained by Hirschfeld.[1]

[1] Hirschfeld, *Sexualpathologie,* 1920, Teil iii, pp. 252 *et seq* He states that he has had considerable experience of kleptomania, that it occurs shortly before or after menstruation, and that it is frequently associated with voluptuous feelings. He brings forward two cases, both with neurotic heredity.

It is in France, however, where the conception of kleptomania was originated and chiefly developed, that kleptolagnia was clearly demonstrated, first perhaps by Depouy in 1905 in the *Journal de Psychologie Normale et Pathologique*.[1] Most of the French cases involve the stuff-fetichisms, especially the attraction of silk, and the theft usually occurred near the menstrual period. One woman, a case of Depouy's, writes: "When I can steal silk, I am as it were intoxicated, I tremble; yet it is not fear, for I am not at all thinking of the horrible thing I have done; I only think of one thing: I go in a corner and crumple it at my ease, and then I have voluptuous feelings that are stronger even than I felt with the father of my children." Another woman, who would steal silk and especially black corsets, said that even the sight of these articles in a shop would make her heart beat and her sexual parts become wet; when she took one she was as happy as if she had received a treasure, though her satisfaction was swiftly followed by shame and remorse. Even when describing her act to the doctor she grew animated, her eyes bright, her face colored, her respiration rapid. Clérambault also studied a number of somewhat similar cases.[2] One of these cases, a woman of forty, frigid with men but a masturbator, noticed once, when as a young woman she was seated in her room on a velvet chair, that the contact of the velvet produced an agreeable sensation. She thus fell into the habit of sitting astride the chair, obtaining sexual excitement by friction with the velvet and finally acquired a passion for stealing silk remnants which she would apply to her sexual parts and then throw away. But even the mere act of stealing them would itself give her sexual enjoyment. There was insanity in her family. Clérambault insists on the marked tactile element in all such cases and con-

[1] It may, however, be remarked that Krafft-Ebing and other authors had described cases—without fully realizing their significance—which may fairly be described as coming under the head of kleptolagnia. Krafft-Ebing stated that erotic fetichism may lead to the crime of theft, but failed to grasp any intimate connection.

[2] *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, June, 1908, and August, 1910. Clérambault was inclined to term this anomaly hephephilia or stuff-erotism

cludes that this condition tends to involve a combination of precocity, frigidity, and masturbation. He seems to have recognized the symbolic element, and thinks there is a tendency for women to like stuff fetiches that are stiff and for men to like soft ones.[1]

Another French case, that of a Parisian woman leading a *demi-mondaine's* life, is reported by Vinchon. She had been a lively and sexually precocious child, but only began to steal at the age of 34, when the first signs of the menopause prematurely began to appear. Her thefts were accompanied by sexual and general excitement. Vinchon further brings forward the case of a girl belonging to a Lyons silk-weaving family who came to Paris and worked at silk corsets. At the age of 17 she began to have a special taste for silk, and experienced a curious shudder on crumpling silk. She had a lover a few years later, an author, and bore several children. After ten years, when she was 31, her lover died and she began to masturbate with silk. It was at the age of 36, in convalescence after typhoid, that she began to steal, and the act gave her more vivid pleasure than she had ever experienced by ordinary masturbation with silk. Immediately after the act she would experience exhaustion with disgust and shame, and she disliked being questioned on the subject.[2]

A more recent case in French literature comes from Copenhagen and is reported by Wimmer who believes that the frequency of this impulse is underestimated because it is most usually "platonic" and not actually executed. A married woman, aged 28, of neurotic heredity, during her pregnancies has a strong impulse to theft which she finds it very difficult to repress; if she succeeds in repressing it she vomits, and she cannot always succeed. The theft is followed by a powerful

[1] Boas ("Ueber Hephephilia," *Archiv fur Kriminal-Anthropologie*, Bd. 61) denies that cases like Clérambault's are genuine fetichisms, and from the standpoint of the earliest conception of erotic fetichism that opinion seems sound. Sadger, on the other hand (*Die Lehre von den Geschlechtsverirrungen*, 1921, p. 336), considers that they probably are fetichisms and the equivalent of the penis; that is to say that they are, in my sense of the term, symbolic fetichisms.

[2] Vinchon, *Journal de Médecine de Paris*, 1914.

orgasm with a delicious sensation such as she has never experienced in coitus or otherwise.[1]

Two other recent cases, from Italy, are of interest as being both of men. They are reported by Dr. Benigno di Tullio, a prison surgeon in Rome. Two brothers, pickpockets, aged 34 and 20, both came under observation in prison. The heredity was neuropathic with a tendency to epilepsy, which is regarded as significant. The elder brother presented numerous physiological anomalies and had never been able to learn a trade owing to psychic inaptitude for work. His prison career began at 12. He stated that he could not resist the impulse to steal and that when it seized him he seemed out of his mind. The act was accompanied by a feeling of pleasure, "so that I ejaculate as if I had been with a woman." He added that normal coitus gave him little pleasure, but that it was increased if the woman insulted him in violent language. The other brother is also abnormal and unduly emotional; he has suffered from convulsions and partial paralysis. He began pocket-picking at the age of 14. "At the moment of stealing," he said, "I feel full of mad joy; and as soon as I can get away I ejaculate; it seems as if I had been with a woman." Benigno di Tullio regards these cases as a form of fetichism in subjects predisposed to epilepsy, and adds that psycho-analysis, which it was not possible to carry out, might have revealed a definite motive in sexual infantilism.[2] However that may be, we are certainly in the presence of kleptolagnia. The cases are indeed highly typical and instructive, for we clearly see the mechanism at work. The normal sexual impulse is weak, and the nervous energy generated by the emotions accompanying the theft, in highly unstable organisms, overflows into the sexual sphere and excites the orgasm. Benigno di Tullio invokes the suggestion put forward by Ottolenghi in a lecture, that in such cases the association of sexual excitement with

[1] August Wimmer. "De la Kleptomanie," *Annales Médico-Psychologiques*, March, 1921.

[2] Benigno di Tullio, "Un Raro Caso di Feticismo," *Rassegna di Studi Sessuali*, July-Aug., 1924.

theft may be congenital and comparable to color-hearing. This suggestion seems unnecessary when we realize the dynamic mechanism at work.

In the United States, immediately after Depouy's first paper, but apparently in ignorance of it, W. L. Howard well illustrated the fetichistic clue to which so much importance has often been attached in the explanation of this group of cases.[1] He described the case of a young woman, of good birth and antecedents, quite normal, who, never having before experienced any developed sexual emotions, one evening, at a fashionable summer resort, met an attractive man who was attentive to her. She flirted with him to a slight degree, and chanced to note, with no special feelings, that he was unconsciously displaying the blue garter which supported his silk hose. On returning home, for the first time in her life she began to have erotic reveries, which started with the subconscious visualization of the blue garter and led on to the vision of masculine virility. Erotic daydreams were, however, unsatisfactory, as it was difficult to picture the wearer of the garter. One day she saw in a shop an exact duplicate of her fetish. She instantly appropriated it, and on returning home immediately went to her bedroom and fondled it, and soon found herself masturbating with it. The practice continued; but in order to obtain orgasm it was necessary not only to have a new garter every time, but to obtain it in a surreptitious manner, corresponding, as Howard remarks, to a clandestine meeting with her ideal. She was finally detected, and on investigation her family found a large collection of such garters, "useless and trivial articles," in her possession. Her acts were pronounced to be the symptoms of marked kleptomania, and she kept her own secret, for she knew she had been guilty of deliberate stealing for the sake of sexual gratification which she could not obtain, though she would have preferred so to obtain it, naturally. How many

[1] W. L. Howard, "Some Forms of Kleptomania the Result of Fetichistic Impulses," *Medicine*, Dec., 1906. He admitted that "strictly speaking the cases are not those of 'Kleptomania' for the object is secretly appropriated for a specific reason." Howard would term it "physiological fetichism"

cases of alleged motiveless "kleptomania," supposedly due to "mental degeneration," Howard asks, are really due to the care with which women have similarly kept their own secrets.

Although kleptolagnia is specially found among women, it may also, as we have seen, occur in men. Glueck has recorded the case of a colored American youth, aged 23, who began to steal at an early age. It is not actually clear that his thefts were originally prompted, consciously or unconsciously, by sexual motives, but it is stated that during his first act of stealing he experienced a feeling akin to sexual emotion. Later he began to steal objects for which he had no use, on one occasion a dozen bricks. Neither prison sentences nor the efforts of his father to break the habit by supplying him with all that he desired had any curative effect. He stole for the sake of the intense emotion and excitement he experienced when stealing. Before the act there was a peculiar restlessness growing in intensity; during the act there was much physical excitement, with panting respiration and perspiration, as if he had run a race; "after it is all over I feel exhausted and relieved." He himself spontaneously compared these experiences to coitus.[1]

The nature of kleptolagnia, as brought out by such cases as these, is fairly clear. The subject, though often neurotic, is not necessarily highly degenerate. The act, far from being motiveless or in a strict sense irresistible, has a definite and intelligible motive and is carried out with reasonable precaution. The instinctive desire is to secure sexual excitation which cannot be obtained—for whatever reason—in more normal ways, by reinforcing the feeble sexual impulse by the stimulus furnished by the emotions of fear and anxiety which necessarily accompany the perpetration of a theft. There is no desire to appropriate the stolen object for purpose of gain, and when its sexual effect has been obtained, either in the act of stealing or by subsequent masturbation, it is hidden away or destroyed.

The question arises as to the exact place and status of kleptolagnia. We have seen that the conception really repre-

[1] B. Glueck, *Studies in Forensic Psychiatry*, Ch. V, Boston, 1916.

sents the outcome of two lines of investigation. On the one hand it has been reached through the medico-legal study of kleptomania, on the other hand by the psychological study of sexual aberrations.

If we first consider its relation to kleptomania, we are faced by the alternative that either it is not a sub-division of kleptomania in any exact sense, or else we must certainly revise our conception of kleptomania. The former alternative is generally selected. Kleptomania, in the classic sense, is an irresistible and motiveless impulse to theft, at first regarded as a "monomania" standing by itself, but later (and even as early as Griesinger) as with wider relationship, now usually as an obsession or an imperative conception or a period in psychosis on a basis of "degeneration," such as epilepsy, general paralysis, manic-depressive insanity, or other profoundly morbid state. But kleptolagnia, far from being motiveless, is precisely motived, and, however powerful an impulse, can by no means be described as irresistible, for it is held in check until a favorable moment for its gratification occurs. Thus Kiernan, who repeatedly discussed this subject, held that kleptolagnia is not kleptomania, and not even necessarily morbid since fully controllable, though this test of morbidity, I may remark, admits of question.

We may go further and throw doubt upon the whole conception of kleptomania. When the idea first arose in the eighteenth century it was justifiable, and it was in accordance with the psychological knowledge of the time. It is no longer in accordance with our knowledge, and it is no longer needed for humane reasons since its alternative is now equally humane We can no longer make any dogmatic statements about "irresistible impulses"; and if a theft may ever fairly be said to be due to an irresistible impulse we are then concerned with a subject whose mental disintegration is so far advanced that the tendency to theft becomes a negligible symptom. Absence of motive is an even more unsound basis for classification. It tells us nothing about the case, it merely describes our own ignorance. The actions demanded by any complex process in

any sphere of life must seem to us to be marked by "absence of motive," so long as we are ignorant. The stages in our knowledge of life are marked by a discovery of a motive where before we could see no motive. "Kleptomania," Dubuisson has remarked, "is not an explanation: it is merely a word." It is already sinking into the same obscurity as "pyromania."

Kleptolagnia, on the other hand, is a precise and intelligible psychic state, though its affinities are really only to a slight degree with the old kleptomania. The theft, which for the medico-legist was in kleptomania the great outstanding fact, is in the psychological conception of kleptolagnia a secondary and subsidiary fact. The condition more properly belongs to sexual psychology, and especially to the sphere of what I am inclined to term erotic symbolism under its subdivision of erotic fetichism. But under that heading it represents a distinct and special class. The fetich is not necessarily a normally desirable or attractive object associated with the opposite sex, but merely any object that has become accidentally associated with sexual emotion; that is in large measure why its stimulatory force needs to be reinforced by the additional stimulus derived from the explosive energy of the emotions generated by the theft. Hair-despoilers, who derive sexual gratification from the act of secretly cutting off girls' tresses, form the link of connection between kleptolagnists and more normal erotic fetichists.

There remain to be mentioned, finally, two closely allied combinations of sexual impulse with theft which yet must be clearly distinguished from kleptolagnia in the sense in which it has here been described. The first of these is the psychoanalytic conception of kleptomania as especially set forth by Stekel in 1908. Stekel was, indeed, preceded a year earlier, as he himself has pointed out, by Otto Gross,[1] but to him be-

[1] O. Gross, *Das Freudsche Ideogenitatsmoment*, 1907. Gross reported the case of a healthy girl, living with an impotent man, who began to steal all sorts of objects. Her thefts were thus not fetichistic but, Gross believes, symbolic, "secretly to take something forbidden." When her lover's impotence was cured the impulse disappeared.

longs the credit for setting out this conception clearly and fully.[1] Stekel is not dealing with erotic theft, that is with theft as a method of sexual gratification—making indeed no reference to kleptolagnia as here understood—but with theft as a substitute for sexual gratification. It is, he believes, the result of repressed sexual emotion, apt to occur, for instance, in the wives of impotent men who crave a forbidden act. A theft is such a forbidden act. So that we are concerned with a transposition of emotions from the sexual into the criminal sphere. The sexual root of kleptomania is indicated, Stekel asserts, by the generally symbolic (not narrowly fetichistic) character of the objects stolen; they are frequently umbrellas (intended to be erected) and other objects which have a sexual symbolism. "The knowledge of sexual symbolism is the key to the comprehension of kleptomania." Stekel finds that when the woman is restored to normal sexual relationship the thefts cease. It may well be that, as regards some cases, there is a real basis of truth in this theory. But, as sometimes happens with psycho-analytic investigators, Stekel gives it an undue extension to cover all cases of "kleptomania," even in children, who when they steal are to be regarded as sexually precocious, and however plausible, and in some cases probable, this conception remains, in its generalized form, rather speculative. In any case it fails to coincide with the cases of what is here called kleptolagnia, in which the theft is not perpetrated as a subconscious substitute for sexual gratification but as a direct means of obtaining it. It has also been truly pointed out by Kiernan that Stekel shows himself uncritical, and ignorant of the present position of psychiatry in his unquestioning acceptance of the ancient doctrine of kleptomania and of the mono-

[1] W. Stekel, "Die Sexuelle Wurzel der Kleptomanie," *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, Oct., 1908. Stekel has more recently (1923) dealt with kleptomania in *Der Fetischismus*. He here states (p 39) that "the kleptomanic impulse is a transformation of the sexual impulse when repressed by the incest-prohibition." See also Stekel, *Twelve Essays on Sex and Psychoanalysis*, New York, 1922, and *Peculiarities of Behaviour*, Chs. VII-X. Stekel finds that the subject is seldom conscious of the sexual motive; "the affective overtone is there but without the sexual counterpoint," and they live in a fairy realm.

manias generally. He unnecessarily vitiates his conception by grafting it into that discredited doctrine. Placzek's conception of "kleptomania" may also be associated with Stekel's as he traces it to sexual inhibition leading to theft as substitute for the desired satisfaction; he considers it may be an experience of the normal life, though chiefly found combined with hysteria and menstrual disturbances, accompanied by *pseudologia phantastica*.[1]

That there may be an element of truth in Stekel's conception, and that we have here a group of cases which it is proper to include in this connection, is indicated by another example of theft in a child brought forward by Mary Chadwick of London.[2] A little girl from the age of five stole such objects as pins, pencils, and pennies. She really desired to obtain a *baby, knowledge,* and the *penis.* It is argued that her thefts were symbols of the things she coveted. She was not being intelligently brought up, and when rationally treated, and matters explained to her, she recovered.

The other manifestation of pathological stealing associated with the sexual impulse, but to be clearly distinguished from kleptolagnia, is that which has been especially worked out and clearly demonstrated by Healy of Chicago in his great work on *The Individual Delinquent* and later in *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct*.[3] These cases occur in youths as well as girls, led into sexual temptations which yet seem to them intensely abhorrent and wicked, with a resultant conflict from which they subconsciously seek an escape by yielding to what they regard as the less reprehensible temptation of theft, so that Healy is inclined to regard the stealing as a kind of sexual symbolism. This conception moves in the psycho-analytic sphere and at a first glance it may seem indistinguishable from Stekel's concep-

[1] Placzek, *Das Geschlechtsleben der Hysterischen*, 2d ed., 1922, p. 85.
[2] Mary Chadwick, "A Case of Kleptomania in a Girl of Ten Years," *International Journal of Psycho-analysis*, July, 1925.
[3] W. Healy, *The Individual Delinquent*, 1915; *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct*, 1917; see in the latter work especially the cases beginning on pp. 125, 175, 204, 243.

tion. It might indeed be possible so to formulate it as to make it appear identical with that. But it is really quite distinct. The theft is not here a symbol of repressed sexual desire. That precisely is the source of the psychic trouble. The sexual temptation is yielded to, in act or at least in thought, and instead of the theft proving a substitute for sexual gratification the tendency to steal is apt to become more violent the more the sexual temptation is gratified.[1] Conflict is of the essence of the process, and the theft is an instinctive effort to solve the conflict by turning the psychic energies into an equally violent but, as it is felt, less evil channel. This is distinct from Stekel's conception of theft as a symbolic gratification of repressed sexual desire. At the same time it is the very reverse of kleptolagnia, which is an effort to attain the direct gratification of the sexual impulse by the aid of the emotional energy generated by the excitement of the theft.[2]

[1] Perhaps to the same group, though here there was an absence of conscious sexual desire or gratification, belong those cases of theft in young women, whose histories are narrated by Dr. Edith Spaulding (*American Journal of Insanity*, Jan., 1920). In these cases, it is held, the thefts represent attempts to compensate for emotional repression associated with distressing mental conflict.

[2] Kleptolagnia and allied conditions are so far only beginning to become of medico-legal interest. In Rhodesia, South Africa (*Rhodesia Herald*, Jan. 19, 1923, quoted in *Jour. Ment. Science*, July, 1923, p. 351), an unhappily married woman was charged with a long series of unmotived thefts. The defence was kleptomania (*sic*? insanity) due to sexual repression. This defence was not accepted by the magistrate who

IX.

THE HISTORY OF MARRIAGE.

I.

The subject of marriage, regarded in its essential meaning, is of universal and everlasting interest. That proposition may look like a truism. But marriage in its narrow sense is a mere social institution, possibly of only local or temporary existence. In its true biological sense alone is it no merely human institution but the substance of the process by which all the chief forms of life have persisted on the earth. Millions of years before Man appeared, supposing that self-consciousness ever arose, it is marriage that would have been a leading topic of meditation or of dispute. Still today the questions that most affect our well-being or even continuance on the earth as individuals, as families, as nations, or as a species,—the questions of heredity, eugenics, sex education, birth control, sterilization, divorce, the place of woman and the care of the child,—they are all merely aspects of the central problem of marriage. Into the making of a proper account of marriage there enter biology, physiology and embryology, psychology, ethnography, folk-lore, the study of magic and religion, economics, law. A really adequate book on marriage must not only be a book of profound importance for the welfare of the race, it must also be one of the most absorbingly interesting for all who feel the smallest concern in themselves or their fellows.

A completely adequate history of marriage we can hardly expect to see. No one person could master all the disciplines of study that must go to the making of it, and the separate work of a group of experts, each in his own field competent, could not be fused into any living and harmonious whole. But the nearest approximation to such a completely

adequate history is the great work of Professor Westermarck.[1] The foregoing remarks imply that the definition of what "marriage" is cannot be taken for granted. To many people, no doubt, it may seem that no definition is needed. Yet that is far from being so, and it cannot even be said that among students of the subject there is yet quite a clear agreement as to what we are to understand by "marriage." Westermarck stated the subject of his book to be "Human Marriage," and that clearly involved a natural biological conception of marriage. In that sense, Westermarck has defined it as "a more or less durable connection between male and female, lasting beyond the mere act of propagation till after the birth of the offspring." But short of this natural history sense of the term, marriage may be regarded in a narrower sense as a social institution, "a union regulated by custom or law."[2] In this special and more usual sense "marriage" is not simply a method of sexual association. It is an *institution,* and while it gives "the right to sexual intercourse it is not necessarily exclusive."

Dr. Malinowski, who today perhaps speaks with the best knowledge, both intimate and scientific, of savage life, confirms Westermarck on this point, and even more explicitly.[3] Marriage, he holds, is not merely to be identified with "sexual appropriation." It is to be regarded, rather, as "an institution based on complex social conditions," of which sexual appropria-

[1] *The History of Human Marriage.* Fifth edition, re-written. By Edward Westermarck, Ph D., LL D. London Macmillan. Three volumes, 1922. There a short version of the *History* in one volume (1926). Two subsequent works on marriage, complementary to Westermarck's, may be mentioned, though written in complete independence of it and from other points of view: *Die Vollkommene Ehe* (1926) by a Dutch gynecologist, Dr. T. H. van de Velde, an elaborate treatise on marriage as primarily an erotic relationship, and *Die Ehe* (1927), a handbook on the physiology, psychology, hygiene and eugenics of marriage, written by a group of German physicians, men and women, and edited by Dr. Max Marcuse. I would add Briffault's notable work, *The Mothers,* which contains many acute criticisms of Westermarck and must be studied by all interested in these questions.

[2] Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas,* vol. ii Ch. XL. *History of Marriage,* vol. i, Ch. I.

[3] For instance in *Nature,* 22 April. 1922.

tion is not even the main aspect. The Trobriand Islanders of New Guinea, whom Malinowski has studied in minute detail, live in great sexual laxity; they are matrilinear, they satisfy their sexual inclinations by various forms of license which sometimes resemble "group marriage." But they settle down to marry, and this not only, or even mainly, in order to possess a partner in sexual association, but out of personal attachment, to set up a household with economic advantage, and to rear children. Marriage, thus regarded, is not based on sex alone. Nor, it will be seen, when thus regarded, does it strictly exclude sex relationships outside marriage. It would follow that if marriage is thus to be defined as an *institution,* it can scarcely be strictly correct to refer to extra-marital sexual relations as "immoral." That, however, is not an aspect of the problem with which Westermarck is concerned in his *History.*, It more properly belongs to his work on *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas,* where it duly comes under consideration.

Westermarck's *History of Marriage* has been a standard book on its subject ever since it first appeared more than thirty years ago. It was, at that time, the youthful production of an unknown student from Finland who had but lately acquired the foreign language in which he wrote. In an Introductory note Alfred R. Wallace pointed out its fresh and valuable qualities. Its conclusions were at some points opposed to those of various eminent authorities, but the new investigator commanded so immense a range of facts, he dealt with them in so critical, orderly, and scientific a spirit, he had so admirable a power of clear presentation, and was throughout so cautious and judicial, that his opinions could not fail to carry weight. It became clear, no doubt, as the years passed that there were some aspects of the subject the author has passed over too lightly; there were others that, when the book appeared, no one had sufficiently recognized. What some might regard as a capital defect was the absence of firsthand and intimate knowledge of the more primitive life and custom of any extra-European people. Dr. Westermarck proceeded to remedy this defect by spending six years in Morocco, learning to acquire,

by contact with the natives, in their own language, not only a direct knowledge of customs and institutions, but an insight into habits of thought of comparatively primitive peoples untouched by European civilization, yet remotely related to European stocks. How fruitful this experience proved is shown by Westermarck's book, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, and various other publications.

It was in Morocco that he learnt the large part that magic plays in the ritual of marriage, confirming what, since the first edition of his book was published, Sir James G. Frazer had shown of the place of magical beliefs and practices in all the great affairs of life, including marriage. So that whereas in the first edition Dr. Westermarck found a dozen pages enough for marriage rites he now finds three long chapters—and most delightful chapters they are—none too much. Yet, he tells us, notwithstanding the enormous influence of magical beliefs on marriage rites, of which he has become aware since living in Morocco, the value of such rites for the study of the primitive and fundamental forms of marriage seems to him even less than he thought it before.

Although he has found it necessary to re-mould and re-write this work so thoroughly, Dr. Westermarck remains true to the method that guided him at first, and the two main points in this method are its biological basis and its inductive collection of comparative facts. From his present standpoint he is more inclined to extend and to fortify this method than to abandon it. The biological conception of marriage leads on to psychology, though not in itself necessarily psychological, and the psychological element in the processes of marriage is far more elaborated now than before. That the comparative way of progression may sometimes have defects when the facts collected are misunderstood or wrongly reported at the outset, Dr. Westermarck himself asserts, yet it remains the safest way, and when (as he rightly observes) we remember that Man, after all, is only a single species it is a completely legitimate way. Other ways have sprung up in recent years, and in a new introductory chapter, "On the Method of Investiga-

tion," Dr. Westermarck discusses them and compares them with his own. There is the way of Dr. Rivers in England and of the French school founded by Durkheim. These and other investigators are disposed to regard a society as an organism which must be studied by methods of "pure" sociology. Explanations on the comparative basis or on the psychological basis are regarded as too hazardous and quite unnecessary. But, as Westermarck points out, while such hazards undoubtedly exist, the hazards of the other method are equal and even greater; Durkheim was prepared to draw conclusions concerning the religious conceptions of Man at large from the study of totemic Australian tribes, while Rivers, so opposed to psychological conjectures, was himself profuse in conjecture. But Dr. Westermarck, with the sanity and breadth which inspire confidence in his work, is far from wishing to condemn methods to which he does not himself attach prime importance. He concludes that they are all helpful, each complementary to the others, and all likely to aid in enlarging and defining our knowledge.

In its present and probably final state there is perhaps only one work with which *The History of Human Marriage* can be compared, and that is the now still more extensive *Golden Bough,* which has been the chief life-work of Sir James G. Frazer. The two works have obvious points of resemblance; they are both by men of immense learning who are concerned with the investigation of the operations of the primitive mind and the details of primitive human practice in order to trace the sources of the mental operations and social practices of mankind today. The two investigations in fact often overlap. Frazer enters Westermarck's sphere and there is no writer to whom Westermarck refers so often as Frazer. But when that is said, and we come to look closer, it is the differences that we note. Frazer, in his discursive way, touches nearly every aspect of human thought and action, throwing out brilliant suggestions in many directions. Westermarck, though his net is cast as wide, or even wider, is only concerned to gather in what bears on one subject, and while dealing with the

most diverse aspects of it, he is methodically seeking to elucidate a single social institution of primary importance to mankind. Frazer seems always to have instinctively before him the ideals of literary scholarship, Westermarck the ideals of biological science. Frazer is something of an artist; we divine in him a certain pleasure in the charm and strangeness of some of his own speculations; he seeks after style, and is even willing, as in the last and oft-quoted paragraph of his great work, to attain a fine effect by a deliberate sacrifice of probability. For Westermarck there is no question of "purple patches"; he is manipulating a language which is not natively his own and is content to attain the scientific qualities of precision and clarity; we realize, moreover, that these qualities of writing fit the qualities of his mind; he is not concerned with aesthetic effects, and, one imagines, would rather put forward no speculations at all than any which do not seem solidly based. So that while both these great works are of profound interest to a reader who has any intelligent care for the problems of human life and thought, he is likely to read the *Golden Bough* for its brilliance and excitement and far-reaching suggestion, and the *History of Human Marriage* for the steady illumination and weighty judgment which it brings to the most vitally intimate of social institutions.

If we compare this *History* in its full development with the other great work on which its author's fame is chiefly based, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas,* the latter work appears as in effect a series of monographs on the various human virtues or vices,—for what from one point of view is a virtue is sometimes from another a vice,—but it is its unity which makes the *History* so impressive. A number of different avenues are opened before us, but each of them leads to the same great central human institution, each enables us to see better from a fresh and illuminating point of view some essential aspect of it.

Yet while the *History* is dominated by the sense of unity it is possible to find here a series of fascinating monographs on the most diverse, the most attractive, sometimes the most prac-

tical topics. Courtship, modesty, self-decoration by ornament and clothing, the primitive pairing season, and all the various forms of marriage, group-marriage, monogamy, polygyny, polyandry, as well as celibacy and divorce,—all these and many other topics render the *History* attractive to a multitude of various readers.

This last subject of Divorce is dealt with at length, both in its savage and civilized aspects; Dr. Westermarck finds that marriage tends to be durable even among peoples in primitive stages of culture, as we should expect if it really rests on a natural biological basis. It is because marriage is so natural an institution that we need not fear to allow a large freedom of divorce, as well as of variation, for that freedom cannot destroy but will, rather, confirm its stability and purify its practice. It seems reasonable, Westermarck concludes, that "a contract entered into by mutual consent should also be dissolved by mutual consent"; such freedom of divorce is necessary as "a means of preserving the dignity of marriage," and is even necessary in the interests of the children.

It is inevitable that, when the sections of the work are thus examined in detail, criticisms arise. The *History* was planned from the outset—as even its name indicates—on the broadest basis of natural science, but not only can we not expect to find an author, however painstaking and accomplished, proficient in every scientific discipline involved, there cannot fail, also, to be aspects of the subject which, perhaps even deliberately, he leaves aside. Thus, though we find here chapters on celibacy as well as on divorce, there is no detailed consideration of the subject, even more germane to the central question, of the regulation of the size of the family, nor is there any mention of eugenics, although we are constantly brought close to unconscious eugenics.[1] Abortion and infanticide have been dealt with elsewhere by Dr. Westermarck, and are only in-

[1] Almost immediately after the publication of this new edition of the *History*, Mr. Carr-Saunders published his work, *The Population Problem. A Study in Human Evolution*, which precisely fills this blank, and the more satisfactorily as its author writes in something of the same scientific and scholarly spirit as Dr. Westermarck.

cidentally touched on here. But a chapter setting forth and elucidating the gradually progressive regulation and limitation of the size of the family, first by infanticide, then by abortion, and finally by deliberate contraception, would have been not only much to the point but of real help in an age when this aspect of marriage has become so prominent and when so many people, who cling to the ideals of an earlier stage of civilization, yet experience terror and indignation in the presence of later forms of civilization.

There is another form of marriage which Dr. Westermarck has not included and could not include because it has hardly yet acquired historical position although it is becoming an increasingly common form of marriage, however unrecognized or illegitimate. The form in question is that which Dr. Knight has termed the "companionate." That is to say the union of two people for sexual companionship without the intention of producing offspring.[1]

It constantly happens under civilized conditions that a young man and woman may not desire, or may not be eugenically entitled, or not able to afford, to rear a family, or even to depend, both of them, on the earnings of one, but they desire each other's social and sexual companionship, while each earning his or her own living, under his or her own name, and retaining an individual relation to the state and to the tax-gatherer. Under present conditions the alternatives open to them are neither satisfactory. For they must either marry and accept all the obligations, disabilities, and compulsions which marriage, as at present constituted, imposes, or they must, as so often happens, form a more or less secret union, with all the difficulties and deceits it involves, and the risks of discovery and humiliation. Both alternatives are bad. They are not only socially unwholesome, but to both the individuals concerned, whose aim is altogether legitimate and honorable, they are alike absolutely unjust. The open recognition and accep-

[1] M. Knight, "The Companionate and the Family · The Unobserved Division of an Historical Institution," *Journal of Social Hygiene*, New York, May, 1924.

tance of a "companionate" is today an urgent demand of social hygiene. It is, under modern conditions, a great benefit to the individual, and it inflicts no injury on the community, but rather, indirectly, great benefits, not only in the sense that every benefit to individuals is necessarily a benefit to the community they constitute but because it would increase social sincerity and at the same time form a powerful lever to aid in the removal of prostitution. It need scarcely be said that such a companionate could at any time be voluntarily terminated at the will of the parties concerned and that it would terminate automatically, and become legal marriage, by the birth of children.[1]

Although it is impossible to contest Dr. Westermarck's learning (to which indeed the list of "Authorities Quoted," extending to 120 pages, sufficiently testifies), and equally impossible to doubt the well-considered weight of his judgments, points of detail must still remain open for criticism. There can never be complete agreement on some of the obscure problems connected with the evolution of marriage, nor can anyone ever be completely competent to discuss all its varied aspects. The study of the psychological basis of marriage has in this new edition been greatly extended, with much care, and, it might be added, courage, for Dr. Westermarck holds that "the concealment of truth is the only indecorum known to science." From the standpoint of sexual physiology and psychology there is, however, sometimes more to be said than is here brought forward; for instance, in the chapter on "Female Coyness" the physiological reasons for the need of courtship in the female require to be supplemented to complete the account of the processes probably involved; and a high degree of excitement in the female in sexual intercourse may be desirable not only to produce lubrication of the female passage but also to aid in providing the movements of the organs which favor conception. One may also note the almost complete absence of reference to

[1] Judge Ben Lindsey has put forth a persuasive presentation of this view in his book, *The Companionate Marriage* (1927).

the psycho-analytic explanations of sexual and social phenomena which have of recent years been put forward.

No doubt it seemed hazardous to so cautious an investigator to venture into a field which has been invaded by the ignorant and the cranky. But that field has now also been entered by many serious thinkers, even sociologists, so that psycho-analytic explanations deserve at least consideration, the more so at Dr. Westermarck's hands since they carry on those psychological lines of explanation to which he reasonably attaches importance. Thus in elucidating the custom of the defloration of a bride by some other man than her husband (to which a whole chapter is here devoted) the view which Freud has worked out needs to be mentioned, however it is regarded.[1] He has found that, even at the present day, there is an instinctive antagonism on the woman's part to the first approach of the man; that the first intercourse is more likely to bring disillusion than satisfaction, and that this frequently leads to a permanent alienation from the husband,—the man who has been compelled to put himself in this undesirable position,—and hence to many unhappy marriages. It was an advantage to the husband, and a security for successful marriage, if he transferred this instinctive hostility of the bride to some other man. In more civilized times such an arrangement was rendered impossible, in part by the development of a refinement of luxury which made the possession of a virgin seem peculiarly desirable, and in part by the growth of new moral conventions. But in earlier days the custom was widespread in many parts of the world, and assumed many disguises. Much ingenuity has been expended over its explanation. The favorite view has been that it is due to the magically dangerous results of intercourse with a virgin, and the most fantastic ideas have been put forward to explain why, if that is so, any one could be found to risk undertaking this operation for the husband's benefit. An investigation into the attitude of women

[1] S. Freud, *Sammlung Kleiner Schiften zur Neurosenlehre*, 4th Series, 1918, Beitrage zur Psychologie des Liebeslebens: Das Tabu der Virginitat, pp. 229-251.

in civilization shows, Freud believes, that there really is a "danger" here, so that the primitive man with his tabu of virginity was protecting himself against a rightly divined though really psychic danger. "The tabu of virginity is thus sensible enough, and we may understand that proscription which commanded the avoidance of these dangers to the man who desired to enter into a permanent union with a woman." No doubt those who accept Freud's explanation would admit that this custom, like so many other primitive customs, has been embroidered over with magic, but Dr. Westermarck, who is inclined to accept the old magical theory, seems to have forgotten that he has elsewhere definitely stated that magic can only affect the mere rites of marriage, and we cannot dismiss defloration as a mere rite.

Another point on which it is possible to differ from Dr. Westermarck is in regard to primitive knowledge of physiological paternity. Dr. Hartland in 1909, in his work on *Primitive Paternity*, developed the view that primitive man was ignorant of the physiological need of a father in the production of children. Some of the evidence he adduced was open to criticism, but evidence has since been brought forward by careful investigators tending to show that this ignorance may be found still, even when sexual intercourse is recognized as a valuable aid in the causation of children. Malinowski, especially, has investigated with much care, among the Trobriand Islanders, the primitive theory of conception.[1] Westermarck, however, while not reaching any absolute conclusions, confesses that he still has "some doubts as to the present existence of any savage tribe where child-birth is considered to be completely independent of sexual intercourse." It must certainly be admitted, as even Malinowski shows, that savage beliefs concerning the precise function of the father are sometimes very complicated.

There are many such points at which it might be possible to carry further, or perhaps to qualify, the views put forward

[1] See, for instance, B. Malinowski, "The Psychology of Sex in Primitive Societies," *Psyche*, Oct., 1923, pp. 110 *et seq.*

in this *History*. But they do not affect the solidity of a work elaborated with such patient care and thought, with so constant an eye to its larger outlines, that it constitutes one of the chief scientific monuments of our time.

On some aspects of the history of marriage Dr. Westermarck was from the first opposed to influential schools of thought. This was especially so as regards the theory of the origin of later marriage systems out of a primitive promiscuity. Many eminent authorities have adopted this theory, which owed much to the brilliant and learned work of the Swiss jurist, Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht,* published in 1861. From Switzerland Rousseau in the eighteenth century brought a Romantic Movement into the world; from the same land in the same century Noverre came to renovate the ballet with the life-blood of romance; in our own century Swiss physicians have made a romantic religion out of psycho-analysis, much to the disgust of its founder. Similarly, it was from Switzerland, in the last century, that Bachofen came to bring the Romantic movement into the origin of society, with his conception of a free primitive community in which women ruled since they alone were recognizable as parents.[1]

Dr. Westermarck here tells us that he had at first approached this question with a disposition to accept the sexual promiscuity of early Man. But the evidence failed to convince him even when writing the first edition of his *History*. Now he has gone into the matter far more elaborately, devoting seven chapters to a careful examination of the facts and of the arguments based on them, and still maintains his former position. With so powerful a presentation of the case against the theory of primitive promiscuity, it should no longer be possible for anyone to speak of that theory as "established." It may be, however, that many will still be inclined to believe, though they cannot prove, that, improbable as actual promiscuity may have been, early Man often passed through a stage,

[1] A learned and elaborate work somewhat in the same sense is Briffault's *The Mothers*, 3 vols, 1927. Much valuable material is here brought together, though it needs to be approached critically.

unlike that which prevails alike among the apes and among highly civilized peoples, marked by complex marriage relationships or some sort of group marriage.[1] We must not assume that early Man was monogamous because the apes frequently are. It is even possible that, if he had been, he would have remained much nearer to the apes. A complex marriage system, binding together a group of people, would not only constitute a valuable instrument for making associated progress in a still difficult world, but, without having any teleological end, it would form a highly important training in the discipline of the instincts, and the development of the intelligence. Later, when other methods for seeking those ends became possible, the stress of circumstance on the sexual instinct might well fall away and the later condition of Man in this respect again approach that which existed in the root-stock from which Man sprang. That is possible to believe, though it is not at present possible to prove.

There is another important question, here dealt with through two chapters, on which Dr. Westermarck has not completely succeeded in carrying conviction, and has now modified his statement in form though not in substance. That is the question of Exogamy, or the prohibition to marry within the group, which Westermarck reasonably (as I think) associated with, and explained by, the generally greater sexual attraction felt for persons outside one's own domestic circle, and the consequent rarity of incestuous attraction. Unfortunately, however, Dr. Westermarck had placed the emphasis on the wrong side of this ambivalent attitude and asserted the existence of an "instinct of aversion." The present writer—while, as Dr. Westermarck remarks, strengthening his position—many years ago objected that there was no need to assume any such instinct since the phenomenon in question is merely the negative

[1] Students of early society are, it is true, often very cautious about admitting the existence of group marriage. Thus Malinowski remarks that when we find groups living in sexual communion we are not to jump to the conclusion that this is "group marriage." But he admits that the Trobriand Islanders of New Guinea, whom he has himself specially studied, possess an institution nearly resembling group marriage.

aspect of the positive facts of sexual attraction, only appearing as a pronounced "aversion" when it is definitely presented to the mind, and not instinctively.[1] Now Dr. Westermarck drops the assumption of an "instinct of aversion" and therewith the only serious objections to his position fall away, though it is possible that he might even put the matter a little more clearly and positively, a little less negatively. He refers to a boy in Finland who made a distinction between the girls of his own school, and other girls, the latter only being what he termed "real" girls. That boy was quite correct. There is no "aversion" from the women of one's own group, far from it. Yet the girl with whom one has not grown up from childhood, and become accustomed to, is best fitted to be to us, in the sexual sense, a real girl. That is to say, she alone possesses those powerful stimuli to the sense of sexual desirability, never developed in the people one has grown unconsciously used to, which are essential to the making of a real girl. And the girl herself feels similarly.

All this is bound up with the fundamental facts of sexual psychology in Man and lower animals alike, and there is good biological reason why it should be. How much Dr. Westermarck gained by abandoning the "instinct of aversion" may be seen by the remarks of Freud, completely rejecting his original theory, which he here quotes. Freud states, quite truly, that psycho-analytically, it is impossible to accept an "innate aversion" to incestuous feeling. That rejection is no longer to the point; the Westermarckian view, as now stated, becomes even more coherent than the Freudian, for Freud regards the infantile incestuous tendencies to which he attaches importance as violently repressed in later childhood; but it is far more plausible to argue that, in the healthily born, they die out naturally and normally under the usure of familiar life, when stronger stimuli from outside are applied. There is no need to invoke any "violent repression," save in exceptional cases. As Mapother states, perhaps even a little too emphatically:

[1] *Studies*, vol. iv, p. 205.

"It seems very natural that the sexual tendencies of puberty should often be incestuous. There seems little need to regard this tendency as specific, or to dignify it with special names. [He is referring to the "Oedipus Complex," the "Electra Complex," etc.] The adolescent takes as the material for fantasy-production that which is available. If juvenile incest were a common cause of psychosis the mental hospitals would require considerable enlargement."[1] The occasional slight sexual attraction between near relations in early life and its usual disappearance at puberty or adolescence are thus both alike natural and normal. Dr. Westermarck might have pointed out that, in our civilization, the examples of really passionate incestuous attraction which now and then arise are nearly always between those persons who have been separated during the pubertal period, so that the dulling effect of familiar life on the development of sexual stimuli has been suspended. It is the simple fundamental impulses of normal life which all our customs and institutions and laws formulate and often emphasize. Human ingenuity sometimes moulds them into extravagant shapes and camouflages them with fantastic designs, but it is the fundamental natural impulses beneath them which are the driving force. This is what Dr. Westermarck in general clearly sees. He is thus easily able to refute Sir James Frazer's rejection of his view. Frazer thinks that laws exist to forbid men to do the things their natural instincts incline them to do. Laws, it seems, are brought down to men, by the Mosaic method, from some inaccessible Sinai. Strange that so brilliant an investigator, whose researches have often elucidated superstitions, should himself fall a victim to a superstition so gross!

There is a temptation, before this great and fascinating *History*, to linger over the problems the author seeks so carefully and so learnedly to solve. It is indeed a varied panorama which is here spread before us. One never ceases to marvel over the endless modifications and elaborations and complexities

[1] C. Mapother, *Journal of Mental Science*, Jan., 1922.

into which the romantic and mighty human mind has successively moulded even so apparently simple and fundamental a biological fact as that of marriage. One cannot help wondering, also, what new and fantastic shapes await our marriage system in the future. For Man never stands still; when he begins to stand still he is dying. Yet, we may be sure, the more marriage changes in form the more obviously it will in substance remain the same thing.

II.

We cannot help wondering, but we need not wonder altogether at random. The future history of marriage can only emerge from its present history. The seeds of tomorrow are being sown today. The big trees of the future are vigorously growing in the present, if only we are able to discern them. They are not always easily discerned because of the frequency among us of deliberate blindness and deep-rooted prejudice leading us, often with the most virtuous motives, either to deny the existence of these new growths or else to brand them as noxious weeds which will soon die out. It may be unwise to put oneself forward as so self-righteous as not to be influenced by these virtuous motives. Yet there are certain tendencies of today, so clear to the eyes of those who are moderately brave in facing the facts of life, that we can scarcely fail to mistake their significance for the future.

Perhaps the most obvious of these tendencies is the movement to increase the legal facilities for divorce. This movement proceeds step by step with civilization and is found in all civilized countries. It exists not only in the lands of Protestant tradition, where we should expect to find it, but also in the lands of Catholic tradition. In no civilized country is there any progressive movement for adding to the legal impediments to divorce. If there were such a country we should probably be suspicious of its claim to be called civilized. And rightly. For in the absence of civilization, while there is room for choice,—since the members of no species are ever actually identical,—yet the chances of the two individuals who choose each other proving to be so unlike as to be incompatible are relatively small. Civilization means the differentiation of individuals, so high a degree of individualization that the act of choice, unless it is made under conditions of prolonged intimacy, is not likely to be effective. That is why it seems to

some that a marriage should not be made binding unless there has been a preliminary stage of noviciate, sufficiently intimate to ensure mutual knowledge.[1] Yet even with such a safeguard it would probably still be felt wiser to continue the movement for facilitating the exit from marriage.

How far that movement will be continued it is impossible to foretell. We have to remember that in our western world, ever since the Reformation, it has received a constantly powerful impetus forward, which the French Revolution, and every later movement of liberation from what seemed to be the legal fetters of the past (notably the Russian Revolution), has accentuated. The natural goal, already beginning to be reached here and there, is obviously divorce by mutual consent, provided of course that no rights of the parties themselves or of the children are injured, for it would seem to be logical that the exit from marriage should not be made more difficult than the entrance. And even if the logical conclusion is in this matter held to be unreasonable, it must certainly be accepted that if impediments are placed in the way of divorce it is essential that impediments should also be placed in the way of marriage, so as to diminish the need for divorce.

The progressive movement for the legal facilitation of divorce may thus be accepted, to whatever extent it may proceed. It is probable that, however great the care shown in forming marriages, the complexities of personality developed by our civilization will continue to introduce so many difficulties that the knot will still sometimes have to be cut because it cannot be unravelled. It is more likely that the movement for simplifying divorce will not proceed rapidly enough. That is where the opportunity arises for the formation of such non-legal unions as, under the name of "companionate," have already been mentioned. Such unions are of course numerous. What we need is socially to recognize them as worthy.

[1] Mrs. Havelock Ellis, "A Noviciate for Marriage," *The New Horizon in Love and Life.*

We are called upon to admit openly—if we are sensible we already admit it in secret—that they are legitimate and beneficial. In many cases, no doubt, such unions are to be regarded as noviciates between two young people who eventually form a permanent marriage with each other. But it is not necessarily so. Young people, both youths and girls, are frequently, in the first place, attracted to persons some years older than themselves, occasionally much older, and doubtless by a natural instinct. Each craves to be brought in touch with a knowledge and experience, with a skill in loving, which they could not expect from one on their own level of crude youthfulness. It is indeed an immense benefit for a youth to be initiated into life by a woman whom to know, as it used to be said, is a liberal education. It is an immense benefit for a girl to be initiated tenderly and gently by an experienced man rather than run the risk of being shocked and perhaps irretrievably injured.[1] It is possible for both the men and the women to conduct this initiation with a reverence and tenderness for which they will receive enduring gratitude. But with that they should rest content. It is not desirable for a permanent relationship to be formed where there is any wide disparity in years.

We witness, then, a tendency for the progressive legal relaxation of the bonds of matrimony, and we witness it without anxiety, even if it should go so far as to reduce legal marriage to a mere formality. But when we turn to the procreation of children we see a very different picture. The community is beginning to realize that it has no direct concern with the sexual relationships of its members. But the community is also beginning to learn that it has a very intimate concern indeed with the children produced by

[1] It need scarcely be added that this is not to be regarded as always an ideal situation. The Countess de Choiseul-Meuse, who knew a great deal about the erotic art, wrote more than a century ago: "It is not enough to be happy, the woman a man loves must share the tenderness and the pleasure she inspires; but men of ripe age are not so delicate; their aim is to enjoy, and they regard women as the instruments of their pleasures." (*Julie*, 1807, vol. ii. p. 50.) That is still often true.

its members. It is beginning to realize that when in old days it ordained rigid rules for marriage and left the procreation of children absolutely free, the emphasis was all wrong; it should have been the other way about, and endless mischief resulted. The world is beginning to see that it is impossible to lay too light a legal hand on marriage and equally impossible to be too rigidly severe in regard to procreation. In this matter, indeed; not so much progress has yet been made as with regard to divorce; but the indications are clear and the two movements are really bound together.

The twentieth century was called by Ellen Key the century of the child. The child is indeed doubly a problem for our century. On the one hand we have to learn how to select the parents of the child (which of course can only be done by themselves), and how so to conceive and bear and rear it that every child brought into the community may be of such high quality that it will not lower but, rather, raise the level of that community; on the other hand we have to establish the strongest possible barriers against the incoming flood of unwanted children which marks our stage of civilization. That flood is due, not to any increase in the number of births but to indiscriminate breeding undern modern conditions; and of these conditions the most important is the improved hygiene which allows not only good but bad and indifferent children to reach maturity and so to lower the whole civilized level of the community.[1] This is a problem which the nineteenth century has, without intending it, bequeathed to our century. That century largely carried through the Herculean task it had received from the eighteenth, so clearing away the filth of our supposedly civilized world, and neutralizing

[1] It is now recognized that the rise of population which began with the development of modern hygiene, and is still in progress, is not due to a higher birth-rate but to a lower death-rate. See *e.g.*, M. C. Buer, *Health, Wealth and Population in the Early Days of the Industrial Revolution*, 1926. And see also the discussions in the *Proceedings of the World Population Conference*, 1927.

its diseases, that human lives have been rendered to an enormous degree safer and longer. The result is that the world now holds a vastly greater amount of human life than it knows what to do with. And this, not only because that excess of life is often of poor quality, and thus imposing an intolerable burden on every community which permits it, but because it threatens to outgrow the means of subsistence. There is no need to emphasize the point here. It is becoming familiar. Mankind is, it has been said, at the cross-roads, and the authoritative book which Professor E. M. East has written under that title ought to be, if it is not already, in the hands of all thinking people who are alive to the problems of their own time. It is true that there are people of an elder generation who still try to soothe themselves with foolish dreams of new artificial foods or wild schemes for the reclamation of the inhospitable regions of the earth, foolish because Man, under all his disguises, still remains a natural animal and requires a natural life and natural space to roam in. But the younger generation are, in large part, better informed, and the elder generation will soon be extinct. No doubt they may congratulate themselves that they have escaped a problem compared to which the regulation of marriage, which our forefathers were so solemnly concerned about, was like an idle game. Yet when we hold the two sides of this great question of reproduction together—the new need for quality and the new refusal of quantity—we may see ground for believing that the future course of the race is quite likely to proceed harmoniously. It is true that the desire for children is almost universal. But a growing perception of the special qualities needed for sound physical parentage and the high training required for sound spiritual parentage can scarcely fail to induce—and are indeed already inducing—greater care and hesitation in accepting those responsibilities of conception which it is now being brought well within the competence of all to reject when rejection seems desirable. Such a situation is

the best possible augury for success in that task of diminishing the gross number of births which is today laid upon the civilized countries of the world.[1] The chief failure to comprehend this task is in France, where the State seems to be unaware of the yet obvious fact that France already possesses a high birth-rate—as high, indeed, as England's—and that what is needed, if it is desired to maintain the level of the population, is not more babies but a greater care in preserving those that are born; it is an evil policy to encourage the unfit to procreate, or to seek to adulterate the population of the country by the immigration of the scum of other lands.[2] In the United States the government has been wiser, and by the strict limitation of immigration it has not only declared to the world its own acceptance of the reality and the imminency of the danger of over-population but has warned other countries in the plainest way that the limitation of procreation is now the task placed before Man.

The question of marriage and divorce has led on to the

[1] At one time much anxiety was ostentatiously expressed concerning what was called the differential birth-rate, or a higher rate of procreation among the poorer (and supposedly inferior) social class as compared with the upper and more educated class. As might have been suspected, that is only a temporary phenomenon, mainly due to the greater facilities in limiting conception possessed by the better educated It is now becoming recognized that the birth-rates of upper and lower social classes are tending to become equalized. This has been clearly shown as regards London (see *e.g., Nature*, 27 August, 1927), and in Sweden, Dr. Karl Edin of Stockholm University, states (*Proc. World Population Conference*, 1927, p. 205), the birth-rate of the upper class is now lower than that of the working class. As Raymond Pearl indicates (*The Biology of Population Growth*, 1926, Ch. VII) the equalization of environmental conditions tends to equalize the birth-rates.

[2] The opposite error is committed by the State in Italy at the present time. France thinks that she is not prolific enough and deplores it. Italy thinks she is too prolific—and glories in it. Mussolini has said: "The Italian people are too prolific. I am glad of it. I will never countenance birth control propaganda [it was strictly prohibited by law in 1926] As the country grows, only three roads are open to it: to addict itself to voluntary sterility—Italians are too intelligent to do that; to make war: or to seek outlets for the over-population." So frank a statement shows as clearly as could be wished how a country that tolerates its excessive procreativeness is a deliberate menace to civilization and the declared enemy of all countries more favorably situated than itself.

question of children because that has hitherto been held to be the point to which mainly it ought to lead. Today this is beginning to seem less certain. Many marriages now are, deliberately or not, childless; and when children come they are not necessarily held an argument against divorce, since a single parent under happy conditions is better for a child than two parents under unhappy conditions; moreover, it is now generally accepted that where divorce takes place it is imperative to arrange for the welfare of the child. But, beyond these considerations, there is an aspect of marriage which transcends the question of the children it may lead to, and even goes beyond the whole question of the specifically sexual relationship included in marriage. There are many independent indications on various sides to show that this is beginning to be recognized. It is easy to understand how the recognition has been delayed. The great divorce movement, justifiable as it has been, was largely operative in this sense. That movement may be said to have been a revolt of the spirit of Protestantism, an assertion of individuality and freedom and truth in reaction against what seemed the fictions of the Catholic conception of marriage. As such, it has been accepted, and there is no occasion to undo what it is achieving.

But in that achievement the sound core of the Catholic conception has often been overlooked. The Catholic conception of marriage as a sacrament effected by the two consenting parties, the priest being present only as a witness, represented more than a union for purposes of sexual intercourse and propagation; it represented a certain state of life, a religious state, in which sexual union was only one of the bonds, and a bond not so supremely important that to break it involved the dissolution of the marriage. Moreover, the Catholic with this conception of marriage was by no means peculiar; on the contrary, in other parts of the world, in other great civilizations, marriage has been an essentially similar institution. It was so with marriage in India: in China, where a primary importance was certainly

attached to procreation, the erotic element was subordinate and love not always exclusive; even primitive peoples, such as those of New Guinea studied by Malinowski, had, as has already been noted, a large conception of marriage.[1] The peculiarity of the Catholic Church was in the fictions with which it supported its high conception. It assumed that if at the outset the two parties to the marriage had given a genuine consent, and no impediment existed, it was not possible for the consent to cease or new impediments to arise at any later stage; so the primary consent, if unimpeachable, constituted the marriage, and no fresh circumstances could suffice to dissolve it. That was a daringly effective way of asserting the high dignity of marriage and its heroic supremacy over changing circumstances, but it was a fiction.

To the Protestant mind that fiction has been clear for three hundred years. But it has not been clear that the Protestant conception of marriage is also founded on a fiction, and of an equally glaring and mischievous kind. The Protestant conception of marriage, which is that of the modern world generally, and is becoming that of the countries once Catholic, is much vaguer than the Catholic conception. But on the whole it may be said to be, whether religious or civil, in its essence secular and in its popular atmosphere romantic. That is to say, it is narrowed down to a kind of legal sex-contract which is held to be sufficiently sanctified by the promise of exclusive and permanent mutual love.[2] Such a promise in the union of any

[1] In the Trobriand Islands of New Guinea the girls grow up "in promiscuous free love which gradually develops into more permanent attachments, one of which ends in marriage." The married woman, however, still retains considerable independence, as well as high consideration, and may not be strictly faithful. B. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, p 42.

[2] Thus in a recent (1927) attack from the Protestant standpoint of the "artificial, fanciful, and often grotesque" conception of the Roman Catholic Church, Archdeacon R. H. Charles, preaching on divorce in Westminister Abbey, argued that fidelity is the one essential fact of marriage and that "unchastity broke the bond and cancelled a valid marriage."

couple, even of the most devoted lovers, is a transparent fiction, which can never be kept, and if it is taken seriously as the foundation of marriage it inevitably casts a drop of poison, if not a fatal dose, into the marital cup. It is certainly within the power of every sane and honest husband and wife to avoid having actual sex intercourse with other persons, and it is unnecessary to say that a vast number of husbands and wives have avoided it. But there is a long gradation of acts short of that final act which permit the intimate expression of love, so intimate that they have often sufficed to furnish adequate legal evidence of adultery. Then, short of such definite actions, the devotion of love can be expressed in speech. Further, many a stern Puritan in our civilization, strong to hold in control all the impulses of action and speech, and worthily honored by the Church to which he belongs, has still, when he came to lie with his wife, found his thoughts concentrated on the vision of another woman. And from the Christian standpoint, as set forth by Jesus, that is adultery.

There is no doubt about this: the promise of mutual exclusive and everlasting love is a promise that cannot be kept and should not be made. It cannot form a permanent basis of marriage, and good marriages subsist by being shifted on to other foundations. Yet there has been a general conspiracy not merely to preserve this fiction but to put it at the front as the primary condition for marriage. "Promise that you will never love any one but me!" Lovers are not taught to look upon this demand as wrong and silly. They are expected to make it; and expected to accept it. If they fail to do so the general feeling has been that this is not likely to be a "happy marriage."

The people who actively encourage this fiction regard it as furnishing the one essential foundation for marriage. All other considerations, though recognized as not without importance, they treat as secondary. They look down on marriage not based on this foundation as a degradation of the lofty romantic idealism they proclaim. They have personally, no

doubt, come to accept a less romantic and more realistic basis for themselves, but that they privately regard as a failure, not to be generally recognized, and they make up for it by proclaiming all the more loudly the sound and only basis for marriage.

Yet it may truly be said that of all the possible foundations for marriage this is the worst, the most likely to lead, if not to actual failure, to serious difficulties. It is the worst foundation because it is the most certain to give way. Exclusive passionate love, in the erotic sense, cannot furnish a sound foundation for a union that is meant to be permanent. That would perhaps have been long ago recognized but for the fact that, sooner or later, in the marriages that turn out well the union is, as privately as possible, readjusted on to a more stable foundation. But that readjustment is often troublesome, and even very painful for both parties to the union, the reason being that the first foundation had been put before them in such glowing colors, with such exalted idealism, fortified by all the romance of literature and tradition, that disillusionment comes as a shock, and the new foundation, if fortunately it is found, still seems like a disastrous fall to failure. The husband finds consolation in his work, perhaps varied by private little episodes with other women, whether or not carried far, while the wife seeks comfort in her children, if she has any, and for the rest cherishes a secret bitter discontent with her life, for she imagines it might have turned out better under different circumstances; so each

"keeps hidden
Love's private tatters in a private Eden."

It is true that life in marriage may turn out better under some different circumstances, even if this does not involve a safe foundation from the outset. In Protestant countries, before the Reformation of the sixteenth century, the foundation was entirely different, but there is no good ground to believe that marriage then turned out less well, in spite of the echoes of occasional scandals that have come down to us, and

the more conspicuously, perhaps, because they were exceptions. In France, where the ancient attitude towards marriage has still been largely preserved, it is *suitability* rather than sexual passion which is regarded as the proper foundation for marriage; it is held that when that has been secured the right conditions exist for the development of love. More often than not that anticipation is sound, and the frequency of mutual devotion and harmony in French domestic life has long been a commonplace among foreigners. It is so likewise in other parts of the world. In China, where procreation is the first duty in all families, and the erotic element, though frankly recognized, is never the reason for marriage, there are unhappy marriages, as elsewhere, and we are not called to regard the Chinese system as ideal; but Dr. Wilhelm, a great authority on China, is able to say that "it cannot be asserted that even the most personal European marriage based entirely on mutual affection is any happier or more peaceful than Chinese marriage, which rests on parental authority." We constantly find, indeed, similar remarks made by competent observers concerning marriage systems based on this or similar principles. Yet their significance seems to be lost on us. It is true that there is no possible system which will not sometimes produce unsatisfactory or even deplorable marriages. But there is no community which does not contain unsatisfactory or even deplorable members, and they needs must bring their qualities into their marriages.

It has been common in the past to talk of the prospect of a "happy marriage." But the ideal of a "happy marriage" has often been far too cheap and easy. If we try to think of couples who enjoy this state of "happy marriage" —putting aside those who have reached it indirectly and without seeking it by passing through much tribulation— we shall often find that they constitute little isolated family groups consumed by greedy absorption and cut off from all generous contact with the world; or they are couples who cherish a narrowly sensual and selfish devotion to each

other of which the final impression is painful; or they are just the good, simple, primitive, undifferentiated people who are, as it was said of old, born to consume the fruits of the earth. We gaze at them as we gaze at the occupants of a pig-sty, without contempt, quite cheerfully, but well aware that their happiness can hardly furnish the key to the solution of our own more complex situation.

We have to put aside the notion that any such happiness can rightly be the aim of marriage for us. Happiness may be the end of marriage, the deep satisfaction that comes of a long partnership carried through affectionately and courageously, with a full-hearted acceptance of the anguish as well as the joy that such partnership must inevitably bring. But a happiness that is placed as the initial aim of marriage,—the indefinitely prolonged honeymoon of old-fashioned novels which never even allowed for the fact that the honeymoon itself may be far from happiness,—this is a mere delusion.

That is where the divorce movement, excellent as in itself it was, has unfortunately helped to narrow down and conventionalize the ideal of marriage, to fortify the old-fashioned romantic view which has no basis in the facts of life. The facility of divorce has served to support the notion that happiness is the aim of marriage and that, when difficulties appear, the one natural solution is separation; and it has concentrated attention on the erotic element as though that were not only a highly important element but the actual sole content of marriage, and its diversion an adequate reason for dissolving the marriage. It is true that many husbands and wives, when contemplating the question of divorce, draw back before deciding on it because they feel that they are too deeply attached to the conjugal partner to accept separation. But they regard this affection as a hinderance to the just and proper solution of divorce rather than as an essential factor of the marriage union itself.

In the remarkable *Book of Marriage* which Count Keyserling put forth a few years ago, we find that the central conception of marriage therein embodied closely corresponds with the tendencies which in various directions we seem to see gaining force today. We are not here concerned with Count Keyserling's general attitude. It is enough to recognize that he is—though often laying himself open to criticism—a thinker of weight and influence in our world, and that he has here, in a book to which some two dozen writers of different schools and various countries have contributed, so moulded the outcome that a harmonious conception is visible. The fact that his vision of marriage was largely inspired by the East, and especially by contact with India and China, is far from invalidating it. The vision has been evoked by the East, but it remains Western, only vitalized anew because it is a conception which our recent past has overlaid.

Count Keyserling reacts against the narrow conception of marriage which prevailed in the recent past and still survives amongst us. Marriage, he insists, is not only a sexual bond but also a personal bond; we cannot, therefore, confine it within the sphere of morals and regard the existence of a sexual rupture as an adequate cause for divorce. Biology, esthetics, and religion are concerned with marriage, as well as ethics; by reducing marriage to the narrow moral basis we are ultimately only able to invoke "the sense of duty," in place of that inner necessity which is the sound vital source of action. A hasty resort to divorce is a more serious failure than adultery, which has "existed all through the ages and was never looked upon as a real danger to marriage." For it is not an easy domestic happiness which is the proper aim of marriage, and by pursuing that aim we solve neither the problem of marriage nor the problem of happiness. Marriage is essentially rather to be termed a tragic condition than a happy condition. It is by the intensity of life it produces that its success must be measured, and even its ultimate happiness. "Unhappily married people more rarely harm their own souls than those who are happily married," it is here pregnantly said.

"Not only does an unhappy marriage promote self-development more positively than does a mere state of ease due to lack of experience, but in the end it leads more truly to that inward happiness which is the necesary consequence of achievement." Thus the art of marriage is one of the most difficult of the arts, and one of the most arduous, and it becomes more and more so with the progress of civilization. It is not perhaps an art for all to attempt,—the artist in other fields, at all events, and the saint should alike avoid it,—yet an art that renders possible the joy of great performance, for "one can play only on tightened strings."

For Keyserling the marriage-partners constitute a unit, but a unit in a special sense which involves the freedom and independence of each partner and a high degree of distance and reserve. He tries to symbolize this conception as an elliptical field of force. The two foci are separate units, which can never merge and are always at a distance from each other But the interpolar tension of the two units constitutes another higher unit, different from that of the two foci and of creative power. In the intensified life that thus arises, and not in any cheap comfort or mutual conjugal absorption, lies the deepest significance of marriage. Exactly the same conception of marriage is finely embodied in a different quarter, in Kahlil Gibran's *The Prophet:*

> "Give your hearts, but not into each other's keeping,
> For only the hand of Life can contain your hearts.
> And stand together but not too near together
> For the pillars of the temple stand apart."

It is interesting to recall that this conception of the relation of the sexes in marriage, however modern it may seem, is only a new statement of the primitive conception of the dangers which the two sexes hold for each other and the precautions with which so risky an adventure as marriage must be approached. Man has always surrounded sex with *taboos*, and carefully guarded changes in sex status with sacred rites.[1]

[1] The late Ernest Crawley in his important work, *The Mystic Rose* (1902, new and enlarged edition by Besterman, 1927) first clearly and convincingly demonstrated these taboos, and A. van Gennep has studied the rites connected with change of status in his *Rites de Passage* (1909).

It has here seemed worth while to present the central idea of Keyserling's remarkable essay on "The Correct Statement of the Marriage Problem" because it states in a definite fashion, and more boldly than is usual—too boldly some would say—certain tendencies which are now becoming manifest in the modern development of the conception of marriage. The view that marriage is properly a permanent and indissoluble union,—though rightly to be brought to an end when it clearly stifles the development of the partners to it,—not formed by a single bond, however important that bond, but by various components that are all important, so that the failure of any one bond is not an adequate ground for dissolution, is here brought into relation with the considerations which are already becoming familiar. For the erotic element of marriage, while put aside as the sole content of marriage, is yet recognized as of enormous importance, and the lack of cultivation of the art of love declared to be a main reason of the frequent failure of marriage. The place of birth control, also, is seen to be essential in the cultivation of a fine marriage. Each of the partners is called upon to carry forward the task of self-development, not merely for his or her own individual sake but for the sake of the higher creative unity which together they constitute, for "marriage is impossible without discipline and art." For the same reason a certain distance and reserve are called for in the two partners, by no means in the sense of defective intimacy; "on the contrary, the more intimate they are the more strictly should they cherish their own individuality," and to avoid the risk of encroaching on one another they should be careful to cultivate periods of absence. In that way marriage, when successful, may reach its highest point of creative spiritual unity, and, in the end, its highest point of happiness, even though in the process it must necessarily be a tragic state of tension. For if it is not that, it must fail to act as an ennobling and harmonizing part of life, since life itself is a tragic state of tension, and we cannot play our proper part in life, or attain the deepest joy of living, unless we are brought into harmony with the processes of life. In this conception of mar-

riage we may perhaps see a synthesis of the Catholic and the Protestant conceptions, brought on to a plane at which it becomes acceptable to the realistic mind of the man of today. The union rendered indissoluble by an internal constraint is thus placed on that external foundation of complete freedom without which marriage is a fiction, possibly a useful fiction, but possessing no spiritual or moral meaning; just as life itself (of which marriage is the figure in miniature) would have no spiritual or moral meaning if we were not free, at any moment, to bring it to an end.

It is true that, as thus presented, marriage hardly seems a vocation that can appeal to all. Not only the saint and the artist, but the comfort-loving, sensual, cultivated people —of whom there are so many in any civilized community— had often better avoid it. There are ways of sexual association outside marriage. It is to the advantage of society —even, in the narrow sense, the moral advantage—that those who are not fitted for marriage should as early as possible discover that lack of fitness and refrain from marrying. The indiscriminate thrusting of men and women into marriage, without regard to the supreme question of their fitness to be the fine parents of a fine race, or to be the spiritual comrades of each other, could only lead towards racial degeneracy and moral disorder. It seems to be a mark of increased sanity in our time, so far at least as this matter is concerned, that there is no longer any reckless insistence on the necessity of marriage for all, and that men and women may now lead their own lives in the world and select their own intimate friends of either sex. Not all, even of those who desire marriage, can be sure of their vocation to embrace marriage in communion with one particular person, just as not all who desire to enter the religious life can be sure of their vocation for union with Christ or the Virgin. If we apply to marriage the sound Catholic plan of a noviciate for the purpose of determining true vocation, there may, in time, be as few discontented persons in our marriage as in our mon-

asteries. And in thus limiting, and in so doing purifying, our marriage relationship, necessarily at the same time diminishing procreative activity, we shall be working towards the solution of that problem which from another side science now shows to be so urgent, the problem, that is, of the undue growth of the world's population under modern conditions. Theory and practice, while each moving within its own sphere, will thus be advancing hand in hand.

Nor must it be supposed that in presenting the aim of real marriage as a difficult and even tragic quest, there is danger that but few will follow it. On the contrary! It is difficulty that allures us, and on every high path its difficulty is proclaimed to allure the aspirant. "Our youths must be prepared for self-sacrifice, for arduous discipline, perhaps for the most heart-breaking rebuffs, for the stern and even bitter criticism of their fellows. But there never was a time so rich in promise, so laden with rewards for those who labor with sincerity and truth. The responsibilities which rest on them are enough to cause the stoutest sometimes to falter. Yet, armed with the sword of the spirit and the breastplate of faith, they will remember that the happiness of life lies in its responsibilities, that true joy is found in the search for what may after a weary journey prove unattainable." It is a distinguished surgeon who is speaking, and it is devotion to science that he has in mind.[1] But may not the art of living claim as much devotion as the art of knowing?

It is likely that many will stumble at the point in this presentation of the marriage situation—only brought forward here as one of many possible presentations—at which they seem to see the condonation of adultery. That point, which Keyserling passes over lightly, is one of deep significance and needs to be made clear. It is easy to say that adultery has "existed all through the ages," and therewith

[1] Sir Berkeley Moynihan, Hunterian Oration, *British Medical Journal*, 19 Feb., 1927.

to leave it as an accepted fact. It has not only existed, it has existed as a tragic fact, a cause of murder and of misery, a corroding poison in every age and every country in,—and often out of,—what was once called Christendom. "I found them one morning in each other's arms—and they died," wrote, three centuries ago, the high-spirited Spanish captain, Alonso de Contreras, of his wife and her lover, his own trusted friend.[1] Direct action of this kind has become less usual during the years that have followed, but the emotions experienced by the seventeenth century Spaniard are still often experienced today, even among presumably civilized persons, with a consciousness of complete justification. And still, also, they lead to action which, even if indirect, may be just as fatal to marriage. So that we can scarcely be content to leave the matter at that point.

There is no need to leave it at that, and with the development of new conditions in life the reasons are accumulating why we should not. We may put aside the consideration that adultery of some kind—at least that of the eye or of the heart—is all but inevitable, and that romantic youthful vows of everlasting fidelity are only valid for the moment when they are uttered; because it is nevertheless probable that they will be continued to be uttered for some time to come. The conception of adultery is being more surely and more subtly undermined, and from various directions. It is not necessary to attempt to enumerate them all here, because there is so little doubt about the fact. But two at least may be mentioned. In the first place, the facility of divorce has itself indirectly destroyed the ancient significance of adultery. It has done this even by the importance that has thus been attached to adultery. For if adultery (with or without one or two more or less fictitious accessory circumstances) is the recognized ground for divorce, there may indeed be some trouble and inconveni-

[1] *The Life of Captain Alonso de Contreras*, translated by Catherine Phillips. 1926. p. 130.

ence caused, but the dissolution of the marriage will simply mean in the end the establishment of one or two perhaps more satisfactory marriages, and as the result of adultery all will be for the best. In fact, as at present generally established, the law itself insists on the adultery as a condition for the re-marriage, and it would be absurd to take tragically an act imposed by law. Again, from another side, the conception of adultery has been undermined by the whole modern woman's movement and its gradual transformation of legal enactment and judicial attitude. Of old the wife was, in a more or less legal manner, the possession of the husband, and correspondingly, the husband became, in a less legal manner, the "possession" of the wife. But the slow legal emancipation of the wife, giving her an increasingly greater control over her own person, is bringing her so near to the point where even adultery might be regarded as within her rights over her own person, that, however much it may arouse disapproval, adultery is no longer anywhere near being a crime. We are, further, today gaining a little more insight into the inner mechanism of human impulses, and we realize that when adultery occurs it is the partner we term innocent who is in nearly every case the cause of it, for it is that partner who has been least successful in the essential art of courtship, the art of winning and holding love, and we no longer lay the penalty, without consideration, on the ostensibly guilty partner.[1] There are other influences of recent times which have led in the same direction, and notably the social aftermath of the Great War, so that adultery, which even Shakespeare had regarded, in mere suspicion, as an awful source of tragedy (but it is significant that Shakespeare,

[1] Thus a German woman lawyer, Dr. Maria Munk (Der Ehebruch als Ehescheidungsgrund, *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, June, 1927) points out that the innocent party is often the true cause of the adultery, and adds that now when the old idea of the "sanctity" of marriage has so greatly diminished, the deserted party who regards it as within his or her rights to take another partner can no longer be considered as an offender for so doing.

though he was a few years older than Alonso de Contreras, thought it desirable to make his Othello a barbarian), may now seem to us perhaps a more fitting subject for comedy.

To fortify the emotional side of adultery, it is true, there is, as Othello reminds us, jealousy. That is not touched by legal, social, or psychological considerations, and even lovers who are careful not to make rash vows may still feel its pangs when the moment for it arrives, as it doubtless will. For jealousy, however low we may rank it, is rooted in nature. It is a kind of greed which ultimately springs out of the instinct of self-preservation. It may be detected even among our domestic animals in relation to food, even though there is no longer any justification for it. There is no longer any justification for jealousy in human love, but the impulse arises. To deal with it is part of the discipline of love. It is a very necessary part, for though jealousy may at first seem to its object an agreeable mark of devotion it quickly becomes fatal to the love it thus seeks to hold. The victim of jealousy falls to the level of the victims of passion generally, the level of the dipsomaniac or the drug-addict, an object of pity perhaps, no longer fitted to be a master of life, or a master of love, which is the epitome of life. The conquest of jealousy must sometimes be hard, but without it there is no entering the kingdom of marriage.

Today, however, there is more than that to be said The intensity of jealousy, it is now possible to say, which we observe in the recent past was, in a large degree, an artificial product. The germ was natural, but the developments were fostered by personal and social codes and ideals we now see to be false. It is enough to turn to the most intimate of these falsities, although we have already encountered it, for it is at the core of this matter: the preliminary vow of everlasting and exclusive mutual fidelity. That, at the outset, rendered difficult for all, and for many impossible, the exercise of a quality which is even more necessary at the foundation of marriage than love itself:

the quality of sincerity. If that fictitious preliminary vow were really the foundation of marriage it needed little intelligence to see that the avowal of affectionate attraction to another person meant a crack in the foundation and a possible threat to the stability of the marriage itself. It was alarming, it aroused restless suspicions, terrible doubts. So such avowals were avoided, often indeed avoided with a show of virtuous justification, by people who were not aware that in destroying mutual sincerity they were inflicting a much deeper wound to their marriage union than in destroying exclusive sexual attraction. They seem to have understood this better in the eighteenth century, and the nineteenth century, with its hypocritical idealism, looked down on that century in consequence, with misplaced contempt. But in every age there are some lovers who know from the first that there cannot be a real marriage without a complete mutual trust, and that any private decision, on one side or the other, that such trust is not possible suffices alone to break the bond of union in any true sense; such lovers meet difficulties, and they feel at times the pang of jealousy, but it has lost its fatal sting, and the foundations of their marriage are rendered deeper and stronger by the victories over jealousy they have won.

That result would be rendered easier and more frequent if lovers always avoided setting for themselves so dangerous a trap at the outset. The initial vow needs to be so enlarged that its essence can be summed up as erotic comradeship. That may well include an exclusive mutual erotic devotion, if, and in so far as, that proves possible. But it goes beyond such limited devotion; it means that the two lovers so love each other, and so trust each other, that it is natural and instinctive to tell each other of their feelings towards other persons. They are able to share, in sympathy if not always actually, the new affections that come into their lives, and thereby to increase and to affirm their affection for each other. Under such conditions jealousy, in well-proportioned natures, even if it arises, can do no hurt, and even the ground for it to arise is unlikely to be found, for where the new affection is seen and acknowledged

at the outset the lovers are able to control and guide it together, to keep it within the established bounds of their own love.

That, also, is a task which is easier than it was in the mediaeval world whence we have derived so many now decaying traditions. In that world,—save in a few special circles which were really out of touch with their own time—the art of love had barely any existence. Sexual intercourse was extremely well-known—better known, it may be, than now—but all the delicate gradations of courtship and intimate love, of which that intercourse is merely the final and perhaps never reached stage, were so unfamiliar that even the kiss seems often to have been scarcely known, as indeed among the peasantry it scarcely is, save in a rudimentary way, known today. It is becoming realized how many marriages, even among would-be cultivated people, fail, or sink to a lower level, owing to a lack of knowledge of the art of love which is still frequently complete. But it is not yet realized how this defective art of love is responsible for the absence of wholesome and enlarging relationships with friends outside the marriage bond. If the alternative to a relationship of affectionate friendship is the sexual act or nothing then married life inevitably becomes either perilous or impoverished. But there is really a vast space between nothing and the complete physical surrender of sexual abandonment. In that space are many stages in affectionate confidence and intimacy at which friendships may be formed, to enrich the life of married lovers who are firm in the mutual trust of their erotic comradeship. Such an enlargement of affectionate relationship within marriage, is, moreover, by no means to be regarded as a permitted weakness, or a tolerated indulgence. On the contrary, it is the narrow mutual self-absorption of the old-time ideal which calls for indulgence, and is indeed unworthy of indulgence. Marriage, however convenient it may still remain, is without any high mission unless it brings those who contract it into a many-sided contact with the greater world, and that contact cannot be real and intimate if it excludes at the outset the possibility of other relationships that are affectionate.

Significant evidence of the impulses which are moving the husbands and wives of today has been furnished by Judge Ben Lindsey who has for many years been known throughout the world for his beneficent attitude as a judge and an adviser in matters that come before a domestic and juvenile court, so that he has constantly been called upon for counsel in the private affairs of life outside his Court. He has presented some of the results in his wise and helpful book, *The Revolt of Modern Youth,* and more recently he has set forth the experience he has acquired concerning the actions and feelings of husbands and of wives today, in these matters of adultery and jealousy and an enlarged conception of marriage. His evidence is the more valuable because, on the one hand, the married people he brings before us are ordinary citizens and not morbid or exceptional persons, and on the other hand because he is not desiring to put forward any revolutionary ideas about marriage. He is simply reporting what he has found, and himself seems sometimes a little surprised at the attitude towards these problems which he reveals. But for us there need be no surprise. The people in Colorado whom Judge Lindsey has been privileged to know intimately are simply moving in the direction in which the whole civilized world is moving, and the direction of their movement is conditioned by forces which a few of us may be permitted to see, but all of us are compelled to feel, stirring within us and instinctively guiding us along the path. If in the end this movement leads to the conquest of marriage over adultery—a conquest achieved, in the only way in which conquest can be effectually achieved, by absorbing it—then one of the triumphs of mankind will indeed have been consummated. That it should have been given to our time to place marriage on a sound foundation is not, for me at all events, any matter for surprise. At the outset of my course it seemed to me that the age-long problem of the place in life of the impulse of sex had at last been reached by Man in his course, and that it was specially set before our own age at length to solve it. Now, nearly half a

century later, I would rejoice that the advance made has even gone beyond my dreams, and not feel called upon to grieve over any respectable idols of the past now falling in the dust.

The way to that end, once almost impassable, has in modern times been made easy. It has been made easy because, now, young people, and especially young women, are accepting an attitude towards each other, and towards the things that concern the relations of the sexes, that has never been seen in our western world for many centuries, if ever. They have thrown aside the taboo which once rendered the things that pertain to sex too sacred or too obscene—nobody quite knew which—to be known; they seek to know these things and to know each other, calmly assuming their right to this knowledge and their equal right not to disclose, unless they think fit, the extent of their knowledge. To many people this attitude of the young is still a source of perplexity, if not of alarm and horror. But we have to recognize that it is the only proper preparation for marriage. There are many disabilities, physical and spiritual, which should be held as disqualifying for marriage, but it would be hard to find any so fatal as that which was once foolishly reverenced under the name of Innocence. There will be fewer Francescas for the Dante of the future to place in Hell, however populous he may otherwise render its circles. For we need not undertake to declare that the total sum of virtue in the world will be increased, but we may safely hazard the opinion that if we cease to blindfold the young they are less likely to fall into ditches. That blindfolding of the young, and of women even when no longer young, was once so common that it may be said to have been erected into a system, still accepted even by many yet living among us. How often do women of the younger generation talk, with a smile, concerning men of an older generation with whom they have come into relation, how these men refer vaguely and distantly to things which they sup-

pose women know nothing about, things not concerning them and likely to shock them, and really the things which intimately concern them and which often—not indeed always—the women they are speaking to know as much about as they do themselves. No doubt these men had a sort of justification, for in their world the things that belong to sex were degraded to a level which they themselves, with a fine metaphorical felicity, termed "smutty." Yet, surely, such an attitude will in the future seem an almost incredible feature of the past.

It is impossible to write history in advance. One can only repeat that what today we call the future will tomorrow be the past and can bring nothing of which the vital germs are not vigorously growing among us today. We see them, or we do not see them, in accordance with the measure of our vision. Strictly speaking, indeed, the present has no existence; the word that you form in your mind belongs to the future, but you have no sooner uttered it than it belongs to the past, as irrevocably as though it had been spoken by Adam. The present is merely an imaginary line at which the past and the future meet and mingle. We are in the midst of both; past men and future men are here today. For my own part, notwithstanding various archeological interests, I find it tedious to be among those who are several centuries behind their own time; it has amused me more to share the disdain bestowed upon those who are a little in front.—I may be permitted, as I depart, to make this one personal observation.

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PART THREE

Sex in Relation to Society

PREFACE.

In the previous five volumes of these *Studies*, I have dealt mainly with the sexual impulse in relation to its object, leaving out of account the external persons and the environmental influences which yet may powerfully affect that impulse and its gratification. We cannot afford, however, to pass unnoticed this relationship of the sexual impulse to third persons and to the community at large with all its anciently established traditions. We have to consider sex in relation to society.

In so doing, it will be possible to discuss more summarily than in preceding volumes the manifold and important problems that are presented to us. In considering the more special questions of sexual psychology we entered a neglected field and it was necessary to expend an analytic care and precision which at many points had never been expended before on these questions. But when we reach the relationships of sex to society we have for the most part no such neglect to encounter. The subject of every chapter in the present volume could easily form, and often has formed, the topic of a volume, and the literature of many of these subjects is already extremely voluminous. It must therefore be our main object here not to accumulate details but to place each subject by turn, as clearly and succinctly as may be, in relation to those fundamental principles of sexual psychology which—so far as the data at present admit—have been set forth in the preceding volumes.

It may seem to some, indeed, that in this exposition I should have confined myself to the present, and not included so wide a sweep of the course of human history and the traditions of the race. It may especially seem that I have laid too great a stress on the influence of Christianity in moulding sexual ideals and establishing sexual institutions. That, I am convinced, is an

error. It is because it is so frequently made that the movements of progress among us—movements that can never at any period of social history cease—are by many so seriously misunderstood. We cannot escape from our traditions. There never has been, and never can be, any "age of reason." The most ardent co-called "free-thinker," who casts aside as he imagines the authority of the Christian past, is still held by that past. If its traditions are not absolutely in his blood, they are ingrained in the texture of all the social institutions into which he was born and they affect even his modes of thinking. The latest modifications of our institutions are inevitably influenced by the past form of those institutions. We cannot realize where we are, nor whither we are moving, unless we know whence we came. We cannot understand the significance of the changes around us, nor face them with cheerful confidence, unless we are acquainted with the drift of the great movements that stir all civilization in never-ending cycles.

In discussing sexual questions which are very largely matters of social hygiene we shall thus still be preserving the psychological point of view. Such a point of view in relation to these matters is not only legitimate but necessary. Discussions of social hygiene that are purely medical or purely juridical or purely moral or purely theological not only lead to conclusions that are often entirely opposed to each other but they obviously fail to possess complete applicability to the complex human personality. The main task before us must be to ascertain what best expresses, and what best satisfies, the totality of the impulses and ideas of civilized men and women. So that while we must constantly bear in mind medical, legal, and moral demands—which all correspond in some respects to some individual or social need —the main thing is to satisfy the demands of the whole human person.

It is necessary to emphasize this point of view because it

would seem that no error is more common among writers on the hygienic and moral problems of sex than the neglect of the psychological standpoint. They may take, for instance, the side of sexual restraint, or the side of sexual unrestraint, but they fail to realize that so narrow a basis is inadequate for the needs of complex human beings. From the wider psychological standpoint we recognize that we have to conciliate opposing impulses that are both alike founded on the human psychic organism.

In the preceding volumes of these *Studies* I have sought to refrain from the expression of any personal opinion and to maintain, so far as possible, a strictly objective attitude. In this endeavor, I trust, I have been successful if I may judge from the fact that I have received the sympathy and approval of all kinds of people, not less of the rationalistic free-thinker than of the orthodox believer, of those who accept, as well as of those who reject, our most current standards of morality. This is as it should be, for whatever our criteria of the worth of feelings and of conduct, it must always be of use to us to know what exactly are the feelings of people and how those feelings tend to affect their conduct. In the present volume, however, where social traditions necessarily come in for consideration and where we have to discuss the growth of those traditions in the past and their probable evolution in the future, I am not sanguine that the objectivity of my attitude will be equally clear to the reader. I have here to set down not only what people actually feel and do but what I think they are tending to feel and do. That is a matter of estimation only, however widely and however cautiously it is approached; it cannot be a matter of absolute demonstration. I trust that those who have followed me in the past will bear with me still, even if it is impossible for them always to accept the conclusions I have myself reached.

HAVELOCK ELLIS.

24 Holmdene Avenue,
Herne Hill, London.

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CHAPTER I.

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A MAN'S sexual nature, like all else that is most essential in him, is rooted in a soil that was formed very long before his birth. In this, as in every other respect, he draws the elements of his life from his ancestors, however new the recombination may be and however greatly it may be modified by subsequent conditions. A man's destiny stands not in the future but in the past. That, rightly considered, is the most vital of all vital facts. Every child thus has a right to choose his own ancestors. Naturally he can only do this vicariously, through his parents It is the most serious and sacred duty of the future father to choose one half of the ancestral and hereditary character of his future child; it is the most serious and sacred duty of the future mother to make a similar choice.[1] In choosing each other they have between them chosen the whole ancestry of their child. They have determined the stars that will rule his fate.

In the past that fateful determination has usually been made helplessly, ignorantly, almost unconsciously. It has either

[1] It is not, of course, always literally true that each parent supplies exactly half the heredity, for, as we see among animals generally, the offspring may sometimes approach more nearly to one parent, sometimes to the other, while among plants, as De Vries and others have shown, the heredity may be still more unequally divided.

been guided by an instinct which, on the whole, has worked out fairly well, or controlled by economic interests of the results of which so much cannot be said, or left to the risks of lower than bestial chances which can produce nothing but evil. In the future we cannot but have faith—for all the hope of humanity must rest on that faith—that a new guiding impulse, reinforcing natural instinct and becoming in time an inseparable accompaniment of it, will lead civilized man on his racial course. Just as in the past the race has, on the whole, been moulded by a natural, and in part sexual, selection, that was unconscious of itself and ignorant of the ends it made towards, so in the future the race will be moulded by deliberate selection, the creative energy of Nature becoming self-conscious in the civilized brain of man. This is not a faith which has its source in a vague hope. The problems of the individual life are linked on to the fate of the racial life, and again and again we shall find as we ponder the individual questions we are here concerned with, that at all points they ultimately converge towards this same racial end.

Since we have here, therefore, to follow out the sexual relationships of the individual as they bear on society, it will be convenient at this point to put aside the questions of ancestry and to accept the individual as, with hereditary constitution already determined, he lies in his mother's womb.

It is the mother who is the child's supreme parent. At various points in zoölogical evolution it has seemed possible that the functions that we now know as those of maternity would be largely and even equally shared by the male parent. Nature has tried various experiments in this direction, among the fishes, for instance, and even among birds. But reasonable and excellent as these experiments were, and though they were sufficiently sound to secure their perpetuation unto this day, it remains true that it was not along these lines that Man was destined to emerge. Among all the mammal predecessors of Man, the male is an imposing and important figure in the early days of courtship, but after conception has once been secured the mother plays the chief part in the racial life. The male must be content to forage

abroad and stand on guard when at home in the ante-chamber of the family. When she has once been impregnated the female animal angrily rejects the caresses she had welcomed so coquettishly before, and even in Man the place of the father at the birth of his child is not a notably dignified or comfortable one. Nature accords the male but a secondary and comparatively humble place in the home, the breeding-place of the race; he may compensate himself if he will, by seeking adventure and renown in the world outside. The mother is the child's supreme parent, and during the period from conception to birth the hygiene of the future man can only be affected by influences which work through her.

Fundamental and elementary as is the fact of the predominant position of the mother in relation to the life of the race, incontestable as it must seem to all those who have traversed the volumes of these *Studies* up to the present point, it must be admitted that it has sometimes been forgotten or ignored. In the great ages of humanity it has indeed been accepted as a central and sacred fact. In classic Rome at one period the house of the pregnant woman was adorned with garlands, and in Athens it was an inviolable sanctuary where even the criminal might find shelter. Even amid the mixed influences of the exuberantly vital times which preceded the outburst of the Renaissance, the ideally beautiful woman, as pictures still show, was the pregnant woman. But it has not always been so. At the present time, for instance, there can be no doubt that we are but beginning to emerge from a period during which this fact was often disputed and denied, both in theory and in practice, even by women themselves. This was notably the case both in England and America, and it is probably owing in large part to the unfortunate infatuation which led women in these lands to follow after masculine ideals that at the present moment the inspirations of progress in women's movements come mainly to-day from the women of other lands. Motherhood and the future of the race were systematically belittled. Paternity is but a mere incident, it was argued, in man's life: why should maternity be more than a mere incident

in woman's life? In England, by a curiously perverted form of sexual attraction, women were so fascinated by the glamour that surrounded men that they desired to suppress or forget all the facts of organic constitution which made them unlike men, counting their glory as their shame, and sought the same education as men, the same occupations as men, even the same sports. As we know, there was at the origin an element of rightness in this impulse.[1] It was absolutely right in so far as it was a claim for freedom from artificial restriction, and a demand for economic independence. But it became mischievous and absurd when it developed into a passion for doing, in all respects, the same things as men do; how mischievous and how absurd we may realize if we imagine men developing a passion to imitate the ways and avocations of women. Freedom is only good when it is a freedom to follow the laws of one's own nature; it ceases to be freedom when it becomes a slavish attempt to imitate others, and would be disastrous if it could be successful.[2]

At the present day this movement on the theoretical side has ceased to possess any representatives who exert serious influence. Yet its practical results are still prominently exhibited in England and the other countries in which it has been felt. Infantile mortality is enormous, and in England at all events is only beginning to show a tendency to diminish; motherhood is without dignity, and the vitality of mothers is speedily crushed, so

1 It should scarcely be necessary to say that to assert that motherhood is a woman's supreme function is by no means to assert that her activities should be confined to the home. That is an opinion which may now be regarded as almost extinct even among those who most glorify the function of woman as mother. As Friedrich Naumann and others have very truly pointed out, a woman is not adequately equipped to fulfil her functions as mother and trainer of children unless she has lived in the world and exercised a vocation.

2 "Were the capacities of the brain and the heart equal in the sexes," Lily Braun (*Die Frauenfrage*, page 207) well says, "the entry of women into public life would be of no value to humanity, and would even lead to a still wilder competition. Only the recognition that the entire nature of woman is different from that of man, that it signifies a new vivifying principle in human life, makes the women's movement, in spite of the misconception of its enemies and its friends, a social revolution" (see also Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman*, fourth edition, 1904, especially Ch. XVIII).

that often they cannot so much as suckle their infants; ignorant girl-mothers give their infants potatoes and gin; on every hand we are told of the evidence of degeneracy in the race, or if not in the race, at all events, in the young individuals of to-day.

It would be out of place, and would lead us too far, to discuss here these various practical outcomes of the foolish attempt to belittle the immense racial importance of motherhood. It is enough here to touch on the one point of the excess of infantile mortality.

In England—which is not from the social point of view in a very much worse condition than most countries, for in Austria and Russia the infant mortality is higher still, though in Australia and New Zealand much lower, but still excessive—more than one-fourth of the total number of deaths every year is of infants under one year of age In the opinion of medical officers of health who are in the best position to form an opinion, about one-half of this mortality, roughly speaking, is absolutely preventable. Moreover, it is doubtful whether there is any real movement of decrease in this mortality; during the past half century it has sometimes slightly risen and sometimes slightly fallen, and though during the past few years the general movement of mortality for children under five in England and Wales has shown a tendency to decrease, in London (according to J. F. J. Sykes, although Sir Shirley Murphy has attempted to minimize the significance of these figures) the infantile mortality rate for the first three months of life actually rose from 69 per 1,000 in the period 1888-1892 to 75 per 1.000 in the period 1898-1901. (This refers, it must be remembered, to the period before the introduction of the Notification of Births Act.) In any case, although the general mortality shows a marked tendency to improvement there is certainly no adequately corresponding improvement in the infantile mortality. This is scarcely surprising, when we realize that there has been no change for the better, but rather for the worse, in the conditions under which our infants are born and reared. Thus William Hall, who has had an intimate knowledge extending over fifty-six years of the slums of Leeds, and has weighed and measured many thousands of slum children, besides examining over 120.000 boys and girls as to their fitness for factory labor, states (*British Medical Journal*, October 14, 1905) that "fifty years ago the slum mother was much more sober, cleanly, domestic, and motherly than she is to-day; she was herself better nourished and she almost always suckled her children, and after weaning they received more nutritious bone-making food, and she was able to prepare more wholesome food at home." The system of compulsory education has had an unfortunate influence in exerting a strain on the parents and worsening the conditions of the home. For, excellent

as education is in itself, it is not the primary need of life, and has been made compulsory before the more essential things of life have been made equally compulsory. How absolutely unnecessary this great mortality is may be shown, without evoking the good example of Australia and New Zealand, by merely comparing small English towns; thus while in Guildford the infantile death rate is 65 per thousand, in Burslem it is 205 per thousand.

It is sometimes said that infantile mortality is an economic question, and that with improvement in wages it would cease. This is only true to a limited extent and under certain conditions. In Australia there is no grinding poverty, but the deaths of infants under one year of age are still between 80 and 90 per thousand, and one-third of this mortality, according to Hooper (*British Medical Journal*, 1908, vol. ii, p. 289), being due to the ignorance of mothers and the dislike to suckling, is easily preventable. The employment of married women greatly diminishes the poverty of a family, but nothing can be worse for the welfare of the woman as mother, or for the welfare of her child. Reid, the medical officer of health for Staffordshire, where there are two large centres of artisan population with identical health conditions has shown that in the northern centre, where a very large number of women are engaged in factories, still-births are three times as frequent as in the southern centre, where there are practically no trade employments for women; the frequency of abnormalities is also in the same ratio. The superiority of Jewish over Christian children, again, and their lower infantile mortality, seem to be entirely due to the fact that Jewesses are better mothers. "The Jewish children in the slums," says William Hall (*British Medical Journal*, October 14, 1905), speaking from wide and accurate knowledge, "were superior in weight, in teeth, and in general bodily development, and they seemed less susceptible to infectious disease. Yet these Jews were overcrowded, they took little exercise, and their unsanitary environment was obvious. The fact was, their children were much better nourished. The pregnant Jewess was more cared for, and no doubt supplied better nutriment to the fœtus. After the children were born 90 per cent. received breast-milk, and during later childhood they were abundantly fed on bone-making material; eggs and oil, fish, fresh vegetables, and fruit entered largely into their diet." G. Newman, in his important and comprehensive book on *Infant Mortality*, emphasizes the conclusion that "first of all we need a higher standard of physical motherhood." The problem of infantile mortality, he declares (page 259), is not one of sanitation alone, or housing, or indeed of poverty as such, *"but is mainly a question of motherhood."*

The fundamental need of the pregnant woman is *rest*. Without a large degree of maternal rest there can be no pueri-

culture.[1] The task of creating a man needs the whole of a woman's best energies, more especially during the three months before birth. It cannot be subordinated to the tax on strength involved by manual or mental labor, or even strenuous social duties and amusements. The numerous experiments and observations which have been made during recent years in Maternity Hospitals, more especially in France, have shown conclusively that not only the present and future well-being of the mother and the ease of her confinement, but the fate of the child, are immensely influenced by rest during the last month of pregnancy. "Every working woman is entitled to rest during the last three months of her pregnancy." This formula was adopted by the International Congress of Hygiene in 1900, but it cannot be practically carried out except by the coöperation of the whole community. For it is not enough to say that a woman ought to rest during pregnancy; it is the business of the community to ensure that that rest is duly secured. The woman herself, and her employer, we may be certain, will do their best to cheat the community, but it is the community which suffers, both economically and morally, when a woman casts her inferior children into the world, and in its own interests the community is forced to control both employer and employed. We can no longer allow it to be said, in Bouchacourt's words, that "to-day the dregs of the human species—the blind, the deaf-mute, the degenerate, the nervous, the vicious, the idiotic, the imbecile, the cretins and epileptics—are better protected than pregnant women."[2]

Pinard, who must always be honored as one of the founders of eugenics, has, together with his pupils, done much to prepare the way

[1] The word "puericulture" was invented by Dr. Caron in 1866 to signify the culture of children after birth. It was Pinard, the distinguished French obstetrician, who, in 1895, gave it a larger and truer significance by applying it to include the culture of children before birth. It is now defined as "the science which has for its end the search for the knowledge relative to the reproduction, the preservation, and the amelioration of the human race" (Péchin, *La Puériculture avant la Naissance*, Thèse de Paris, 1908).

[2] In *La Grossesse* (pp. 450 *et seq.*) Bouchacourt has discussed the problems of puericulture at some length.

for the acceptance of this simple but important principle by making clear the grounds on which it is based. From prolonged observations on the pregnant women of all classes Pinard has shown conclusively that women who rest during pregnancy have finer children than women who do not rest. Apart from the more general evils of work during pregnancy, Pinard found that during the later months it had a tendency to press the uterus down into the pelvis, and so cause the premature birth of undeveloped children, while labor was rendered more difficult and dangerous (see, *e.g.*, Pinard, *Gazette des Hôpitaux*, Nov. 28, 1895, Id., *Annales de Gynécologie*, Aug., 1898).

Letourneux has studied the question whether repose during pregnancy is necessary for women whose professional work is only slightly fatiguing. He investigated 732 successive confinements at the Clinique Baudelocque in Paris. He found that 137 women engaged in fatiguing occupations (servants, cooks, etc.) and not resting during pregnancy, produced children with an average weight of 3,081 grammes; 115 women engaged in only slightly fatiguing occupations (dressmakers, milliners, etc.) and also not resting during pregnancy, had children with an average weight of 3,130 grammes, a slight but significant difference, in view of the fact that the women of the first group were large and robust, while those of the second group were of slight and elegant build. Again, comparing groups of women who rested during pregnancy, it was found that the women accustomed to fatiguing work had children with an average weight of 3,319 grammes, while those accustomed to less fatiguing work had children with an average weight of 3,318 grammes. The difference between repose and non-repose is thus considerable, while it also enables robust women exercising a fatiguing occupation to catch up, though not to surpass, the frailer women exercising a less fatiguing occupation. We see, too, that even in the comparatively unfatiguing occupations of milliners, etc., rest during pregnancy still remains important, and cannot safely be dispensed with. "Society," Letourneux concludes, "must guarantee rest to women not well off during a part of pregnancy. It will be repaid the cost of doing so by the increased vigor of the children thus produced" (Letourneux, *De l'Influence de la Profession de la Mère sur le Poids de l'Enfant*, Thèse de Paris, 1897).

Dr. Dweira-Bernson (*Revue Pratique d'Obstetrique et de Pédiatrie*, 1903, p. 370), compared four groups of pregnant women (servants with light work, servants with heavy work, farm girls, dressmakers) who rested for three months before confinement with four groups similarly composed who took no rest before confinement. In every group he found that the difference in the average weight of the child was markedly in favor of the women who rested, and it was notable that the greatest difference was found in the case of the farm girls who were probably the most robust and also the hardest worked.

The usual time of gestation ranges between 274 and 280 days (or 280 to 290 days from the last menstrual period), and occasionally a few days longer, though there is dispute as to the length of the extreme limit, which some authorities would extend to 300 days, or even to 320 days (Pinard, in Richet's *Dictionnaire de Physiologie*, vol. vii, pp. 150-162; Taylor, *Medical Jurisprudence*, fifth edition, pp. 44, 98 *et seq.*; L. M. Allen, "Prolonged Gestation," *American Journal Obstetrics*, April, 1907). It is possible, as Müller suggested in 1898 in a Thèse de Nancy, that civilization tends to shorten the period of gestation, and that in earlier ages it was longer than it is now. Such a tendency to premature birth under the exciting nervous influences of civilization would thus correspond, as Bouchacourt has pointed out (*La Grossesse*, p. 113), to the similar effect of domestication in animals. The robust countrywoman becomes transformed into the more graceful, but also more fragile, town woman who needs a degree of care and hygiene which the countrywoman with her more resistant nervous system can to some extent dispense with, although even she, as we see, suffers in the person of her child, and probably in her own person, from the effects of work during pregnancy. The serious nature of this civilized tendency to premature birth—of which lack of rest in pregnancy is, however, only one of several important causes—is shown by the fact that Séropian (*Frèquence Comparée des Causes de l'Accouchement Prématuré*, Thèse de Paris, 1907) found that about one-third of French births (32 28 per cent.) are to a greater or less extent premature. Pregnancy is not a morbid condition; on the contrary, a pregnant woman is at the climax of her most normal physiological life, but owing to the tension thus involved she is specially liable to suffer from any slight shock or strain.

It must be remarked that the increased tendency to premature birth, while in part it may be due to general tendencies of civilization, is also in part due to very definite and preventable causes. Syphilis, alcoholism, and attempts to produce abortion are among the not uncommon causes of premature birth (see, *e.g.*, G. F. McCleary, "The Influence of Antenatal Conditions on Infantile Mortality," *British Medical Journal*, Aug. 13, 1904).

Premature birth ought to be avoided, because the child born too early is insufficiently equipped for the task before him. Astengo, dealing with nearly 19,000 cases at the Lariboisière Hospital in Paris and the Maternité, found, that reckoning from the date of the last menstruation, there is a direct relation between the weight of the infant at birth and the length of the pregnancy. The longer the pregnancy, the finer the child (Astengo, *Rapport du Poids des Enfants à la Durée de la Grossesse*, Thèse de Paris, 1905).

The frequency of premature birth is probably as great in England as in France. Ballantyne states (*Manual of Antenatal Pathology; The*

Fœtus, p. 456) that for practical purposes the frequency of premature labors in maternity hospitals may be put at 20 per cent., but that if all infants weighing less than 3,000 grammes are to be regarded as premature, it rises to 41.5 per cent. That premature birth is increasing in England seems to be indicated by the fact that during the past twenty-five years there has been a steady rise in the mortality rate from premature birth. McCleary, who discusses this point and considers the increase real, concludes that "it would appear that there has been a diminution in the quality as well as in the quantity of our output of babies" (see also a discussion, introduced by Dawson Williams, on "Physical Deterioration," *British Medical Journal*, Oct. 14, 1905).

It need scarcely be pointed out that not only is immaturity a cause of deterioration in the infants that survive, but that it alone serves enormously to decrease the number of infants that are able to survive. Thus G. Newman states (*loc. cit.*) that in most large English urban districts immaturity is the chief cause of infant mortality, furnishing about 30 per cent. of the infant deaths; even in London (Islington) Alfred Harris (*British Medical Journal*, Dec. 14, 1907) finds that it is responsible for nearly 17 per cent. of the infantile deaths. It is estimated by Newman that about half of the mothers of infants dying of immaturity suffer from marked ill-health and poor physique; they are not, therefore, fitted to be mothers.

Rest during pregnancy is a very powerful agent in preventing premature birth. Thus Dr. Sarraute-Lourié has compared 1,550 pregnant women at the Asile Michelet who rested before confinement with 1,550 women confined at the Hôpital Lariboisière who had enjoyed no such period of rest. She found that the average duration of pregnancy was at least twenty days shorter in the latter group (Mme. Sarraute-Lourié, *De l'Influence du Repos sur la Durée de la Gestation*, Thèse de Paris, 1899).

Leyboff has insisted on the absolute necessity of rest during pregnancy, as well for the sake of the woman herself as the burden she carries, and shows the evil results which follow when rest is neglected. Railway traveling, horse-riding, bicycling, and sea-voyages are also, Leyboff believes, liable to be injurious to the course of pregnancy. Leyboff recognizes the difficulties which procreating women are placed under by present industrial conditions, and concludes that "it is urgently necessary to prevent women, by law, from working during the last three months of pregnancy; that in every district there should be a maternity fund; that during this enforced rest a woman should receive the same salary as during work." He adds that the children of unmarried mothers should be cared for by the State, that there should be an eight-hours' day for all workers, and that no children under sixteen should be allowed to work (E. Leyboff, *L'Hygiène de la Grossesse*, Thèse de Paris, 1905).

Perruc states that at least two months' rest before confinement should be made compulsory, and that during this period the woman should receive an indemnity regulated by the State. He is of opinion that it should take the form of compulsory assurance, to which the worker, the employer, and the State alike contributed (Perruc, *Assistance aux Femmes Enceintes*, Thèse de Paris, 1905).

It is probable that during the earlier months of pregnancy, work, if not excessively heavy and exhausting, has little or no bad effect; thus Bacchimont (*Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de la Puériculture Intra-utérine*, Thèse de Paris, 1898) found that, while there was a great gain in the weight of children of mothers who had rested for three months, there was no corresponding gain in the children of those mothers who had rested for longer periods. It is during the last three months that freedom, repose, the cessation of the obligatory routine of employment become necessary. This is the opinion of Pinard, the chief authority on this matter. Many, however, fearing that economic and industrial conditions render so long a period of rest too difficult of practical attainment, are, with Clappier and G. Newman, content to demand two months as a minimum; Salvat only asks for one month's rest before confinement, the woman, whether married or not, receiving a pecuniary indemnity during this period, with medical care and drugs free. Ballantyne (*Manual of Antenatal Pathology: The Fœtus*, p. 475), as well as Niven, also asks only for one month's compulsory rest during pregnancy, with indemnity. Arthur Helme, however, taking a more comprehensive view of all the factors involved, concludes in a valuable paper on "The Unborn Child: Its Care and Its Rights" (*British Medical Journal*, Aug. 24, 1907), "The important thing would be to prohibit pregnant women from going to work at all, and it is as important from the standpoint of the child that this prohibition should include the early as the late months of pregnancy."

In England little progress has yet been made as regards this question of rest during pregnancy, even as regards the education of public opinion. Sir William Sinclair, Professor of Obstetrics at the Victoria University of Manchester, has published (1907) *A Plea for Establishing Municipal Maternity Homes*. Ballantyne, a great British authority on the embryology of the child, has published a "Plea for a Pre-Maternity Hospital" (*British Medical Journal*, April 6, 1901), has since given an important lecture on the subject (*British Medical Journal*, Jan. 11, 1908), and has further discussed the matter in his *Manual of Ante-Natal Pathology: The Fœtus* (Ch. XXVII); he is, however, more interested in the establishment of hospitals for the diseases of pregnancy than in the wider and more fundamental question of rest for all pregnant women. In England there are, indeed, a few institutions which receive unmarried women, with a record of good conduct, who are pregnant for the

first time, for, as Bouchacourt remarks, ancient British prejudices are opposed to any mercy being shown to women who are recidivists in committing the crime of conception.

At present, indeed, it is only in France that the urgent need of rest during the latter months of pregnancy has been clearly realized, and any serious and official attempts made to provide for it. In an interesting Paris thesis (*De la Puériculture avant la Naissance*, 1907) Clappier has brought together much information bearing on the efforts now being made to deal practically with this question. There are many *Asiles* in Paris for pregnant women. One of the best is the Asile Michelet, founded in 1893 by the Assistance Publique de Paris. This is a sanatorium for pregnant women who have reached a period of seven and a half months. It is nominally restricted to the admission of French women who have been domiciled for a year in Paris, but, in practice, it appears that women from all parts of France are received. They are employed in light and occasional work for the institution, being paid for this work, and are also occupied in making clothes for the expected baby. Married and unmarried women are admitted alike, all women being equal from the point of view of motherhood, and indeed the majority of the women who come to the Asile Michelet are unmarried, some being girls who have even trudged on foot from Brittany and other remote parts of France, to seek concealment from their friends in the hospitable seclusion of these refuges in the great city. It is not the least advantage of these institutions that they shield unmarried mothers and their offspring from the manifold evils to which they are exposed, and thus tend to decrease crime and suffering. In addition to the maternity refuges. there are institutions in France for assisting with help and advice those pregnant women who prefer to remain at home, but are thus enabled to avoid the necessity for undue domestic labor.

There ought to be no manner of doubt that when, as is the case to-day in our own and some other supposedly civilized countries, motherhood outside marriage is accounted as almost a crime, there is the very greatest need for adequate provision for unmarried women who are about to become mothers, enabling them to receive shelter and care in secrecy, and to preserve their self-respect and social position. This is necessary not only in the interests of humanity and public economy, but also, as is too often forgotten. in the interests of morality, for it is certain that by the neglect to furnish adequate provision of this nature women are driven to infanticide and prostitution. In earlier, more humane days, the general provision for the secret reception and care of illegitimate infants was undoubtedly most beneficial. The suppression of the mediæval method, which in France took place gradually between 1833 and 1862, led to a great increase in infanticide and abortion, and was a direct encouragement to crime and immorality. In 1887 the

Conseil Général of the Seine sought to replace the prevailing neglect of this matter by the adoption of more enlightened ideas and founded a *bureau secret d'admission* for pregnant women. Since then both the abandonment of infants and infanticide have greatly diminished, though they are increasing in those parts of France which possess no facilities of this kind. It is widely held that the State should unify the arrangements for assuring secret maternity, and should, in its own interests, undertake the expense. In 1904 French law ensured the protection of unmarried mothers by guaranteeing their secret, but it failed to organize the general establishment of secret maternities, and has left to doctors the pioneering part in this great and humane public work (A. Maillard-Brune, *Refuges, Maternités, Bureaux d'Admission Secrets, comme Moyens Préservatives des Infanticide*, Thèse de Paris, 1908). It is not among the least benefits of the falling birth rate that it has helped to stimulate this beneficent movement.

The development of an industrial system which subordinates the human body and the human soul to the thirst for gold, has, for a time, dismissed from social consideration the interests of the race and even of the individual, but it must be remembered that this has not been always and everywhere so. Although in some parts of the world the women of savage peoples work up to the time of confinement, it must be remarked that the conditions of work in savage life do not resemble the strenuous and continuous labor of modern factories. In many parts of the world, however, women are not allowed to work hard during pregnancy and every consideration is shown to them. This is so, for instance, among the Pueblo Indians, and among the Indians of Mexico. Similar care is taken in the Carolines and the Gilbert Islands and in many other regions all over the world. In some places, women are secluded during pregnancy, and in others are compelled to observe many more or less excellent rules. It is true that the assigned cause for these rules is frequently the fear of evil spirits, but they nevertheless often preserve a hygienic value. In many parts of the world the discovery of pregnancy is the sign for a festival of more or less ritual character, and much good advice is given to the expectant mother. The modern Musselmans are careful to guard the health of their women when preg-

nant, and so are the Chinese.[1] Even in Europe, in the thirteenth century, as Clappier notes, industrial corporations sometimes had regard to this matter, and would not allow women to work during pregnancy. In Iceland, where much of the primitive life of Scandinavian Europe is still preserved, great precautions are taken with pregnant women. They must lead a quiet life, avoid tight garments, be moderate in eating and drinking, take no alcohol, be safeguarded from all shocks, while their husbands and all others who surround them must treat them with consideration, save them from worry and always bear with them patiently.[2]

It is necessary to emphasize this point because we have to realize that the modern movement for surrounding the pregnant woman with tenderness and care, so far from being the mere outcome of civilized softness and degeneracy, is, in all probability, the return on a higher plane to the sane practice of those races which laid the foundations of human greatness.

While rest is the cardinal virtue imposed on a woman during the later months of pregnancy, there are other points in her regimen that are far from unimportant in their bearing on the fate of the child. One of these is the question of the mother's use of alcohol. Undoubtedly alcohol has been a cause of much fanaticism. But the declamatory extravagance of anti-alcoholists must not blind us to the fact that the evils of alcohol

[1] The importance of antenatal puericulture was fully recognized in China a thousand years ago. Thus Madame Cheng wrote at that time concerning the education of the child: "Even before birth his education may begin; and, therefore, the prospective mother of old, when lying down, lay straight; when sitting down, sat upright; and when standing, stood erect. She would not taste strange flavors, nor have anything to do with spiritualism; if her food were not cut straight she would not eat it, and if her mat were not set straight, she would not sit upon it. She would not look at any objectionable sight, nor listen to any objectionable sound, nor utter any rude word, nor handle any impure thing. At night she studied some canonical work, by day she occupied herself with ceremonies and music. Therefore, her sons were upright and eminent for their talents and virtues; such was the result of antenatal training" (H. A. Giles, "Woman in Chinese Literature." *Nineteenth Century*, Nov., 1904).

[2] Max Bartels, "Islandischer Brauch," etc., *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1900, p. 65. A summary of the customs of various peoples in regard to pregnancy is given by Ploss and Bartels, *Das Weib*, Sect. XXIX.

are real. On the reproductive process especially, on the mammary glands, and on the child, alcohol has an arresting and degenerative influence without any compensatory advantages. It has been proved by experiments on animals and observations on the human subject that alcohol taken by the pregnant woman passes freely from the maternal circulation to the fœtal circulation. Féré has further shown that, by injecting alcohol and aldehydes into hen's eggs during incubation, it is possible to cause arrest of development and malformation in the chick.[1] The woman who is bearing her child in her womb or suckling it at her breast would do well to remember that the alcohol which may be harmless to herself is little better than poison to the immature being who derives nourishment from her blood. She should confine herself to the very lightest of alcoholic beverages in very moderate amounts and would do better still to abandon these entirely and drink milk instead. She is now the sole source of the child's life and she cannot be too scrupulous in creating around it an atmosphere of purity and health. No after-influence can ever compensate for mistakes made at this time.[2]

What is true of alcohol is equally true of other potent drugs and poisons, which should all be avoided so far as possible during pregnancy because of the harmful influence they may directly exert on the embryo. Hygiene is better than drugs, and care should be exercised in diet, which should by no means be excessive. It is a mistake to suppose that the pregnant woman needs considerably more food than usual, and there is much reason to

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[1] On the influence of alcohol during pregnancy on the embryo, see, *e.g.*, G. Newman, *Infant Mortality*, pp. 72-77. W. C. Sullivan (*Alcoholism*, 1906, Ch. XI), summarizes the evidence showing that alcohol is a factor in human degeneration.

[2] There is even reason to believe that the alcoholism of the mother's father may impair her ability as a mother. Bunge (*Die Zunehmende Unfahigkeit der Frauen ihre Kinder zu Stillen*, fifth edition, 1907), from an investigation extending over 2,000 families, finds that chronic alcoholic poisoning in the father is the chief cause of the daughter's inability to suckle, this inability not usually being recovered in subsequent generations. Bunge has, however, been opposed by Dr. Agnes Bluhm, "Die Stillungsnot," *Zeitschrift für Soziale Medizin*, 1908 (fully summarized by herself in *Sexual-Probleme*, Jan., 1909).

believe not only that a rich meat diet tends to cause sterility but that it is also unfavorable to the development of the child in the womb.[1]

How far, if at all, it is often asked, should sexual intercourse be continued after fecundation has been clearly ascertained? This has not always been found an easy question to answer, for in the human couple many considerations combine to complicate the answer. Even the Catholic theologians have not been entirely in agreement on this point. Clement of Alexandria said that when the seed had been sown the field must be left till harvest. But it may be concluded that, as a rule, the Church was inclined to regard intercourse during pregnancy as at most a venial sin, provided there was no danger of abortion. Augustine, Gregory the Great, Aquinas, Dens, for instance, seem to be of this mind; for a few, indeed, it is no sin at all.[2] Among animals the rule is simple and uniform; as soon as the female is impregnated at the period of œstrus she absolutely rejects all advance of the male until, after birth and lactation are over, another period of œstrus occurs. Among savages the tendency is less uniform, and sexual abstinence, when it occurs during pregnancy, tends to become less a natural instinct than a ritual observance, or a custom now chiefly supported by superstitions. Among many primitive peoples abstinence during the whole of pregnancy is enjoined because it is believed that the semen would kill the fœtus.[3]

The Talmud is unfavorable to coitus during pregnancy, and the Koran prohibits it during the whole of the period, as well as during suckling. Among the Hindus, on the other hand, intercourse is continued up to the last fortnight of pregnancy, and it is even believed that the injected semen helps to nourish the embryo (W. D. Sutherland,

[1] See, *e.g.*, T. Arthur Helme, "The Unborn Child,"" *British Medical Journal*, Aug. 24, 1907. Nutrition should, of course, be adequate. Noel Paton has shown (*Lancet*, July 4, 1903) that defective nutrition of the pregnant woman diminishes the weight of the offspring.

[2] Debreyne, *Mœchialogie*, p. 277. And from the Protestant side see Northcote (*Christianity and Sex Problems*, Ch. IX), who permits sexual intercourse during pregnancy.

[3] See Appendix A to the third volume of these *Studies;* also Ploss and Bartels, *loc. cit.*

"Ueber das Alltagsleben und die Volksmedizin unter den Bauern Britischostindiens," *Munchener Medizinische Wochenschrift*, Nos. 12 and 13. 1906). The great Indian physician Susruta, however, was opposed to coitus during pregnancy, and the Chinese are emphatically on the same side.

As men have emerged from barbarism in the direction of civilization, the animal instinct of refusal after impregnation has been completely lost in women, while at the same time both sexes tend to become indifferent to those ritual restraints which at an earlier period were almost as binding as instinct. Sexual intercourse thus came to be practiced after impregnation, much the same as before, as part of ordinary "marital rights," though sometimes there has remained a faint suspicion, reflected in the hesitating attitude of the Catholic Church already alluded to, that such intercourse may be a sinful indulgence. Morality is, however, called in to fortify this indulgence. If the husband is shut out from marital intercourse at this time, it is argued, he will seek extra-marital intercourse, as indeed in some parts of the world it is recognized that he legitimately may; therefore the interests of the wife, anxious to retain her husband's fidelity, and the interests of Christian morality, anxious to uphold the institution of monogamy, combine to permit the continuation of coitus during pregnancy. The custom has been furthered by the fact that, in civilized women at all events, coitus during pregnancy is usually not less agreeable than at other times and by some women is felt indeed to be even more agreeable.[1] There is also the further consideration, for those couples who have sought to prevent conception, that now intercourse may be enjoyed with impunity. From a higher point of view such intercourse may also be justified, for if, as all the finer moralists of the sexual impulse now believe, love has its value not only in so far as it induces procreation but also in so far as it aids individual

[1] Thus one lady writes: "I have only had one child, but I may say that during pregnancy the desire for union was much stronger, for the whole time, than at any other period." Bouchacourt (*La Grossesse*, pp. 180-183) states that, as a rule, sexual desire is not diminished by pregnancy, and is occasionally increased.

development and the mutual good and harmony of the united couple, it becomes morally right during pregnancy.

From an early period, however, great authorities have declared themselves in opposition to the custom of practicing coitus during pregnancy. At the end of the first century, Soranus, the first of great gynæcologists, stated, in his treatise on the diseases of women, that sexual intercourse is injurious throughout pregnancy, because of the movement imparted to the uterus, and especially injurious during the latter months. For more than sixteen hundred years the question, having fallen into the hands of the theologians, seems to have been neglected on the medical side until in 1721 a distinguished French obstetrician, Mauriceau, stated that no pregnant woman should have intercourse during the last two months and that no woman subject to miscarriage should have intercourse at all during pregnancy. For more than a century, however, Mauriceau remained a pioneer with few or no followers. It would be inconvenient, the opinion went, even if it were necessary, to forbid intercourse during pregnancy.[1]

During recent years, nevertheless, there has been an increasingly strong tendency among obstetricians to speak decisively concerning intercourse during pregnancy, either by condemning it altogether or by enjoining great prudence. It is highly probable that, in accordance with the classical experiments of Dareste on chicken embryos, shocks and disturbances to the human embryo may also produce injurious effects on growth. The disturbance due to coitus in the early stages of pregnancy may thus tend to produce malformation. When such conditions are found in the children of perfectly healthy, vigorous, and generally temperate parents who have indulged recklessly in coitus

[1] This "inconvenience" remains to-day a stumbling-block with many excellent authorities. "Except when there is a tendency to miscarriage," says Kossmann (Senator and Kaminer, *Health and Disease in Relation to Marriage*, vol. i, p. 257), "we must be very guarded in ordering abstinence from intercourse during pregnancy," and Ballantyne (*The Fœtus*, p. 475) cautiously remarks that the question is difficult to decide. Forel also (*Die Sexuelle Frage*, fourth edition, p. 81), who is not prepared to advocate complete sexual abstinence during a normal pregnancy, admits that it is a rather difficult question.

during the early stages of pregnancy it is possible that such coitus has acted on the embryo in the same way as shocks and intoxications are known to act on the embryo of lower organisms. However this may be, it is quite certain that in predisposed women, coitus during pregnancy causes premature birth; it sometimes happens that labor pains begin a few minutes after the act.[1] The natural instinct of animals refuses to allow intercourse during pregnancy; the ritual observance of primitive peoples very frequently points in the same direction; the voice of medical science, so far as it speaks at all, is beginning to utter the same warning, and before long will probably be in a position to do so on the basis of more solid and coherent evidence.

Pinard, the greatest of authorities on puericulture, asserts that there must be complete cessation of sexual intercourse during the whole of pregnancy, and in his consulting room at the Clinique Baudelocque *he has placed a large placard with an "Important Notice" to this effect.* Féré was strongly of opinion that sexual relations during pregnancy, especially when recklessly carried out, play an important part in the causation of nervous troubles in children who are of sound heredity and otherwise free from all morbid infection during gestation and development; he recorded in detail a case which he considered conclusive ("L'Influence de l'Incontinence Sexuelle pendant la Gestation sur la Descendance," *Archives de Neurologie*, April, 1905). Bouchacourt discusses the subject fully (*La Grossesse*, pp. 177-214), and thinks that sexual intercourse during pregnancy should be avoided as much as possible. Fürbringer (Senator and Kaminer, *Health and Disease in Relation to Marriage*, vol. i, p. 226) recommends abstinence from the sixth or seventh month, and throughout the whole of pregnancy where there is any tendency to miscarriage, while in all cases much care and gentleness should be exercised.

The whole subject has been investigated in a Paris Thesis by H. Brénot (*De l'Influence de la Copulation pendant la Grossesse*, 1903); he concludes that sexual relations are dangerous throughout pregnancy, frequently provoking premature confinement or abortion, and that they are more dangerous in primiparæ than in multiparæ.

[1] This point is discussed, for instance, by Séropian in a Paris Thesis (*Fréquence comparée des Causes de l'Accouchement Prematuré*, 1907); he concludes that coitus during pregnancy is a more frequent cause of premature confinement than is commonly supposed, especially in primiparæ, and markedly so by the ninth month.

Nearly everything that has been said of the hygiene of pregnancy, and the need for rest, applies also to the period immediately following the birth of the child. Rest and hygiene on the mother's part continue to be necessary alike in her own interests and in the child's. This need has indeed been more generally and more practically recognized than the need for rest during pregnancy. The laws of several countries make compulsory a period of rest from employment after confinement, and in some countries they seek to provide for the remuneration of the mother during this enforced rest. In no country, indeed, is the principle carried out so thoroughly and for so long a period as is desirable. But it is the right principle, and embodies the germ which, in the future, will be developed. There can be little doubt that whatever are the matters, and they are certainly many, which may be safely left to the discretion of the individual, the care of the mother and her child is not among them. That is a matter which, more than any other, concerns the community as a whole, and the community cannot afford to be slack in asserting its authority over it. The State needs healthy men and women, and by any negligence in attending to this need it inflicts serious charges of all sorts upon itself, and at the same time dangerously impairs its efficiency in the world. Nations have begun to recognize the desirability of education, but they have scarcely yet begun to realize that the nationalization of health is even more important than the nationalization of education. If it were necessary to choose between the task of getting children educated and the task of getting them well-born and healthy it would be better to abandon education. There have been many great peoples who never dreamed of national systems of education; there has been no great people without the art of producing healthy and vigorous children.

This matter becomes of peculiar importance in great industrial states like England, the United States, and Germany, because in such states a tacit conspiracy tends to grow up to subordinate national ends to individual ends, and practically to work for the deterioration of the race. In England, for instance, this tendency has become peculiarly well marked with

disastrous results. The interest of the employed woman tends to become one with that of her employer; between them they combine to crush the interests of the child who represents the race, and to defeat the laws made in the interests of the race which are those of the community as a whole. The employed woman wishes to earn as much wages as she can and with as little interruption as she can; in gratifying that wish she is, at the same time, acting in the interests of the employer, who carefully avoids thwarting her.

This impulse on the employed woman's part is by no means always and entirely the result of poverty, and would not, therefore, be removed by raising her wages. Long before marriage, when little more than a child, she has usually gone out to work, and work has become a second nature. She has mastered her work, she enjoys a certain position and what to her are high wages; she is among her friends and companions; the noise and bustle and excitement of the work-room or the factory have become an agreeable stimulant which she can no longer do without. On the other hand, her home means nothing to her; she only returns there to sleep, leaving it next morning at daybreak or earlier; she is ignorant even of the simplest domestic arts; she moves about in her own home like a strange and awkward child. The mere act of marriage cannot change this state of things; however willing she may be at marriage to become a domesticated wife, she is destitute alike of the inclination or the skill for domesticity. Even in spite of herself she is driven back to the work-shop, to the one place where she feels really at home.

In Germany women are not allowed to work for four weeks after confinement, nor during the following two weeks except by medical certificate. The obligatory insurance against disease which covers women at confinement assures them an indemnity at this time equivalent to a large part of their wages. Married and unmarried mothers benefit alike. The Austrian law is founded on the same model. This measure has led to a very great decrease in infantile mortality, and, therefore, a great increase in health among those who survive. It is, however, regarded as very inadequate, and there is a movement in Germany for extending the time, for applying the system to a larger number of women, and for making it still more definitely compulsory.

In Switzerland it has been illegal since 1877 for any woman to be received into a factory after confinement, unless she has rested in all for eight weeks, six weeks at least of this period being after confinement. Since 1898 Swiss working women have been protected by law from exercising hard work during pregnancy, and from various other influences likely to be injurious. But this law is evaded in practice, because it provides no compensatory indemnity for the woman. An attempt, in 1899, to amend the law by providing for such indemnity was rejected by the people.

In Belgium and Holland there are laws against women working immediately after confinement, but no indemnity is provided, so that employers and employed combine to evade the law. In France there is no such law, although its necessity has often been emphatically asserted (see, *e.g.*, Salvat, *La Dépopulation de la France*, Thèse de Lyon, 1903).

In England it is illegal to employ a woman "knowingly" in a workshop within four weeks of the birth of her child, but no provision is made by the law for the compensation of the woman who is thus required to sacrifice herself to the interests of the State. The woman evades the law in tacit collusion with her employers, who can always avoid "knowing" that a birth has taken place, and so escape all responsibility for the mother's employment. Thus the factory inspectors are unable to take action, and the law becomes a dead letter; in 1906 only one prosecution for this offense could be brought into court. By the insertion of this "knowingly" a premium is placed on ignorance. The unwisdom of thus beforehand placing a premium on ignorance has always been more or less clearly recognized by the framers of legal codes even as far back as the days of the Ten Commandments and the laws of Hamurabi. It is the business of the Court, of those who administer the law, to make allowance for ignorance where such allowance is fairly called for; it is not for the law-maker to make smooth the path of the law-breaker. There are evidently law-makers nowadays so scrupulous, or so simple-minded, that they would be prepared to exact that no pickpocket should be prosecuted if he was able to declare on oath that he had no "knowledge" that the purse he had taken belonged to the person he extracted it from.

The annual reports of the English factory inspectors serve to bring ridicule on this law, which looks so wisely humane and yet means nothing, but have so far been powerless to effect any change. These reports show, moreover, that the difficulty is increasing in magnitude. Thus Miss Martindale, a factory inspector, states that in all the towns she visits, from a quiet cathedral city to a large manufacturing town, the employment of married women is rapidly increasing; they have worked in mills or factories all their lives and are quite unaccustomed to cooking, housework and the rearing of children, so that after mar-

riage, even when not compelled by poverty, they prefer to go on working as before. Miss Vines, another factory inspector, repeats the remark of a woman worker in a factory. "I do not need to work, but I do not like staying at home," while another woman said, "I would rather be at work a hundred times than at home. I get lost at home" (*Annual Report Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops for 1906*, pp. 325, etc.).

It may be added that not only is the English law enjoining four weeks' rest on the mother after childbirth practically inoperative, but the period itself is absurdly inadequate. As a rest for the mother it is indeed sufficient, but the State is still more interested in the child than in its mother, and the child needs the mother's chief care for a much longer period than four weeks. Helme advocates the State prohibition of women's work for at least six months after confinement. Where nurseries are attached to factories, enabling the mother to suckle her infant in intervals of work, the period may doubtless be shortened.

It is important to remember that it is by no means only the women in factories who are induced to work as usual during the whole period of pregnancy, and to return to work immediately after the brief rest of confinement. The Research Committee of the Christian Social Union (London Branch) undertook, in 1905, an inquiry into the employment of women after childbirth. Women in factories and workshops were excluded from the inquiry which only had reference to women engaged in household duties, in home industries, and in casual work. It was found that the majority carry on their employment right up to the time of confinement and resume it from ten to fourteen days later. The infantile death rate for the children of women engaged only in household duties was greatly lower than that for the children of the other women, while, as ever, the hand-fed infants had a vastly higher death rate than the breast-fed infants (*British Medical Journal*, Oct. 24, 1908, p. 1297).

In the great French gun and armour-plate works at Creuzot (Saône et Loire) the salaries of expectant mothers among the employees are raised; arrangements are made for giving them proper advice and medical attendance; they are not allowed to work after the middle of pregnancy or to return to work after confinement without a medical certificate of fitness. The results are said to be excellent, not only on the health of the mothers, but in the diminution of premature births, the decrease of infantile deaths, and the general prevalence of breast-feeding. It would probably be hopeless to expect many employers in Anglo-Saxon lands to adopt this policy. They are too "practical," they know how small is the money-value of human lives. With us it is necessary for the State to intervene.

There can be no doubt that, on the whole, modern civilized communities are beginning to realize that under the social and economic

conditions now tending more and more to prevail, they must in their own interests insure that the mother's best energy and vitality are devoted to the child, both before and after its birth. They are also realizing that they cannot carry out their duty in this respect unless they make adequate provision for the mothers who are thus compelled to renounce their employment in order to devote themselves to their children. We here reach a point at which Individualism is at one with Socialism. The individualist cannot fail to see that it is at all cost necessary to remove social conditions which crush out all individuality; the Socialist cannot fail to see that a society which neglects to introduce order at this central and vital point, the production of the individual, must speedily perish.

It is involved in the proper fulfilment of a mother's relationship to her infant child that, provided she is healthy, she should suckle it. Of recent years this question has become a matter of serious gravity. In the middle of the eighteenth century, when the upper-class women of France had grown disinclined to suckle their own children, Rousseau raised so loud and eloquent a protest that it became once more the fashion for a woman to fulfil her natural duties. At the present time, when the same evil is found once more, and in a far more serious form, for now it is not the small upper-class but the great lower-class that is concerned, the eloquence of a Rousseau would be powerless, for it is not fashion so much as convenience, and especially an intractable economic factor, that is chiefly concerned. Not the least urgent reason for putting women, and especially mothers, upon a sounder economic basis, is the necessity of enabling them to suckle their children.

No woman is sound, healthy, and complete unless she possesses breasts that are beautiful enough to hold the promise of being functional when the time for their exercise arrives, and nipples that can give suck. The gravity of this question to-day is shown by the frequency with which women are lacking in this essential element of womanhood, and the young man of to-day, it has been said, often in taking a wife, "actually marries but part of a woman, the other part being exhibited in the chemist's shop window, in the shape of a glass feeding-bottle." Blacker found among a thousand patients from the maternity department of University College Hospital that thirty-nine had never suckled at all, seven hundred and forty-seven had suckled all their children, and

two hundred and fourteen had suckled only some. The chief reason given for not suckling was absence or insufficiency of milk; other reasons being inability or disinclination to suckle, and refusal of the child to take the breast (Blacker, *Medical Chronicle*, Feb., 1900). These results among the London poor are certainly very much better than could be found in many manufacturing towns where women work after marriage. In the other large countries of Europe equally unsatisfactory results are found. In Paris Madame Dluska has shown that of 209 women who came for their confinement to the Clinique Baudelocque, only 74 suckled their children; of the 135 who did not suckle, 35 were prevented by pathological causes or absence of milk, 100 by the necessities of their work. Even those who suckled could seldom continue more than seven months on account of the physiological strain of work (Dluska, *Contribution à l'Etude de l'Allaitement Maternel*, Thèse de Paris, 1894). Many statistics have been gathered in the German countries. Thus Wiedow (*Centralblatt für Gynakologie*, No. 29. 1895) found that of 525 women at the Freiburg Maternity only half could suckle thoroughly during the first two weeks; imperfect nipples were noted in 49 cases, and it was found that the development of the nipple bore a direct relation to the value of the breast as a secretory organ. At Munich Escherich and Buller found that nearly 60 per cent. of women of the lower class were unable to suckle their children, and at Stuttgart three-quarters of the child-bearing women were in this condition.

The reasons why children should be suckled at their mothers' breasts are larger than some may be inclined to believe. In the first place the psychological reason is one of no mean importance. The breast with its exquisitely sensitive nipple, vibrating in harmony with the sexual organs, furnishes the normal mechanism by which maternal love is developed. No doubt the woman who never suckles her child may love it, but such love is liable to remain defective on the fundamental and instinctive side. In some women, indeed, whom we may hesitate to call abnormal, maternal love fails to awaken at all until brought into action through this mechanism by the act of suckling.

A more generally recognized and certainly fundamental reason for suckling the child is that the milk of the mother, provided she is reasonably healthy, is the infant's only ideally fit food. There are some people whose confidence in science leads them to believe that it is possible to manufacture foods that are

as good or better than mother's milk; they fancy that the milk which is best for the calf is equally best for so different an animal as the baby. These are delusions. The infant's best food is that elaborated in his own mother's body. All other foods are more or less possible substitutes, which require trouble to prepare properly and are, moreover, exposed to various risks from which the mother's milk is free.

A further reason, especially among the poor, against the use of any artificial foods is that it accustoms those around the child to try experiments with its feeding and to fancy that any kind of food they eat themselves may be good for the infant. It thus happens that bread and potatoes, brandy and gin, are thrust into infants' mouths. With the infant that is given the breast it is easier to make plain that, except by the doctor's orders, nothing else must be given.

An additional reason why the mother should suckle her child is the close and frequent association with the child thus involved. Not only is the child better cared for in all respects, but the mother is not deprived of the discipline of such care, and is also enabled from the outset to learn and to understand the child's nature.

The inability to suckle acquires great significance if we realize that it is associated, probably in a large measure as a direct cause, with infantile mortality. The mortality of artificially-fed infants during the first year of life is seldom less than double that of the breast fed, sometimes it is as much as three times that of the breast-fed, or even more; thus at Derby 51.7 per cent. of hand-fed infants die under the age of twelve months, but only 8.6 per cent. of breast-fed infants. Those who survive are by no means free from suffering. At the end of the first year they are found to weigh about 25 per cent. less than the breast-fed, and to be much shorter; they are more liable to tuberculosis and rickets, with all the evil results that flow from these diseases; and there is some reason to believe that the development of their teeth is injuriously affected. The degenerate character of the artificially-fed is well indicated by the fact that of 40,000 children who were brought for *treatment to the Children's Hospital in Munich*, 86 per cent. had been brought up by hand, and the few who had been suckled had usually only had the breast for a short time. The evil influence persists even up to adult life. In some parts of France where the wet-nurse industry

flourishes so greatly that nearly all the children are brought up by hand, it has been found that the percentage of rejected conscripts is nearly double that for France generally. Corresponding results have been found by Friedjung in a large German athletic association. Among 155 members, 65 per cent. were found on inquiry to have been breast-fed as infants (for an average of six months); but among the best athletes the percentage of breast-fed rose to 72 per cent. (for an average period of nine or ten months), while for the group of 56 who stood lowest in athletic power the percentage of breast-fed fell to 57 (for an average of only three months).

The advantages for an infant of being suckled by its mother are greater than can be accounted for by the mere fact of being suckled rather than hand-fed. This has been shown by Vitrey (*De la Mortalité Infantile*, Thèse de Lyon, 1907), who found from the statistics of the Hôtel-Dieu at Lyons, that infants suckled by their mothers have a mortality of only 12 per cent., but if suckled by strangers, the mortality rises to 33 per cent. It may be added that, while suckling is essential to the complete well-being of the child, it is highly desirable for the sake of the mother's health also. (Some important statistics are summarized in a paper on "Infantile Mortality" in *British Medical Journal*, Nov. 2, 1907, while the various aspects of suckling have been thoroughly discussed by Bollinger, "Ueber Säuglings-Sterblichkeit und die Erbliche functionelle Atrophie der menschlichen Milchdrüse" (*Correspondenz-blatt Deutschen Gesellschaft Anthropologie*, Oct., 1899).

It appears that in Sweden, in the middle of the eighteenth century, it was a punishable offense for a woman to give her baby the bottle when she was able to suckle it. In recent years Prof Anton von Menger, of Vienna, has argued (in his *Burgerliche Recht und die Besitzlosen Klassen*) that the future generation has the right to make this claim, and he proposes that every mother shall be legally bound to suckle her child unless her inability to do so has been certified by a physician. E. A. Schroeder (*Das Recht in der Geschlechtlichen Ordnung*, 1893, p. 346) also argued that a mother should be legally bound to suckle her infant for at least nine months, unless solid grounds could be shown to the contrary, and this demand, which seems reasonable and natural, since it is a mother's privilege as well as her duty to suckle her infant when able to do so, has been insistently made by others also. It has been supported from the legal side by Weinberg (*Mutterchutz*, Sept., 1907). In France the Loi Roussel forbids a woman to act as a wet-nurse until her child is seven months old, and this has had an excellent effect in lowering infantile mortality (A. Allée, *Puériculture et la Loi Roussel*, Thèse de Paris, 1908). In some parts of Germany manufacturers are compelled to set up a suckling-room in the factory, where mothers can give the breast to the child in the intervals of work. The

control and upkeep of these rooms, with provision of doctors and nurses, is undertaken by the municipality (*Sexual-Problems*, Sept., 1908, p. 573).

As things are to-day in modern industrial countries the righting of these wrongs cannot be left to Nature, that is, to the ignorant and untrained impulses of persons who live in a whirl of artificial life where the voice of instinct is drowned. The mother, we are accustomed to think, may be trusted to see to the welfare of her child, and it is unnecessary, or even "immoral," to come to her assistance. Yet there are few things, I think, more pathetic than the sight of a young Lancashire mother who works in the mills, when she has to stay at home to nurse her sick child. She is used to rise before day-break to go to the mill; she has scarcely seen her child by the light of the sun, she knows nothing of its necessities, the hands that are so skilful to catch the loom cannot soothe the child. The mother gazes down at it in vague, awkward, speechless misery. It is not a sight one can ever forget.

It is France that is taking the lead in the initiation of the scientific and practical movements for the care of the young child before and after birth, and it is in France that we may find the germs of nearly all the methods now becoming adopted for arresting infantile mortality. The village system of Villiers-le-Duc, near Dijon in the Côte d'Or, has proved a germ of this fruitful kind. Here every pregnant woman not able to secure the right conditions for her own life and that of the child she is bearing, is able to claim the assistance of the village authorities; she is entitled, without payment, to the attendance of a doctor and midwife and to one franc a day during her confinement. The measures adopted in this village have practically abolished both maternal and infantile mortality. A few years ago Dr. Samson Moore, the medical officer of health for Huddersfield, heard of this village, and Mr. Benjamin Broadbent, the Mayor of Huddersfield, visited Villiers-le-Duc. It was resolved to initiate in Huddersfield a movement for combating infant mortality. Henceforth arose what is known as the Huddersfield scheme, a scheme which has been fruitful in splendid results. The points

of the Huddersfield scheme are: (1) compulsory notification of births within forty-eight hours; (2) the appointment of lady assistant medical officers of help to visit the home, inquire, advise, and assist; (3) the organized aid of voluntary lady workers in subordination to the municipal part of the scheme; (4) appeal to the medical officer of help when the baby, not being under medical care, fails to thrive. The infantile mortality of Huddersfield has been very greatly reduced by this scheme.[1]

The Huddersfield scheme may be said to be the origin of the English Notification of Births Act, which came into operation in 1908. This Act represents, in England, the national inauguration of a scheme for the betterment of the race, the ultimate results of which it is impossible to foresee. When this Act comes into universal action every baby of the land will be entitled—legally and not by individual caprice or philanthropic condescension—to medical attention from the day of birth, and every mother will have at hand the counsel of an educated woman in touch with the municipal authorities. There could be no greater triumph for medical science, for national efficiency, and the cause of humanity generally. Even on the lower financial plane, it is easy to see that an enormous saving of public and private money will thus be effected. The Act is adoptive, and not compulsory. This was a wise precaution, for an Act of this kind cannot be effectual unless it is carried out thoroughly by the community adopting it, and it will not be adopted until a community has clearly realized its advantages and the methods of attaining them.

An important adjunct of this organization is the School for Mothers. Such schools, which are now beginning to spring up everywhere, may be said to have their origins in the *Consultations de Nourrissons* (with their offshoot the *Goutte de Lait*), established by Professor Budin in 1892, which have spread all over France and been widely influential for good. At the *Consultations* infants are examined and weighed weekly, and the mothers advised and encouraged to suckle their children. The *Gouttes* are practically milk dispensaries where infants for whom breast-feeding is impossible are fed with milk under medical supervision. Schools for Mothers represent an enlargement of the same scheme, covering a variety of subjects which it is necessary for a mother to know. Some of the first of these schools were established at Bonn, at the Bavarian town of Weissenberg, and in Ghent. At some of the

[1] "Infantile Mortality: The Huddersfield Scheme," *British Medical Journal*, Dec., 1907; Samson Moore, "Infant Mortality," *ib.*, August 29, 1908.

Schools for Mothers, and notably at Ghent (described by Mrs. Bertrand Russell in the *Nineteenth Century*, 1906), the important step has been taken of giving training to young girls from fourteen to eighteen; they receive instruction in infant anatomy and physiology, in the preparation of sterilized milk, in weighing children, in taking temperatures and making charts, in managing crèches, and after two years are able to earn a salary. In various parts of England, schools for young mothers and girls on these lines are now being established, first in London, under the auspices of Dr. F. J. Sykes, Medical Officer of Health for St. Pancreas (see, *e.g.*, *A School For Mothers*, 1908, describing an establishment of this kind at Somers Town, with a preface by Sir Thomas Barlow; an account of recent attempts to improve the care of infants in London will also be found in the *Lancet*, Sept. 26, 1908). It may be added that some English municipalities have established depôts for supplying mothers cheaply with good milk. Such depôts are, however, likely to be more mischievous than beneficial if they promote the substitution of hand-feeding for suckling. They should never be established except in connection with Schools for Mothers, where an educational influence may be exerted, and no mother should be supplied with milk unless she presents a medical certificate showing that she is unable to nourish her child (Byers, "Medical Women and Public Health Questions," *British Medical Journal*, Oct. 6, 1906). It is noteworthy that in England the local authorities will shortly be empowered by law to establish Schools for Mothers.

The great benefits produced by these institutions in France, both in diminishing the infant mortality and in promoting the education of mothers and their pride and interest in their children, have been set forth in two Paris theses by G. Chaignon (*Organisation des Consultations de Nourrissons à la Campagne*, 1908), and Alcide Alexandre (*Consultation de Nourrissons et Goutte de Lait d'Arques*, 1908).

The movement is now spreading throughout Europe, and an International Union has been formed, including all the institutions specially founded for the protection of child life and the promotion of puericulture. The permanent committee is in Brussels, and a Congress of Infant Protection (*Goutte de Lait*) is held every two years.

It will be seen that all the movements now being set in action for the improvement of the race through the child and the child's mother, recognize the intimacy of the relation between the mother and her child and are designed to aid her, even if necessary by the exercise of some pressure, in performing her natural functions in relation to her child. To the theoretical philanthropist, eager to reform the world on paper, nothing seems

simpler than to cure the present evils of child-rearing by setting up State nurseries which are at once to relieve mothers of everything connected with the production of the men of the future beyond the pleasure—if such it happens to be—of conceiving them and the trouble of bearing them, and at the same time to rear them up independently of the home, in a wholesome, economical, and scientific manner.[1] Nothing seems simpler, but from the fundamental psychological standpoint nothing is falser. The idea of a State which is outside the community is but a survival in another form of that antiquated notion which compelled Louis XIV to declare "L'Etat c'est moi!" A State which admits that the individuals composing it are incompetent to perform their own most sacred and intimate functions, and takes upon itself to perform them instead, attempts a task which would be undesirable, even if it were possible of achievement. It must always be remembered that a State which proposes to relieve its constituent members of their natural functions and responsibilities attempts something quite different from the State which seeks to aid its members to fulfil their own biological and social functions more adequately. A State which enables its mothers to rest when they are child-bearing is engaged in a reasonable task; a State which takes over its mothers' children is reducing philanthropy to absurdity. It is easy to realize this if we consider the inevitable course of circumstances under a system of "State-nurseries." The child would be removed from its natural mother at the earliest age, but some one has to perform the mother's duties; the substitute must therefore be properly trained for such duties; and in exercising them under favorable circumstances a maternal relationship is developed between the child and the "mother," who doubtless possesses natural maternal instincts but has no natural

[1] Ellen Key has admirably dealt with proposals of this kind (as put forth by C. P. Stetson) in her Essays "On Love and Marriage." In opposition to such proposals Ellen Key suggests that such women as have been properly trained for maternal duties and are unable entirely to support themselves while exercising them should be subsidized by the State during the child's first three years of life. It may be added that in Leipzig the plan of subsidizing mothers who (under proper medical and other supervision) suckle their infants has already been introduced.

maternal bond to the child she is mothering. Such a relationship tends to become on both sides practically and emotionally the real relationship. We very often have opportunity of seeing how unsatisfactory such a relationship becomes. The artificial mother is deprived of a child she had begun to feel her own; the child's emotional relationships are upset, split and distorted; the real mother has the bitterness of feeling that for her child she is not the real mother. Would it not have been much better for all if the State had encouraged the vast army of women it had trained for the position of mothering other women's children, to have, instead, children of their own? The women who are incapable of mothering their own children could then be trained to refrain from bearing them.

Ellen Key (in her *Century of the Child*, and elsewhere) has advocated for all young women a year of compulsory "service," analogous to the compulsory military service imposed in most countries on young men. During this period the girl would be trained in rational housekeeping, in the principles of hygiene, in the care of the sick, and especially in the care of infants and all that concerns the physical and psychic development of children. The principle of this proposal has since been widely accepted. Marie von Schmid (in her *Mutterdienst*, 1907) goes so far as to advocate a general training of young women in such duties, carried on in a kind of enlarged and improved midwifery school. The service would last a year, and the young woman would then be for three years in the reserves, and liable to be called up for duty. There is certainly much to be said for such a proposal, considerably more than is to be said for compulsory military service. For while it is very doubtful whether a man will ever be called on to fight, most women are liable to be called on to exercise household duties or to look after children, whether for themselves or for other people.

CHAPTER II.

SEXUAL EDUCATION.

Nurture Necessary as Well as Breed—Precocious Manifestations of the Sexual Impulse—Are They to be Regarded as Normal?—The Sexual Play of Children—The Emotion of Love in Childhood—Are Town Children More Precocious Sexually Than Country Children?—Children's Ideas Concerning the Origin of Babies—Need for Beginning the Sexual Education of Children in Early Years—The Importance of Early Training in Responsibility—Evil of the Old Doctrine of Silence in Matters of Sex—The Evil Magnified When Applied to Girls—The Mother the Natural and Best Teacher—The Morbid Influence of Artificial Mystery in Sex Matters—Books on Sexual Enlightenment of the Young—Nature of the Mother's Task—Sexual Education in the School—The Value of Botany—Zoölogy—Sexual Education After Puberty—The Necessity of Counteracting Quack Literature—Danger of Neglecting to Prepare for the First Onset of Menstruation—The Right Attitude Towards Woman's Sexual Life—The Vital Necessity of the Hygiene of Menstruation During Adolescence—Such Hygiene Compatible with the Educational and Social Equality of the Sexes—The Invalidism of Women Mainly Due to Hygienic Neglect—Good Influence of Physical Training on Women and Bad Influence of Athletics—The Evils of Emotional Suppression—Need of Teaching the Dignity of Sex—Influence of These Factors on a Woman's Fate in Marriage—Lectures and Addresses on Sexual Hygiene—The Doctor's Part in Sexual Education—Pubertal Initiation Into the Ideal World—The Place of the Religious and Ethical Teacher—The Initiation Rites of Savages Into Manhood and Womanhood—The Sexual Influence of Literature—The Sexual Influence of Art.

It may seem to some that in attaching weight to the ancestry, the parentage, the conception, the gestation, even the first infancy, of the child we are wandering away from the sphere of the psychology of sex. That is far from being the case. We are, on the contrary, going to the root of sex. All our growing knowledge tends to show that, equally with his physical nature, the child's psychic nature is based on breed and nurture, on the quality of the stocks he belongs to, and on the care taken at the

early moments when care counts for most, to preserve the fine quality of those stocks.

It must, of course, be remembered that the influences of both breed and nurture are alike influential on the fate of the individual. The influence of nurture is so obvious that few are likely to under-rate it. The influence of breed, however, is less obvious, and we may still meet with persons so ill informed, and perhaps so prejudiced, as to deny it altogether. The growth of our knowledge in this matter, by showing how subtle and penetrative is the influence of heredity, cannot fail to dispel this mischievous notion. No sound civilization is possible except in a community which in the mass is not only well-nurtured but well-bred. And in no part of life so much as in the sexual relationships is the influence of good breeding more decisive. An instructive illustration may be gleaned from the minute and precise history of his early life furnished to me by a highly cultured Russian gentleman. He was brought up in childhood with his own brothers and sisters and a little girl of the same age who had been adopted from infancy, the child of a prostitute who had died soon after the infant's birth. The adopted child was treated as one of the family, and all the children supposed that she was a real sister. Yet from early years she developed instincts unlike those of the children with whom she was nurtured; she lied, she was cruel, she loved to make mischief, and she developed precociously vicious sexual impulses; though carefully educated, she adopted the occupation of her mother, and at the age of twenty-two was exiled to Siberia for robbery and attempt to murder. The child of a chance father and a prostitute mother is not fatally devoted to ruin; but such a child is ill-bred, and that fact, in some cases, may neutralize all the influences of good nurture.

When we reach the period of infancy we have already passed beyond the foundations and potentialities of the sexual life; we are in some cases witnessing its actual beginnings. It is a well-established fact that auto-erotic manifestations may sometimes be observed even in infants of less than twelve months. We are not now called upon to discuss the disputable point as to how far such manifestations at this age can be called normal.[1] A slight degree of menstrual and mammary activity sometimes

[1] These manifestations have been dealt with in the study of Auto-erotism in vol. i of the present *Studies*. It may be added that the sexual life of the child has been exhaustively investigated by Moll, *Das Sexualleben des Kindes*, 1909.

occurs at birth.[1] It seems clear that nervous and psychic sexual activity has its first springs at this early period, and as the years go by an increasing number of individuals join the stream, until at puberty practically all are carried along in the great current.

While, therefore, it is possibly, even probably, true that the soundest and healthiest individuals show no definite signs of nervous and psychic sexuality in childhood, such manifestations are still sufficiently frequent to make it impossible to say that sexual hygiene may be completely ignored until puberty is approaching.

Precocious physical development occurs as a somewhat rare variation. W. Roger Williams ("Precocious Sexual Development with Abstracts of over One Hundred Cases," *British Gynæcological Journal*, May, 1902) has furnished an important contribution to the knowledge of this anomaly which is much commoner in girls than in boys. Roger Williams's cases include only twenty boys to eighty girls, and precocity is not only more frequent but more pronounced in girls, who have been known to conceive at eight, while thirteen is stated to be the earliest age at which boys have proved able to beget children. This, it may be remarked, is also the earliest age at which spermatozoa are found in the seminal fluid of boys; before that age the ejaculations contain no spermatozoa, and, as Fürbringer and Moll have found, they may even be absent at sixteen, or later. In female children precocious sexual development is less commonly associated with general increase of bodily development than in boys (An individual case of early sexual development in a girl of five has been completely described and figured in the *Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie*, 1896, Heft 4, p. 262)

Precocious sexual impulses are generally vague, occasional, and more or less innocent. A case of rare and pronounced character, in which a child, a boy, from the age of two had been sexually attracted to girls and women, and directed all his thoughts and actions to sexual attempts on them, has been described by Herbert Rich, of Detroit (*Alienist and Neurologist*, Nov., 1905) General evidence from the literature of the subject as to sexual precocity, its frequency and significance, has been brought together by L. M. Terman ("A Study in Precocity," *American Journal Psychology*, April, 1905).

[1] This genital efflorescence in the sexual glands and breasts at birth or in early infancy has been discussed in a Paris thesis, by Camille Renouf (*La Crise Génital et les Manifestations Connexes chez le Fœtus et le Nouveau-né*, 1905); he is unable to offer a satisfactory explanation of these phenomena.

The erections that are liable to occur in male infants have usually no sexual significance, though, as Moll remarks, they may acquire it by attracting the child's attention; they are merely reflex. It is believed by some, however, and notably by Freud, that certain manifestations of infant activity, especially thumb-sucking, are of sexual causation, and that the sexual impulse constantly manifests itself at a very early age. The belief that the sexual instinct is absent in childhood, Freud regards as a serious error, so easy to correct by observation that he wonders how it can have arisen. "In reality," he remarks, "the new-born infant brings sexuality with it into the world, sexual sensations accompany it through the days of lactation and childhood, and very few children can fail to experience sexual activities and feelings before the period of puberty" (Freud, "Zur Sexuellen Aufklärung der Kinder," *Soziale Medizin und Hygiene*, Bd. ii, 1907; *cf.*, for details, the same author's *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*, 1905). Moll, on the other hand, considers that Freud's views on sexuality in infancy are exaggerations which must be decisively rejected, though he admits that it is difficult, if not impossible, to differentiate the feelings in childhood (Moll, *Das Sexualleben des Kindes*, p. 154). Moll believes also that psycho-sexual manifestations appearing after the age of eight are not pathological; children who are weakly or of bad heredity are not seldom sexually precocious, but, on the other hand, Moll has known children of eight or nine with strongly developed sexual impulses, who yet become finely developed men.

Rudimentary sexual activities in childhood, accompanied by sexual feelings, must indeed—when they are not too pronounced or too premature—be regarded as coming within the normal sphere, though when they occur in children of bad heredity they are not without serious risks. But in healthy children, after the age of seven or eight, they tend to produce no evil results, and are strictly of the nature of play. Play, both in animals and men, as Groos has shown with marvelous wealth of illustration, is a beneficent process of education; the young creature is thereby preparing itself for the exercise of those functions which in later life it must carry out more completely and more seriously. In his *Spiele der Menschen*, Groos applies this idea to the sexual play of children, and brings forward quotations from literature in evidence. Keller, in his "Romeo und Juliet auf dem Dorfe," has given an admirably truthful picture of these childish love-relationships. Emil Schultze-Malkowsky (*Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, Bd. ii, p. 370) reproduces some scenes from the life of a little girl of seven clearly illustrating the exact nature of the sexual manifestation at this age.

A kind of rudimentary sexual intercourse between children, as Bloch has remarked (*Beiträge, etc.*, Bd. ii, p. 254), occurs in many parts of the world, and is recognized by their elders as play. This is, for

instance, the case among the Bawenda of the Transvaal (*Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie*, 1896, Heft 4, p. 364), and among the Papuans of Kaiser-Wilhelms-Land, with the approval of the parents, although much reticence is observed (*id.*, 1889, Heft 1, p. 16). Godard (*Egypte et Palestine*, 1867, p. 105) noted the sexual play of the boys and girls in Cairo. In New Mexico W. A. Hammond (*Sexual Impotence*, p. 107) has seen boys and girls attempting a playful sexual conjunction with the encouragement of men and women, and in New York he has seen boys and girls of three and four doing the same in the presence of their parents, with only a laughing rebuke. "Playing at pa and ma" is indeed extremely common among children in genuine innocence, and with a complete absence of viciousness; and is by no means confined to children of low social class. Moll remarks on its frequency (*Libido Sexualis*, Bd. i, p. 277), and the committee of evangelical pastors, in their investigation of German rural morality (*Die Geschlechtliche-sittliche Verhaltnisse*, Bd. i, p. 102) found that children who are not yet of school age make attempts at coitus. The sexual play of children is by no means confined to father and mother games; frequently there are games of school with the climax in exposure and smackings, and occasionally there are games of being doctors and making examinations. Thus a young English woman says. "Of course, when we were at school [at the age of twelve and earlier] we used to play with one another, several of us girls; we used to go into a field and pretend we were doctors and had to examine one another, and then we used to pull up one another's clothes and feel each other."

These games do not necessarily involve the coöperation of the sexual impulse, and still less have they any element of love. But emotions of love, scarcely if at all distinguishable from adult sexual love, frequently appear at equally early ages. They are of the nature of play, in so far as play is a preparation for the activities of later life, though, unlike the games, they are not felt as play. Ramdohr, more than a century ago (*Venus Urania*, 1798), referred to the frequent love of little boys for women. More usually the love is felt towards individuals of the opposite or the same sex who are not widely different in age, though usually older. The most comprehensive study of the matter has been made by Sanford Bell in America on a basis of as many as 2,300 cases (S. Bell, "A Preliminary Study of the Emotion of Love Between the Sexes," *American Journal Psychology*, July, 1902). Bell finds that the presence of the emotion between three and eight years of age is shown by such actions as hugging, kissing, lifting each other, scuffling, sitting close to each other, confessions to each other and to others, talking about each other when apart, seeking each other and excluding the rest, grief at separation, giving gifts, showing special courtesies to each other, making sacrifices for each other, exhibiting jealousy. The girls are, on the

whole, more aggressive than the boys, and less anxious to keep the matter secret. After the age of eight, the girls increase in modesty and the boys become still more secretive. The physical sensations are not usually located in the sexual organs; erection of the penis and hyperæmia of the female sexual parts Bell regards as marking undue precocity. But there is diffused vascular and nervous tumescence and a state of exaltation comparable, though not equal, to that experienced in adolescent and adult age. On the whole, as Bell soundly concludes, "love between children of opposite sex bears much the same relation to that between adults as the flower does to the fruit, and has about as little of physical sexuality in it as an apple-blossom has of the apple that develops from it." Moll also (*op. cit.*, p. 76) considers that kissing and other similar superficial contacts, which he denominates the phenomena of contrectation, constitute most frequently the first and sole manifestation of the sexual impulse in childhood.

It is often stated that it is easier for children to preserve their sexual innocence in the country than in the town, and that only in cities is sexuality rampant and conspicuous. This is by no means true, and in some respects it is the reverse of the truth. Certainly, hard work, a natural and simple life, and a lack of alert intelligence often combine to keep the rural lad chaste in thought and act until the period of adolescence is completed. Ammon, for instance, states, though without giving definite evidence, that this is common among the Baden conscripts. Certainly, also, all the multiple sensory excitements of urban life tend to arouse the nervous and cerebral excitability of the young at a comparatively early age in the sexual as in other fields, and promote premature desires and curiosities. But, on the other hand, urban life offers the young no gratification for their desires and curiosities. The publicity of a city, the universal surveillance, the studied decorum of a population conscious that it is continually exposed to the gaze of strangers, combine to spread a veil over the esoteric side of life, which, even when at last it fails to conceal from the young the urban stimuli of that life, effectually conceals, for the most part, the gratifications of those stimuli. In the country, however, these restraints do not exist in any corresponding degree; animals render the elemental facts of sexual life clear to all; there is less need or regard for decorum; speech is plainer; supervision is impossible, and the amplest opportunities for sexual intimacy are at hand. If the city may perhaps be said to favor unchastity of thought in the young, the country may certainly be said to favor unchastity of act.

The elaborate investigations of the Committee of Lutheran pastors into sexual morality (*Die Geschlechtlich-sittliche Verhaltnisse im Deutschen Reiche*), published a few years ago, demonstrate amply the sexual freedom in rural Germany, and Moll, who is decidedly of opinion

that the country enjoys no relative freedom from sexuality, states (*op. cit.*, pp. 137-139, 239) that even the circulation of obscene books and pictures among school-children seems to be more frequent in small towns and the country than in large cities. In Russia, where it might be thought that urban and rural conditions offered less contrast than in many countries, the same difference has been observed. "I do not know," a Russian correspondent writes, "whether Zola in *La Terre* correctly describes the life of French villages. But the ways of a Russian village, where I passed part of my childhood, fairly resemble those described by Zola. In the life of the rural population into which I was plunged everything was impregnated with erotism. One was surrounded by animal lubricity in all its immodesty. Contrary to the generally received opinion, I believe that a child may preserve his sexual innocence more easily in a town than in the country. There are, no doubt, many exceptions to this rule. But the functions of the sexual life are generally more concealed in the towns than in the fields. Modesty (whether or not of the merely superficial and exterior kind) is more developed among urban populations. In speaking of sexual things in the towns people veil their thought more; even the lower class in towns employ more restraint, more euphemisms, than peasants Thus in the towns a child may easily fail to comprehend when risky subjects are talked of in his presence. It may be said that the corruption of towns, though more concealed, is all the deeper. Maybe, but that concealment preserves children from it. The town child sees prostitutes in the street every day without distinguishing them from other people. In the country he would every day hear it stated in the crudest terms that such and such a girl has been found at night in a barn or a ditch making love with such and such a youth, or that the servant girl slips every night into the coachman's bed, the facts of sexual intercourse, pregnancy, and childbirth being spoken of in the plainest terms. In towns the child's attention is solicited by a thousand different objects; in the country, except fieldwork, which fails to interest him, he hears only of the reproduction of animals and the erotic exploits of girls and youths. When we say that the urban environment is more exciting we are thinking of adults, but the things which excite the adult have usually no erotic effect on the child, who cannot, however, long remain asexual when he sees the great peasant girls, as ardent as mares in heat, abandoning themselves to the arms of robust youths. He cannot fail to remark these frank manifestations of sexuality, though the subtle and perverse refinements of the town would escape his notice. I know that in the countries of exaggerated prudery there is much hidden corruption, more, one is sometimes inclined to think, than in less hypocritical countries. But I believe that that is a false impression, and am persuaded that precisely because of all these little concealments which excite the mali-

cious amusement of foreigners, there are really many more young people in England who remain chaste than in the countries which treat sexual relations more frankly. At all events, if I have known Englishmen who were very debauched and very refined in vice, I have also known young men of the same nation, over twenty, who were as innocent as children, but never a young Frenchman, Italian, or Spaniard of whom this could be said." There is undoubtedly truth in this statement, though it must be remembered that, excellent as chastity is, if it is based on mere ignorance, its possessor is exposed to terrible dangers.

The question of sexual hygiene, more especially in its special aspect of sexual enlightenment, is not, however, dependent on the fact that in some children the psychic and nervous manifestation of sex appears at an earlier age than in others. It rests upon the larger general fact that in all children the activity of intelligence begins to work at a very early age, and that this activity tends to manifest itself in an inquisitive desire to know many elementary facts of life which are really dependent on sex. The primary and most universal of these desires is the desire to know where children come from. No question could be more natural; the question of origins is necessarily a fundamental one in childish philosophies as, in more ultimate shapes, it is in adult philosophies. Most children, either guided by the statements, usually the misstatements, of their elders, or by their own intelligence working amid such indications as are open to them, are in possession of a theory of the origin of babies.

Stanley Hall ("Contents of Children's Minds on Entering School," *Pedagogical Seminary*, June, 1891) has collected some of the beliefs of young children as to the origin of babies. "God makes babies in heaven, though the Holy Mother and even Santa Claus make some. He lets them down and drops them, and the women or doctors catch them, or He leaves them on the sidewalk, or brings them down a wooden ladder backwards and pulls it up again, or mamma or the doctor or the nurse go up and fetch them, sometimes in a balloon, or they fly down and lose off their wings in some place or other and forget it, and jump down to Jesus, who gives them around. They were also often said to be found in flour-barrels, and the flour sticks ever so long, you know, or they grew in cabbages, or God puts them in water, perhaps in the sewer, and the doctor gets them out and takes them to sick folks that want them,

or the milkman brings them early in the morning; they are dug out of the ground, or bought at the baby store."

In England and America the inquisitive child is often told that the baby was found in the garden, under a gooseberry bush or elsewhere; or more commonly it is said, with what is doubtless felt to be a nearer approach to the truth, that the doctor brought it. In Germany the common story told to children is that the stork brings the baby. Various theories, mostly based on folk-lore, have been put forward to explain this story, but none of them seem quite convincing (see, *e.g.*, G. Herman, "Sexual-Mythen," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, vol. i, Heft 5, 1906, p. 176, and P. Näcke, *Neurologische Centralblatt*, No. 17, 1907). Näcke thinks there is some plausibility in Professor Petermann's suggestion that a frog writhing in a stork's bill resembles a tiny human creature.

In Iceland, according to Max Bartels ("Isländischer Brauch und Volksglaube," etc., *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1900, Heft 2 and 3) we find a transition between the natural and the fanciful in the stories told to children of the origin of babies (the stork is here precluded, for it only extends to the southern border of Scandinavian lands). In North Iceland it is said that God made the baby and the mother bore it, and on that account is now ill. In the northwest it is said that God made the baby and gave it to the mother. Elsewhere it is said that God sent the baby and the midwife brought it, the mother only being in bed to be near the baby (which is seldom placed in a cradle). It is also sometimes said that a lamb or a bird brought the baby. Again it is said to have entered during the night through the window. Sometimes, however, the child is told that the baby came out of the mother's breasts, or from below her breasts, and that is why she is not well.

Even when children learn that babies come out of the mother's body this knowledge often remains very vague and inaccurate. It very commonly happens, for instance, in all civilized countries that the navel is regarded as the baby's point of exit from the body. This is a natural conclusion, since the navel is seemingly a channel into the body, and a channel for which there is no obvious use, while the pudendal cleft would not suggest itself to girls (and still less to boys) as the gate of birth, since it already appears to be monopolized by the urinary excretion. This belief concerning the navel is sometimes preserved through the whole period of adolescence, especially in girls of the so-called educated class, who are too well-bred to discuss the matter with their married friends, and believe indeed that they are already sufficiently well informed. At this age the belief may not be altogether harmless, in so far as it leads to the real gate of sex being left unguarded. In Elsass where girls commonly believe, and are taught, that babies come through the navel, popular folk-tales are current (*Anthropophyteia*, vol.

iii, p. 89) which represent the mistakes resulting from this belief as leading to the loss of virginity.

Freud, who believes that children give little credit to the stork fable and similar stories invented for their mystification, has made an interesting psychological investigation into the real theories which children themselves, as the result of observation and thought, reach concerning the sexual facts of life (S. Freud, "Ueber Infantile Sexualtheorien," *Sexual-Probleme*, Dec., 1908). Such theories, he remarks, correspond to the brilliant, but defective hypotheses which primitive peoples arrive at concerning the nature and origin of the world. There are three theories, which, as Freud quite truly concludes, are very commonly formed by children. The first, and the most widely disseminated, is that there is no real anatomical difference between boys and girls; if the boy notices that his little sister has no obvious penis he even concludes that it is because she is too young, and the little girl herself takes the same view. The fact that in early life the clitoris is relatively larger and more penis-like helps to confirm this view which Freud connects with the tendency in later life to erotic dream of women furnished with a penis. This theory, as Freud also remarks, favors the growth of homosexuality when its germs are present. The second theory is the fæcal theory of the origin of babies. The child, who perhaps thinks his mother has a penis, and is in any case ignorant of the vagina, concludes that the baby is brought into the world by an action analogous to the action of the bowels. The third theory, which is perhaps less prevalent than the others, Freud terms the sadistic theory of coitus. The child realizes that his father must have taken some sort of part in his production. The theory that sexual intercourse consists in violence has in it a trace of truth, but seems to be arrived at rather obscurely. The child's own sexual feelings are often aroused for the first time when wrestling or struggling with a companion; he may see his mother, also, resisting more or less playfully a sudden caress from his father, and if a real quarrel takes place, the impression may be fortified. As to what the state of marriage consists in, Freud finds that it is usually regarded as a state which abolishes modesty; the most prevalent theory being that marriage means that people can make water before each other, while another common childish theory is that marriage is when people can show each other their private parts.

Thus it is that at a very early stage of the child's life we are brought face to face with the question how we may most wisely begin his initiation into the knowledge of the great central facts of sex. It is perhaps a little late in the day to regard it as a question, but so it is among us, although three thousand five

hundred years ago, the Egyptian father spoke to his child: "I have given you a mother who has carried you within her, a heavy burden, for your sake, and without resting on me. When at last you were born, she indeed submitted herself to the yoke, for during three years were her nipples in your mouth. Your excrements never turned her stomach, nor made her say, 'What am I doing?' When you were sent to school she went regularly every day to carry the household bread and beer to your master. When in your turn you marry and have a child, bring up your child as your mother brought you up."[1]

I take it for granted, however, that—whatever doubt there may be as to the how or the when—no doubt is any longer possible as to the absolute necessity of taking deliberate and active part in this sexual initiation, instead of leaving it to the chance revelation of ignorant and perhaps vicious companions or servants. It is becoming more and more widely felt that the risks of ignorant innocence are too great.

"All the love and solicitude parental yearning can bestow," writes Dr. G. F. Butler, of Chicago (*Love and its Affinities*, 1899, p. 83), "all that the most refined religious influence can offer, all that the most cultivated associations can accomplish, in one fatal moment may be obliterated. There is no room for ethical reasoning, indeed oftentimes no consciousness of wrong, but only Margaret's 'Es war so süss'." The same writer adds (as had been previously remarked by Mrs. Craik and others) that among church members it is the finer and more sensitive organizations that are the most susceptible to sexual emotions. So far as boys are concerned, we leave instruction in matters of sex, the most sacred and central fact in the world, as Canon Lyttelton remarks, to "dirty-minded school-boys, grooms, garden-boys, anyone, in short, who at an early age may be sufficiently defiled and sufficiently reckless to talk of them." And, so far as girls are concerned, as Balzac long ago remarked, "a mother may bring up her daughter severely, and cover her beneath her wings for seventeen years; but a servant-girl can destroy that long work by a word, even by a gesture."

The great part played by servant-girls of the lower class in the sexual initiation of the children of the middle class has been illustrated in dealing with "The Sexual Impulse in Women" in vol. iii, of these

[1] Amélineau, *La Morale des Egyptiens*, p. 64.

Studies, and need not now be further discussed. I would only here say a word, in passing, on the other side. Often as servant-girls take this part, we must not go so far as to say that it is the case with the majority. As regards Germany, Dr. Alfred Kind has lately put on record his experience: "I have *never*, in youth, heard a bad or improper word on sex-relationships from a servant-girl, although servant-girls followed one another in our house like sunshine and showers in April, and there was always a relation of comradeship between us children and the servants." As regards England, I can add that my own youthful experiences correspond to Dr. Kind's. This is not surprising, for one may say that in the ordinary well-conditioned girl, though her virtue may not be developed to heroic proportions, there is yet usually a natural respect for the innocence of children, a natural sexual indifference to them, and a natural expectation that the male should take the active part when a sexual situation arises.

It is also beginning to be felt that, especially as regards women, ignorant innocence is not merely too fragile a possession to be worth preservation, but that it is positively mischievous, since it involves the lack of necessary knowledge. "It is little short of criminal," writes Dr. F. M. Goodchild,[1] "to send our young people into the midst of the excitements and temptations of a great city with no more preparation than if they were going to live in Paradise." In the case of women, ignorance has the further disadvantage that it deprives them of the knowledge necessary for intelligent sympathy with other women. The unsympathetic attitude of women towards women is often largely due to sheer ignorance of the facts of life. "Why," writes in a private letter a married lady who keenly realizes this, "are women brought up with such a profound ignorance of their own and especially other women's natures? They do not know half as much about other women as a man of the most average capacity learns in his day's march." We try to make up for our failure to educate women in the essential matters of sex by imposing upon the police and other guardians of public order the duty of protecting women and morals. But, as Moll insists, the real problem of chastity lies, not in the multiplication of laws

[1] "The Social Evil in Philadelphia," *Arena*, March, 1896.

and policemen, but largely in women's knowledge of the dangers of sex and in the cultivation of their sense of responsibility.[1] We are always making laws for the protection of children and setting the police on guard. But laws and the police, whether their activities are good or bad, are in either case alike ineffectual. They can for the most part only be invoked when the damage is already done. We have to learn to go to the root of the matter. We have to teach children to be a law to themselves. We have to give them that knowledge which will enable them to guard their own personalities.[2] There is an authentic story of a lady who had learned to swim, much to the horror of her clergyman, who thought that swimming was unfeminine. "But," she said, "suppose I was drowning." "In that case," he replied, "you ought to wait until a man comes along and saves you." There we have the two methods of salvation which have been preached to women, the old method and the new. In no sea have women been more often in danger of drowning than that of sex. There ought to be no question as to which is the better method of salvation.

It is difficult nowadays to find any serious arguments against the desirability of early sexual enlightenment, and it is almost with amusement that we read how the novelist Alphonse Daudet, when asked his opinion of such enlightenment, protested—in a spirit certainly common among the men of his time—that it was unnecessary, because boys could learn everything from the streets and the newspapers, while "as to young girls—no! I would teach them none of the truths of physiology. I can only see disadvantages in such a proceeding. These truths are ugly, disillusioning, sure to shock, to frighten, to disgust the mind, the nature, of a girl." It is as much as to say that there is no need to supply sources of pure water when there are puddles in the street that anyone can drink of. A contemporary of Daudet's, who possessed a far finer spiritual insight, Coventry Patmore, the poet, in the essay on "Ancient and Modern Ideas of Purity" in his beautiful book, *Religio Poetæ*, had already finely protested against that "disease of impurity"

[1] Moll, *Kontrare Sexualempfindung*, third edition, p. 592.

[2] This powerlessness of the law and the police is well recognized by lawyers familiar with the matter. Thus F. Werthauer (*Sittlichkeitsdelikte der Grosstadt*, 1907) insists throughout on the importance of parents and teachers imparting to children from their early years a progressively increasing knowledge of sexual matters.

which comes of "our modern undivine silences" for which Daudet pleaded. And Metchnikoff, more recently, from the scientific side, speaking especially as regards women, declares that knowledge is so indispensable for moral conduct that "ignorance must be counted the most immoral of acts" (*Essais Optimistes*, p. 420).

The distinguished Belgian novelist, Camille Lemonnier, in his *L'Homme en Amour*, deals with the question of the sexual education of the young by presenting the history of a young man, brought up under the influence of the conventional and hypocritical views which teach that nudity and sex are shameful and disgusting things. In this way he passes by the opportunities of innocent and natural love, to become hopelessly enslaved at last to a sensual woman who treats him merely as the instrument of her pleasure, the last of a long succession of lovers. The book is a powerful plea for a sane, wholesome, and natural education in matters of sex. It was, however, prosecuted at Bruges, in 1901, though the trial finally ended in acquittal. Such a verdict is in harmony with the general tendency of feeling at the present time.

The old ideas, expressed by Daudet, that the facts of sex are ugly and disillusioning, and that they shock the mind of the young, are both alike entirely false. As Canon Lyttelton remarks, in urging that the laws of the transmission of life should be taught to children by the mother: "The way they receive it with native reverence, truthfulness of understanding and guileless delicacy, is nothing short of a revelation of the never-ceasing beauty of nature. People sometimes speak of the indescribable beauty of children's innocence. But I venture to say that no one quite knows what it is who has foregone the privilege of being the first to set before them the true meaning of life and birth and the mystery of their own being. Not only do we fail to build up sound knowledge in them, but we put away from ourselves the chance of learning something that must be divine." In the same way, Edward Carpenter, stating that it is easy and natural for the child to learn from the first its physical relation to its mother, remarks (*Love's Coming of Age*, p. 9): "A child at the age of puberty, with the unfolding of its far-down emotional and sexual nature, is eminently capable of the most sensitive, affectional and serene appreciation of what *sex* means (generally more so as things are to-day, than its worldling parent or guardian); and can absorb the teaching, if sympathetically given, without any shock or disturbance to its sense of shame—that sense which is so natural and valuable a safeguard of early youth."

How widespread, even some years ago, had become the conviction that the sexual facts of life should be taught to girls as well as boys, was shown when the opinions of a very miscellaneous assortment of more or less prominent persons were sought on the question ("The Tree of Knowledge," *New Review*, June, 1894). A small minority of two only

(Rabbi Adler and Mrs. Lynn Lynton) were against such knowledge, while among the majority in favor of it were Mme. Adam, Thomas Hardy, Sir Walter Besant, Björnson, Hall Caine, Sarah Grand, Nordau, Lady Henry Somerset, Baroness von Suttner, and Miss Willard. The leaders of the woman's movement are, of course, in favor of such knowledge. Thus a meeting of the Bund für Mutterschutz at Berlin, in 1905, almost unanimously passed a resolution declaring that the early sexual enlightenment of children in the facts of the sexual life is urgently necessary (*Mutterschutz*, 1905, Heft 2, p. 91). It may be added that medical opinion has long approved of this enlightenment. Thus in England it was editorially stated in the *British Medical Journal* some years ago (June 9, 1894): "Most medical men of an age to beget confidence in such affairs will be able to recall instances in which an ignorance, which would have been ludicrous if it had not been so sad, has been displayed on matters regarding which every woman entering on married life ought to have been accurately informed. There can, we think, be little doubt that much unhappiness and a great deal of illness would be prevented if young people of both sexes possessed a little accurate knowledge regarding the sexual relations, and were well impressed with the profound importance of selecting healthy mates. Knowledge need not necessarily be nasty, but even if it were, it certainly is not comparable in that respect with the imaginings of ignorance." In America, also, where at an annual meeting of the American Medical Association, Dr. Denslow Lewis, of Chicago, eloquently urged the need of teaching sexual hygiene to youths and girls, all the subsequent nine speakers, some of them physicians of worldwide fame, expressed their essential agreement (*Medico-Legal Journal*, June-Sept., 1903). Howard, again, at the end of his elaborate *History of Matrimonial Institutions* (vol. iii, p. 257) asserts the necessity for education in matters of sex, as going to the root of the marriage problem. "In the future educational programme," he remarks, "sex questions must hold an honorable place."

While, however, it is now widely recognized that children are entitled to sexual enlightenment, it cannot be said that this belief is widely put into practice. Many persons, who are fully persuaded that children should sooner or later be enlightened concerning the sexual sources of life, are somewhat nervously anxious as to the precise age at which this enlightenment should begin. Their latent feeling seems to be that sex is an evil, and enlightenment concerning sex also an evil, however necessary, and that the chief point is to ascertain the latest moment to which we can safely postpone this necessary evil. Such an

attitude is, however, altogether wrong-headed. The child's desire for knowledge concerning the origin of himself is a perfectly natural, honest, and harmless desire, so long as it is not perverted by being thwarted. A child of four may ask questions on this matter, simply and spontaneously. As soon as the questions are put, certainly as soon as they become at all insistent, they should be answered, in the same simple and spontaneous spirit, truthfully, though according to the measure of the child's intelligence and his capacity and desire for knowledge. This period should not, and, if these indications are followed, naturally would not, in any case, be delayed beyond the sixth year. After that age even the most carefully guarded child is liable to contaminating communications from outside. Moll points out that the sexual enlightenment of girls in its various stages ought to be always a little ahead of that of boys, and as the development of girls up to the pubertal age is more precocious than that of boys, this demand is reasonable.

If the elements of sexual education are to be imparted in early childhood, it is quite clear who ought to be the teacher. There should be no question that this privilege belongs by every right to the mother. Except where a child is artificially separated from his chief parent it is indeed only the mother who has any natural opportunity of receiving and responding to these questions. It is unnecessary for her to take any initiative in the matter. The inevitable awakening of the child's intelligence and the evolution of his boundless curiosity furnish her love and skill with all opportunities for guiding her child's thoughts and knowledge. Nor is it necessary for her to possess the slightest technical information at this stage. It is only essential that she should have the most absolute faith in the purity and dignity of her physical relationship to her child, and be able to speak of it with frankness and tenderness. When that essential condition is fulfilled every mother has all the knowledge that her young child needs.

Among the best authorities, both men and women, in all the countries where this matter is attracting attention, there seems now to be unanimity of opinion in favor of the elementary facts of the baby's rela-

tionship to its mother being explained to the child by the mother as soon as the child begins to ask questions. Thus in Germany Moll has repeatedly argued in this sense; he insists that sexual enlightenment should be mainly a private and individual matter; that in schools there should be no general and personal warnings about masturbation, etc. (though at a later age he approves of instruction in regard to venereal diseases), but that the mother is the proper person to impart intimate knowledge to the child, and that any age is suitable for the commencement of such enlightenment, provided it is put into a form fitted for the age (Moll, *op. cit.*, p. 264).

At the Mannheim meeting of the Congress of the German Society for Combating Venereal Disease, when the question of sexual enlightenment formed the sole subject of discussion, the opinion in favor of early teaching by the mother prevailed. "It is the mother who must, in the first place, be made responsible for the child's clear understanding of sexual things, so often lacking," said Frau Krukenberg ("Die Aufgabe der Mutter," *Sexualpadagogik*, p. 13), while Max Enderlin, a teacher, said on the same occasion ("Die Sexuelle Frage in die Volksschule," *id.*, p. 35): "It is the mother who has to give the child his first explanations, for it is to his mother that he first naturally comes with his questions." In England, Canon Lyttelton, who is distinguished among the heads of public schools not least by his clear and admirable statements on these questions, states (*Mothers and Sons*, p. 99) that the mother's part in the sexual enlightenment and sexual guardianship of her son is of paramount importance, and should begin at the earliest years. J. H. Badley, another schoolmaster ("The Sex Difficulty," *Broad Views*, June, 1904), also states that the mother's part comes first. Northcote (*Christianity and Sex Problems*, p. 25) believes that the duty of the parents is primary in this matter, the family doctor and the schoolmaster coming in at a later stage. In America, Dr. Mary Wood Allen, who occupies a prominent and influential position in women's social movements, urges (in *Child-Confidence Rewarded*, and other pamphlets) that a mother should begin to tell her child these things as soon as he begins to ask questions, the age of four not being too young, and explains how this may be done, giving examples of its happy results in promoting a sweet confidence between the child and his mother.

If, as a few believe should be the case, the first initiation is delayed to the tenth year or even later, there is the difficulty that it is no longer so easy to talk simply and naturally about such things; the mother is beginning to feel too shy to speak for the first time about these difficult subjects to a son or a daughter who is nearly as big as herself. She feels that she can only do it

awkwardly and ineffectively, and she probably decides not to do it at all. Thus an atmosphere of mystery is created with all the embarrassing and perverting influences which mystery encourages.

There can be no doubt that, more especially in highly intelligent children with vague and unspecialized yet insistent sexual impulses, the artificial mystery with which sex is too often clothed not only accentuates the natural curiosity but also tends to favor the morbid intensity and even prurience of the sexual impulse. This has long been recognized. Dr. Beddoes wrote at the beginning of the nineteenth century: "It is in vain that we dissemble to ourselves the eagerness with which children of either sex seek to satisfy themselves concerning the conformation of the other. No degree of reserve in the heads of families, no contrivances, no care to put books of one description out of sight and to garble others, has perhaps, with any one set of children, succeeded in preventing or stifling this kind of curiosity. No part of the history of human thought would perhaps be more singular than the stratagems devised by young people in different situations to make themselves masters or witnesses of the secret. And every discovery, due to their own inquiries, can but be so much oil poured upon an imagination in flames" (T. Beddoes, *Hygeia*, 1802, vol. iii, p. 59). Kaan, again, in one of the earliest books on morbid sexuality, sets down mystery as one of the causes of *psychopathia sexualis*. Marro (*La Pubertà*, p. 299) points out how the veil of mystery thrown over sexual matters merely serves to concentrate attention on them. The distinguished Dutch writer Multatuli, in one of his letters (quoted with approval by Freud), remarks on the dangers of hiding things from boys and girls in a veil of mystery, pointing out that this must only heighten the curiosity of children, and so far from keeping them pure, which mere ignorance can never do, heats and perverts their imaginations. Mrs. Mary Wood Allen, also, warns the mother (*op. cit.*, p. 5) against the danger of allowing any air of embarrassing mystery to creep over these things. "If the instructor feels any embarrassment in answering the queries of the child, he is not fitted to be the teacher, for the feeling of embarrassment will, in some subtle way, communicate itself to the child, and he will experience an indefinable sense of offended delicacy which is both unecessary and undesirable. Purification of one's own thought is, then, the first step towards teaching the truth purely. Why," she adds, "is death, the gateway out of life, any more dignified or pathetic than birth, the gateway into life? Or why is the taking of earthly life a more awful fact than the giving of life?" Mrs. Ennis Richmond, in a book of advice to mothers which contains many wise and true things, says: "I want to insist, more strongly than upon anything else, that it is the *secrecy* that

surrounds certain parts of the body and their functions that gives them their danger in the child's thought. Little children, from earliest years, are taught to think of these parts of their body as mysterious, and not only so, but that they are mysterious because they are unclean. Children have not even a name for them. If you have to speak to your child, you allude to them mysteriously and in a half-whisper as 'that little part of you that you don't speak of,' or words to that effect. Before everything it is important that your child should have a good working name for these parts of his body, and for their functions, and that he should be taught to use and to hear the names, and that as naturally and openly as though he or you were speaking of his head or his foot. Convention has, for various reasons, made it impossible to speak in this way in public. But you can, at any rate, break through this in the nursery. There this rule of convention has no advantage, and many a serious disadvantage. It is easy to say to a child, the first time he makes an 'awkward' remark in public: 'Look here, laddie, you may say what you like to me or to daddy, but, for some reason or other, one does not talk about these' (only say *what* things) 'in public.' Only let your child make the remark in public *before* you speak (never mind *the shock to your caller's feelings*), *don't warn him against doing so*" (Ennis Richmond, *Boyhood*, p. 60). Sex must always be a mystery, but, as Mrs. Richmond rightly says, "the real and true mysteries of generation and birth are very different from the vulgar secretiveness with which custom surrounds them."

The question as to the precise names to be given to the more private bodily parts and functions is sometimes a little difficult to solve. Every mother will naturally follow her own instincts, and probably her own traditions, in this matter. I have elsewhere pointed out (in the study of "The Evolution of Modesty") how widespread and instinctive is the tendency to adopt constantly new euphemisms in this field. The ancient and simple words, which in England a great poet like Chaucer could still use rightly and naturally, are so often dropped in the mud by the vulgar that there is an instinctive hesitation nowadays in applying them to beautiful uses. They are, however, unquestionably the best, and, in their origin, the most dignified and expressive words. Many persons are of opinion that on this account they should be rescued from the mud, and their sacredness taught to children. A medical friend writes that he always taught his son that the vulgar sex names are really beautiful words of ancient origin, and that when we understand them aright we cannot possibly see in them any motive for low jesting. They are simple, serious and solemn words, connoting the most central facts of life, and only to ignorant and plebeian vulgarity can they cause obscene mirth. An American man of science, who has privately and anonymously printed some pamphlets on sex questions, also takes this

view, and consistently and methodically uses the ancient and simple words. I am of opinion that this is the ideal to be sought, but that there are obvious difficulties at present in the way of attaining it. In any case, however, the mother should be in possession of a very precise vocabulary for all the bodily parts and acts which it concerns her children to know.

It is sometimes said that at this early age children should not be told, even in a simple and elementary form, the real facts of their origin but should, instead, hear a fairy-tale having in it perhaps some kind of symbolic truth. This contention may be absolutely rejected, without thereby, in any degree, denying the important place which fairy-tales hold in the imagination of young children. Fairy-tales have a real value to the child; they are a mental food he needs, if he is not to be spiritually starved; to deprive him of fairy-tales at this age is to do him a wrong which can never be made up at any subsequent age. But not only, are sex matters too vital even in childhood to be safely made matter for a fairy-tale, but the real facts are themselves as wonderful as any fairy-tale, and appeal to the child's imagination with as much force as a fairy-tale.

Even, however, if there were no other reasons against telling children fairy-tales of sex instead of the real facts, there is one reason which ought to be decisive with every mother who values her influence over her child. He will very quickly discover, either by information from others or by his own natural intelligence, that the fairy-tale, that was told him in reply to a question about a simple matter of fact, was a lie. With that discovery his mother's influence over him in all such matters vanishes for ever, for not only has a child a horror of being duped, but he is extremely sensitive about any rebuff of this kind, and never repeats what he has been made to feel was a mistake to be ashamed of. He will not trouble his mother with any more questions on this matter; he will not confide in her; he will himself learn the art of telling "fairy-tales" about sex matters. He had turned to his mother in trust; she had not responded with equal trust, and she must suffer the punishment, as Henriette Fürth puts it, of seeing "the love and trust of her son

stolen from her by the first boy he makes friends with in the street." When, as sometimes happens (Moll mentions a case), a mother goes on repeating these silly stories to a girl or boy of seven who is secretly well-informed, she only degrades herself in her child's eyes. It is this fatal mistake, so often made by mothers, which at first leads them to imagine that their children are so innocent, and in later years causes them many hours of bitterness because they realize they do not possess their children's trust. In the matter of trust it is for the mother to take the first step; the children who do not trust their mothers are, for the most part, merely remembering the lesson they learned at their mother's knee.

The number of little books and pamphlets dealing with the question of the sexual enlightenment of the young—whether intended to be read by the young or offering guidance to mothers and teachers in the task of imparting knowledge—has become very large indeed during recent years in America, England, and especially Germany, where there has been of late an enormous production of such literature. The late Ben Elmy, writing under the pseudonym of "Ellis Ethelmer," published two booklets, *Baby Buds*, and *The Human Flower* (issued by Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, Buxton House, Congleton), which state the facts in a simple and delicate manner, though the author was not a notably reliable guide on the scientific aspects of these questions. A charming conversation between a mother and child, from a French source, is reprinted by Edward Carpenter at the end of his *Love's Coming of Age*. *How We Are Born*, by Mrs. N. J. (apparently a Russian lady writing in English), prefaced by J. H. Badley, is satisfactory. Mention may also be made of *The Wonder of Life*, by Mary Tudor Pole. Margaret Morley's *Song of Life*, an American book, which I have not seen, has been highly praised. Most of these books are intended for quite child children, and while they explain more or less clearly the origi so exert nearly always starting with the facts of plant life, th h them. In slightly, if at all, on the relations of the sexes.

Mrs. Ennis Richmond's books, largely addressed t his own body with these questions in a very sane, direct, and a on, she will have Canon Lyttelton's books, discussing such questi sexual hygiene. excellent. Most of the books now to be menti read by boys and girls who have reached the ag more or less precisely to sexual relationship t information," remarks on masturbation. *The Story of Life*, writte rs," *New York Medical* woman, the late Ellice Hopkins, is somewha the parent should begin

many exalted religious ideas. Arthur Trewby's *Healthy Boyhood* is a little book of wholesome tendency; it deals specially with masturbation. *A Talk with Boys About Themselves* and *A Talk with Girls About Themselves*, both by Edward Bruce Kirk (the latter book written in conjunction with a lady) deal with general as well as sexual hygiene. There could be no better book to put into the hands of a boy or girl at puberty than M. A. Warren's *Almost Fourteen*, written by an American school teacher in 1892. It was a most charming and delicately written book, which could not have offended the innocence of the most sensitive maiden. Nothing, however, is sacred to prurience, and it was easy for the prurient to capture the law and obtain (in 1897) legal condemnation of this book as "obscene." Anything which sexually excites a prurient mind is, it is true, "obscene" for that mind, for, as Mr. Theodore Schroeder remarks, obscenity is "the contribution of the reading mind," but we need such books as this in order to diminish the number of prurient minds, and the condemnation of so entirely admirable a book makes, not for morality, but for immorality. I am told that the book was subsequently issued anew with most of its best portions omitted, and it is stated by Schroeder (*Liberty of Speech and Press Essential to Purity Propaganda*, p. 34) that the author was compelled to resign his position as a public school principal. Maria Lischnewska's *Geschlechtliche Belehrung der Kinder* (reprinted from *Mutterschutz*, 1905, Heft 4 and 5) is a most admirable and thorough discussion of the whole question of sexual education, though the writer is more interested in the teacher's share in this question than in the mother's. Suggestions to mothers are contained in Hugo Salus, *Wo kommen die Kinder her?*, E. Stiehl, *Eine Mutterpflicht*, and many other books. Dr. Alfred Kind strongly recommends Ludwig Gurlitt's *Der Verkehr mit meinem Kindern*, more especially in its combination of sexual education with artistic education. Many similar books are referred to by Bloch, in his *Sexual Life of Our Time*, Ch. xxvi.

I have enumerated the names of these little books because they are frequently issued in a semi-private manner, and are seldom easy to procure or to hear of. The propagation of such books seems to be felt to be almost a disgraceful action, only to be performed by stealth. And such a feeling seems not unnatural when we see, as in the case of the author of *Almost Fourteen*, that a nominally civilized country, instead of loading with honors a man who has worked for its moral and physical welfare, seeks so far as it can to ruin him.

I may add that while it would usually be very helpful to a mother to be acquainted with a few of the booklets I have named, she would do well, in actually talking to her children, to rely mainly on her own knowledge and inspiration.

The sexual education which it is the mother's duty and privilege to initiate during her child's early years cannot and ought not to be technical. It is not of the nature of formal instruction but is a private and intimate initiation. No doubt the mother must herself be taught.[1] But the education she needs is mainly an education in love and insight. The actual facts which she requires to use at this early stage are very simple. Her main task is to make clear the child's own intimate relations to herself and to show that all young things have a similar intimate relation to their mothers; in generalizing on this point the egg is the simplest and most fundamental type to explain the origin of the individual life, for the idea of the egg—in its widest sense as the seed—not only has its truth for the human creature but may be applied throughout the animal and vegetable world. In this explanation the child's physical relationship to his father is not necessarily at first involved; it may be left to a further stage or until the child's questions lead up to it.

Apart from his interest in his origin, the child is also interested in his sexual, or as they seem to him exclusively, his excretory organs, and in those of other people, his sisters and parents. On these points, at this age, his mother may simply and naturally satisfy his simple and natural curiosity, calling things by precise names, whether the names used are common or uncommon being a matter in regard to which she may exercise her judgment and taste. In this manner the mother will, indirectly, be able to safeguard her child at the outset against the prudish and prurient notions alike which he will encounter later. She will also without unnatural stress be able to lead the child into a reverential attitude towards his own organs and so exert an influence against any undesirable tampering with them. In talking with him about the origin of life and about his own body and functions, in however elementary a fashion, she will have initiated him both in sexual knowledge and in sexual hygiene.

[1] "Parents must be taught how to impart information," remarks E. L. Keyes ("Education upon Sexual Matters," *New York Medical Journal*, Feb. 10, 1906), "and this teaching of the parent should begin when he is himself a child."

The mother who establishes a relationship of confidence with her child during these first years will probably, if she possesses any measure of wisdom and tact, be able to preserve it even after the epoch of puberty into the difficult years of adolescence. But as an educator in the narrower sense her functions will, in most cases, end at or before puberty. A somewhat more technical and completely impersonal acquaintance with the essential facts of sex then becomes desirable, and this would usually be supplied by the school.

The great though capricious educator, Basedow, to some extent a pupil of Rousseau, was an early pioneer in both the theory and the practice of giving school children instruction in the facts of the sexual life, from the age of ten onwards. He insists much on this subject in his great treatise, the *Elementarwerk* (1770-1774). The questions of children are to be answered truthfully, he states, and they must be taught never to jest at anything so sacred and serious as the sexual relations. They are to be shown pictures of childbirth, and the dangers of sexual irregularities are to be clearly expounded to them at the outset. Boys are to be taken to hospitals to see the results of venereal disease. Basedow is aware that many parents and teachers will be shocked at his insistence on these things in his books and in his practical pedagogic work, but such people, he declares, ought to be shocked at the Bible (see, *e.g.*, Pinloche, *La Rèforme de l'Education en Allemagne au dixhuitième siècle: Basedow et le Philanthropinisme*, pp. 125, 256, 260, 272). Basedow was too far ahead of his own time, and even of ours, to exert much influence in this matter, and he had few immediate imitators.

Somewhat later than Basedow, a distinguished English physician, Thomas Beddoes, worked on somewhat the same lines, seeking to promote sexual knowledge by lectures and demonstrations. In his remarkable book, *Hygeia*, published in 1802 (vol. i, Essay IV) he sets forth the absurdity of the conventional requirement that "discretion and ignorance should lodge in the same bosom," and deals at length with the question of masturbation and the need of sexual education. He insists on the great importance of lectures on natural history which, he had found, could be given with perfect propriety to a mixed audience. His experiences had shown that botany, the amphibia, the hen and her eggs, human anatomy, even disease and sometimes the sight of it, are salutary from this point of view. He thinks it is a happy thing for a child to gain his first knowledge of sexual difference from anatomical subjects, the dignity of death being a noble prelude to the knowledge of sex and

depriving it forever of morbid prurience. It is scarcely necessary to remark that this method of teaching children the elements of sexual anatomy in the *post-mortem* room has not found many advocates or followers; it is undesirable, for it fails to take into account the sensitiveness of children to such impressions, and it is unnecessary, for it is just as easy to teach the dignity of life as the dignity of death.

The duty of the school to impart education in matters of sex to children has in recent years been vigorously and ably advocated by Maria Lischnewska (*op. cit.*), who speaks with thirty years' experience as a teacher and an intimate acquaintance with children and their home life. She argues that among the mass of the population to-day, while in the home-life there is every opportunity for coarse familiarity with sexual matters, there is no opportunity for a pure and enlightened introduction to them, parents being for the most part both morally and intellectually incapable of aiding their children here. That the school should assume the leading part in this task is, she believes, in accordance with the whole tendency of modern civilized life. She would have the instruction graduated in such a manner that during the fifth or sixth year of school life the pupil would receive instruction, with the *aid of diagrams, concerning the sexual organs and functions of the* higher mammals, the bull and cow being selected by preference. The facts of gestation would of course be included. When this stage was reached it would be easy to pass on to the human species with the statement: "Just in the same way as the calf develops in the cow so the child develops in the mother's body."

It is difficult not to recognize the force of Maria Lischnewska's argument, and it seems highly probable that, as she asserts, the instruction proposed lies in the course of our present path of progress. Such instruction would be formal, unemotional, nd impersonal; it would be given not as specific instruction in matters of sex, but simply as a part of natural history. It would supplement, so far as mere knowledge is concerned, the information the child had already received from its mother. But it would by no means supplant or replace the personal and intimate relationship of confidence between mother and child. That is always to be aimed at, and though it may not be possible among the ill-educated masses of to-day, nothing else will adequately take its place.

There can be no doubt, however, that while in the future the school will most probably be regarded as the proper place in which to teach the elements of physiology—and not as at present a merely emasculated and effeminated physiology—the introduction of such reformed teaching is as yet impracticable in many communities. A coarse and ill-bred community moves in a

vicious circle. Its members are brought up to believe that sex matters are filthy, and when they become adults they protest violently against their children being taught this filthy knowledge. The teacher's task is thus rendered at the best difficult, and under democratic conditions impossible. We cannot, therefore, hope for any immediate introduction of sexual physiology into schools, even in the unobtrusive form in which alone it could properly be introduced, that is to say as a natural and inevitable part of general physiology.

This objection to animal physiology by no means applies, however, to botany. There can be little doubt that botany is of all the natural sciences that which best admits of this incidental instruction in the fundamental facts of sex, when we are concerned with children below the age of puberty. There are at least two reasons why this should be so. In the first place botany really presents the beginnings of sex, in their most naked and essential forms; it makes clear the nature, origin, and significance of sex. In the second place, in dealing with plants the facts of sex can be stated to children of either sex or any age quite plainly and nakedly without any reserve, for no one nowadays regards the botanical facts of sex as in any way offensive. The expounder of sex in plants also has on his side the advantage of being able to assert, without question, the entire beauty of the sexual process. He is not confronted by the ignorance, bad education, and false associations which have made it so difficult either to see or to show the beauty of sex in animals. From the sex-life of plants to the sex-life of the lower animals there is, however, but a step which the teacher, according to his discretion, may take.

An early educational authority, Salzmann, in 1785 advocated the sexual enlightenment of children by first teaching them botany, to be followed by zoölogy. In modern times the method of imparting sex knowledge to children by means, in the first place, of botany, has been generally advocated, and from the most various quarters. Thus Marro (*La Pubertà*, p. 300) recomends this plan. J. Hudrey-Menos ("La Question du Sexe dans l'Education," *Revue Socialiste*, June, 1895), gives the same advice. Rudolf Sommer, in a paper entitled "Mädchenerziehung oder Menschenbildung?" (*Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, Jahrgang

I, Heft 3) recommends that the first introduction of sex knowledge to children should be made by talking to them on simple natural history subjects; "there are endless opportunities," he remarks, "over a fairy-tale, or a walk, or a fruit, or an egg, the sowing of seed or the nest building of birds." Canon Lyttelton (*Training of the Young in Laws of Sex*, pp. 74 *et seq.*) advises a somewhat similar method, though laying chief stress on personal confidence between the child and his mother; "reference is made to the animal world just so far as the child's knowledge extends, so as to prevent the new facts from being viewed in isolation, but the main emphasis is laid on his feeling for his mother and the instinct which exists in nearly all children of reverence due to the maternal relation;" he adds that, however difficult the subject may seem, the essential facts of paternity must also be explained to boys and girls alike. Keyes, again (*New York Medical Journal*, Feb. 10, 1906), advocates teaching children from an early age the sexual facts of plant life and also concerning insects and other lower animals, and so gradually leading up to human beings, the matter being thus robbed of its unwholesome mystery. Mrs. Ennis Richmond (*Boyhood*, p. 62) recommends that children should be sent to spend some of their time upon a farm, so that they may not only become acquainted with the general facts of the natural world, but also with the sexual lives of animals, learning things which it is difficult to teach verbally. Karina Karin ("Wie erzieht man ein Kind zür wissenden Keuschheit?" *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, Jahrgang I, Heft 4), reproducing some of her talks with her nine-year old son, from the time that he first asked her where children came from, shows how she began with telling him about flowers, to pass on to fish and birds, and finally to the facts of human pregnancy, showing him pictures from an obstetrical manual of the child in its mother's body. It may be added that the advisability of beginning the sex teaching of children with the facts of botany was repeatedly emphasized by various speakers at the special meeting of the German Congress for Combating Venereal Disease devoted to the subject of sexual instruction (*Sexualpädagogik*, especially pp. 36, 47, 76).

The transition from botany to the elementary zoölogy of the lower animals, to human anatomy and physiology, and to the science of anthropology based on these, is simple and natural. It is not likely to be taken in detail until the age of puberty. Sex enters into all these subjects and should not be artificially excluded from them in the education of either boys or girls. The text-books from which the sexual system is entirely omitted ought no longer to be tolerated. The nature and secretion of the

testicles, the meaning of the ovaries and of menstruation, as well as the significance of metabolism and the urinary excretion, should be clear in their main lines to all boys and girls who have reached the age of puberty.

At puberty there arises a new and powerful reason why boys and girls should receive definite instruction in matters of sex. Before that age it is possible for the foolish parent to imagine that a child may be preserved in ignorant innocence.[1] At puberty that belief is obviously no longer possible. The efflorescence of puberty with the development of the sexual organs, the appearance of hair in unfamiliar places, the general related organic changes, the spontaneous and perhaps alarming occurrence in boys of seminal emissions, and in girls of menstruation, the unaccustomed and sometimes acute recognition of sexual desire accompanied by new sensations in the sexual organs and leading perhaps to masturbation; all these arouse, as we cannot fail to realize, a new anxiety in the boy's or girl's mind, and a new curiosity, all the more acute in many cases because it is carefully concealed as too private, and even too shameful, to speak of to anyone. In boys, especially if of sensitive temperament, the suffering thus caused may be keen and prolonged.

A doctor of philosophy, prominent in his profession, wrote to Stanley Hall (*Adolescence*, vol. i, p. 452): "My entire youth, from six to eighteen, was made miserable from lack of knowledge that any one who knew anything of the nature of puberty might have given; this long sense of defect, dread of operation, shame and worry, has left an indelible mark." There are certainly many men who could say the same. Lancaster ("Psychology and Pedagogy of Adolescence," *Pedagogical Seminary*, July, 1897, pp. 123-5) speaks strongly regarding the evils of ignorance of sexual hygiene, and the terrible fact that millions of youths are always in the hands of quacks who dupe them into the belief that they are on the road to an awful destiny merely because they have occasional emissions during sleep. "This is not a light matter," Lancaster declares. "It strikes at the very foundation of our inmost life. It deals with the reproductory part of our natures, and must have a deep hereditary influence. It is a natural result of the foolish false modesty shown regarding all sex instruction. Every boy should be taught the

[1] Moll (*op. cit.*, p. 224) argues well how impossible it is to preserve children from sights and influence connected with the sexual life.

simple physiological facts before his life is forever blighted by this cause." Lancaster has had in his hands one thousand letters, mostly written by young people, who were usually normal, and addressed to quacks who were duping them. From time to time the suicides of youths from this cause are reported, and in many mysterious suicides this has undoubtedly been the real cause. "Week after week," writes the *British Medical Journal* in an editorial ("Dangerous Quack Literature: The Moral of a Recent Suicide," Oct. 1, 1892), "we receive despairing letters from those victims of foul birds of prey who have obtained their first hold on those they rob, torture and often ruin, by advertisements inserted by newspapers of a respectable, nay, even of a valuable and respected, character." It is added that the wealthy proprietors of such newspapers, often enjoying a reputation for benevolence, even when the matter is brought before them, refuse to interfere as they would thereby lose a source of income, and a censorship of advertisements is proposed. This, however, is difficult, and would be quite unnecessary if youths received proper enlightenment from their natural guardians.

Masturbation, and the fear that by an occasional and perhaps outgrown practice of masturbation they have sometimes done themselves irreparable injury, is a common source of anxiety to boys. It has long been a question whether a boy should be warned against masturbation. At a meeting of the Section of Psychology of the British Medical Association some years ago, four speakers, including the President (Dr. Blandford), were decidedly in favor of parents warning their children against masturbation, while three speakers were decidedly against that course, mainly on the ground that it was possible to pass through even a public school life without hearing of masturbation, and also that the warning against masturbation might encourage the practice. It is, however, becoming more and more clearly realized that ignorance, even if it can be maintained, is a perilous possession, while the teaching that consists, as it should, in a loving mother's counsel to the child from his earliest years to treat his sexual parts with care and respect, can only lead to masturbation in the child who is already irresistibly impelled to it. Most of the sex manuals for boys touch on masturbation, sometimes exaggerating its dangers; such exaggeration should be avoided, for it leads to far worse evils than those it attempts to prevent. It seems undesirable that any warnings about masturbation should form part of school instruction, unless under very special circumstances. The sexual instruction imparted in the school on sexual as on other subjects should be absolutely impersonal and objective.

At this point we approach one of the difficulties in the way of sexual enlightenment: the ignorance or unwisdom of the would-be teachers. This difficulty at present exists both in the home and the

school, while it destroys the value of many manuals written for the sexual instruction of the young. The mother, who ought to be the child's confidant and guide in matters of sexual education, and could naturally be so if left to her own healthy instincts, has usually been brought up in false traditions which it requires a high degree of intelligence and character to escape from; the school-teacher, even if only called upon to give instruction in natural history, is oppressed by the same traditions, and by false shame concerning the whole subject of sex; the writer of manuals on sex has often only freed himself from these bonds in order to advocate dogmatic, unscientific, and sometimes mischievous opinions which have been evolved in entire ignorance of the real facts. As Moll says (*Das Sexualleben des Kindes*, p. 276), necessary as sexual enlightenment is, we cannot help feeling a little skeptical as to its results so long as those who ought to enlighten are themselves often in need of enlightenment. He refers also to the fact that even among competent authorities there is difference of opinion concerning important matters, as, for instance, whether masturbation is physiological at the first development of the sexual impulse and how far sexual abstinence is beneficial. But it is evident that the difficulties due to false tradition and ignorance will diminish as sound traditions and better knowledge become more widely diffused.

The girl at puberty is usually less keenly and definitely conscious of her sexual nature than the boy. But the risks she runs from sexual ignorance, though for the most part different, are more subtle and less easy to repair. She is often extremely inquisitive concerning these matters; the thoughts of adolescent girls, and often their conversation among themselves, revolve much around sexual and allied mysteries. Even in the matter of conscious sexual impulse the girl is often not so widely different from her brother, nor so much less likely to escape the contamination of evil communications, so that the scruples of foolish and ignorant persons who dread to "sully her purity" by proper instruction are exceedingly misplaced.

Conversations dealing with the important mysteries of human nature, Obici and Marchesini were told by ladies who had formerly been pupils in Italian Normal Schools, are the order of the day in schools and colleges, and specially circle around procreation, the most difficult mystery of all. In England, even in the best and most modern colleges, in which games and physical exercise are much cultivated, I am told that "the majority of the girls are entirely ignorant of all sexual matters, and understand nothing whatever about them. But they do won-

der about them, and talk about them constantly" (see Appendix D, "The School-Friendships of Girls," in the second volume of these *Studies*). "The restricted life and fettered mind of girls," wrote a well-known physician some years ago (J. Milner Fothergill, *Adolescence*. 1880, pp. 20, 22) "leave them with less to actively occupy their thoughts than is the case with boys. They are studiously taught concealment, and a girl may be a perfect model of outward decorum and yet have a very filthy mind. The prudishness with which she is brought up leaves her no alternative but to view her passions from the nasty side of human nature. All healthy thought on the subject is vigorously repressed. Everything is done to darken her mind and foul her imagination by throwing her back on her own thoughts and a literature with which she is ashamed to own acquaintance. It is opposed to a girl's best interests to prevent her from having fair and just conceptions about herself and her nature. Many a fair young girl is irredeemably ruined on the very threshold of life, herself and her family disgraced, from ignorance as much as from vice. When the moment of temptation comes she falls without any palpable resistance; she has no trained educated power of resistance within herself; her whole future hangs, not upon herself, but upon the perfection of the social safeguards by which she is hedged and surrounded." Under the free social order of America to-day much the same results are found. In an instructive article ("Why Girls Go Wrong," *Ladies' Home Journal*, Jan., 1907) B. B. Lindsey, who, as Judge of the Juvenile Court of Denver, is able to speak with authority, brings forward ample evidence on this head. Both girls and boys, he has found, sometimes possess manuscript books in which they had written down the crudest sexual things. These children were often sweet-faced, pleasant, refined and intelligent, and they had respectable parents; but no one had ever spoken to them of sex matters, except the worst of their school-fellows or some coarse-minded and reckless adult. By careful inquiry Lindsey found that only in one in twenty cases had the parents ever spoken to the children of sexual subjects. In nearly every case the children acknowledged that it was not from their parents, but in the street or from older companions, that they learnt the facts of sex. The parents usually imagined that their children were absolutely ignorant of these matters, and were astonished to realize their mistake; "parents do not know their children, nor have they the least idea of what their children know, or what their children talk about and do when away from them." The parents guilty of this neglect to instruct their children, are, Lindsey declares, traitors to their children. From his own experience he judges that nine-tenths of the girls who "go wrong," whether or not they sink in the world, do so owing to the inattention of their parents, and that in the case of most prostitutes the mischief is really done before the age of twelve; "every wayward girl

I have talked to has assured me of this truth." He considers that nine-tenths of school-boys and school-girls, in town or country, are very inquisitive regarding matters of sex, and, to his own amazement, he has found that in the girls this is as marked as in the boys.

It is the business of the girl's mother, at least as much as of the boy's, to watch over her child from the earliest years and to win her confidence in all the intimate and personal matters of sex. With these aspects the school cannot properly meddle. But in matters of physical sexual hygiene, notably menstruation, in regard to which all girls stand on the same level, it is certainly the duty of the teacher to take an actively watchful part, and, moreover, to direct the general work of education accordingly, and to ensure that the pupil shall rest whenever that may seem to be desirable. This is part of the very elements of the education of girls. To disregard it should disqualify a teacher from taking further share in educational work. Yet it is constantly and persistently neglected. A large number of girls have not even been prepared by their mothers or teachers for the first onset of the menstrual flow, sometimes with disastrous results both to their bodily and mental health.[1]

"I know of no large girl's school," wrote a distinguished gynæcologist, Sir W. S. Playfair ("Education and Training of Girls at Puberty," *British Medical Journal*, Dec. 7, 1895), "in which the absolute distinction which exists between boys and girls as regards the dominant menstrual function is systematically cared for and attended to. Indeed, the feeling of all schoolmistresses is distinctly antagonistic to such an admission. The contention is that there is no real difference between an adolescent male and female, that what is good for one is good for the other, and that such as there is is due to the evil customs of the past which have denied to women the ambitions and advantages open to men, and that this will disappear when a happier era is inaugurated. If this be so, how comes it that while every practical physician of experience has seen many cases of anæmia and chlorosis in girls, accompanied by amenorrhœa or menorrhagia, headaches, palpitations, emaciation, and all the familiar accompaniments of breakdown, an analogous condition in a school-boy is so rare that it may well be doubted if it is ever seen at all?"

[1] Girls are not even prepared, in many cases, for the appearance of the pubic hair. This unexpected growth of hair frequently causes young girls much secret worry, and often they carefully cut it off.

It is, however, only the excuses for this almost criminal negligence, as it ought to be considered, which are new; the negligence itself is ancient. Half a century earlier, before the new era of feminine education, another distinguished gynæcologist, Tilt (*Elements of Health and Principles of Female Hygiene*, 1852, p. 18) stated that from a statistical inquiry regarding the onset of menstruation in nearly one thousand women he found that "25 per cent. were totally unprepared for its appearance; that thirteen out of the twenty-five were much frightened, screamed, or went into hysterical fits; and that six out of the thirteen thought themselves wounded and washed with cold water. Of those frightened . . the general health was seriously impaired."

Engelmann, after stating that his experience in America was similar to Tilt's in England, continues ("The Health of the American Girl," *Transactions of the Southern Surgical and Gynæcological Society*, 1890): "To innumerable women has fright, nervous and emotional excitement, exposure to cold, brought injury at puberty. What more natural than that the anxious girl, surprised by the sudden and unexpected loss of the precious life-fluid, should seek to check the bleeding wound—as she supposes? For this purpose the use of cold washes and applications is common, some even seek to stop the flow by a cold bath, as was done by a now careful mother, who long lay at the point of death from the result of such indiscretion, and but slowly, by years of care, regained her health. The terrible warning has not been lost, and mindful of her own experience she has taught her children a lesson which but few are fortunate enough to learn—the individual care during periods of functional activity which is needful for the preservation of woman's health."

In a study of one hundred and twenty-five American high school girls Dr. Helen Kennedy refers to the "modesty" which makes it impossible even for mothers and daughters to speak to each other concerning the menstrual functions. "Thirty-six girls in this high school passed into womanhood with no knowledge whatever, from a proper source, of all that makes them women. Thirty-nine were probably not much wiser, for they stated that they had received some instruction, but had not talked freely on the matter. From the fact that the curious girl did not talk freely on what naturally interested her, it is possible she was put off with a few words as to personal care, and a reprimand for her curiosity. Less than half of the girls felt free to talk with their mothers of this most important matter!" (Helen Kennedy, "Effects of High School Work upon Girls During Adolescence," *Pedagogical Seminary*, June, 1896.)

The same state of things probably also prevails in other countries. Thus, as regards France, Edmond de Goncourt in *Chérie* (pp. 137-139) described the terror of his young heroine at the appearance of the first

menstrual period for which she had never been prepared. He adds: "It is very seldom, indeed, that women speak of this eventuality. Mothers fear to warn their daughters, elder sisters dislike confidences with their younger sisters, governesses are generally mute with girls who have no mothers or sisters."

Sometimes this leads to suicide or to attempts at suicide. Thus a few years ago the case was reported in the French newspapers of a young girl of fifteen, who threw herself into the Seine at Saint-Ouen. She was rescued, and on being brought before the police commissioner said that she had been attacked by an "unknown disease" which had driven her to despair. Discreet inquiry revealed that the mysterious malady was one common to all women, and the girl was restored to her insufficiently punished parents.

Half a century ago the sexual life of girls was ignored by their parents and teachers from reasons of prudishness; at the present time, when quite different ideas prevail regarding feminine education, it is ignored on the ground that girls should be as independent of their physiological sexual life as boys are. The fact that this mischievous neglect has prevailed equally under such different conditions indicates clearly that the varying reasons assigned for it are merely the cloaks of ignorance. With the growth of knowledge we may reasonably hope that one of the chief evils which at present undermine in early life not only healthy motherhood but healthy womanhood generally, may be gradually eliminated. The data now being accumulated show not only the extreme prevalence of painful, disordered, and absent menstruation in adolescent girls and young women, but also the great and sometimes permanent evils inflicted upon even healthy girls when at the beginning of sexual life they are subjected to severe strain of any kind. Medical authorities, whichever sex they belong to, may now be said to be almost or quite unanimous on this point. Some years ago, indeed, Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi, in a very able book, *The Question of Rest for Women*, concluded that "ordinarily healthy" women may disregard the menstrual period, but she admitted that forty-six per cent. of women are not "ordinarily healthy," and a minority which comes so near to being a majority can by no means be dismissed as a negligible quantity. Girls themselves, indeed,

carried away by the ardor of their pursuit of work or amusement, are usually recklessly and ignorantly indifferent to the serious risks they run. But the opinions of teachers are now tending to agree with medical opinion in recognizing the importance of care and rest during the years of adolescence, and teachers are even prepared to admit that a year's rest from hard work during the period that a girl's sexual life is becoming established, while it may ensure her health and vigor, is not even a disadvantage from the educational point of view. With the growth of knowledge and the decay of ancient prejudices, we may reasonably hope that women will be emancipated from the traditions of a false civilization, which have forced her to regard her glory as her shame,—though it has never been so among robust primitive peoples,—and it is encouraging to find that so distinguished an educator as Principal Stanley Hall looks forward with confidence to such a time. In his exhaustive work on *Adolescence* he writes: "Instead of shame of this function girls should be taught the greatest reverence for it, and should help it to normality by regularly stepping aside at stated times for a few years till it is well established and normal. To higher beings that looked down upon human life as we do upon flowers, these would be the most interesting and beautiful hours of blossoming. With more self-knowledge women will have more self-respect at this time. Savagery reveres this state and it gives to women a mystic awe. The time may come when we must even change the divisions of the year for women, leaving to man his week and giving to her the same number of Sabbaths per year, but in groups of four successive days per month. When woman asserts her true physiological rights she will begin here, and will glory in what, in an age of ignorance, man made her think to be her shame. The pathos about the leaders of woman's so-called emancipation, is that they, even more than those they would persuade, accept man's estimate of this state."[1]

[1] G. S. Hall. *Adolescence*. vol. i. p. 511. Many years ago, in 1875, the late Dr. Clarke, in his *Sex in Education*, advised menstrual rest for girls, and thereby aroused a violent opposition which would certainly not be found nowadays, when the special risks of womanhood are becoming more clearly understood.

These wise words cannot be too deeply pondered. The pathos of the situation has indeed been—at all events in the past for to-day a more enlightened generation is growing up—that the very leaders of the woman's movement have often betrayed the cause of women. They have adopted the ideals of men, they have urged women to become second-rate men, they have declared that the healthy natural woman disregards the presence of her menstrual functions. This is the very reverse of the truth. "They claim," remarks Engelmann, "that woman in her natural state is the physical equal of man, and constantly point to the primitive woman, the female of savage peoples, as an example of this supposed axiom. Do they know how well this same savage is aware of the weakness of woman and her susceptibility at certain periods of her life? And with what care he protects her from harm at these periods? I believe not. The importance of surrounding women with certain precautions during the height of these great functional waves of her existence was appreciated by all peoples living in an approximately natural state, by all races at all times; and among their comparatively few religious customs this one, affording rest to women, was most persistently adhered to." It is among the white races alone that the sexual invalidism of women prevails, and it is the white races alone, which, outgrowing the religious ideas with which the menstrual seclusion of women was associated, have flung away that beneficent seclusion itself, throwing away the baby with the bath in an almost literal sense.[1]

In Germany Tobler has investigated the menstrual histories of over one thousand women (*Monatsschrift für Geburtshulfe und Gynakologie*, July, 1905). He finds that in the great majority of women at

[1] For a summary of the physical and mental phenomena of the menstrual period, see Havelock Ellis: *Man and Woman*, Ch. XI. The primitive conception of menstruation is briefly discussed in Appendix A to the first volume of these *Studies*, and more elaborately by J. G. Frazer in *The Golden Bough*. A large collection of facts with regard to the menstrual seclusion of women throughout the world will be found in Ploss and Bartels, *Das Weib*. The pubertal seclusion of girls at Torres Straits has been especially studied by Seligmann, *Reports Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, Ch. VI.

the present day menstruation is associated with distinct deterioration of the general health, and diminution of functional energy. In 26 per cent. local pain, general malaise, and mental and nervous anomalies coexisted; in larger proportion come the cases in which local pain, general weak health or psychic abnormality was experienced alone at this period. In 16 per cent. only none of these symptoms were experienced. In a very small separate group the physical and mental functions were stronger during this period, but in half of these cases there was distinct disturbance during the intermenstrual period. Tobler concludes that, while menstruation itself is physiological, all these disturbances are pathological.

As far as England is concerned, at a discussion of normal and painful menstruation at a meeting of the British Association of Registered Medical Women on the 7th of July, 1908, it was stated by Miss Bentham that 50 per cent. of girls in good position suffered from painful menstruation. Mrs. Dunnett said it usually occurred between the ages of twenty-four and thirty, being frequently due to neglect to rest during menstruation in the earlier years, and Mrs. Grainger Evans had found that this condition was very common among elementary school teachers who had worked hard for examinations during early girlhood.

In America various investigations have been carried out, showing the prevalence of disturbance in the sexual health of school girls and young women. Thus Dr. Helen P. Kennedy obtained elaborate data concerning the menstrual life of one hundred and twenty-five high school girls of the average age of eighteen ("Effect of High School Work upon Girls During Adolescence," *Pedagogical Seminary*, June, 1896). Only twenty-eight felt no pain during the period; half the total number experienced disagreeable symptoms before the period (such as headache, malaise, irritability of temper), while forty-four complained of other symptoms besides pain during the period (especially headache and great weakness). Jane Kelley Sabine (quoted in *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Sept. 15, 1904) found in New England schools among two thousand girls that 75 per cent. had menstrual troubles, 90 per cent. had leucorrhœa and ovarian neuralgia, and 60 per cent. had to give up work for two days during each month. These results seem more than usually unfavorable, but are significant, as they cover a large number of cases. The conditions in the Pacific States are not much better. Dr. Mary Ritter (in a paper read before the California State Medical Society in 1903) stated that of 660 Freshmen girls at the University of California, 67 per cent. were subject to menstrual disorders, 27 per cent. to headaches, 30 per cent. to backaches, 29 per cent. were habitually constipated, 16 per cent. had abnormal heart sounds; only 23 per cent. were free from functional disturbances. Dr. Helen MacMurchey, in an interesting paper on "Physiological Phenomena Preceding or Accompanying Men-

struation" (*Lancet*, Oct. 5, 1901), by inquiries among one hundred medical women, nurses, and women teachers in Toronto concerning the presence or absence of twenty-one different abnormal menstrual phenomena, found that between 50 and 60 per cent. admitted that they were liable at this time to disturbed sleep, to headache, to mental depression, to digestive disturbance, or to disturbance of the special senses, while about 25 to 50 per cent. were liable to neuralgia, to vertigo, to excessive nervous energy, to defective nervous and muscular power, to cutaneous hyperæsthenia, to vasomotor disturbances, to constipation, to diarrhœa, to increased urination, to cutaneous eruption, to increased liability to take cold, or to irritating watery discharges before or after the menstrual discharge. This inquiry is of much interest, because it clearly brings out the marked prevalence at menstruation of conditions which, though not necessarily of any gravity, yet definitely indicate decreased power of resistance to morbid influences and diminished efficiency for work.

How serious an impediment menstrual troubles are to a woman is indicated by the fact that the women who achieve success and fame seem seldom to be greatly affected by them. To that we may, in part, attribute the frequency with which leaders of the women's movement have treated menstruation as a thing of no importance in a woman's life. Adele Gerhard, and Helene Simon, also, in their valuable and impartial work, *Mutterschaft und Geistige Arbeit* (p. 312), failed to find, in their inquiries among women of distinguished ability, that menstruation was regarded as seriously disturbing to work.

Of late the suggestion that adolescent girls shall not only rest from work during two days of the menstrual period, but have an entire holiday from school during the first year of sexual life, has frequently been put forward, both from the medical and the educational side. At the meeting of the Association of Registered Medical Women, already referred to, Miss Sturge spoke of the good results obtained in a school where, during the first two years after puberty, the girls were kept in bed for the first two days of each menstrual period. Some years ago Dr. G. W. Cook ("Some Disorders of Menstruation," *American Journal of Obstetrics*, April, 1896), after giving cases in point, wrote: "It is my deliberate conviction that no girl should be confined at study during the year of her puberty, but she should live an outdoor life." In an article on "Alumna's Children," by "An Alumna" (*Popular Science Monthly*, May, 1904), dealing with the sexual invalidism of American women and the severe strain of motherhood upon them, the author, though she is by no means hostile to education, which is not, she declares, at fault, pleads for rest for the pubertal girl. "If the brain claims her whole vitality, how can there be any proper development? Just as very young children should give all their strength for some years

solely to physical growth before the brain is allowed to make any considerable demands, so at this critical period in the life of the woman nothing should obstruct the right of way of this important system. A year at the least should be made especially easy for her, with neither mental nor nervous strain; and throughout the rest of her school days she should have her periodical day of rest, free from any study or overexertion." In another article on the same subject in the same journal ("The Health of American Girls," Sept., 1907), Nellie Comins Whitaker advocates a similar course. "I am coming to be convinced, somewhat against my wish, that there are many cases when the girl ought to be taken out of school entirely for some months or for a year *at the period of puberty.*" She adds that the chief obstacle in the way is the girl's own likes and dislikes, and the ignorance of her mother who has been accustomed to think that pain is a woman's natural lot.

Such a period of rest from mental strain, while it would fortify the organism in its resistance to any reasonable strain later, need by no means be lost for education in the wider sense of the word, for the education required in classrooms is but a small part of the education required for life. Nor should it by any means be reserved merely for the sickly and delicate girl. The tragic part of the present neglect to give girls a really sound and fitting education is that the best and finest girls are thereby so often ruined. Even the English policeman, who admittedly belongs in physical vigor and nervous balance to the flower of the population, is unable to bear the strain of his life, and is said to be worn out in twenty-five years. It is equally foolish to submit the finest flowers of girlhood to a strain which is admittedly too severe.

It seems to be clear that the main factor in the common sexual and general invalidism of girls and young women is bad hygiene, in the first place consisting in neglect of the menstrual functions and in the second place in faulty habits generally. In all the more essential matters that concern the hygiene of the body the traditions of girls—and this seems to be more especially the case in the Anglo-Saxon countries—are inferior to those of youths. Women are much more inclined than men to subordinate these things to what seems to them some more urgent interest or fancy of the moment: they are trained to wear awkward and constricting garments, they are indifferent to regular and substantial meals, preferring innutritious and indigestible foods and drinks; they are apt to disregard the demands of the bowels and the bladder out of laziness or

modesty; they are even indifferent to physical cleanliness.[1] In a great number of minor ways, which separately may seem to be of little importance, they play into the hands of an environment which, not always having been adequately adjusted to their special needs, would exert a considerable stress and strain even if they carefully sought to guard themselves against it. It has been found in an American Women's College in which about half the scholars wore corsets and half not, that nearly all the honors and prizes went to the non-corset-wearers. McBride, in bringing forward this fact, pertinently remarks, "If the wearing of a single style of dress will make this difference in the lives of young women, and that, too, in their most vigorous and resistive period, how much difference will a score of unhealthy habits make, if persisted in for a life-time?[2]

"It seems evident," A. E. Giles concludes ("Some Points of Preventive Treatment in the Diseases of Women," *The Hospital*, April 10, 1897) "that dysmenorrhœa might be to a large extent prevented by attention to general health and education. Short hours of work, espe-

[1] Thus Miss Lura Sanborn, Director of Physical Training at the Chicago Normal School, found that a bath once a fortnight was not unusual. At the menstrual period especially there is still a superstitious dread of water. Girls should always be taught that at this period, above all, cleanliness is imperatively necessary. There should be a tepid hip bath night and morning, and a vaginal douche (which should never be cold) is always advantageous, both for comfort as well as cleanliness. There is not the slightest reason to dread water during menstruation. This point was discussed a few years ago in the *British Medical Journal* with complete unanimity of opinion. A distinguished American obstetrician, also, Dr. J. Clifton Edgar, after a careful study of opinion and practice in this matter ("Bathing During the Menstrual Period," *American Journal Obstetrics*, Sept., 1900), concludes that it is possible and beneficial to take cold baths (though not sea-baths) during the period, provided due precautions are observed, and that there are no sudden changes of habits. Such a course should not be indiscriminately adopted, but there can be no doubt that in sturdy peasant women who are inured to it early in life even prolonged immersion in the sea in fishing has no evil results, and is even beneficial. Houzel (*Annales de Gynécologie*, Dec., 1894) has published statistics of the menstrual life of 123 fisherwomen on the French coast. They were accustomed to shrimp for hours at a time in the sea, often to above the waist, and then walk about in their wet clothes selling the shrimps. They all insisted that their menstruation was easier when they were actively at work. Their periods are notably regular, and their fertility is high.

[2] J. H. McBride, "The Life and Health of Our Girls in Relation to Their Future," *Alienist and Neurologist*, Feb., 1904.

cially of standing; plenty of outdoor exercise—tennis, boating, cycling, gymnastics, and walking for those who cannot afford these; regularity of meals and food of the proper quality—not the incessant tea and bread and butter with variation of pastry; the avoidance of overexertion and prolonged fatigue; these are some of the principal things which require attention. Let girls pursue their study, but more leisurely; they will arrive at the same goal, but a little later." The benefit of allowing free movement and exercise to the whole body is undoubtedly very great, both as regards the sexual and general physical health and the mental balance; in order to insure this it is necessary to avoid heavy and constricting garments, more especially around the chest, for it is in respiratory power and chest expansion more than in any other respect that girls fall behind boys (see, *e.g.*, Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman*, Ch. IX). In old days the great obstacle to the free exercise of girls lay in an ideal of feminine behavior which involved a prim restraint on every natural movement of the body. At the present day that ideal is not so fervently preached as of old, but its traditional influence still to some extent persists, while there is the further difficulty that adequate time and opportunity and encouragement are by no means generally afforded to girls for the cultivation and training of the romping instincts which are really a serious part of education, for it is by such free exercise of the whole body that the neuro-muscular system, the basis of all vital activity, is built up. The neglect of such education is to-day clearly visible in the structure of our women. Dr. F. May Dickinson Berry, Medical Examiner to the Technical Education Board of the London County Council, found (*British Medical Journal*, May 28, 1904) among over 1,500 girls, who represent the flower of the schools, since they had obtained scholarships enabling them to proceed to higher grade schools, that 22 per cent. presented some degree, not always pronounced, of lateral curvature of the spine, though such cases were very rare among the boys. In the same way among a very similar class of select girls at the Chicago Normal School, Miss Lura Sanborn (*Doctors' Magazine*, Dec., 1900) found 17 per cent. with spinal curvature, in some cases of a very pronounced degree. There is no reason why a girl should not have as straight a back as a boy, and the cause can only lie in the defective muscular development which was found in most of the cases, sometimes accompanied by anæmia. Here and there nowadays, among the better social classes, there is ample provision for the development of muscular power in girls, but in any generalized way there is no adequate opportunity for such exercise, and among the working class, above all, in the section of it which touches the lower middle class, although their lives are destined to be filled with a constant strain on the neuro-muscular system from work at home or in shops, etc., there is usually a minimum of healthy exercise and physical development. Dr. W. A.

B. Sellman, of Baltimore ("Causes of Painful Menstruation in Unmarried Women," *American Journal Obstetrics*, Nov., 1907), emphasizes the admirable results obtained by moderate physical exercise for young women, and in training them to care for their bodies and to rest their nervous systems, while Dr. Charlotte Brown, of San Francisco, rightly insists on the establishment in all towns and villages alike of outdoor gymnastic fields for women and girls, and of a building, in connection with every large school, for training in physical, manual, and domestic science. The provision of special playgrounds is necessary where the exercising of girls is so unfamiliar as to cause an embarrassing amount of attention from the opposite sex, though when it is an immemorial custom it can be carried out on the village green without attracting the slightest attention, as I have seen in Spain, where one cannot fail to connect it with the physical vigor of the women. In boys' schools games are not only encouraged, but made compulsory; but this is by no means a universal rule in girls' schools. It is not necessary, and is indeed highly undesirable, that the games adopted should be those of boys. In England especially, where the movements of women are so often marked by awkwardness, angularity and lack of grace, it is essential that nothing should be done to emphasize these characteristics, for where vigor involves violence we are in the presence of a lack of due neuromuscular coördination. Swimming, when possible, and especially some forms of dancing, are admirably adapted to develop the bodily movements of women both vigorously and harmoniously (see, *e.g.*, Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman*, Ch. VII). At the International Congress of School Hygiene in 1907 (see. *e.g.*, *British Medical Journal*, Aug. 24, 1907) Dr. L. H. Gulick, formerly Director of Physical Training in the Public Schools of New York City, stated that after many experiments it had been found in the New York elementary and high schools that folk dancing constituted the very best exercise for girls. "The dances selected involved many contractions of the large muscular masses of the body and had therefore a great effect on respiration, circulation and nutrition. Such movements, moreover, when done as dances, could be carried on three or four times as long without producing fatigue as formal gymnastics. Many folk-dances were imitative, sowing and reaping dance, dances expressing trade movements (the shoemaker's dance), others illustrating attack and defense, or the pursuit of game. Such neuromuscular movements were racially old and fitted in with man's expressive life, and if it were accepted that the folk dances really expressed an epitome of man's neuromuscular history, as distinguished from mere permutation of movements, the folk-dance combinations should be preferred on these biological grounds to the unselected, or even the physiologically selected. From the æsthetic point of view the sense of beauty as shown in dancing was far commoner than the power to sing, paint or model."

It must always be remembered that in realizing the especial demands of woman's nature, we do not commit ourselves to the belief that higher education is unfitted for a woman. That question may now be regarded as settled. There is therefore no longer any need for the feverish anxiety of the early leaders of feminine education to prove that girls can be educated exactly as if they were boys, and yield at least as good educational results. At the present time, indeed, that anxiety is not only unnecessary but mischievous. It is now more necessary to show that women have special needs just as men have special needs, and that it is as bad for women, and therefore, for the world, to force them to accept the special laws and limitations of men as it would be bad for men, and therefore, for the world, to force men to accept the special laws and limitations of women. Each sex must seek to reach the goal by following the laws of its own nature, even although it remains desirable that, both in the school and in the world, they should work so far as possible side by side. The great fact to be remembered always is that, not only are women, in physical size and physical texture, slighter and finer than men, but that to an extent altogether unknown among men, their centre of gravity is apt to be deflected by the series of rhythmic sexual curves on which they are always living. They are thus more delicately poised and any kind of stress or strain—cerebral, nervous, or muscular—is more likely to produce serious disturbance and requires an accurate adjustment to their special needs.

The fact that it is stress and strain in general, and not necessarily educational studies, that are injurious to adolescent women, is sufficiently proved, if proof is necessary, by the fact that sexual arrest, and physical or nervous breakdown, occur with extreme frequency in girls who work in shops or mills, even in girls who have never been to school at all. Even excesses in athletics—which now not infrequently occur as a reaction against woman's indifference to physical exercise—are bad. Cycling is beneficial for women who can ride without pain or discomfort, and, according to Watkins, it is even beneficial in many diseased and disordered pelvic conditions, but excessive cycling is evil in its results on women, more especially by inducing rigidity of the perineum to an extent which may even prevent childbirth and necessitate operation. I may add that the same objection applies to much horse-rid-

ing. In the same way everything which causes shocks to the body is apt to be dangerous to women, since in the womb they possess a delicately poised organ which varies in weight at different times, and it would, for instance, be impossible to commend football as a game for girls. "I do not believe," wrote Miss H. Ballantine, Director of Vassar College Gymnasium, to Prof. W. Thomas (*Sex and Society*, p. 22) "women can ever, no matter what the training, approach men in their physical achievements; and," she wisely adds, "I see no reason why they should." There seem, indeed, as has already been indicated, to be reasons why they should not, especially if they look forward to becoming mothers. I have noticed that women who have lived a very robust and athletic outdoor life, so far from always having the easy confinements which we might anticipate, sometimes have very seriously difficult times, imperilling the life of the child. On making this observation to a distinguished obstetrician, the late Dr. Engelmann, who was an ardent advocate of physical exercise for women (in *e.g.* his presidential address, "The Health of the American Girl," *Transactions Southern Surgical and Gynæcological Association*, 1890), he replied that he had himself made the same observation, and that instructors in physical training, both in America and England, had also told him of such cases among their pupils. "I hold," he wrote, "precisely the opinion you express [as to the unfavorable influence of muscular development in women]. *Athletics*, *i.e.*, overdone physical training, causes the girl's system to approximate to the masculine; this is so whether due to sport or necessity. The woman who indulges in it approximates to the male in her attributes; this is marked in diminished sexual intensity, and in increased difficulty of childbirth, with, in time, lessened fecundity. Healthy habits improve, but masculine muscular development diminishes, womanly qualities, although it is true that the peasant and the laboring woman have easy labor. I have never advocated muscular development for girls, only physical training, but have perhaps said too much for it and praised it too unguardedly. In schools and colleges, so far, however, it is insufficient rather than too much; only the wealthy have too much golf and athletic sports. I am collecting new material, but from what I already have seen I am impressed with the truth of what you say. I am studying the point, and shall elaborate the explanation." Any publication on this subject was, however, prevented by Engelmann's death a few years later.

A proper recognition of the special nature of woman, of her peculiar needs and her dignity, has a significance beyond its importance in education and hygiene. The traditions and training to which she is subjected in this matter have a subtle and

far-reaching significance, according as they are good or evil. If she is taught, implicitly or explicitly, contempt for the characteristics of her own sex, she naturally develops masculine ideals which may permanently discolor her vision of life and distort her practical activities; it has been found that as many as fifty per cent. of American school girls have masculine ideals, while fifteen per cent. American and no fewer than thirty-four per cent. English school girls wished to be men, though scarcely any boys wished to be women.[1] With the same tendency may be connected that neglect to cultivate the emotions, which, by a mischievously extravagant but inevitable reaction from the opposite extreme, has sometimes marked the modern training of women. In the finely developed woman, intelligence is interpenetrated with emotion. If there is an exaggerated and isolated culture of intelligence a tendency shows itself to disharmony which breaks up the character or impairs its completeness. In this connection Reibmayr has remarked that the American woman may serve as a warning.[2] Within the emotional sphere itself, it may be added, there is a tendency to disharmony in women owing to the contradictory nature of the feelings which are traditionally impressed upon her, a contradiction which dates back indeed to the identification of sacredness and impurity at the dawn of civilization. "Every girl and woman," wrote Hellmann, in a pioneering book which pushed a sound principle to eccentric extremes, "is taught to regard her sexual parts as a precious and sacred spot, only to be approached by a husband or in special circumstances a doctor. She is, at the same time, taught to regard this spot as a kind of water-closet which she ought to be extremely ashamed to possess, and the mere mention of which should cause a painful blush."[3] The average

[1] W. G. Chambers, "The Evolution of Ideals," *Pedagogical Seminary*, March, 1903; Catherine Dodd, "School Children's Ideals," *National Review*, Feb. and Dec., 1900, and June, 1901. No German girls acknowledged a wish to be men; they said it would be wicked. Among Flemish girls, however, Varendonck found at Ghent (*Archives de Psychologie*, July, 1908) that 26 per cent. had men as their ideals.

[2] A. Reibmayr, *Die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Talentes und Genies*, 1908, Bd. i, p. 70.

[3] R. Hellmann. *Ueber Geschlechtsfreiheit*, p. 14.

unthinking woman accepts the incongruity of this opposition without question, and grows accustomed to adapt herself to each of the incompatibles according to circumstances. The more thoughtful woman works out a private theory of her own. But in very many cases this mischievous opposition exerts a subtly perverting influence on the whole outlook towards Nature and life. In a few cases, also, in women of sensitive temperament, it even undermines and ruins the psychic personality.

Thus Boris Sidis has recorded a case illustrating the disastrous results of inculcating on a morbidly sensitive girl the doctrine of the impurity of women. She was educated in a convent. "While there she was impressed with the belief that woman is a vessel of vice and impurity. This seemed to have been imbued in her by one of the nuns who was very holy and practiced self-mortification. With the onset of her periods, and with the observation of the same in the other girls, this doctrine of female impurity was all the stronger impressed on her sensitive mind." It lapsed, however, from conscious memory and only came to the foreground in subsequent years with the exhaustion and fatigue of prolonged office work. Then she married. Now "she has an extreme abhorrence of women. Woman, to the patient, is impurity, filth, the very incarnation of degradation and vice. The house wash must not be given to a laundry where women work. Nothing must be picked up in the street, not even the most valuable object, perchance it might have been dropped by a woman" (Boris Sidis, "Studies in Psychopathology," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, April 4, 1907). That is the logical outcome of much of the traditional teaching which is given to girls. Fortunately, the healthy mind offers a natural resistance to its complete acceptation, yet it usually, in some degree, persists and exerts a mischievous influence.

It is, however, not only in her relations to herself and to her sex that a girl's thoughts and feelings tend to be distorted by the ignorance or the false traditions by which she is so often carefully surrounded. Her happiness in marriage, her whole future career, is put in peril. The innocent young woman must always risk much in entering the door of indissoluble marriage; she knows nothing truly of her husband, she knows nothing of the great laws of love, she knows nothing of her own possibilities, and, worse still, she is even ignorant of her ignorance. She runs the risk of losing the game while she is still only beginning to learn

it. To some extent that is quite inevitable if we are to insist that a woman should bind herself to marry a man before she has experienced the nature of the forces that marriage may unloose in her. A young girl believes she possesses a certain character; she arranges her future in accordance with that character; she marries. Then, in a considerable proportion of cases (five out of six, according to the novelist Bourget), within a year or even a week, she finds she was completely mistaken in herself and in the man she has married; she discovers within her another self, and that self detests the man to whom she is bound. That is a possible fate against which only the woman who has already been aroused to love is entitled to regard herself as fairly protected.

There is, however, a certain kind of protection which it is possible to afford the bride, even without departing from our most conventional conceptions of marriage. We can at least insist that she shall be accurately informed as to the exact nature of her physical relations to her future husband and be safeguarded from the shocks or the disillusions which marriage might otherwise bring. Notwithstanding the decay of prejudices, it is probable that even to-day the majority of women of the so-called educated class marry with only the vaguest and most inaccurate notions, picked up more or less clandestinely, concerning the nature of the sexual relationships. So highly intelligent a woman as Madame Adam has stated that she believed herself bound to marry a man who had kissed her on the mouth, imagining that to be the supreme act of sexual union,[1] and it has frequently happened that women have married sexually inverted persons of their own sex, not always knowingly, but believing them to be men, and never discovering their mistake; it is not long indeed since in America three women were thus successively married to the same woman, none of them apparently ever finding out the real sex of the "husband." "The civilized girl," as Edward Carpenter remarks, "is led to the

[1] This belief seems frequent among young girls in Continental Europe. It forms the subject of one of Marcel Prevost's *Lettres de Femmes*. In Austria, according to Freud, it is not uncommon, exclusively among girls.

'altar' often in uttermost ignorance and misunderstanding of the sacrificial rites about to be consummated." Certainly more rapes have been effected in marriage than outside it.[1] The girl is full of vague and romantic faith in the promises of love, often heightened by the ecstasies depicted in sentimental novels from which every touch of wholesome reality has been carefully omitted. "All the candor of faith is there," as Senancour puts it in his book *De l'Amour*, "the desires of inexperience, the needs of a new life, the hopes of an upright heart. She has all the faculties of love, she must love; she has all the means of pleasure, she must be loved. Everything expresses love and demands love: this hand formed for sweet caresses, an eye whose resources are unknown if it must not say that it consents to be loved, a bosom which is motionless and useless without love, and will fade without having been worshipped; these feelings that are so vast, so tender, so voluptuous, the ambition of the heart, the heroism of passion! She needs must follow the delicious rule which the law of the world has dictated. That intoxicating part, which she knows so well, which everything recalls, which the day inspires and the night commands, what young, sensitive, loving woman can imagine that she shall not play it?" But when the actual drama of love begins to unroll before her, and she realizes the true nature of the "intoxicating part" she has to play, then, it has often happened, the case is altered; she finds herself altogether unprepared, and is overcome with terror and alarm. All the felicity of her married life may then hang on a few chances, her husband's skill and consideration, her own presence of mind. Hirschfeld records the case of an innocent young girl of seventeen—in this case, it eventually proved, an invert—who was persuaded to marry but on discovering what marriage meant energetically resisted her husband's sexual approaches. He

[1] Yet, according to English law, rape is a crime which it is impossible for a husband to commit on his wife (see, *e.g.*, Nevill Geary, *The Law of Marriage*, Ch. XV, Sect. V). The performance of the marriage ceremony, however, even if it necessarily involved a clear explanation of marital privileges, cannot be regarded as adequate justification for an act of sexual intercourse performed with violence or without the wife's consent.

appealed to her mother to explain to her daughter the nature of "wifely duties." But the young wife replied to her mother's expostulations, "If that is my wifely duty then it was your parental duty to have told me beforehand, for, if I had known, I should never have married." The husband in this case, much in love with his wife, sought for eight years to over-persuade her, but in vain, and a separation finally took place.[1] That, no doubt, is an extreme case, but how many innocent young inverted girls never realize their true nature until after marriage, and how many perfectly normal girls are so shocked by the too sudden initiation of marriage that their beautiful early dreams of love never develop slowly and wholesomely into the acceptance of its still more beautiful realities?

Before the age of puberty it would seem that the sexual initiation of the child—apart from such scientific information as would form part of school courses in botany and zoology—should be the exclusive privilege of the mother, or whomever it may be to whom the mother's duties are delegated. At puberty more authoritative and precise advice is desirable than the mother may be able or willing to give. It is at this age that she should put into her son's or daughter's hands some one or other of the very numerous manuals to which reference has already been made (page 53), expounding the physical and moral aspects of the sexual life and the principles of sexual hygiene. The boy or girl is already, we may take it, acquainted with the facts of motherhood, and the origin of babies, as well as, more or less precisely, with the father's part in their procreation. Whatever manual is now placed in his or her hands should at least deal

[1] Hirschfeld, *Jahrbuch fur Sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, 1903, p. 88. It may be added that a horror of coitus is not necessarily due to bad education, and may also occur in hereditarily degenerate women, whose ancestors have shown similar or allied mental peculiarities. A case of such "functional impotence" has been reported in a young Italian wife of twenty-one, who was otherwise healthy, and strongly attached to her husband. The marriage was annulled on the ground that "rudimentary sexual or emotional paranoia, which renders a wife invincibly refractory to sexual union, notwithstanding the integrity of the sexual organs, constitutes psychic functional impotence" (*Archivio di Psichiatria*, 1906 fasc. vi, p. 806).

summarily, but definitely, with the sexual relationship, and should also comment, warningly but in no alarmist spirit, with the chief auto-erotic phenomena, and by no means exclusively with masturbation. Nothing but good can come of the use of such a manual, if it has been wisely selected; it will supplant what the mother has already done, what the teacher may still be doing, and what later may be done by private interview with a doctor. It has indeed been argued that the boy or girl to whom such literature is presented will merely make it an opportunity for morbid revelry and sensual enjoyment. It can well be believed that this may sometimes happen with boys or girls from whom all sexual facts have always been mysteriously veiled, and that when at last they find the opportunity of gratifying their long-repressed and perfectly natural curiosity they are overcome by the excitement of the event. It could not happen to children who have been naturally and wholesomely brought up. At a later age, during adolescence, there is doubtless great advantage in the plan, now frequently adopted, especially in Germany, of giving lectures, addresses, or quiet talks to young people of each sex separately. The speaker is usually a specially selected teacher, a doctor or other qualified person who may be brought in for this special purpose.

Stanley Hall, after remarking that sexual education should be chiefly from fathers to sons and from mothers to daughters, adds: "It may be that in the future this kind of initiation will again become an art, and experts will tell us with more confidence how to do our duty to the manifold exigencies, types and stages of youth, and instead of feeling baffled and defeated, we shall see that this age and theme is the supreme opening for the highest pedagogy to do its best and most transforming work, as well as being the greatest of all opportunities for the teacher of religion" (Stanley Hall, *Adolescence*, vol. i, p. 469) "At Williams College, Harvard, Johns Hopkins and Clark," the same distinguished teacher observes (*ib.*, p. 465), "I have made it a duty in my departmental teaching to speak very briefly, but plainly to young men under my instruction, personally if I deemed it wise, and often, though here only in general terms, before student bodies, and I believe I have nowhere done more good, but it is a painful duty. It requires tact and some degree of hard and strenuous common sense rather than technical knowledge."

It is scarcely necessary to say that the ordinary teacher of either sex is quite incompetent to speak of sexual hygiene. It is a task to which all, or some, teachers must be trained. A beginning in this direction has been made in Germany by the delivery to teachers of courses of lectures on sexual hygiene in education In Prussia the first attempt was made in Breslau when the central school authorities requested Dr. Martin Chotzen to deliver such a course to one hundred and fifty teachers who took the greatest interest in the lectures, which covered the anatomy of the sexual organs, the development of the sexual instinct, its chief perversions, venereal diseases, and the importance of the cultivation of self-control. In *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft* (Bd i, Heft 7) Dr. Fritz Reuther gives the substance of lectures which he has delivered to a class of young teachers; they cover much the same ground as Chotzen's.

There is no evidence that in England the Minister of Education has yet taken any steps to insure the delivery of lectures on sexual hygiene to the pupils who are about to leave school. In Prussia, however, the Ministry of Education has taken an active interest in this matter, and such lectures are beginning to be commonly delivered, though attendance at them is not usually obligatory. Some years ago (in 1900), when it was proposed to deliver a series of lectures on sexual hygiene to the advanced pupils in Berlin schools, under the auspices of a society for the improvement of morals, the muncipal authorities withdrew their permission to use the classrooms, on the ground that "such lectures would be extremely dangerous to the moral sense of an audience of the young." The same objection has been made by municipal officials in France. In Germany, at all events, however, opinion is rapidly growing more enlightened. In England little or no progress has yet been made, but in America steps are being taken in this direction, as by the Chicago Society for Social Hygiene. It must, indeed, be said that those who oppose the sexual enlightenment of youth in large cities are directly allying themselves, whether or not they know it, with the influences that make for vice and immorality.

Such lectures are also given to girls on leaving school, not only girls of the well-to-do, but also those of the poor class, who need them fully as much, and in some respects more. Thus Dr. A. Heidenhain has published a lecture (*Sexuelle Belehrung der aus den Volksschule entlassenen Madchen*, 1907), accompanied by anatomical tables, which he has delivered to girls about to leave school, and which is intended to be put into their hands at this time. Salvat, in a Lyons thesis (*La Dépopulation de la France*, 1903), insists that the hygiene of pregnancy and the care of infants should form part of the subject of such lectures. These subjects might well be left, however, to a somewhat later period.

Something is clearly needed beyond lectures on these matters. It should be the business of the parents or other guardians of every adolescent youth and girl to arrange that, once at least at this period of life, there should be a private, personal interview with a medical man to afford an opportunity for a friendly and confidential talk concerning the main points of sexual hygiene. The family doctor would be the best for this duty because he would be familiar with the personal temperament of the youth and the family tendencies.[1] In the case of girls a woman doctor would often be preferred. Sex is properly a mystery; and to the unspoilt youth, it is instinctively so; except in an abstract and technical form it cannot properly form the subject of lectures. In a private and individualized conversation between the novice in life and the expert, it is possible to say many necessary things that could not be said in public, and it is possible, moreover, for the youth to ask questions which shyness and reserve make it impossible to put to parents, while the convenient opportunity of putting them naturally to the expert otherwise seldom or never occurs. Most youths have their own special ignorances, their own special difficulties, difficulties and ignorances that could sometimes be resolved by a word. Yet it by no means infrequently happens that they carry them far on into adult life because they have lacked the opportunity, or the skill and assurance to create the opportunity, of obtaining enlightenment.

It must be clearly understood that these talks are of medical, hygienic, and physiological character; they are not to be used for retailing moral platitudes. To make them that would be a fatal mistake. The young are often very hostile to merely conventional moral maxims, and suspect their hollowness, not always without reason. The end to be aimed at here is enlighten-

[1] The reasonableness of this step is so obvious that it should scarcely need insistence. "The instruction of school-boys and school-girls is most adequately effected by an elderly doctor," Nacke remarks, "sometimes perhaps the school-doctor." "I strongly advocate," says Clouston (*The Hygiene of Mind*, p. 249), "that the family doctor, guided by the parent and the teacher, is by far the best instructor and monitor." Moll is of the same opinion.

ment. Certainly knowledge can never be immoral, but nothing is gained by jumbling up knowledge and morality together.

In emphasizing the nature of the physician's task in this matter as purely and simply that of wise practical enlightenment, nothing is implied against the advantages, and indeed the immense value in sexual hygiene, of the moral, religious, ideal elements of life. It is not the primary business of the physician to inspire these, but they have a very intimate relation with the sexual life, and every boy and girl at puberty, and never before puberty, should be granted the privilege—and not the duty or the task—of initiation into those elements of the world's life which are, at the same time, natural functions of the adolescent soul. Here, however, is the sphere of the religious or ethical teacher. At puberty he has his great opportunity, the greatest he can ever obtain. The flower of sex that blossoms in the body at puberty has its spiritual counterpart which at the same moment blossoms in the soul. The churches from of old have recognized the religious significance of this moment, for it is this period of life that they have appointed as the time of confirmation and similar rites. With the progress of the ages, it is true, such rites become merely formal and apparently meaningless fossils. But they have a meaning nevertheless, and are capable of being again vitalized. Nor in their spirit and essence should they be confined to those who accept supernaturally revealed religion. They concern all ethical teachers, who must realize that it is at puberty that they are called upon to inspire or to fortify the great ideal aspirations which at this period tend spontaneously to arise in the youth's or maiden's soul.[1]

The age of puberty, I have said, marks the period at which this new kind of sexual initiation is called for. Before puberty, although the psychic emotion of love frequently develops, as well as sometimes physical sexual emotions that are mostly vague and diffused, definite and localized sexual sensations are rare. For the normal boy or girl love is usually an unspecialized emotion; it is in Guyau's words "a state in which the body has

[1] I have further developed this argument in "Religion and the Child," *Nineteenth Century and After*, 1907.

but the smallest place." At the first rising of the sun of sex the boy or girl sees, as Blake said he saw at sunrise, not a round yellow body emerging above the horizon, or any other physical manifestation, but a great company of singing angels. With the definite eruption of physical sexual manifestation and desire, whether at puberty or later in adolescence, a new turbulent disturbing influence appears. Against the force of this influence, mere intellectual enlightenment, or even loving maternal counsel —the agencies we have so far been concerned with—may be powerless. In gaining control of it we must find our auxiliary in the fact that puberty is the efflorescence not only of a new physical but a new psychic force. The ideal world naturally unfolds itself to the boy or girl at puberty. The magic of beauty, the instinct of modesty, the naturalness of self-restraint, the idea of unselfish love, the meaning of duty, the feeling for art and poetry, the craving for religious conceptions and emotions—all these things awake spontaneously in the unspoiled boy or girl at puberty. I say "unspoiled," for if these things have been thrust on the child before puberty when they have yet no meaning for him—as is unfortunately far too often done, more especially as regards religious notions—then it is but too likely that he will fail to react properly at that moment of his development when he would otherwise naturally respond to them. Under natural conditions this is the period for spiritual initiation. Now, and not before, is the time for the religious or ethical teacher as the case may be—for all religions and ethical systems may equally adapt themselves to this task—to take the boy or girl in hand, not with any special and obtrusive reference to the sexual impulses but for the purpose of assisting the development and manifestation of this psychic puberty, of indirectly aiding the young soul to escape from sexual dangers by harnessing his chariot to a star that may help to save it from sticking fast in any miry ruts of the flesh.

Such an initiation, it is important to remark, is more than an introduction to the sphere of religious sentiment. It is an initiation into manhood, it must involve a recognition of the masculine even more than of the feminine virtues. This has

been well understood by the finest primitive races. They constantly give their boys and girls an initiation at puberty; it is an initiation that involves not merely education in the ordinary sense, but a stern discipline of the character, feats of endurance, the trial of character, the testing of the muscles of the soul as much as of the body.

Ceremonies of initiation into manhood at puberty—involving physical and mental discipline, as well as instruction, lasting for weeks or months, and never identical for both sexes—are common among savages in all parts of the world. They nearly always involve the endurance of a certain amount of pain and hardship, a wise measure of training which the softness of civilization has too foolishly allowed to drop, for the ability to endure hardness is an essential condition of all real manhood. It is as a corrective to this tendency to flabbiness in modern education that the teaching of Nietzsche is so invaluable.

The initiation of boys among the natives of Torres Straits has been elaborately described by A. C. Haddon (*Reports Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, Chs. VII and XII). It lasts a month, involves much severe training and power of endurance, and includes admirable moral instruction. Haddon remarks that it formed "a very good discipline," and adds, "it is not easy to conceive of a more effectual means for a rapid training."

Among the aborigines of Victoria, Australia, the initiatory ceremonies, as described by R. H. Mathews ("Some Initiation Ceremonies," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1905, Heft 6), last for seven months, and constitute an admirable discipline. The boys are taken away by the elders of the tribe, subjected to many trials of patience and endurance of pain and discomfort, sometimes involving even the swallowing of urine and excrement, brought into contact with strange tribes, taught the laws and folk-lore, and at the end meetings are held at which betrothals are arranged.

Among the northern tribes of Central Australia the initiation ceremonies involve circumcision and urethral subincision, as well as hard manual labor and hardships. The initiation of girls into womanhood is accompanied by cutting open of the vagina. These ceremonies have been described by Spencer and Gillen (*Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, Ch. XI). Among various peoples in British East Africa (including the Masai) pubertal initiation is a great ceremonial event extending over a period of many months, and it includes circumcision in boys, and in girls clitoridectomy, as well as, among some tribes, removal of the nymphæ. A girl who winces or cries out during the operation is disgraced among the women and expelled from the settle-

ment. When the ceremony has been satisfactorily completed the boy or girl is marriageable (C. Marsh Beadnell, "Circumcision and Clitoridectomy as Practiced by the Natives of British East Africa," *British Medical Journal*, April 29, 1905).

Initiation among the African Bawenda, as described by a missionary, is in three stages: (1) A stage of instruction and discipline during which the traditions and sacred things of the tribe are revealed, the art of warfare taught, self-restraint and endurance borne; then the youths are counted as full-grown. (2) In the next stage the art of dancing is practiced, by each sex separately, during the day. (3) In the final stage, which is that of complete sexual initiation, the two sexes dance together by night; the scene, in the opinion of the good missionary, "does not bear description;" the initiated are now complete adults, with all the privileges and responsibilities of adults (Rev. E. Gottschling, "The Bawenda," *Journal Anthropological Institution*, July to Dec., 1905, p. 372. *Cf.*, an interesting account of the Bawenda Tondo schools by another missionary, Wessmann, *The Bawenda*, pp. 60 *et seq.*).

The initiation of girls in Azimba Land, Central Africa, has been fully and interestingly described by H. Crawford Angus ("The 'Chensamwali' or Initiation Ceremony of Girls," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1898, Heft 6). At the first sign of menstruation the girl is taken by her mother out of the village to a grass hut prepared for her where only the women are allowed to visit her. At the end of menstruation she is taken to a secluded spot and the women dance round her, no men being present. It was only with much difficulty that Angus was enabled to witness the ceremony. The girl is then informed in regard to the hygiene of menstruation. "Many songs about the relations between men and women are sung, and the girl is instructed as to all her duties when she becomes a wife. . . . The girl is taught to be faithful to her husband, and to try and bear children. The whole matter is looked upon as a matter of course, and not as a thing to be ashamed of or to hide, and being thus openly treated of and no secrecy made about it, you find in this tribe that the women are very virtuous, because the subject of married life has no glamour for them. When a woman is pregnant she is again danced; this time all the dancers are naked, and she is taught how to behave and what to do when the time of her delivery arrives."

Among the Yuman Indians of California, as described by Horatio Rust ("A Puberty Ceremony of the Mission Indians," *American Anthropologist*, Jan. to March, 1906, p. 28) the girls are at puberty prepared for marriage by a ceremony. They are wrapped in blankets and placed in a warm pit, where they lie looking very happy as they peer out through their covers. For four days and nights they lie here (occasionally going away for food), while the old women of the tribe dance and

sing round the pit constantly. At times the old women throw silver coins among the crowd to teach the girls to be generous. They also give away cloth and wheat, to teach them to be kind to the old and needy; and they sow wild seeds broadcast over the girls to cause them to be prolific. Finally, all strangers are ordered away, garlands are placed on the girls' heads, and they are led to a hillside and shown the large and sacred stone, symbolical of the female organs of generation and resembling them, which is said to protect women. Then grain is thrown over all present, and the ceremony is over.

The Thlinkeet Eskimo women were long noted for their fine qualities. At puberty they were secluded, sometimes for a whole year, being kept in darkness, suffering, and filth. Yet defective and unsatisfactory as this initiation was, "Langsdorf suggests," says Bancroft (*Native Races of Pacific*, vol. i, p. 110), referring to the virtues of the Thlinkeet woman, "that it may be during this period of confinement that the foundation of her influence is laid; that in modest reserve and meditation her character is strengthened, and she comes forth cleansed in mind as well as body."

We have lost these ancient and invaluable rites of initiation into manhood and womanhood, with their inestimable moral benefits; at the most we have merely preserved the shells of initiation in which the core has decayed. In time, we cannot doubt, they will be revived in modern forms. At present the spiritual initiation of youths and maidens is left to the chances of some happy accident, and usually it is of a purely cerebral character which cannot be perfectly wholesome, and is at the best absurdly incomplete.

This cerebral initiation commonly occurs to the youth through the medium of literature. The influence of literature in sexual education thus extends, in an incalculable degree, beyond the narrow sphere of manuals on sexual hygiene, however admirable and desirable these may be. The greater part of literature is more or less distinctly penetrated by erotic and auto-erotic conceptions and impulses; nearly all imaginative literature proceeds from the root of sex to flower in visions of beauty and ecstasy. The Divine Comedy of Dante is herein the immortal type of the poet's evolution. The youth becomes acquainted with the imaginative representations of love before he becomes acquainted with the reality of love, so that, as Leo Berg puts it,

"the way to love among civilized peoples passes through imagination." All literature is thus, to the adolescent soul, a part of sexual education.[1] It depends, to some extent, though fortunately not entirely, on the judgment of those in authority over the young soul whether the literature to which the youth or girl is admitted is or is not of the large and humanizing order.

All great literature touches nakedly and sanely on the central facts of sex. It is always consoling to remember this in an age of petty pruderies. And it is a satisfaction to know that it would not be possible to emasculate the literature of the great ages, however desirable it might seem to the men of more degenerate ages, or to close the avenues to that literature against the young. All our religious and literary traditions serve to fortify the position of the Bible and of Shakespeare. "So many men and women," writes a correspondent, a literary man, "gain sexual ideas in childhood from reading the Old Testament, that the Bible may be called an erotic text-book. Most persons of either sex with whom I have conversed on the subject, say that the Books of Moses, and the stories of Amnon and Tamar, Lot and his daughters, Potiphar's wife and Joseph, etc., caused speculation and curiosity, and gave them information of the sexual-relationship. A boy and girl of fifteen, both friends of the writer, and now over thirty years of age, used to find out erotic passages in the Bible on Sunday mornings, while in a Dissenting chapel, and pass their Bibles to one another, with their fingers on the portions that interested them." In the same way many a young woman has borrowed Shakespeare in order to read the glowing erotic poetry of *Venus and Adonis*, which her friends have told her about.

The Bible, it may be remarked, is not in every respect, a model introduction for the young mind to the questions of sex. But even its frank acceptance, as of divine origin, of sexual rules so unlike those that are nominally our own, such as polygamy and concubinage, helps to enlarge the vision of the youthful mind by showing that the rules surrounding the child are not those everywhere and always valid, while the nakedness and realism of the Bible cannot but be a wholesome and tonic corrective to conventional pruderies.

We must, indeed, always protest against the absurd confusion

[1] The intimate relation of art and poetry to the sexual impulse has been realized in a fragmentary way by many who have not attained to any wide vision of auto-erotic activity in life. "Poetry is necessarily related to the sexual function," says Metchnikoff (*Essais Optimistes*, p. 352), who also quotes with approval the statement of Möbius (previously made by Ferrero and many others) that "artistic aptitudes must probably be considered as secondary sexual characters."

whereby nakedness of speech is regarded as equivalent to immorality, and not the less because it is often adopted even in what are regarded as intellectual quarters. When in the House of Lords, in the last century, the question of the exclusion of Byron's statue from Westminster Abbey was under discussion, Lord Brougham "denied that Shakespeare was more moral than Byron. He could, on the contrary, point out in a single page of Shakespeare more grossness than was to be found in all Lord Byron's works." The conclusion Brougham thus reached, that Byron is an incomparably more moral writer than Shakespeare, ought to have been a sufficient *reductio ad absurdum* of his argument, but it does not appear that anyone pointed out the vulgar confusion into which he had fallen.

It may be said that the special attractiveness which the nakedness of great literature sometimes possesses for young minds is unwholesome. But it must be remembered that the peculiar interest of this element is merely due to the fact that elsewhere there is an inveterate and abnormal concealment. It must also be said that the statements of the great writers about natural things are never degrading, nor even erotically exciting to the young, and what Emilia Pardo Bazan tells of herself and her delight when a child in the historical books of the Old Testament, that the crude passages in them failed to send the faintest cloud of trouble across her young imagination, is equally true of most children. It is necessary, indeed, that these naked and serious things should be left standing, even if only to counterbalance the lewdly comic efforts to besmirch love and sex, which are visible to all in every low-class bookseller's shop window.

This point of view was vigorously championed by the speakers on sexual education at the Third Congress of the German Gesellschaft zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten in 1907. Thus Enderlin, speaking as a headmaster, protested against the custom of bowdlerizing poems and folk-songs for the use of children, and thus robbing them of the finest introduction to purified sexual impulses and the highest sphere of emotion, while at the same time they are recklessly exposed to the "psychic infection" of the vulgar comic papers everywhere exposed for sale. "So long as children are too young to respond to erotic poetry it cannot hurt them; when they are old enough to respond it can only benefit them by opening to them the highest and purest channels of human emotion" (*Sexualpadagogik*, p. 60). Professor Schäfenacker (*id.*, p. 98) expresses himself in the same sense, and remarks that "the method of removing from school-books all those passages which, in the opinion of short-sighted and narrow-hearted schoolmasters, are unsuited for youth, must be decisively condemned." Every healthy boy and girl who has reached the age of puberty may be safely allowed to ramble in any good library, however varied its contents. So far from needing

guidance they will usually show a much more refined taste than their elders. At this age, when the emotions are still virginal and sensitive, the things that are realistic, ugly, or morbid, jar on the young spirit and are cast aside, though in adult life, with the coarsening of mental texture which comes of years and experience, this repugnance, doubtless by an equally sound and natural instinct, may become much less acute.

Ellen Key in Ch. VI of her *Century of the Child* well summarizes the reasons against the practice of selecting for children books that are "suitable" for them, a practice which she considers one of the follies of modern education. The child should be free to read all great literature, and will himself instinctively put aside the things he is not yet ripe for. His cooler senses are undisturbed by scenes that his elders find too exciting, while even at a later stage it is not the nakedness of great literature, but much more the method of the modern novel, which is likely to stain the imagination, falsify reality and injure taste. It is concealment which misleads and coarsens, producing a state of mind in which even the Bible becomes a stimulus to the senses. The writings of the great masters yield the imaginative food which the child craves, and the erotic moment in them is too brief to be overheating. It is the more necessary, Ellen Key remarks, for children to be introduced to great literature, since they often have little opportunity to occupy themselves with it in later life. Many years earlier Ruskin, in *Sesame and Lilies*, had eloquently urged that even young girls should be allowed to range freely in libraries.

What has been said about literature applies equally to art. Art, as well as literature, and in the same indirect way, can be made a valuable aid in the task of sexual enlightenment and sexual hygiene. Modern art may, indeed, for the most part, be ignored from this point of view, but children cannot be too early familiarized with the representations of the nude in ancient sculpture and in the paintings of the old masters of the Italian school. In this way they may be immunized, as Enderlin expresses it, against those representations of the nude which make an appeal to the baser instincts. Early familiarity with nudity in art is at the same time an aid to the attainment of a proper attitude towards purity in nature. "He who has once learnt," as Höller remarks, "to enjoy peacefully nakedness in art, will be able to look on nakedness in nature as on a work of art."

Casts of classic nude statues and reproductions of the pictures of the old Venetian and other Italian masters may fittingly be used to adorn schoolrooms, not so much as objects of instruction as things of beauty with which the child cannot too early become familiarized. In Italy it is said to be usual for school classes to be taken by their teachers to the art museums with good results; such visits form part of the official scheme of education.

There can be no doubt that such early familiarity with the beauty of nudity in classic art is widely needed among all social classes and in many countries. It is to this defect of our education that we must attribute the occasional, and indeed in America and England frequent, occurrence of such incidents as petitions and protests against the exhibition of nude statuary in art museums, the display of pictures so inoffensive as Leighton's "Bath of Psyche" in shop windows, and the demand for the draping of the naked personifications of abstract virtues in architectural street decoration. So imperfect is still the education of the multitude that in these matters the ill-bred fanatic of pruriency usually gains his will. Such a state of things cannot but have an unwholesome reaction on the moral atmosphere of the community in which it is possible. Even from the religious point of view, prurient prudery is not justifiable. Northcote has very temperately and sensibly discussed the question of the nude in art from the standpoint of Christian morality. He points out that not only is the nude in art not to be condemned without qualification, and that the nude is by no means necessarily the erotic, but he also adds that even erotic art, in its best and purest manifestations, only arouses emotions that are the legitimate object of man's aspirations. It would be impossible even to represent Biblical stories adequately on canvas or in marble if erotic art were to be tabooed (Rev. H. Northcote, *Christianity and Sex Problems*, Ch. XIV).

Early familiarity with the nude in classic and early Italian art should be combined at puberty with an equal familiarity with photographs of beautiful and naturally developed nude models. In former years books containing such pictures in a suitable and attractive manner to place before the young were difficult to procure. Now this difficulty nq longer exists. Dr. C. H. Stratz, of The Hague, has been the pioneer in this matter, and in a series of beautiful books (notably in *Der Körper des Kindes*, *Die Schönheit des Weiblichen Korpers* and *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes*, all published by Enke in Stuttgart), he has brought together a large number of admirably selected photographs of nude but entirely chaste figures. More recently Dr. Shufeldt, of Washington (who dedicates his work to Stratz), has published his *Studies of the Human Form* in which, in the same spirit, he has brought together the results of his own studies of the naked human form during many years. It is necessary to correct the impressions received from

classic sources by good photographic illustrations on account of the false conventions prevailing in classic works, though those conventions were not necessarily false for the artists who originated them. The omission of the pudendal hair, in representations of the nude was, for instance, quite natural for the people of countries still under Oriental influence are accustomed to remove the hair from the body. If, however, under quite different conditions, we perpetuate that artistic convention to-day, we put ourselves into a perverse relation to nature. There is ample evidence of this. "There is one convention so ancient, so necessary, so universal," writes Mr. Frederic Harrison (*Nineteenth Century and After*, Aug., 1907), "that its deliberate defiance to-day may arouse the bile of the least squeamish of men and should make women withdraw at once." If boys and girls were brought up at their mother's knees in familiarity with pictures of beautiful and natural nakedness, it would be impossible for anyone to write such silly and shameful words as these.

There can be no doubt that among ourselves the simple and direct attitude of the child towards nakedness is so early crushed out of him that intelligent education is necessary in order that he may be enabled to discern what is and what is not obscene. To the plough-boy and the country servant-girl all nakedness, including that of Greek statuary, is alike shameful or lustful. "I have a picture of women like that," said a countryman with a grin, as he pointed to a photograph of one of Tintoret's most beautiful groups, "smoking cigarettes." And the mass of people in most northern countries have still passed little beyond this stage of discernment; in ability to distinguish between the beautiful and the obscene they are still on the level of the plough-boy and the servant-girl.

CHAPTER III.

SEXUAL EDUCATION AND NAKEDNESS.

The Greek Attitude Towards Nakedness—How the Romans Modified That Attitude—The Influence of Christianity—Nakedness in Mediæval Times—Evolution of the Horror of Nakedness—Concomitant Change in the Conception of Nakedness—Prudery—The Romantic Movement—Rise of a New Feeling in Regard to Nakedness—The Hygienic Aspect of Nakedness—How Children May Be Accustomed to Nakedness—Nakedness Not Inimical to Modesty—The Instinct of Physical Pride—The Value of Nakedness in Education—The Æsthetic Value of Nakedness—The Human Body as One of the Prime Tonics of Life—How Nakedness May Be Cultivated—The Moral Value of Nakedness.

THE discussion of the value of nakedness in art leads us on to the allied question of nakedness in nature. What is the psychological influence of familiarity with nakedness? How far should children be made familiar with the naked body? This is a question in regard to which different opinions have been held in different ages, and during recent years a remarkable change has begun to come over the minds of practical educationalists in regard to it.

In Sparta, in Chios, and elsewhere in Greece, women at one time practiced gymnastic feats and dances in nakedness, together with the men, or in their presence.[1] Plato in his *Republic* approved of such customs and said that the ridicule of those who laughed at them was but "unripe fruit plucked from the tree of knowledge." On many questions Plato's opinions changed, but not on this. In the *Laws*, which are the last outcome of his philosophic reflection in old age, he still advocates (Bk. viii) a similar coeducation of the sexes and their coöperation in all the works of life, in part with a view to blunt the over-keen edge of

[1] Thus Athenæus (Bk. xiii, Ch. XX) says: "In the Island of Chios it is a beautiful sight to go to the gymnasia and the race-courses, and to see the young men wrestling naked with the maidens who are also naked."

sexual appetite; with the same object he advocated the association together of youths and girls without constraint in costumes which offered no concealment to the form.

It is noteworthy that the Romans, a coarser-grained people than the Greeks and in our narrow modern sense more "moral," showed no perception of the moralizing and refining influence of nakedness. Nudity to them was merely a licentious indulgence, to be treated with contempt even when it was enjoyed. It was confined to the stage, and clamored for by the populace. In the Floralia, especially, the crowd seem to have claimed it as their right that the actors should play naked, probably, it has been thought, as a survival of a folk-ritual. But the Romans, though they were eager to run to the theatre, felt nothing but disdain for the performers. "Flagitii principium est, nudare inter cives corpora." So thought old Ennius, as reported by Cicero, and that remained the genuine Roman feeling to the last. "Quanta perversitas!" as Tertullian exclaimed. "Artem magnificant, artificem notant."[1] In this matter the Romans, although they aroused the horror of the Christians, were yet in reality laying the foundation of Christian morality.

Christianity, which found so many of Plato's opinions congenial, would have nothing to do with his view of nakedness and failed to recognize its psychological correctness. The reason was simple, and indeed simple-minded. The Church was passionately eager to fight against what it called "the flesh," and thus fell into the error of confusing the subjective question of sexual desire with the objective spectacle of the naked form. "The flesh" is evil; therefore, "the flesh" must be hidden. And they hid it, without understanding that in so doing they had not suppressed the craving for the human form, but, on the contrary, had heightened it by imparting to it the additional fascination of a forbidden mystery.

Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (Part III, Sect II, Mem. II, Subs. IV), referring to the recommendations of Plato, adds: "But *Eusebius* and *Theodoret* worthily lash him for it; and well they might:

[1] Augustine (*De civitate Dei*, lib. ii, cap. XIII) refers to the same point, contrasting the Romans with the Greeks who honored their actors.

for as one saith, the very sight of naked parts, *causeth enormous, exceeding concupiscences, and stirs up both men and women to burning lust.*" Yet, as Burton himself adds further on in the same section of his work (Mem. V, Subs. III), without protest, "some are of opinion, that to see a woman naked, is able of itself to alter his affection; and it is worthy of consideration, saith *Montaigne*, the Frenchman, in his Essays, that the skilfullest masters of amorous dalliance appoint for a remedy of venereous passions, a full survey of the body."

There ought to be no question regarding the fact that it is the adorned, the partially concealed body, and not the absolutely naked body, which acts as a sexual excitant. I have brought together some evidence on this point in the study of "The Evolution of Modesty." "In Madagascar, West Africa, and the Cape," says G. F. Scott Elliot (*A Naturalist in Mid-Africa*, p. 36), "I have always found the same rule. Chastity varies inversely as the amount of clothing." It is now indeed generally held that one of the chief primary objects of ornament and clothing was the stimulation of sexual desire, and artists' models are well aware that when they are completely unclothed, they are most safe from undesired masculine advances. "A favorite model of mine told me," remarks Dr. Shufeldt (*Medical Brief*, Oct., 1904), the distinguished author of *Studies of the Human Form*, "that it was her practice to disrobe as soon after entering the artist's studio as possible, for, as men are not always responsible for their emotions, she felt that she was far less likely to arouse or excite them when entirely nude than when only semi-draped." This fact is, indeed, quite familiar to artists' models. If the conquest of sexual desire were the first and last consideration of life it would be more reasonable to prohibit clothing than to prohibit nakedness.

When Christianity absorbed the whole of the European world this strict avoidance of even the sight of "the flesh," although nominally accepted by all as the desirable ideal, could only be carried out, thoroughly and completely, in the cloister. In the practice of the world outside, although the original Christian ideals remained influential, various pagan and primitive traditions in favor of nakedness still persisted, and were, to some extent, allowed to manifest themselves, alike in ordinary custom and on special occasions.

How widespread is the occasional or habitual practice of nakedness in the world generally, and how entirely concordant it is with even a most sensitive modesty, has been set forth in "The Evolution of Modesty," in vol. i of these *Studies*.

Even during the Christian era the impulse to adopt nudity, often with the feeling that it was an especially sacred practice, has persisted. The Adamites of the second century, who read and prayed naked, and celebrated the sacrament naked, according to the statement quoted by St. Augustine, seem to have caused little scandal so long as they only practiced nudity in their sacred ceremonies. The German Brethren of the Free Spirit, in the thirteenth century, combined so much chastity with promiscuous nakedness that orthodox Catholics believed they were assisted by the Devil. The French Picards, at a much later date, insisted on public nakedness, believing that God had sent their leader into the world as a new Adam to reëstablish the law of Nature; they were persecuted and were finally exterminated by the Hussites.

In daily life, however, a considerable degree of nakedness was tolerated during mediæval times. This was notably so in the public baths, frequented by men and women together. Thus Alwin Schultz remarks (in his *Hofische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesänger*), that the women of the aristocratic classes, though not the men, were often naked in these baths except for a hat and a necklace.

It is sometimes stated that in the mediæval religious plays Adam and Eve were absolutely naked. Chambers doubts this, and thinks they wore flesh-colored tights, or were, as in a later play of this kind, "apparelled in white leather" (E. K. Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*. vol. i, p 5). It may be so, but the public exposure even of the sexual organs was permitted, and that in aristocratic houses, for John of Salisbury (in a passage quoted by Buckle, *Commonplace Book*, 541) protests against this custom.

The women of the feminist sixteenth century in France, as R. de Maulde la Clavière remarks (*Revue de l'Art*, Jan., 1898), had no scruple in recompensing their adorers by admitting them to their toilette, or even their bath. Late in the century they became still less prudish, and many well-known ladies allowed themselves to be painted naked down to the waist, as we see in the portrait of "Gabrielle d'Estrées au Bain" at Chantilly. Many of these pictures, however, are certainly not real portraits.

Even in the middle of the seventeenth century in England nakedness was not prohibited in public, for Pepys tells us that on July 29, 1667, a Quaker came into Westminster Hall, crying, "Repent! Repent!" being in a state of nakedness, except that he was "very civilly tied about the privities to avoid scandal." (This was doubtless Solomon Eccles, who was accustomed to go about in this costume, both before and after the Restoration. He had been a distinguished musician, and, though eccentric, was apparently not insane.)

In a chapter, "De la Nudité," and in the appendices of his book, *De l'Amour* (vol. i, p. 221), Senancour gives instances of the occasional

practice of nudity in Europe, and adds some interesting remarks of his own; so, also, Dulaure (*Des Divinité Génératrice*, Ch. XV). It would appear, as a rule, that though complete nudity was allowed in other respects, it was usual to cover the sexual parts.

The movement of revolt against nakedness never became completely victorious until the nineteenth century. That century represented the triumph of all the forces that banned public nakedness everywhere and altogether. If, as Pudor insists, nakedness is aristocratic and the slavery of clothes a plebeian characteristic imposed on the lower classes by an upper class who reserved to themselves the privilege of physical culture, we may perhaps connect this with the outburst of democratic plebeianism which, as Nietzsche pointed out, reached its climax in the nineteenth century. It is in any case certainly interesting to observe that by this time the movement had entirely changed its character. It had become general, but at the same time its foundation had been undermined. It had largely lost its religious and moral character, and instead was regarded as a matter of convention. The nineteenth century man who encountered the spectacle of white limbs flashing in the sunlight no longer felt like the mediæval ascetic that he was risking the salvation of his immortal soul or even courting the depravation of his morals; he merely felt that it was "indecent" or, in extreme cases, "disgusting." That is to say he regarded the matter as simply a question of conventional etiquette, at the worst, of taste, of æsthetics. In thus bringing down his repugnance to nakedness to so low a plane he had indeed rendered it generally acceptable, but at the same time he had deprived it of high sanction. His profound horror of nakedness was out of relation to the frivolous grounds on which he based it.

We must not, however, under-rate the tenacity with which this horror of nakedness was held. Nothing illustrates more vividly the deeply ingrained hatred which the nineteenth century felt of nakedness than the ferocity—there is no other word for it—with which Christian missionaries to savages all over the world, even in the tropics, insisted on their converts adopting the conventional clothing of Northern Europe. Travellers' narratives abound in references to the emphasis placed by

missionaries on this change of custom, which was both injurious to the health of the people and degrading to their dignity. It is sufficient to quote one authoritative witness, Lord Stanmore, formerly Governor of Fiji, who read a long paper to the Anglican Missionary Conference in 1894 on the subject of "Undue Introduction of Western Ways." "In the centre of the village," he remarked in quoting a typical case (and referring not to Fiji but to Tonga), "is the church, a wooden barn-like building. If the day be Sunday, we shall find the native minister arrayed in a greenish-black swallow-tail coat, a neckcloth, once white, and a pair of spectacles, which he probably does not need, preaching to a congregation, the male portion of which is dressed in much the same manner as himself, while the women are dizened out in old battered hats or bonnets, and shapeless gowns like bathing dresses, or it may be in crinolines of an early type. Chiefs of influence and women of high birth, who in their native dress would look, and do look, the ladies and gentlemen they are, are, by their Sunday finery, given the appearance of attendants upon Jack-in-the-Green. If a visit be paid to the houses of the town, after the morning's work of the people is over, the family will be found sitting on chairs, listless and uncomfortable, in a room full of litter. In the houses of the superior native clergy there will be a yet greater aping of the manners of the West. There will be chairs covered with hideous antimacassars, tasteless round worsted-work mats for absent flower jars, and a lot of ugly cheap and vulgar china chimney ornaments, which, there being no fireplace, and consequently no chimney-piece, are set out in order on a rickety deal table. The whole life of these village folk is one piece of unreal acting. They are continually asking themselves whether they are incurring any of the penalties entailed by infraction of the long table of prohibitions, and whether they are living up to the foreign garments they wear. Their faces have, for the most part, an expression of sullen discontent, they move about silently and joylessly, rebels in heart to the restrictive code on them, but which they fear to cast off, partly from a vague apprehension of possible secular results, and partly because they suppose they will cease to be good Christians if they do so. They have good ground for their dissatisfaction. At the time when I visited the villages I have specially in my eye, it was punishable by fine and imprisonment to wear native clothing, punishable by fine and imprisonment to wear long hair or a garland of flowers; punishable by fine or imprisonment to wrestle or to play at ball; punishable by fine and imprisonment to build a native-fashioned house; punishable not to wear shirt and trousers, and in certain localities coat and shoes also; and, in addition to laws enforcing a strictly puritanical observation of the Sabbath, it was punishable by fine and imprisonment to bathe on Sundays. In some other places bathing on Sunday was punishable by flogging; and

to my knowledge women have been flogged for no other offense. Men in such circumstances are ripe for revolt, and sometimes the revolt comes."

An obvious result of reducing the feeling about nakedness to an unreasoning but imperative convention is the tendency to prudishness. This, as we know, is a form of pseudo-modesty which, being a convention, and not a natural feeling, is capable of unlimited extension. It is by no means confined to modern times or to Christian Europe. The ancient Hebrews were not entirely free from prudishness, and we find in the Old Testament that by a curious euphemism the sexual organs are sometimes referred to as "the feet." The Turks are capable of prudishness. So, indeed, were even the ancient Greeks. "Dion the philosopher tells us," remarks Clement of Alexandria (*Stromates*, Bk. IV, Ch. XIX) "that a certain woman, Lysidica, through excess of modesty, bathed in her clothes, and that Philotera, when she was to enter the bath, gradually drew back her tunic as the water covered her naked parts; and then rising by degrees, put it on." Mincing prudes were found among the early Christians, and their ways are graphically described by St. Jerome in one of his letters to Eustochium: "These women," he says, speak between their teeth or with the edge of the lips, and with a lisping tongue, only half pronouncing their words, because they regard as gross whatever is natural. Such as these," declares Jerome, the scholar in him overcoming the ascetic, "corrupt even language." Whenever a new and artificial "modesty" is imposed upon savages prudery tends to arise. Haddon describes this among the natives of Torres Straits, where even the children now suffer from exaggerated prudishness, though formerly absolutely naked and unashamed (*Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, p. 271).

The nineteenth century, which witnessed the triumph of timidity and prudery in this matter, also produced the first fruitful germ of new conceptions of nakedness. To some extent these were embodied in the great Romantic movement. Rousseau, indeed, had placed no special insistence on nakedness as an element of the return to Nature which he preached so influentially. A new feeling in this matter emerged, however, with characteristic extravagance, in some of the episodes of the Revolution, while in Germany in the pioneering *Lucinde* of Friedrich Schlegel, a characteristic figure in the Romantic movement, a still unfamiliar conception of the body was set forth in a serious and earnest spirit.

In England, Blake with his strange and flaming genius,

proclaimed a mystical gospel which involved the spiritual glorification of the body and contempt for the civilized worship of clothes ("As to a modern man," he wrote, "stripped from his load of clothing he is like a dead corpse"); while, later, in America, Thoreau and Whitman and Burroughs asserted, still more definitely, a not dissimilar message concerning the need of returning to Nature.

We find the importance of the sight of the body—though very narrowly, for the avoidance of fraud in the preliminaries of marriage—set forth as early as the sixteenth century by Sir Thomas More in his *Utopia*, which is so rich in new and fruitful ideas. In Utopia, according to Sir Thomas More, before marriage, a staid and honest matron "showeth the woman, be she maid or widow, naked to the wooer. And likewise a sage and discreet man exhibiteth the wooer naked to the woman. At this custom we laughed and disallowed it as foolish. But they, on their part, do greatly wonder at the folly of all other nations which, in buying a colt where a little money is in hazard, be so chary and circumspect that though he be almost all bare, yet they will not buy him unless the saddle and all the harness be taken off, lest under these coverings be hid some gall or sore. And yet, in choosing a wife, which shall be either pleasure or displeasure to them all their life after, they be so reckless that all the residue of the woman's body being covered with clothes, they estimate her scarcely by one handsbreadth (for they can see no more but her face) and so join her to them, not without great jeopardy of evil agreeing together, if anything in her body afterward should chance to offend or mislike them. Verily, so foul deformity may be hid under these coverings that it may quite alienate and take away the man's mind from his wife, when it shall not be lawful for their bodies to be separate again. If such deformity happen by any chance after the marriage is consummate and finished, well, there is no remedy but patience. But it were well done that a law were made whereby all such deceits were eschewed and avoided beforehand."

The clear conception of what may be called the spiritual value of nakedness—by no means from More's point of view, but as a part of natural hygiene in the widest sense, and as a high and special aspect of the purifying and ennobling function of beauty—is of much later date. It is not clearly expressed until the time of the Romantic movement at the beginning of the nineteenth century. We have it admirably set forth in Senancour's *De l'Amour* (first edition, 1806; fourth and enlarged edition, 1834), which still remains one of the best books on the morality of love. After remarking that nakedness by no means abolishes modesty, he proceeds to advocate occasional partial or complete

nudity. "Let us suppose," he remarks, somewhat in the spirit of Plato, "a country in which at certain general festivals the women should be absolutely free to be nearly or even quite naked. Swimming, waltzing, walking, those who thought good to do so might remain unclothed in the presence of men. No doubt the illusions of love would be little known, and passion would see a diminution of its transports. But is it passion that in general ennobles human affairs? We need honest attachments and delicate delights, and all these we may obtain while still preserving our common-sense. . . . . Such nakedness would demand corresponding institutions, strong and simple, and a great respect for those conventions which belong to all times" (Senancour, *De l'Amour*, vol. i, p. 314).

From that time onwards references to the value and desirability of nakedness become more and more frequent in all civilized countries, sometimes mingled with sarcastic allusions to the false conventions we have inherited in this matter. Thus Thoreau writes in his journal on June 12, 1852, as he looks at boys bathing in the river: "The color of their bodies in the sun at a distance is pleasing. I hear the sound of their sport borne over the water. As yet we have not man in Nature What a singular fact for an angel visitant to this earth to carry back in his note-book, that men were forbidden to expose their bodies under the severest penalties."

Iwan Bloch, in Chapter VII of his *Sexual Life of Our Time*, discusses this question of nakedness from the modern point of view, and concludes: "A natural conception of nakedness: that is the watchword of the future. All the hygienic, æsthetic, and moral efforts of our time are pointing in that direction."

Stratz, as befits one who has worked so strenuously in the cause of human health and beauty, admirably sets forth the stage which we have now attained in this matter. After pointing out (*Die Frauenkleidung*, third edition, 1904, p. 30) that, in opposition to the pagan world which worshipped naked gods, Christianity developed the idea that nakedness was merely sexual, and therefore immoral, he proceeds "But over all glimmered on the heavenly heights of the Cross, the naked body of the Saviour. Under that protection there has gradually disengaged itself from the confusion of ideas a new transfigured form of nakedness made free after long struggle. I would call this *artistic nakedness*, for as it was immortalized by the old Greeks through art, so also among us it has been awakened to new life by art. Artistic nakedness is, in its nature, much higher than either the natural or the sensual conception of nakedness. The simple child of Nature sees in nakedness nothing at all; the clothed man sees in the uncovered body only a sensual irritation. But at the highest standpoint man consciously returns to Nature, and recognizes that under the manifold coverings of human

fabrication there is hidden the most splendid creature that God has created. One may stand in silent, worshipping wonder before the sight; another may be impelled to imitate and show to his fellow-man what in that holy moment he has seen. But both enjoy the spectacle of human beauty with full consciousness and enlightened purity of thought."

It was not, however, so much on these more spiritual sides, but on the side of hygiene, that the nineteenth century furnished its chief practical contribution to the new attitude towards nakedness.

Lord Monboddo, the Scotch judge, who was a pioneer in regard to many modern ideas, had already in the eighteenth century realized the hygienic value of "air-baths," and he invented that now familiar name. "Lord Monboddo," says Boswell, in 1777 (*Life of Johnson*, edited by Hill, vol. iii, p. 168) "told me that he awaked every morning at four, and then for his health got up and walked in his room naked, with the window open, which he called taking *an air-bath*." It is said also, I know not on what authority, that he made his beautiful daughters take an air-bath naked on the terrace every morning. Another distinguished man of the same century, Benjamin Franklin, used sometimes to work naked in his study on hygienic grounds, and, it is recorded, once affrighted a servant-girl by opening the door in an absent-minded moment, thus unattired.

Rikli seems to have been the apostle of air-baths and sun-baths regarded as a systematic method. He established light- and air-baths over half a century ago at Trieste and elsewhere in Austria. His motto was: "Light, Truth, and Freedom are the motive forces towards the highest development of physical and moral health." Man is not a fish, he declared; light and air are the first conditions of a highly organized life. Solaria for the treatment of a number of different disordered conditions are now commonly established, and most systems of natural therapeutics attach prime importance to light and air, while in medicine generally it is beginning to be recognized that such influences can by no means be neglected. Dr. Fernand Sandoz, in his *Introduction à la Thérapeutique Naturiste par les agents Physiques et Dietétiques* (1907) sets forth such methods comprehensively. In Germany sun-baths have become widely common; thus Lenkei (in a paper summarized in *British Medical Journal*, Oct. 31, 1908) prescribes them with much benefit in tuberculosis, rheumatic conditions, obesity, anæmia, neurasthenia, etc. He considers that their peculiar value lies in the action of light. Professor J. N. Hyde, of Chicago, even believes ("Light-Hunger in the Production of Psoriasis," *British Medical Journal*, Oct. 6, 1906), that

psoriasis is caused by deficiency of sunlight, and is best cured by the application of light. This belief, which has not, however, been generally accepted in its unqualified form, he ingeniously supports by the fact that psoriasis tends to appear on the most exposed parts of the body, which may be held to naturally receive and require the maximum of light, and by the absence of the disease in hot countries and among negroes.

The hygienic value of nakedness is indicated by the robust health of the savages throughout the world who go naked. The vigor of the Irish, also, has been connected with the fact that (as Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* shows) both sexes, even among persons of high social class, were accustomed to go naked except for a mantle, especially in more remote parts of the country, as late as the seventeenth century. Wherever primitive races abandon nakedness for clothing, at once the tendency to disease, mortality, and degeneracy notably increases, though it must be remembered that the use of clothing is commonly accompanied by the introduction of other bad habits. "Nakedness is the only condition universal among vigorous and healthy savages; at every other point perhaps they differ," remarks Frederick Boyle in a paper ("Savages and Clothes," *Monthly Review*, Sept., 1905) in which he brings together much evidence concerning the hygienic advantages of the natural human state in which man is "all face."

It is in Germany that a return towards nakedness has been most ably and thoroughly advocated, notably by Dr. H. Pudor in his *Nackt-Cultur*, and by R. Ungewitter in *Die Nacktheit* (first published in 1905), a book which has had a very large circulation in many editions. These writers enthusiastically advocate nakedness, not only on hygienic, but on moral and artistic grounds. Pudor insists more especially that "nakedness, both in gymnastics and in sport, is a method of cure and a method of regeneration;" he advocates co-education in this culture of nakedness. Although he makes large claims for nakedness—believing that all the nations which have disregarded these claims have rapidly become decadent—Pudor is less hopeful than Ungewitter of any speedy victory over the prejudices opposed to the culture of nakedness. He considers that the immediate task is education, and that a practical commencement may best be made with the foot which is specially in need of hygiene and exercise; a large part of the first volume of his book is devoted to the foot.

As the matter is to-day viewed by those educationalists who are equally alive to sanitary and sexual considerations, the claims of nakedness, so far as concerns the young, are regarded as part alike of physical and moral hygiene. The free contact of the naked body with air and water and light makes for the health of

the body; familiarity with the sight of the body abolishes petty pruriencies, trains the sense of beauty, and makes for the health of the soul. This double aspect of the matter has undoubtedly weighed greatly with those teachers who now approve of customs which, a few years ago, would have been hastily dismissed as "indecent." There is still a wide difference of opinion as to the limits to which the practice of nakedness may be carried, and also as to the age when it should begin to be restricted. The fact that the adult generation of to-day grew up under the influence of the old horror of nakedness is an inevitable check on any revolutionary changes in these matters.

Maria Lischnewska, one of the ablest advocates of the methodical enlightenment of children in matters of sex (*op. cit.*), clearly realizes that a sane attitude towards the body lies at the root of a sound education for life. She finds that the chief objection encountered in such education, as applied in the higher classes of schools, is "the horror of the civilized man at his own body." She shows that there can be no doubt that those who are engaged in the difficult task of working towards the abolition of that superstitious horror have taken up a moral task of the first importance.

Walter Gerhard, in a thoughtful and sensible paper on the educational question ("Ein Kapitel zur Erziehungsfrage, *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, vol. i, Heft 2), points out that it is the adult who needs education in this matter—as in so many other matters of sexual enlightenment—considerably more than the child. Parents educate their children from the earliest years in prudery, and vainly flatter themselves that they have thereby promoted their modesty and morality. He records his own early life in a tropical land and accustomed to nakedness from the first. "It was not till I came to Germany when nearly twenty that I learnt that the human body is indecent, and that it must not be shown because that 'would arouse bad impulses.' It was not till the human body was entirely withdrawn from my sight and after I was constantly told that there was something improper behind clothes, that I was able to understand this. . . . . Until then I had not known that a naked body, by the mere fact of being naked, could arouse erotic feelings. I had known erotic feelings, but they had not arisen from the sight of the naked body, but gradually blossomed from the union of our souls" And he draws the final moral that, if only for the sake of our children, we must learn to educate ourselves.

Forel (*Die Sexuelle Frage*, p. 140), speaking in entirely the same sense as Gerhard, remarks that prudery may be either caused or cured

in children. It may be caused by undue anxiety in covering their bodies and hiding from them the bodies of others. It may be cured by making them realize that there is nothing in the body that is unnatural and that we need be ashamed of, and by encouraging bathing of the sexes in common. He points out (p. 512) the advantages of allowing children to be acquainted with the adult forms which they will themselves some day assume, and condemns the conduct of those foolish persons who assume that children already possess the adult's erotic feelings about the body. That is so far from being the case that children are frequently unable to distinguish the sex of other children apart from their clothes.

At the Mannheim Congress of the German Society for Combating Venereal Diseases, specially devoted to sexual hygiene, the speakers constantly referred to the necessity of promoting familiarity with the naked body. Thus Eulenburg and Julian Marcuse (*Sexualpädagogik*, p. 264) emphasize the importance of air-baths, not only for the sake of the physical health of the young, but in the interests of rational sexual training. Höller, a teacher, speaking at the same congress (*op. cit.*, p 85), after insisting on familiarity with the nude in art and literature, and protesting against the bowdlerising of poems for the young, continues: "By bathing-drawers ordinances no soul was ever yet saved from moral ruin. One who has learnt to enjoy peacefully the naked in art is only stirred by the naked in nature as by a work of art." Enderlin, another teacher, speaking in the same sense (p. 58), points out that nakedness cannot act sexually or immorally on the child, since the sexual impulse has not yet become pronounced, and the earlier he is introduced to the naked in nature and in art, as a matter of course, the less likely are the sexual feelings to be developed precociously. The child thus, indeed, becomes immune to impure influences, so that later, when representations of the nude are brought before him for the object of provoking his wantonness, they are powerless to injure him. It is important, Enderlin adds, for familiarity with the nude in art to be learnt at school, for most of us, as Siebert remarks, have to learn purity through art.

Nakedness in bathing, remarks Bölsche in his *Liebesleben in der Natur* (vol. iii, pp. 139 *et seq.*), we already in some measure possess; we need it in physical exercises, at first for the sexes separately, then, when we have grown accustomed to the idea, occasionally for both sexes together. We need to acquire the capacity to see the bodies of individuals of the other sex with such self-control and such natural instinct that they become non-erotic to us and can be gazed at without erotic feeling. Art, he says, shows that this is possible in civilization. Science, he adds, comes to the aid of the same view.

Ungewitter (*Die Nacktheit*, p. 57) also advocates boys and girls

engaging in play and gymnastics together, entirely naked in air-baths. "In this way," he believes, "the gymnasium would become a school of morality, in which young growing things would be able to retain their purity as long as possible through becoming naturally accustomed to each other. At the same time their bodies would be hardened and developed, and the perception of beautiful and natural forms awakened." To those who have any "moral" doubts on the matter, he mentions the custom in remote country districts of boys and girls bathing together quite naked and without any sexual consciousness. Rudolf Sommer, similarly, in an excellent article entitled "Mädchenerziehung oder Menschenbildung?" (*Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, Bd. i, Heft 3) advises that children should be made accustomed to each other's nakedness from an early age in the family life of the house or the garden, in games, and especially in bathing; he remarks that parents having children of only one sex should cultivate for their children's sake intimate relations with a family having children of like age of the opposite sex, so that they may grow up together.

It is scarcely necessary to add that the cultivation of nakedness must always be conciliated with respect for the natural instincts of modesty. If the practice of nakedness led the young to experience a diminished reverence for their own or others' personalities the advantages of it would be too dearly bought. This is, in part, a matter of wholesome instinct, in part of wise training. We now know that the absence of clothes has little relation with the absence of modesty, such relation as there is being of the inverse order, for the savage races which go naked are usually more modest than those which wear clothes. The saying quoted by Herodotus in the early Greek world that "A woman takes off her modesty with her shift" was a favorite text of the Christian Fathers. But Plutarch, who was also a moralist, had already protested against it at the close of the Greek world: "By no means," he declared, "she who is modest clothes herself with modesty when she lays aside her tunic." "A woman may be naked," as Mrs. Bishop, the traveller, remarked to Dr. Baelz, in Japan, "and yet behave like a lady."[1]

The question is complicated among ourselves because estab-

[1] See "The Evolution of Modesty" in the first volume of these *Studies*, where this question of the relationship of nakedness to modesty is fully discussed.

lished traditions of rigid concealment have fostered a pruriency which is an offensive insult to naked modesty. In many lands the women who are accustomed to be almost or quite naked in the presence of their own people cover themselves as soon as they become conscious of the lustful inquisitive eyes of Europeans. Stratz refers to the prevalence of this impulse of offended modesty in Japan, and mentions that he himself failed to arouse it simply because he was a physician, and, moreover, had long lived in another land (Java) where also the custom of nakedness prevails.[1] So long as this unnatural prurience exists a free unqualified nakedness is rendered difficult.

Modesty is not, however, the only natural impulse which has to be considered in relation to the custom of nakedness. It seems probable that in cultivating the practice of nakedness we are not merely carrying out a moral and hygienic prescription but allowing legitimate scope to an instinct which at some periods of life, especially in adolescence, is spontaneous and natural, even, it may be, wholesomely based in the traditions of the race in sexual selection. Our rigid conventions make it impossible for us to discover the laws of nature in this matter by stifling them at the outset. It may well be that there is a rhythmic harmony and concordance between impulses of modesty and impulses of ostentation, though we have done our best to disguise the natural law by our stupid and perverse by-laws.

Stanley Hall, who emphasizes the importance of nakedness, remarks that at puberty we have much reason to assume that in a state of nature there is a certain instinctive pride and ostentation that accompanies the new local development, and quotes the observation of Dr. Seerley that the impulse to conceal the sexual organs is especially marked in young men who are underdeveloped, but not evident in those who are developed beyond the average. Stanley Hall (*Adolescence*, vol. ii, p. 97), also refers to the frequency with which not only "virtuous young men, but even women, rather glory in occasions when they can display the beauty of their forms without reserve, not only to themselves and to loved ones, but even to others with proper pretexts."

Many have doubtless noted this tendency, especially in women, and

[1] C. H. Stratz, *Die Körperformen in Kunst und Leben der Japaner*, Second edition, Ch. III; *id.*, *Frauenkleidung*, Third edition, pp. 22, 30.

chiefly in those who are conscious of beautiful physical development. Madame Céline Renooz believes that the tendency corresponds to a really deep-rooted instinct in women, little or not at all manifested in men who have consequently sought to impose artificially on women their own masculine conceptions of modesty. "In the actual life of the young girl to-day there is a moment when, by a secret atavism, she feels the pride of her sex, the intuition of her moral superiority and cannot understand why she must hide its cause. At this moment, wavering between the laws of Nature and social conventions, she scarcely knows if nakedness should, or should not, affright her. A sort of confused ataviştic memory recalls to her a period before clothing was known, and reveals to her as a paradisaical ideal the customs of that human epoch" (Céline Renooz, *Psychologie Comparée de l'Homme et de la Femme*, pp. 85-87). Perhaps this was obscurely felt by the German girl (mentioned in Kalbeck's *Life of Brahms*), who said: "One enjoys music twice as much *décolletée*."

From the point of view with which we are here essentially concerned there are three ways in which the cultivation of nakedness—so far as it is permitted by the slow education of public opinion—tends to exert an influence: (1) It is an important element in the sexual hygiene of the young, introducing a wholesome knowledge and incuriosity into a sphere once given up to prudery and pruriency. (2) The effect of nakedness is beneficial on those of more mature age, also, in so far as it tends to cultivate the sense of beauty and to furnish the tonic and consoling influences of natural vigor and grace. (3) The custom of nakedness, in its inception at all events, has a dynamic psychological influence also on morals, an influence exerted in the substitution of a strenuous and positive morality for the merely negative and timid morality which has ruled in this sphere.

Perhaps there are not many adults who realize the intense and secret absorption of thought in the minds of many boys and some girls concerning the problem of the physical conformation of the other sex, and the time, patience, and intellectual energy which they are willing to expend on the solution of this problem. This is mostly effected in secret, but not seldom the secret impulse manifests itself with a sudden violence which in the blind eyes of the law is reckoned as crime. A German lawyer, Dr. Werthauer, has lately stated that if there were a due degree

of familiarity with the natural organs and functions of the opposite sex ninety per cent. of the indecent acts of youths with girl children would disappear, for in most cases these are not assaults but merely the innocent, though uncontrollable, outcome of a repressed natural curiosity. It is quite true that not a few children boldly enlist each others' coöperation in the settlement of the question and resolve it to their mutual satisfaction. But even this is not altogether satisfactory, for the end is not attained openly and wholesomely, with a due subordination of the specifically sexual, but with a consciousness of wrong-doing and an exclusive attentiveness to the merely physical fact which tend directly to develop sexual excitement. When familiarity with the naked body of the other sex is gained openly and with no consciousness of indecorum, in the course of work and of play, in exercise or gymnastics, in running or in bathing, from a child's earliest year, no unwholesome results accompany the knowledge of the essential facts of physical conformation thus naturally acquired. The prurience and prudery which have poisoned sexual life in the past are alike rendered impossible.

Nakedness has, however, a hygienic value, as well as a spiritual significance, far beyond its influences in allaying the natural inquisitiveness of the young or acting as a preventative of morbid emotion. It is an inspiration to adults who have long outgrown any youthful curiosities. The vision of the essential and eternal human form, the nearest thing to us in all the world, with its vigor and its beauty and its grace, is one of the prime tonics of life. "The power of a woman's body," said James Hinton, "is no more bodily than the power of music is a power of atmospheric vibrations." It is more than all the beautiful and stimulating things of the world, than flowers or stars or the sea. History and legend and myth reveal to us the sacred and awful influence of nakedness, for, as Stanley Hall says, nakedness has always been "a talisman of wondrous power with gods and men." How sorely men crave for the spectacle of the human body—even to-day after generations have inculcated the notion that it is an indecorous and even disgusting spectacle

—is witnessed by the eagerness with which they seek after the spectacle of even its imperfect and meretricious forms, although these certainly possess a heady and stimulating quality which can never be found in the pathetic simplicity of naked beauty. It was another spectacle when the queens of ancient Madagascar at the annual Fandroon, or feast of the bath, laid aside their royal robes and while their subjects crowded the palace courtyard, descended the marble steps to the bath in complete nakedness. When we make our conventions of clothing rigid we at once spread a feast for lust and deny ourselves one of the prime tonics of life.

"I was feeling in despair and walking despondently along a Melbourne street," writes the Australian author of a yet unpublished autobiography, "when three children came running out of a lane and crossed the road in full daylight. The beauty and texture of their legs in the open air filled me with joy, so that I forgot all my troubles whilst looking at them. It was a bright revelation, an unexpected glimpse of Paradise, and I have never ceased to thank the happy combination of shape, pure blood, and fine skin of these poverty-stricken children, for the wind seemed to quicken their golden beauty, and I retained the rosy vision of their natural young limbs, so much more divine than those always under cover. Another occasion when naked young limbs made me forget all my gloom and despondency was on my first visit to Adelaide. I came on a naked boy leaning on the railing near the Baths, and the beauty of his face, torso, fair young limbs and exquisite feet filled me with joy and renewed hope. The tears came to my eyes, and I said to myself, 'While there is beauty in the world I will continue to struggle.'"

We must, as Bölsche declares (*loc. cit*), accustom ourselves to gaze on the naked human body exactly as we gaze at a beautiful flower, not merely with the pity with which the doctor looks at the body, but with joy in its strength and health and beauty. For a flower, as Bölsche truly adds, is not merely "naked body," it is the most sacred region of the body, the sexual organs of the plant.

"For girls to dance naked," said Hinton, "is the only truly pure form of dancing, and in due time it must therefore come about. This is certain: girls will dance naked and men will be pure enough to gaze on them." It has already been so in Greece, he elsewhere remarks, as it is to-day in Japan (as more recently described by Stratz). It is nearly forty years since these prophetic words were written, but Hinton himself would probably have been surprised at the progress which has

already been made slowly (for all true progress must be slow) towards this goal. Even on the stage new and more natural traditions are beginning to prevail in Europe. It is not many years since an English actress regarded as a calumny the statement that she appeared on the stage bare-foot, and brought an action for libel, winning substantial damages Such a result would scarcely be possible to-day. The movement in which Isadora Duncan was a pioneer has led to a partial disuse among dancers of the offensive device of tights, and it is no longer considered indecorous to show many parts of the body which it was formerly usual to cover.

It should, however, be added at the same time that, while dancers, in so far as they are genuine artists, are entitled to determine the conditions most favorable to their art, nothing whatever is gained for the cause of a wholesome culture of nakedness by the "living statues" and "living pictures" which have obtained an international vogue during recent years. These may be legitimate as variety performances, but they have nothing whatever to do with either Nature or art. Dr. Pudor, writing as one of the earliest apostles of the culture of nakedness, has energetically protested against these performances (*Sexual-Probleme*, Dec., 1908, p. 828). He rightly points out that nakedness, to be wholesome, requires the open air, the meadows, the sunlight, and that nakedness at night, in a music hall, by artificial light, in the presence of spectators who are themselves clothed, has no element of morality about it. Attempts have here and there been quietly made to cultivate a certain amount of mutual nakedness as between the sexes on remote country excursions. It is significant to find a record of such an experiment in Ungewitter's *Die Nacktheit*. In this case a party of people, men and women, would regularly every Sunday seek remote spots in woods or meadows where they would settle down, picnic, and enjoy games. "They made themselves as comfortable as possible, the men laying aside their coats, waistcoats, boots and socks; the women their blouses, skirts, shoes and stockings. Gradually, as the moral conception of nakedness developed in their minds, more and more clothing fell away, until the men wore nothing but bathing-drawers and the women only their chemises. In this 'costume' games were carried out in common, and a regular camp-life led. The ladies (some of whom were unmarried) would then lie in hammocks and we men on the grass, and the intercourse was delightful. We felt as members of one family, and behaved accordingly. In an entirely natural and unembarrassed way we gave ourselves up entirely to the liberating feelings aroused by this light- and air-bath, and passed these splendid hours in joyous singing and dancing, in wantonly childish fashion, freed from the burden of a false civilization. It was, of course, necessary to seek spots as remote as possible from high-roads, for fear of being disturbed. At the same time we by

no means failed in natural modesty and consideration towards one another. Children, who can be entirely naked, may be allowed to take part in such meetings of adults, and will thus be brought up free from morbid prudery" (R. Ungewitter, *Die Nacktheit*, p. 58).

No doubt it may be said that the ideal in this matter is the possibility of permitting complete nakedness. This may be admitted, and it is undoubtedly true that our rigid police regulations do much to artificially foster a concealment in this matter which is not based on any natural instinct. Dr. Shufeldt narrates in his *Studies of the Human Form* that once in the course of a photographic expedition in the woods he came upon two boys, naked except for bathing-drawers, engaged in getting water lilies from a pond. He found them a good subject for his camera, but they could not be induced to remove their drawers, by no means out of either modesty or mock-modesty, but simply because they feared they might possibly be caught and arrested. We have to recognize that at the present day the general popular sentiment is not yet sufficiently educated to allow of public disregard for the convention of covering the sexual centres, and all attempts to extend the bounds of nakedness must show a due regard for this requirement. As concerns women, Valentin Lehr, of Freiburg, in Breisgau, has invented a costume (figured in Ungewitter's *Die Nacktheit*) which is suitable for either public water-baths or air-baths, because it meets the demand of those whose minimum requirement is that the chief sexual centres of the body should be covered in public, while it is otherwise fairly unobjectionable. It consists of two pieces, made of porous material, one covering the breasts with a band over the shoulders, and the other covering the abdomen below the navel and drawn between the legs. This minimal costume, while neither ideal nor æsthetic, adequately covers the sexual regions of the body, while leaving the arms, waist, hips, and legs entirely free.

There finally remains the moral aspect of nakedness. Although this has been emphasized by many during the past half century it is still unfamiliar to the majority. The human body can never be a little thing. The wise educator may see to it that boys and girls are brought up in a natural and wholesome familiarity with each other, but a certain terror and beauty must always attach to the spectacle of the body, a mixed attraction and repulsion. Because it has this force it naturally calls out the virtue of those who take part in the spectacle, and makes impossible any soft compliance to emotion. Even if we admit that the spectacle of nakedness is a challenge to passion it is still

a challenge that calls out the ennobling qualities of self-control. It is but a poor sort of virtue that lies in fleeing into the desert from things that we fear may have in them a temptation. We have to learn that it is even worse to attempt to create a desert around us in the midst of civilization. We cannot dispense with passions if we would; reason, as Holbach said, is the art of choosing the right passions, and education the art of sowing and cultivating them in human hearts. The spectacle of nakedness has its moral value in teaching us to learn to enjoy what we do not possess, a lesson which is an essential part of the training for any kind of fine social life. The child has to learn to look at flowers and not pluck them; the man has to learn to look at a woman's beauty and not desire to possess it. The joyous conquest over that "erotic kleptomania," as Ellen Key has well said, reveals the blossoming of a fine civilization. We fancy the conquest is difficult, even impossibly difficult. But it is not so. This impulse, like other human impulses, tends under natural conditions to develop temperately and wholesomely. We artificially press a stupid and brutal hand on it, and it is driven into the two unnatural extremes of repression and license, one extreme as foul as the other.

To those who have been bred under bad conditions, it may indeed seem hopeless to attempt to rise to the level of the Greeks and the other finer tempered peoples of antiquity in realizing the moral, as well as the pedagogic, hygienic, and æsthetic advantages[1] of admitting into life the spectacle of the naked human

[1] I have not considered it in place here to emphasize the æsthetic influence of familiarity with nakedness. The most æsthetic nations (notably the Greeks and the Japanese) have been those that preserved a certain degree of familiarity with the naked body. "In all arts," Maeterlinck remarks, "civilized peoples have approached or departed from pure beauty according as they approached or departed from the habit of nakedness." Ungewitter insists on the advantage to the artist of being able to study the naked body in movement, and it may be worth mentioning that Fidus (Hugo Höppener), the German artist of to day who has exerted great influence by his fresh, powerful and yet reverent delineation of the naked human form in all its varying aspects, attributes his inspiration and vision to the fact that, as a pupil of Diefenbach, he was accustomed with his companions to work naked in the solitudes outside Munich which they frequented (F. Enzensberger, "Fidus," *Deutsche Kultur*, Aug., 1906).

body. But unless we do we hopelessly fetter ourselves in our march along the road of civilization, we deprive ourselves at once of a source of moral strength and of joyous inspiration. Just as Wesley once asked why the devil should have all the best tunes, so to-day men are beginning to ask why the human body, the most divine melody at its finest moments that creation has yielded, should be allowed to become the perquisite of those who lust for the obscene. And some are, further, convinced that by enlisting it on the side of purity and strength they are raising the most powerful of all bulwarks against the invasion of a vicious conception of life and the consequent degradation of sex. These are considerations which we cannot longer afford to neglect, however great the opposition they arouse among the unthinking.

"Folk are afraid of such things rousing the passions," Edward Carpenter remarks. "No doubt the things may act that way. But why, we may ask, should people be afraid of rousing passions which, after all, are the great driving forces of human life?" It is true, the same writer continues, our conventional moral formulæ are no longer strong enough to control passion adequately, and that we are generating steam in a boiler that is cankered with rust. "The cure is not to cut off the passions, or to be weakly afraid of them, but to find a new, sound, healthy engine of general morality and common sense within which they will work" (Edward Carpenter, *Albany Review*, Sept., 1907).

So far as I am aware, however, it was James Hinton who chiefly sought to make clear the possibility of a positive morality on the basis of nakedness, beauty, and sexual influence, regarded as dynamic forces which, when suppressed, make for corruption and when wisely used serve to inspire and ennoble life. He worked out his thoughts on this matter in MSS, written from about 1870 to his death two years later, which, never having been prepared for publication, remain in a fragmentary state and have not been published. I quote a few brief characteristic passages. "Is not," he wrote, "the Hindu refusal to see a woman eating strangely like ours to see one naked? The real sensuality of the thought is visibly identical. . . . . Suppose, because they are delicious to eat, pineapples were forbidden to be seen, except in pictures, and about that there was something dubious. Suppose no one might have sight of a pineapple unless he were rich enough to purchase one for his particular eating, the sight and the eating being so indissolubly joined. What lustfulness would surround them, what constant pruriency, what stealing! . . . . Miss ——— told us of her Syrian adventures, and how she went into a wood-carver's shop and he

would not look at her; and how she took up a tool and worked, till at last he looked, and they both burst out laughing. Will it not be even so with our looking at women altogether? There will come a *work*—and at last we shall look up and both burst out laughing. . . . . When men see truly what is amiss, and act with reason and forethought in respect to the sexual relations, will they not insist on the enjoyment of women's beauty by youths, and from the earliest age, that the first feeling may be of beauty? Will they not say, 'We must not allow the false purity, we must have the true.' The false has been tried, and it is not good enough; the power purely to enjoy beauty must be gained; attempting to do with less is fatal. Every instructor of youth shall say: 'This beauty of woman, God's chief work of beauty, it is good you see it; it is a pleasure that serves good; all beauty serves it, and above all this, for its office is to make you pure. Come to it as you come to daily bread, or pure air, or the cleansing bath: this is pure to you if you be pure, it will aid you in your effort to be so. But if any of you are impure, and make of it the feeder of impurity, then you should be ashamed and pray; it is not for you our life can be ordered; it is for men and not for beasts.' This must come when men open their eyes, and act coolly and with reason and forethought, and not in mere panic in respect to the sexual passion in its moral relations."

CHAPTER IV.

THE VALUATION OF SEXUAL LOVE.

The Conception of Sexual Love—The Attitude of Mediæval Asceticism—St. Bernard and St. Odo of Cluny—The Ascetic Insistence on the Proximity of the Sexual and Excretory Centres—Love as a Sacrament of Nature—The Idea of the Impurity of Sex in Primitive Religions Generally—Theories of the Origin of This Idea—The Anti-Ascetic Element in the Bible and Early Christianity—Clement of Alexandria—St. Augustine's Attitude—The Recognition of the Sacredness of the Body by Tertullian, Rufinus and Athanasius—The Reformation—The Sexual Instinct regarded as Beastly—The Human Sexual Instinct Not Animal-like—Lust and Love—The Definition of Love—Love and Names for Love Unknown in Some Parts of the World—Romantic Love of Late Development in the White Race—The Mystery of Sexual Desire—Whether Love is a Delusion—The Spiritual as Well as the Physical Structure of the World in Part Built up on Sexual Love—The Testimony of Men of Intellect to the Supremacy of Love.

It will be seen that the preceding discussion of nakedness has a significance beyond what it appeared to possess at the outset. The hygienic value, physically and mentally, of familiarity with nakedness during the early years of life, however considerable it may be, is not the only value which such familiarity possesses. Beyond its æsthetic value, also, there lies in it a moral value, a source of dynamic energy. And now, taking a still further step, we may say that it has a spiritual value in relation to our whole conception of the sexual impulse. Our attitude towards the naked human body is the test of our attitude towards the instinct of sex. If our own and our fellows' bodies seem to us intrinsically shameful or disgusting, nothing will ever really ennoble or purify our conceptions of sexual love. Love craves the flesh, and if the flesh is shameful the lover must be shameful. "Se la cosa amata è vile," as Leonardo da Vinci profoundly said, "l'amante se fa vile." However illogical it may have been, there really was a justification for the old Christian identification of the flesh with the sexual instinct. They stand or fall

together; we cannot degrade the one and exalt the other. As our feelings towards nakedness are, so will be our feelings towards love.

"Man is nothing else than fetid sperm, a sack of dung, the food of worms. . . . You have never seen a viler dung-hill." Such was the outcome of St. Bernard's cloistered *Meditationes Piissimæ*.[1] Sometimes, indeed, these mediæval monks would admit that the skin possessed a certain superficial beauty, but they only made that admission in order to emphasize the hideousness of the body when deprived of this film of loveliness, and strained all their perverse intellectual acumen, and their ferocious irony, as they eagerly pointed the finger of mockery at every detail of what seemed to them the pitiful figure of man. St. Odo of Cluny—charming saint as he was and a pioneer in his appreciation of the wild beauty of the Alps he had often traversed—was yet an adept in this art of reviling the beauty of the human body. That beauty only lies in the skin, he insists; if we could see beneath the skin women would arouse nothing but nausea. Their adornments are but blood and mucus and bile. If we refuse to touch dung and phlegm even with a fingertip, how can we desire to embrace a sack of dung?[2] The mediæval monks of the more contemplative order, indeed, often found here a delectable field of meditation, and the Christian world generally was content to accept their opinions in more or less diluted versions, or at all events never made any definite protest against them.

[1] *Meditationes Piissimæ de Cognitione Humanæ Conditionis*, Migne's *Patrologia*, vol. clxxiv. p. 489, cap. III, "De Dignitate Animæ et Vilitate Corporis." It may be worth while to quote more at length the vigorous language of the original. "Si diligenter consideres quid per os et nares cæterosque corporis meatus egreditur, vilius sterquilinum numquam vidisti. . . . . Attende, homo, quid fuisti ante ortum, et quid es ab ortu usque ad occasum, atque quid eris post hanc vitam. Profecto fuit quand non eras: postea de vili materia factus, et vilissimo panno involutus, menstruali sanguine in utero materno fuisti nutritus. et tunica tua fuit pellis secundina. Nihil aliud est homo quam sperma fetidum, saccus stercorum, cibus vermium. . . . . Quid superbis, pulvis et cinis, cujus conceptus culpa, nasci miseria, vivere pœna, mori angustia?"

[2] See (in Migne's edition) *S. Odonis abbatis Cluniacensis Collationes*, lib. ii, cap. IX.

Even men of science accepted these conceptions and are, indeed, only now beginning to emancipate themselves from such ancient superstitions. R. de Graef in the Preface to his famous treatise on the generative organs of women, *De Mulierum Organis Generatione Inservientibus*, dedicated to Cosmo III de Medici in 1672, considered it necessary to apologize for the subject of his work. Even a century later, Linnæus in his great work, *The System of Nature*, dismissed as "abominable" the exact study of the female genitals, although he admitted the scientific interest of such investigations. And if men of science have found it difficult to attain an objective vision of women we cannot be surprised that mediæval and still more ancient conceptions have often been subtly mingled with the views of philosophical and semi-philosophical writers.[1]

We may regard as a special variety of the ascetic view of sex,—for the ascetics, as we see, freely but not quite legitimately, based their asceticism largely on æsthetic considerations,—that insistence on the proximity of the sexual to the excretory centres which found expression in the early Church in Augustine's depreciatory assertion: "Inter fæces et urinam nascimur," and still persists among many who by no means always associate it with religious asceticism.[2] "As a result of what ridiculous economy, and of what Mephistophilian irony," asks Tarde,[3] "has Nature imagined that a function so lofty, so worthy of the poetic and philosophical hymns which have celebrated it, only deserved to have its exclusive organ shared with that of the vilest corporal functions?"

It may, however, be pointed out that this view of the matter, however unconsciously, is itself the outcome of the ascetic depreciation of the body. From a scientific point of view, the

1 Dühren (*Neue Forshungen über die Marquis de Sade*, pp. 432 *et seq.*) shows how the ascetic view of woman's body persisted, for instance, in Schopenhauer and De Sade.

2 In "The Evolution of Modesty," in the first volume of these *Studies*, and again in the fifth volume in discussing urolagnia in the study of "Erotic Symbolism," the mutual reactions of the sexual and excretory centres were fully dealt with.

3 "La Morale Sexuelle," *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, Jan., 1907.

metabolic processes of the body from one end to the other, whether regarded chemically or psychologically, are all interwoven and all of equal dignity. We cannot separate out any particular chemical or biological process and declare: This is vile. Even what we call excrement still stores up the stuff of our lives. Eating has to some persons seemed a disgusting process. But yet it has been possible to say, with Thoreau, that "the gods have really intended that men should feed divinely, as themselves, on their own nectar and ambrosia. . . . I have felt that eating became a sacrament, a method of communion, an ecstatic exercise, and a sitting at the communion table of the world."

The sacraments of Nature are in this way everywhere woven into the texture of men's and women's bodies. Lips good to kiss with are indeed first of all chiefly good to eat and drink with. So accumulated and overlapped have the centres of force become in the long course of development, that the mucous membranes of the natural orifices, through the sensitiveness gained in their own offices, all become agents to thrill the soul in the contact of love; it is idle to discriminate high or low, pure or impure; all alike are sanctified already by the extreme unction of Nature. The nose receives the breath of life; the vagina receives the water of life. Ultimately the worth and loveliness of life must be measured by the worth and loveliness for us of the instruments of life. The swelling breasts are such divinely gracious insignia of womanhood because of the potential child that hangs at them and sucks; the large curves of the hips are so voluptuous because of the potential child they clasp within them; there can be no division here, we cannot cut the roots from the tree. The supreme function of manhood—the handing on of the lamp of life to future races—is carried on, it is true, by the same instrument that is the daily conduit of the bladder. It has been said in scorn that we are born between urine and excrement; it may be said, in reverence, that the passage through this channel of birth is a sacrament of Nature's more sacred and significant than men could ever invent.

These relationships have been sometimes perceived and their meaning realized by a sort of mystical intuition. We catch

glimpses of such an insight now and again, first among the poets and later among the physicians of the Renaissance. In 1664 Rolfincius, in his *Ordo et Methodus Generationi Partium etc.*, at the outset of the second Part devoted to the sexual organs of women, sets forth what ancient writers have said of the Eleusinian and other mysteries and the devotion and purity demanded of those who approached these sacred rites. It is so also with us, he continues, in the rites of scientific investigation. "We also operate with sacred things. The organs of sex are to be held among sacred things. They who approach these altars must come with devout minds. Let the profane stand without, and the doors be closed." In those days, even for science, faith and intuition were alone possible. It is only of recent years that the histologist's microscope and the physiological chemist's test-tube have furnished them with a rational basis. It is no longer possible to cut Nature in two and assert that here she is pure and there impure.[1]

There thus appears to be no adequate ground for agreeing with those who consider that the proximity of the generative and excretory centres is "a stupid bungle of Nature's." An association which is so ancient and primitive in Nature can only seem repulsive to those whose feelings have become morbidly unnatural. It may further be remarked that the anus, which is the more æsthetically unattractive of the excretory centres, is comparatively remote from the sexual centre, and that, as R. Hellmann remarked many years ago in discussing this question (*Ueber Geschlechtsfreiheit*, p. 82): "In the first place, freshly voided urine has nothing specially unpleasant about it, and in the second place, even if it had, we might reflect that a rosy mouth by no means loses its charm merely because it fails to invite a kiss at the moment when its possessor is vomiting."

A clergyman writes suggesting that we may go further and find a positive advantage in this proximity: "I am glad that you do not agree with the man who considered that Nature had bungled by using the genitals for urinary purposes; apart from teleological or theological grounds I could not follow that line of reasoning. I think there is no need for disgust concerning the urinary organs, though I feel that the

[1] The above passage, now slightly modified, originally formed an unpublished part of an essay on Walt Whitman in *The New Spirit*, first issued in 1889.

anus can never be attractive to the normal mind; but the anus is quite separate from the genitals. I would suggest that the proximity serves a good end in making the organs more or less secret except at times of sexual emotion or to those in love. The result is some degree of repulsion at ordinary times and a strong attraction at times of sexual activity. Hence, the ordinary guarding of the parts, from fear of creating disgust, greatly increases their attractiveness at other times when sexual emotion is paramount. Further, the feeling of disgust itself is merely the result of habit and sentiment, however useful it may be, and according to Scripture everything is clean and good. The ascetic feeling of repulsion, if we go back to origin, is due to other than Christian influence. Christianity came out of Judaism which had no sense of the impurity of marriage, for 'unclean' in the Old Testament simply means 'sacred.' The ascetic side of the religion of Christianity is no part of the religion of Christ as it came from the hands of its Founder, and the modern feeling on this matter is a lingering remnant of the heresy of the Manichæans." I may add, however, that, as Northcote points out (*Christianity and Sex Problems*, p. 14), side by side in the Old Testament with the frank recognition of sexuality, there is a circle of ideas revealing the feeling of impurity in sex and of shame in connection with it. Christianity inherited this mixed feeling. It has really been a widespread and almost universal feeling among the ancient and primitive peoples that there is something impure and sinful in the things of sex, so that those who would lead a religious life must avoid sexual relationships; even in India celibacy has commanded respect (see, *e.g.*, Westermarck, *Marriage*, pp. 150 *et seq.*). As to the original foundation of this notion—which it is unnecessary to discuss more fully here—many theories have been put forward; St. Augustine, in his *De Civitate Dei*, sets forth the ingenious idea that the penis, being liable to spontaneous movements and erections that are not under the control of the will, is a shameful organ and involves the whole sphere of sex in its shame. Westermarck argues that among nearly all peoples there is a feeling against sexual relationship with members of the same family or household, and as sex was thus banished from the sphere of domestic life a notion of its general impurity arose; Northcote points out that from the first it has been necessary to seek concealment for sexual intercourse, because at that moment the couple would be a prey to hostile attacks, and that it was by an easy transition that sex came to be regarded as a thing that ought to be concealed, and, therefore, a sinful thing. (Diderot, in his *Supplément au Voyage de Bougainville*, had already referred to this motive for seclusion as "the only natural element in modesty") Crawley has devoted a large part of his suggestive work, *The Mystic Rose*, to showing that, to savage man, sex is a perilous dangerous, and enfeebling element in life, and, therefore, sinful.

It would, however, be a mistake to think that such men as St. Bernard and St. Odo of Cluny, admirably as they represented the ascetic and even the general Christian views of their own time, are to be regarded as altogether typical exponents of the genuine and primitive Christian view. So far as I have been able to discover, during the first thousand years of Christianity we do not find this concentrated intellectual and emotional ferocity of attack on the body; it only developed at the moment when, with Pope Gregory VII, mediæval Christianity reached the climax of its conquest over the souls of European men, in the establishment of the celibacy of the secular clergy, and the growth of the great cloistered communities of monks in severely regulated and secluded orders.[1] Before that the teachers of asceticism were more concerned to exhort to chastity and modesty than to direct a deliberate and systematic attack on the whole body; they concentrated their attention rather on spiritual virtues than on physical imperfections. And if we go back to the Gospels we find little of the mediæval ascetic spirit in the reported sayings and doings of Jesus, which may rather indeed be said to reveal, on the whole, notwithstanding their underlying asceticism, a certain tenderness and indulgence to the body, while even Paul, though not tender towards the body, exhorts to reverence towards it as a temple of the Holy Spirit.

We cannot expect to find the Fathers of the Church sympathetic towards the spectacle of the naked human body, for their position was based on a revolt against paganism, and paganism had cultivated the body. Nakedness had been more especially associated with the public bath, the gymnasium, and the theatre; in profoundly disapproving of these pagan institutions Christi-

[1] Even in the ninth century, however, when the monastic movement was rapidly developing, there were some who withstood the tendencies of the new ascetics. Thus, in 850, Ratramnus, the monk of Corbie, wrote a treatise (*Liber de eo quod Christus ex Virgine natus est*) to prove that Mary really gave birth to Jesus through her sexual organs, and not, as some high-strung persons were beginning to think could alone be possible, through the more conventionally decent breasts. The sexual organs were sanctified. "Spiritus sanctus . . . . . et thalamum tanto dignum sponso sanctificavit et portam" (Achery, *Spicilegium*, vol. i, p. 55).

anity discouraged nakedness. The fact that familiarity with nakedness was favorable, rather than opposed, to the chastity to which it attached so much importance, the Church—though indeed at one moment it accepted nakedness in the rite of baptism—was for the most part unable to see if it was indeed a fact which the special conditions of decadent classic life had tended to disguise. But in their decided preference for the dressed over the naked human body the early Christians frequently hesitated to take the further step of asserting that the body is a focus of impurity and that the physical organs of sex are a device of the devil. On the contrary, indeed, some of the most distinguished of the Fathers, especially those of the Eastern Church who had felt the vivifying breath of Greek thought, occasionally expressed themselves on the subject of Nature, sex, and the body in a spirit which would have won the approval of Goethe or Whitman.

Clement of Alexandria, with all the eccentricities of his oversubtle intellect, was yet the most genuinely Greek of all the Fathers, and it is not surprising that the dying ray of classic light reflected from his mind shed some illumination over this question of sex. He protested, for instance, against that prudery which, as the sun of the classic world set, had begun to overshadow life. "We should not be ashamed to name," he declared, "what God has not been ashamed to create."[1] It was a memorable declaration because, while it accepted the old classic feeling of no shame in the presence of nature, it put that feeling on a new and religious basis harmonious to Christianity. Throughout, though not always quite consistently, Clement defends the body and the functions of sex against those who treated them with contempt. And as the cause of sex is the cause of women he always strongly asserts the dignity of women, and also proclaims the holiness of marriage, a state which he sometimes places above that of virginity.[2]

Unfortunately, it must be said, St. Augustine—another

[1] *Pædagogus*, lib. ii, cap. X. Elsewhere (*id.*, lib. ii, Ch. VI) he makes a more detailed statement to the same effect.

[2] See, *e.g.*, Wilhelm Capitaine, *Die Moral des Clemens von Alexandrien*, pp. 112 *et seq.*

North African, but of Roman Carthage and not of Greek Alexandria—thought that he had a convincing answer to the kind of argument which Clement presented, and so great was the force of his passionate and potent genius that he was able in the end to make his answer prevail. For Augustine sin was hereditary, and sin had its special seat and symbol in the sexual organs; the fact of sin has modified the original divine act of creation, and we cannot treat sex and its organs as though there had been no inherited sin. Our sexual organs, he declares, have become shameful because, through sin, they are now moved by lust. At the same time Augustine by no means takes up the mediæval ascetic position of contemptuous hatred towards the body. Nothing can be further from Odo of Cluny than Augustine's enthusiasm about the body, even about the exquisite harmony of the parts beneath the skin. "I believe it may be concluded," he even says, "that in the creation of the human body beauty was more regarded than necessity. In truth, necessity is a transitory thing, and the time is coming when we shall be able to enjoy one another's beauty without any lust."[1] Even in the sphere of sex he would be willing to admit purity and beauty, apart from the inherited influence of Adam's sin. In Paradise, he says, had Paradise continued, the act of generation would have been as simple and free from shame as the act of the hand in scattering seed on to the earth. "Sexual conjugation would have been under the control of the will without any sexual desire. The semen would be injected into the vagina in as simple a manner as the menstrual fluid is now ejected. There would not have been any words which could be called obscene, but all that might be said of these members would have been as pure as what is said of the other parts of the body."[2] That, however, for Augustine, is what

[1] *De Civitate Dei*, lib. xxii, cap. XXIV. "There is no need," he says again (*id.*, lib. xiv, cap. V) "that in our sins and vices we accuse the nature of the flesh to the injury of the Creator, for in its own kind and degree the flesh is good."

[2] St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, lib. xiv, cap. XXIII-XXVI. Chrysostom and Gregory, of Nyssa, thought that in Paradise human beings would have multiplied by special creation, but such is not the accepted Catholic doctrine.

might have been in Paradise where, as he believed, sexual desire had no existence. As things are, he held, we are right to be ashamed, we do well to blush. And it was natural that, as Clement of Alexandria mentions, many heretics should have gone further on this road and believed that while God made man down to the navel, the rest was made by another power; such heretics have their descendants among us even to-day.

Alike in the Eastern and Western Churches, however, both before and after Augustine, though not so often after, great Fathers and teachers have uttered opinions which recall those of Clement rather than of Augustine. We cannot lay very much weight on the utterance of the extravagant and often contradictory Tertullian, but it is worth noting that, while he declared that woman is the gate of hell, he also said that we must approach Nature with reverence and not with blushes. "Natura veneranda est, non erubescenda." "No Christian author," it has indeed been said, "has so energetically spoken against the heretical contempt of the body as Tertullian. Soul and body, according to Tertullian, are in the closest association. The soul is the life-principle of the body, but there is no activity of the soul which is not manifested and conditioned by the flesh."[1] More weight attaches to Rufinus Tyrannius, the friend and fellow-student of St. Jerome, in the fourth century, who wrote a commentary on the Apostles' Creed, which was greatly esteemed by the early and mediæval Church, and is indeed still valued even to-day. Here, in answer to those who declared that there was obscenity in the fact of Christ's birth through the sexual organs of a woman, Rufinus replies that God created the sexual organs, and that "it is not Nature but merely human opinion which teaches that these parts are obscene. For the rest, all the parts of the body are made from the same clay, whatever differences there may be in their uses and functions."[2] He looks at the matter, we see, piously

[1] W. Capitaine, *Die Moral des Clemens von Alexandrien*, pp. 112 *et seq.* Without the body, Tertullian declared, there could be no virginity and no salvation. The soul itself is corporeal. He carries, indeed, his idea of the omnipresence of the body to the absurd.

[2] Rufinus, *Commentarius in Symbolum Apostolorum*, cap. XII.

indeed, but naturally and simply, like Clement, and not, like Augustine, through the distorting medium of a theological system. Athanasius, in the Eastern Church, spoke in the same sense as Rufinus in the Western Church. A certain monk named Amun had been much grieved by the occurrence of seminal emissions during sleep, and he wrote to Athanasius to inquire if such emissions are a sin. In the letter he wrote in reply, Athanasius seeks to reassure Amun. "All things," he tells him, "are pure to the pure. For what, I ask, dear and pious friend, can there be sinful or naturally impure in excrement? Man is the handwork of God. There is certainly nothing in us that is impure."[1] We feel as we read these utterances that the seeds of prudery and pruriency are already alive in the popular mind, but yet we see also that some of the most distinguished thinkers of the early Christian Church, in striking contrast to the more morbid and narrow-minded mediæval ascetics, clearly stood aside from the popular movement. On the whole, they were submerged because Christianity, like Buddhism, had in it from the first a germ that lent itself to ascetic renunciation, and the sexual life is always the first impulse to be sacrificed to the passion for renunciation. But there were other germs also in Christianity, and Luther, who in his own plebeian way asserted the rights of the body, although he broke with mediæval asceticism, by no means thereby cast himself off from the traditions of the early Christian Church.

I have thought it worth while to bring forward this evidence, although I am perfectly well aware that the facts of Nature gain no additional support from the authority of the Fathers or even of the Bible. Nature and humanity existed before the Bible and would continue to exist although the Bible should be forgotten. But the attitude of Christianity on this point has so often been unreservedly condemned that it seems as well to point out that at its finest moments, when it was a young and growing power in the world, the utterances of Christianity were often at one with those of Nature and reason. There are many, it may be added, who find it a matter of consolation that in following the natural

[1] Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, vol. xxvi, pp. 1170 *et seq.*

and rational path in this matter they are not thereby altogether breaking with the religious traditions of their race.

It is scarcely necessary to remark that when we turn from Christianity to the other great world-religions, we do not usually meet with so ambiguous an attitude towards sex. The Mahommedans were as emphatic in asserting the sanctity of sex as they were in asserting physical cleanliness; they were prepared to carry the functions of sex into the future life, and were never worried, as Luther and so many other Christians have been, concerning the lack of occupation in Heaven. In India, although India is the home of the most extreme forms of religious asceticism, sexual love has been sanctified and divinized to a greater extent than in any other part of the world. "It seems never to have entered into the heads of the Hindu legislators," said Sir William Jones long since (*Works*, vol. ii, p. 311), "that anything natural could be offensively obscene, a singularity which pervades all their writings, but is no proof of the depravity of their morals." The sexual act has often had a religious significance in India, and the minutest details of the sexual life and its variations are discussed in Indian erotic treatises in a spirit of gravity, while nowhere else have the anatomical and physiological sexual characters of women been studied with such minute and adoring reverence. "Love in India, both as regards theory and practice," remarks Richard Schmidt (*Beiträge zur Indischen Erotik*, p. 2) "possesses an importance which it is impossible for us even to conceive."

In Protestant countries the influence of the Reformation, by rehabilitating sex as natural, indirectly tended to substitute in popular feeling towards sex the opprobrium of sinfulness by the opprobrium of animality. Henceforth the sexual impulse must be disguised or adorned to become respectably human. This may be illustrated by a passage in Pepys's *Diary* in the seventeenth century. On the morning after the wedding day it was customary to call up new married couples by music; the absence of this music on one occasion (in 1667) seemed to Pepys "as if they had married like dog and bitch." We no longer insist on the music, but the same feeling still exists in the craving for other disguises and adornments for the sexual impulse. We do not always realize that love brings its own sanctity with it.

Nowadays indeed, whenever the repugnance to the sexual side of life manifests itself, the assertion nearly always made is

not so much that it is "sinful" as that it is "beastly." It is regarded as that part of man which most closely allies him to the lower animals. It should scarcely be necessary to point out that this is a mistake. On whichever side, indeed, we approach it, the implication that sex in man and animals is identical cannot be borne out. From the point of view of those who accept this identity it would be much more correct to say that men are inferior, rather than on a level with animals, for in animals under natural conditions the sexual instinct is strictly subordinated to reproduction and very little susceptible to deviation, so that from the standpoint of those who wish to minimize sex, animals are nearer to the ideal, and such persons must say with Woods Hutchinson: "Take it altogether, our animal ancestors have quite as good reason to be ashamed of us as we of them." But if we look at the matter from a wider biological standpoint of development, our conclusion must be very different.

So far from being animal-like, the human impulses of sex are among the least animal-like acquisitions of man. The human sphere of sex differs from the animal sphere of sex to a singularly great extent.[1] Breathing is an animal function and here we cannot compete with birds; locomotion is an animal function and here we cannot equal quadrupeds; we have made no notable advance in our circulatory, digestive, renal, or hepatic functions. Even as regards vision and hearing, there are many animals that are more keen-sighted than man, and many that are capable of hearing sounds that to him are inaudible. But there are no animals in whom the sexual instinct is so sensitive, so highly developed, so varied in its manifestations, so constantly alert, so capable of irradiating the highest and remotest parts of the organism. The sexual activities of man and woman belong not to that lower part of our nature which degrades us to the level of the "brute," but to the higher part which raises us towards all the finest activities and ideals we are capable of. It is true that it is chiefly in the mouths of a few ignorant and ill-bred women

[1] Even in physical conformation the human sexual organs, when compared with those of the lower animals, show marked differences (see "The Mechanism of Detumescence," in the fifth volume of these *Studies*).

that we find sex referred to as "bestial" or "the animal part of our nature."[1] But since women are the mothers and teachers of the human race this is a piece of ignorance and ill-breeding which cannot be too swiftly eradicated.

There are some who seem to think that they have held the balance evenly, and finally stated the matter, if they admit that sexual love may be either beautiful or disgusting, and that either view is equally normal and legitimate. "Listen in turn," Tarde remarks, "to two men who, one cold, the other ardent, one chaste, the other in love, both equally educated and large-minded, are estimating the same thing: one judges as disgusting, odious, revolting, and bestial what the other judges to be delicious, exquisite, ineffable, divine. What, for one, is in Christian phraseology, an unforgivable sin, is, for the other, the state of true grace. Acts that for one seem a sad and occasional necessity, stains that must be carefully effaced by long intervals of continence, are for the other the golden nails from which all the rest of conduct and existence is suspended, the things that alone give human life its value."[2] Yet we may well doubt whether both these persons are "equally well-educated and broad-minded." The savage feels that sex is perilous, and he is right. But the person who feels that the sexual impulse is bad, or even low and vulgar, is an absurdity in the universe, an anomaly. He is like those persons in our insane asylums, who feel that the instinct of nutrition is evil and so proceed to starve themselves. They are alike spiritual outcasts in the universe whose children they are. It is another matter when a man declares that, personally, in his own case, he cherishes an ascetic ideal which leads him to restrain, so far as possible, either or both impulses. The man who is sanely ascetic seeks a discipline which aids the ideal he has personally set before himself. He may still remain theoretically in harmony with the universe to which he belongs. But to

[1] It may perhaps be as well to point out, with Forel (*Die Sexuelle Frage*, p. 208), that the word "bestial" is generally used quite incorrectly in this connection. Indeed, not only for the higher, but also for the lower manifestation of the sexual impulse, it would usually be more correct to use instead the qualification "human."

[2] *Loc. cit., Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, Jan., 1907.

pour contempt on the sexual life, to throw the veil of "impurity" over it, is, as Nietzsche declared, the unpardonable sin against the Holy Ghost of Life.

There are many who seek to conciliate prejudice and reason in their valuation of sex by drawing a sharp distinction between "lust" and "love," rejecting the one and accepting the other. It is quite proper to make such a distinction, but the manner in which it is made will by no means usually bear examination. We have to define what we mean by "lust" and what we mean by "love," and this is not easy if they are regarded as mutually exclusive. It is sometimes said that "lust" must be understood as meaning a reckless indulgence of the sexual impulse without regard to other considerations. So understood, we are quite safe in rejecting it. But that is an entirely arbitrary definition of the word. "Lust" is really a very ambiguous term; it is a good word that has changed its moral values, and therefore we need to define it very carefully before we venture to use it. Properly speaking, "lust" is an entirely colorless word[1] and merely means desire in general and sexual desire in particular; it corresponds to "hunger" or "thirst"; to use it in an offensive sense is much the same as though we should always assume that the word "hungry" had the offensive meaning of "greedy." The result has been that sensitive minds indignantly reject the term "lust" in connection with love.[2] In the early use of our language, "lust," "lusty," and "lustful" conveyed the sense of wholesome and normal sexual vigor; now, with the partial exception of "lusty," they have been so completely degraded to a lower sense that although it would be very convenient to restore them to their

[1] It has, however become colored and suspect from an early period in the history of Christianity. St. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei*, lib. xiv, cap. XV), while admitting that libido or lust is merely the generic name for all desire, adds that, as specially applied to the sexual appetite, it is justly and properly mixed up with ideas of shame.

[2] Hinton well illustrates this feeling. "We call by the name of lust," he declares in his MSS., "the most simple and natural desires. We might as well term hunger and thirst 'lust' as so call sex-passion, when expressing simply Nature's prompting. We miscall it 'lust,' cruelly libelling those to whom we ascribe it, and introduce absolute disorder. For, by foolishly confounding Nature's demands with lust, we insist upon restraint upon her."

original and proper place, which still remains vacant, the attempt at such a restoration scarcely seems a hopeful task. We have so deeply poisoned the springs of feeling in these matters with mediæval ascetic crudities that all our words of sex tend soon to become bespattered with filth; we may pick them up from the mud into which they have fallen and seek to purify them, but to many eyes they will still seem dirty. One result of this tendency is that we have no simple, precise, natural word for the love of the sexes, and are compelled to fall back on the general term, which is so extensive in its range that in English and French and most of the other leading languages of Europe, it is equally correct to "love" God or to "love" eating.

Love, in the sexual sense, is, summarily considered, a synthesis of lust (in the primitive and uncolored sense of sexual emotion) and friendship. It is incorrect to apply the term "love" in the sexual sense to elementary and uncomplicated sexual desire; it is equally incorrect to apply it to any variety or combination of varieties of friendship. There can be no sexual love without lust; but, on the other hand, until the currents of lust in the organism have been so irradiated as to affect other parts of the psychic organism—at the least the affections and the social feelings—it is not yet sexual love. Lust, the specific sexual impulse, is indeed the primary and essential element in this synthesis, for it alone is adequate to the end of reproduction, not only in animals but in men. But it is not until lust is expanded and irradiated that it develops into the exquisite and enthralling flower of love. We may call to mind what happens among plants: on the one hand we have the lower organisms in which sex is carried on summarily and cryptogamically, never shedding any shower of gorgeous blossoms on the world, and on the other hand the higher plants among whom sex has become phanerogamous and expanded enormously into form and color and fragrance.

While "lust" is, of course, known all over the world, and there are everywhere words to designate it, "love" is not universally known, and in many languages there are no words for "love." The failures to find love are often remarkable and unexpected. We may find it where we

least expect it. Sexual desire became idealized (as Sergi has pointed out) even by some animals, especially birds, for when a bird pines to death for the loss of its mate this cannot be due to the uncomplicated instinct of sex, but must involve the interweaving of that instinct with the other elements of life to a degree which is rare even among the most civilized men. Some savage races seem to have no fundamental notion of love, and (like the American Nahuas) no primary word for it, while, on the other hand, in Quichua, the language of the ancient Peruvians, there are nearly six hundred combinations of the verb *munay*, to love. Among some peoples love seems to be confined to the women. Letourneau (*L'Evolution Littéraire*, p. 529) points out that in various parts of the world women have taken a leading part in creating erotic poetry. It may be mentioned in this connection that suicide from erotic motives among primitive peoples occurs chiefly among women (*Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft*, 1899, p. 578). Not a few savages possess love-poems, as, for instance, the Suahali (Velten, in his *Prosa und Poesie der Suahali*, devotes a section to love-poems reproduced in the Suahali language). D. G. Brinton, in an interesting paper on "The Conception of Love in Some American Languages" (*Proceedings American Philosophical Society*, vol. xxiii, p. 546, 1886) states that the words for love in these languages reveal four main ways of expressing the conception: (1) inarticulate cries of emotion; (2) assertions of sameness or similarity; (3) assertions of conjunction or union; (4) assertions of a wish, desire, a longing. Brinton adds that "these same notions are those which underlie the majority of the words of love in the great Aryan family of languages." The remarkable fact emerges, however, that the peoples of Aryan tongue were slow in developing their conception of sexual love. Brinton remarks that the American Mayas must be placed above the peoples of early Aryan culture, in that they possessed a radical word for the joy of love which was in significance purely psychical, referring strictly to a mental state, and neither to similarity nor desire. Even the Greeks were late in developing any ideal of sexual love. This has been well brought out by E. F. M. Benecke in his *Antimachus of Colophon and the Position of Women in Greek Poetry*, a book which contains some hazardous assertions, but is highly instructive from the present point of view. The Greek lyric poets wrote practically no love poems at all to women before Anacreon, and his were only written in old age. True love for the Greeks was nearly always homosexual. The Ionian lyric poets of early Greece regarded woman as only an instrument of pleasure and the founder of the family. Theognis compares marriage to cattle-breeding; Alcman, when he wishes to be complimentary to the Spartan girls, speaks of them as his "female boy-friends." Æschylus makes even a father assume that his daughters will misbehave if left to themselves. There is no sexual love in Sopho-

cles, and in Euripides it is only the women who fall in love. Benecke concludes (p. 67) that in Greece sexual love, down to a comparatively later period, was looked down on, and held to be unworthy of public discussion and representation. It was in Magna Græcia rather than in Greece itself that men took interest in women, and it was not until the Alexandrian period, and notably in Asclepiades, Benecke maintains, that the love of women was regarded as a matter of life and death. Thereafter the conception of sexual love, in its romantic aspects, appears in European life. With the Celtic story of Tristram, as Gaston Paris remarks, it finally appears in the Christian European world of poetry as the chief point in human life, the great motive force of conduct.

Romantic love failed, however, to penetrate the masses in Europe. In the sixteenth century, or whenever it was that the ballad of "Glasgerion" was written, we see it is assumed that a churl's relation to his mistress is confined to the mere act of sexual intercourse; he fails to kiss her on arriving or departing; it is only the knight, the man of upper class, who would think of offering that tender civility. And at the present day in, for instance, the region between East Friesland and the Alps, Bloch states (*Sexuelleben unserer Zeit*, p. 291, following E. H. Meyer, that the word "love" is unknown among the masses, and only its coarse counterpart recognized.

On the other side of the world, in Japan, sexual love seems to be in as great disrepute as it was in ancient Greece, thus Miss Tsuda, a Japanese head-mistress, and herself a Christian, remarks (as quoted by Mrs. Fraser in *World's Work and Play*, Dec., 1906): "That word 'love' has been hitherto a word unknown among our girls, in the foreign sense. Duty, submission, kindness—these were the sentiments which a girl was expected to bring to the husband who had been chosen for her—and many happy, harmonious marriages were the result. Now, your dear sentimental foreign women say to our girls: 'It is wicked to marry without love; the obedience to parents in such a case is an outrage against nature and Christianity. If you love a man you must sacrifice everything to marry him.'"

When, however, love is fully developed it becomes an enormously extended, highly complex emotion, and lust, even in the best sense of that word, becomes merely a coördinated element among many other elements. Herbert Spencer, in an interesting passage of his *Principles of Psychology* (Part IV, Ch. VIII), has analyzed love into as many as nine distinct and important elements: (1) the physical impulse of sex; (2) the feeling for beauty; (3) affection; (4) admiration and respect; (5) love of approbation; (6) self-esteem; (7) proprietary feeling; (8) extended liberty of action from the absence of personal barriers; (9) exaltation of the sympathies. "This passion," he concludes, "fuses into one immense aggregate most of the elementary excitations of which we are capable."

It is scarcely necessary to say that to define sexual love, or even to analyze its components, is by no means to explain its mystery. We seek to satisfy our intelligence by means of a coherent picture of love, but the gulf between that picture and the emotional reality must always be incommensurable and impassable. "There is no word more often pronounced than that of love," wrote Bonstetten many years ago, "yet there is no subject more mysterious. Of that which touches us most nearly we know least. We measure the march of the stars and we do not know how we love." And however expert we have become in detecting and analyzing the causes, the concomitants, and the results of love, we must still make the same confession to-day. We may, as some have done, attempt to explain love as a form of hunger and thirst, or as a force analogous to electricity, or as a kind of magnetism, or as a variety of chemical affinity, or as a vital tropism, but these explanations are nothing more than ways of expressing to ourselves the magnitude of the phenomenon we are in the presence of.

What has always baffled men in the contemplation of sexual love is the seeming inadequacy of its cause, the immense discrepancy between the necessarily circumscribed region of mucous membrane which is the final goal of such love and the sea of world-embracing emotions to which it seems as the door, so that, as Remy de Gourmont has said, "the mucous membranes, by an ineffable mystery, enclose in their obscure folds all the riches of the infinite." It is a mystery before which the thinker and the artist are alike overcome. Donnay, in his play *L'Escalade*, makes a cold and stern man of science, who regards love as a mere mental disorder which can be cured like other disorders, at last fall desperately in love himself. He forces his way into the girl's room, by a ladder, at dead of night, and breaks into a long and passionate speech: "Everything that touches you becomes to me mysterious and sacred. Ah! to think that a thing so well known as a woman's body, which sculptors have modelled, which poets have sung of, which men of science like myself have dissected, that such a thing should suddenly become an unknown mystery and an infinite joy merely because it is the body of one

particular woman—what insanity! And yet that is what I feel."[1]

That love is a natural insanity, a temporary delusion which the individual is compelled to suffer for the sake of the race, is indeed an explanation that has suggested itself to many who have been baffled by this mystery. That, as we know, was the explanation offered by Schopenhauer. When a youth and a girl fall into each other's arms in the ecstacy of love they imagine that they are seeking their own happiness. But it is not so, said Schopenhauer; they are deluded by the genius of the race into the belief that they are seeking a personal end in order that they may be induced to effect a far greater impersonal end: the creation of the future race. The intensity of their passion is not the measure of the personal happiness they will secure but the measure of their aptitude for producing offspring. In accepting passion and renouncing the counsels of cautious prudence the youth and the girl are really sacrificing their chances of selfish happiness and fulfilling the larger ends of Nature. As Schopenhauer saw the matter, there was here no vulgar illusion. The lovers thought that they were reaching towards a boundlessly immense personal happiness; they were probably deceived. But they were deceived not because the reality was less than their imagination, but because it was more; instead of pursuing, as they thought, a merely personal end they were carrying on the creative work of the world, a task better left undone, as Schopenhauer viewed it, but a task whose magnitude he fully recognized.[2]

It must be remembered that in the lower sense of deception, love may be, and frequently is, a delusion. A man may deceive himself, or be deceived by the object of his attraction, concerning

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1 Several centuries earlier another French writer, the distinguished physician, A. Laurentius (Des Laurens) in his *Historia Anatomica Humani Corporis* (lib. viii, Quæstio vii) had likewise puzzled over "the incredible desire of coitus," and asked how it was that "that divine animal, full of reason and judgment, which we call Man, should be attracted to those obscene parts of women, soiled with filth, which are placed, like a sewer, in the lowest part of the body." It is noteworthy that, from the first, and equally among men of religion, men of science, and men of letters, the mystery of this problem has peculiarly appealed to the French mind.

2 Schopenhauer, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, vol. ii, pp. 605 *et seq.*

the qualities that she possesses or fails to possess. In first love, occurring in youth, such deception is perhaps entirely normal, and in certain suggestible and inflammable types of people it is peculiarly apt to occur. This kind of deception, although far more frequent and conspicuous in matters of love—and more serious because of the tightness of the marriage bond—is liable to occur in any relation of life. For most people, however, and those not the least sane or the least wise, the memory of the exaltation of love, even when the period of that exaltation is over, still remains as, at the least, the memory of one of the most real and essential facts of life.[1]

Some writers seem to confuse the liability in matters of love to deception or disappointment with the larger question of a metaphysical illusion in Schopenhauer's sense. To some extent this confusion perhaps exists in the discussion of love by Renouvier and Prat in *La Nouvelle Monadologie* (pp. 216 *et seq.*). In considering whether love is or is not a delusion, they answer that it is or is not according as we are, or are not, dominated by selfishness and injustice. "It was not an essential error which presided over the creation of the *idol*, for the idol is only what in all things the *ideal* is. But to realize the ideal in love two persons are needed, and therein is the great difficulty." We are never justified, they conclude, in casting contempt on our love, or even on its object, for if it is true that we have not gained possession of the sovereign beauty of the world it is equally true that we have not attained a degree of perfection that would have entitled us justly to claim so great a prize." And perhaps most of us, it may be added, must admit in the end, if we are honest with ourselves, that the prizes of love we have gained in the world, whatever their flaws, are far greater than we deserved

We may well agree that in a certain sense not love alone but all the passions and desires of men are illusions. In that sense

[1] "Perhaps there is scarcely a man," wrote Malthus, a clergyman as well as one of the profoundest thinkers of his day (*Essay on the Principle of Population*, 1798, Ch. XI), "who has once experienced the genuine delight of virtuous love, however great his intellectual pleasures may have been, that does not look back to the period as the sunny spot in his whole life, where his imagination loves to bask, which he recollects and contemplates with the fondest regrets, and which he would most wish to live over again. The superiority of intellectual to sexual pleasures consists rather in their filling up more time, in their having a larger range, and in their being less liable to satiate, than in their being more real and essential."

the Gospel of Buddha is justified, and we may recognize the inspiration of Shakespeare (in the *Tempest*) and of Calderon (in *La Vida es Sueño*), who felt that ultimately the whole world is an insubstantial dream. But short of that large and ultimate vision we cannot accept illusion; we cannot admit that love is a delusion in some special and peculiar sense that men's other cravings and aspirations escape. On the contrary, it is the most solid of realities. All the progressive forms of life are built up on the attraction of sex. If we admit the action of sexual selection —as we can scarcely fail to do if we purge it from its unessential accretions[1]—love has moulded the precise shape and color, the essential beauty, alike of animal and human life.

If we further reflect that, as many investigators believe, not only the physical structure of life but also its spiritual structure —our social feelings, our morality, our religion, our poetry and art—are, in some degree at least, also built up on the impulse of sex, and would have been, if not non-existent, certainly altogether different had other than sexual methods of propagation prevailed in the world, we may easily realize that we can only fall into confusion by dismissing love as a delusion. The whole edifice of life topples down, for as the idealist Schiller long since said, it is entirely built up on hunger and on love. To look upon love as in any special sense a delusion is merely to fall into the trap of a shallow cynicism. Love is only a delusion in so far as the whole of life is a delusion, and if we accept the fact of life it is unphilosophical to refuse to accept the fact of love.

It is unnecessary here to magnify the functions of love in the world; it is sufficient to investigate its workings in its own proper sphere. It may, however, be worth while to quote a few expressions of thinkers, belonging to various schools, who have pointed out what seemed to them the far ranging significance of the sexual emotions for the moral life. "The passions are the heavenly fire which gives life to the moral world," wrote Helvétius long since in *De l'Esprit*. "The activity of the mind depends on the activity of the passions, and it is at the period of the passions, from the age of twenty-five to thirty-five

[1] The whole argument of the fourth volume of these *Studies*, on "Sexual Selection in Man," points in this direction.

or forty that men are capable of the greatest efforts of virtue or of genius." "What touches sex," wrote Zola, "touches the centre of social life." Even our regard for the praise and blame of others has a sexual origin, Professor Thomas argues (*Psychological Review*, Jan., 1904, pp. 61-67), and it is love which is the source of susceptibility generally and of the altruistic side of life. "The appearance of sex," Professor Woods Hutchinson attempts to show ("Love as a Factor in Evolution," *Monist*, 1898), "the development of maleness and femaleness, was not only the birthplace of affection, the well-spring of all morality, but an enormous economic advantage to the race and an absolute necessity of progress. In it first we find any conscious longing for or active impulse toward a fellow creature." "Were man robbed of the instinct of procreation, and of all that spiritually springs therefrom," exclaimed Maudsley in his *Physiology of Mind*, "that moment would all poetry, and perhaps also his whole moral sense, be obliterated from his life." "One seems to oneself transfigured, stronger, richer, more complete; one *is* more complete," says Nietzsche (*Der Wille zur Macht*, p. 389), "we find here art as an organic function: we find it inlaid in the most angelic instinct of 'love:' we find it as the greatest stimulant of life. . . . . It is not merely that it changes the feeling of values: the lover *is* worth more, is stronger. In animals this condition produces new weapons, pigments, colors, and forms, above all new movements, new rhythms, a new seductive music. It is not otherwise in man. . . . . Even in art the door is opened to him. If we subtract from lyrical work in words and sounds the suggestions of that intestinal fever, what is left over *in poetry and music*? *L'Art pour l'art* perhaps, the quacking virtuosity of cold frogs who perish in their marsh. All the rest is created by love."

It would be easy to multiply citations tending to show how many diverse thinkers have come to the conclusion that sexual love (including therewith parental and especially maternal love) is the source of the chief manifestations of life. How far they are justified in that conclusion, it is not our business now to inquire.

It is undoubtedly true that, as we have seen when discussing the erratic and imperfect distribution of the conception of love, and even of words for love, over the world, by no means all people are equally apt for experiencing, even at any time in their lives, the emotions of sexual exaltation. The difference between the knight and the churl still subsists, and both may sometimes be found in all social strata. Even the refinements of sexual enjoyment, it is unnecessary to insist, quite commonly remain on

a merely physical basis, and have little effect on the intellectual and emotional nature.[1] But this is not the case with the people who have most powerfully influenced the course of the world's thought and feeling. The personal reality of love, its importance for the individual life, are facts that have been testified to by some of the greatest thinkers, after lives devoted to the attainment of intellectual labor. The experience of Renan, who toward the end of his life set down in his remarkable drama *L'Abbesse de Jouarre,* his conviction that, even from the point of view of chastity, love is, after all, the supreme thing in the world, is far from standing alone. "Love has always appeared as an inferior mode of human music, ambition as the superior mode," wrote Tarde, the distinguished sociologist, at the end of his life. "But will it always be thus? Are there not reasons for thinking that the future perhaps reserves for us the ineffable surprise of an inversion of that secular order?" Laplace, half an hour before his death, took up a volume of his own *Mécanique Céleste,* and said: "All that is only trifles, there is nothing true but love." Comte, who had spent his life in building up a Positive Philosophy which should be absolutely real, found (as indeed it may be said the great English Positivist Mill also found) the culmination of all his ideals in a woman, who was, he said, Egeria and Beatrice and Laura in one, and he wrote: "There is nothing real in the world but love. One grows tired of thinking, and even of acting; one never grows tired of loving, nor of saying so. In the worst tortures of affection I have never ceased to feel that the essential of happiness is that the heart should be worthily filled—even with pain, yes, even with pain, the bitterest pain." And Sophie Kowalewsky, after intellectual achievements which have placed her among the most distinguished of her sex, pathetically wrote: "Why can no one love me? I could give more than most women, and yet the most insignificant women are loved and I am not." Love, they all seem to say, is

[1] "Perhaps most average men." Forel remarks (*Die Sexuelle Frage,* p. 307), "are but slightly receptive to the intoxication of love; they are at most on the level of the *gourmet,* which is by no means necessarily an immoral plane, but is certainly not that of poetry."

the one thing that is supremely worth while. The greatest and most brilliant of the world's intellectual giants, in their moments of final insight, thus reach the habitual level of the humble and almost anonymous persons, cloistered from the world, who wrote *The Imitation of Christ* or *The Letters of a Portuguese Nun.* And how many others!

CHAPTER V.

THE FUNCTION OF CHASTITY.

Chastity Essential to the Dignity of Love—The Eighteenth Century Revolt Against the Ideal of Chastity—Unnatural Forms of Chastity—The Psychological Basis of Asceticism—Asceticism and Chastity as Savage Virtues—The Significance of Tahiti—Chastity Among Barbarous Peoples—Chastity Among the Early Christians—Struggles of the Saints with the Flesh—The Romance of Christian Chastity—Its Decay in Mediæval Times—*Aucassin et Nicolette* and the new Romance of Chaste Love—The Unchastity of the Northern Barbarians—The Penitentials—Influence of the Renaissance and the Reformation—The Revolt Against Virginity as a Virtue—The Modern Conception of Chastity as a Virtue—The Influences That Favor the Virtue of Chastity—Chastity as a Discipline—The Value of Chastity for the Artist—Potency and Impotence in Popular Estimation—The Correct Definitions of Asceticism and Chastity.

THE supreme importance of chastity, and even of asceticism, has never at any time, or in any greatly vital human society, altogether failed of recognition. Sometimes chastity has been exalted in human estimation, sometimes it has been debased; it has frequently changed the nature of its manifestations; but it has always been there. It is even a part of the beautiful vision of all Nature. "The glory of the world is seen only by a chaste mind," said Thoreau with his fine extravagance. "To whomsoever this fact is not an awful but beautiful mystery there are no flowers in Nature." Without chastity it is impossible to maintain the dignity of sexual love. The society in which its estimation sinks to a minimum is in the last stages of degeneration. Chastity has for sexual love an importance which it can never lose, least of all to-day.

It is quite true that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries many men of high moral and intellectual distinction pronounced very decidedly their condemnation of the ideal of chastity. The great Buffon refused to recognize chastity as an

ideal and referred scornfully to "that kind of insanity which has turned a girl's virginity into a thing with a real existence," while William Morris, in his downright manner, once declared at a meeting of the Fellowship of the New Life, that asceticism is "the most disgusting vice that afflicted human nature." Blake, though he seems always to have been a strictly moral man in the most conventional sense, felt nothing but contempt for chastity, and sometimes confers a kind of religious solemnity on the idea of unchastity. Shelley, who may have been unwise in sexual matters but can scarcely be called unchaste, also often seems to associate religion and morality, not with chastity, but with unchastity, and much the same may be said of James Hinton.[1]

But all these men—with other men of high character who have pronounced similar opinions—were reacting against false, decayed, and conventional forms of chastity. They were not rebelling against an ideal; they were seeking to set up an ideal in a place where they realized that a mischievous pretense was masquerading as a moral reality.

We cannot accept an ideal of chastity unless we ruthlessly cast aside all the unnatural and empty forms of chastity. If chastity is merely a fatiguing effort to emulate in the sexual sphere the exploits of professional fasting men, an effort using up all the energies of the organism and resulting in no achievement greater than the abstinence it involves, then it is surely an unworthy ideal. If it is a feeble submission to an external conventional law which there is no courage to break, then it is not an ideal at all. If it is a rule of morality imposed by one sex on the opposite sex, then it is an injustice and provocative of revolt. If it is an abstinence from the usual forms of sexuality, replaced by more abnormal or more secret forms, then it is simply an unreality based on misconception. And if it is merely an external acceptance of conventions without any further

[1] For Blake and for Shelley, as well as, it may be added, for Hinton, chastity, as Todhunter remarks in his *Study of Shelley*, is "a type of submission to the actual, a renunciation of the infinite, and is therefore hated by them. The chaste man, *i.e.*, the man of prudence and self-control, is the man who has lost the nakedness of his primitive innocence."

acceptance, even in act, then it is a contemptible farce. These are the forms of chastity which during the past two centuries many fine-souled men have vigorously rejected.

The fact that chastity, or asceticism, is a real virtue, with fine uses, becomes evident when we realize that it has flourished at all times, in connection with all kinds of religions and the most various moral codes. We find it pronounced among savages, and the special virtues of savagery—hardness, endurance, and bravery —are intimately connected with the cultivation of chastity and asceticism.[1] It is true that savages seldom have any ideal of chastity in the degraded modern sense, as a state of permanent abstinence from sexual relationships having a merit of its own apart from any use. They esteem chastity for its values, magical or real, as a method of self-control which contributes towards the attainment of important ends. The ability to bear pain and restraint is nearly always a main element in the initiation of youths at puberty. The custom of refraining from sexual intercourse before expeditions of war and hunting, and other serious concerns involving great muscular and mental strain, whatever the motives assigned, is a sagacious method of economizing energy. The extremely wide-spread habit of avoiding intercourse during pregnancy and suckling, again, is an admirable precaution in sexual hygiene which it is extremely difficult to obtain the observance of in civilization. Savages, also, are perfectly well aware how valuable sexual continence is, in combination with fasting and solitude, to acquire the aptitude for abnormal spiritual powers.

Thus C. Hill Tout (*Journal Anthropological Institute*, Jan.-June, 1905, pp. 143-145) gives an interesting account of the self-discipline undergone by those among the Salish Indians of British Columbia, who seek to acquire shamanistic powers. The psychic effects of such train-

[1] For evidence of the practices of savages in this matter, see Appendix *A* to the third volume of these *Studies*, "The Sexual Instinct in Savages." *Cf.* also Chs. IV and VII of Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage*, and also Chs. XXXVIII and XLI of the same author's *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, vol. ii; Frazer's *Golden Bough* contains much bearing on this subject, as also Crawley's *Mystic Rose*.

ing on these men, says Hill Tout, is undoubted. "It enables them to undertake and accomplish feats of abnormal strength, agility, and endurance; and gives them at times, besides a general exaltation of the senses, undoubted clairvoyant and other supernormal mental and bodily powers." At the other end of the world, as shown by the *Reports of the Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits* (vol. v, p. 321), closely analogous methods of obtaining supernatural powers are also customary.

There are fundamental psychological reasons for the wide prevalence of asceticism and for the remarkable manner in which it involves self-mortification, even acute physical suffering. Such pain is an actual psychic stimulant, more especially in slightly neurotic persons. This is well illustrated by a young woman, a patient of Janet's, who suffered from mental depression and was accustomed to find relief by slightly burning her hands and feet. She herself clearly understood the nature of her actions. "I feel," she said, "that I make an effort when I hold my hands on the stove, or when I pour boiling water on my feet; it is a violent act and it awakens me: I feel that it is really done by myself and not by another. . . . . To make a mental effort by itself is too difficult for me; I have to supplement it by physical efforts. I have not succeeded in any other way; that is all; when I brace myself up to burn myself I make my mind freer, lighter and more active for several days. Why do you speak of my desire for mortification? My parents believe that, but it is absurd. It would be a mortification if it brought any suffering, but I enjoy this suffering, it gives me back my mind; it prevents my thoughts from stopping; what would one not do to attain such happiness?" (P. Janet, "The Pathogenesis of Some Impulsions." *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, April, 1906.) If we understand this psychological process we may realize how it is that even in the higher religions, however else they may differ, the practical value of asceticism and mortification as the necessary door to the most exalted religious state is almost universally recognized, and with complete cheerfulness. "Asceticism and ecstacy are inseparable," as Probst-Biraben remarks at the outset of an interesting paper on Mahommedan mysticism ("L'Extase dans le Mysticisme Musulman," *Revue Philosophique*. Nov., 1906). Asceticism is the necessary ante-chamber to spiritual perfection.

It thus happens that savage peoples largely base their often admirable enforcement of asceticism not on the practical grounds that would justify it, but on religious grounds that with the growth of intelligence fall into discredit.[1] Even, however, when

[1] See, *e.g.*, Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, vol. ii, pp. 412 *et seq.*

the scrupulous observances of savages, whether in sexual or in non-sexual matters, are without any obviously sound basis it cannot be said that they are entirely useless if they tend to encourage self-control and the sense of reverence.[1] The would-be intelligent and practical peoples who cast aside primitive observances because they seem baseless or even ridiculous, need a still finer practical sense and still greater intelligence in order to realize that, though the reasons for the observances have been wrong, yet the observances themselves may have been necessary methods of attaining personal and social efficiency. It constantly happens in the course of civilization that we have to revive old observances and furnish them with new reasons.

In considering the moral quality of chastity among savages, we must carefully separate that chastity which among semi-primitive peoples is exclusively imposed upon women. This has no moral quality whatever, for it is not exercised as a useful discipline, but merely enforced in order to heighten the economic and erotic value of the women. Many authorities believe that the regard for women as property furnishes the true reason for the widespread insistence on virginity in brides. Thus A. B. Ellis, speaking of the West Coast of Africa (*Yoruba-Speaking Peoples*, pp. 183 *et seq.*), says that girls of good class are betrothed as mere children, and are carefully guarded from men, while girls of lower class are seldom betrothed, and may lead any life they choose. "In this custom of infant or child betrothals we probably find the key to that curious regard for ante-nuptial chastity found not only among the tribes of the Gold and Slave Coasts, but also among many other uncivilized peoples in different parts of the world." In a very different part of the world, in Northern Siberia. "the Yakuts," Sieroshevski states (*Journal Anthropological Institute*, Jan.-June, 1901.

[1] Thus an old Maori declared, a few years ago, that the decline of his race has been entirely due to the loss of the ancient religious faith in the *tabu*. "For," said he (I quote from an Auckland newspaper). "in the olden-time our *tapu* ramified the whole social system The head, the hair, spots where apparitions appeared, places which the *tohungas* proclaimed as sacred, we have forgotten and disregarded Who nowadays thinks of the sacredness of the head? See when the kettle boils, the young man jumps up, whips the cap off his head, and uses it for a kettle-holder. Who nowadays but looks on with indifference when the barber of the village if he be near the fire, shakes the loose hair off his cloth into it, and the joke and the laughter goes on as if no sacred operation had just been concluded. Food is consumed on places which, in bygone days, it dared not even be carried over."

p. 96), "see nothing immoral in illicit love, providing only that nobody suffers material loss by it. It is true that parents will scold a daughter if her conduct threatens to deprive them of their gain from the bride-price; but if once they have lost hope of marrying her off, or if the bride-price has been spent, they manifest complete indifference to her conduct. Maidens who no longer expect marriage are not restrained at all, if they observe decorum it is only out of respect to custom" Westermarck (*History of Human Marriage*, pp. 123 *et seq.*) also shows the connection between the high estimates of virginity and the conception of woman as property, and returning to the question in his later work, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* (vol. ii, Ch. XLII), after pointing out that "marriage by purchase has thus raised the standard of female chastity," he refers (p. 437) to the significant fact that the seduction of an unmarried girl "is chiefly, if not exclusively, regarded as an offense against the parents or family of the girl," and there is no indication that it is ever held by savages that any wrong has been done to the woman herself. Westermarck recognizes at the same time that the preference given to virgins has also a biological basis in the instinctive masculine feeling of jealousy in regard to women who have had intercourse with other men, and especially in the erotic charm for men of the emotional state of shyness which accompanies virginity. (This point has been dealt with in the discussion of Modesty in vol. i of these *Studies*.)

It is scarcely necessary to add that the insistence on the virginity of brides is by no means confined, as A. B. Ellis seems to imply, to uncivilized peoples, nor is it necessary that wife-purchase should always accompany it. The preference still persists, not only by virtue of its natural biological basis, but as a refinement and extension of the idea of woman as property, among those civilized peoples who, like ourselves, inherit a form of marriage to some extent based on wife-purchase. Under such conditions a woman's chastity has an important social function to perform, being, as Mrs. Mona Caird has put it (*The Morality of Marriage*, 1897, p. 88), the watch-dog of man's property. The fact that no element of ideal morality enters into the question is shown by the usual absence of any demand for ante-nuptial chastity in the husband.

It must not be supposed that when, as is most usually the case, there is no complete and permanent prohibition of extra-nuptial intercourse, mere unrestrained license prevails. That has probably never happened anywhere among uncontaminated savages. The rule probably is that, as among the tribes at Torres Straits (*Reports Cambridge Anthropological Expedition*, vol. v, p. 275), there is no complete continence before marriage, but neither is there any unbridled license.

The example of Tahiti is instructive as regards the prevalence of chastity among peoples of what we generally consider low grades of

civilization. Tahiti, according to all who have visited it, from the earliest explorers down to that distinguished American surgeon, the late Dr. Nicholas Senn, is an island possessing qualities of natural beauty and climatic excellence, which it is impossible to rate too highly. "I seemed to be transported into the garden of Eden," said Bougainville in 1768. But, mainly under the influence of the early English missionaries who held ideas of theoretical morality totally alien to those of the inhabitants of the islands, the Tahitians have become the stock example of a population given over to licentiousness and all its awful results. Thus, in his valuable *Polynesian Researches* (second edition, 1832, vol. i, Ch. IX) William Ellis says that the Tahitians practiced "the worst pollutions of which it was possible for man to be guilty," though not specifying them. When, however, we carefully examine the narratives of the early visitors to Tahiti, before the population became contaminated by contact with Europeans, it becomes clear that this view needs serious modification. "The great plenty of good and nourishing food," wrote an early explorer, J. R. Forster (*Observations Made on a Voyage Round the World*, 1778, pp. 231. 409, 422), "together with the fine climate, the beauty and unreserved behavior of their females, invite them powerfully to the enjoyments and pleasures of love. They begin very early to abandon themselves to the most libidinous scenes. Their songs, their dances, and dramatic performances, breathe a spirit of luxury." Yet he is over and over again impelled to set down facts which bear testimony to the virtues of these people. Though rather effeminate in build, they are athletic, he says. Moreover, in their wars they fight with great bravery and valor. They are, for the rest, hospitable. He remarks that they treat their married women with great respect, and that women generally are nearly the equals of men, both in intelligence and in social position; he gives a charming description of the women. "In short, their character," Forster concludes, "is as amiable as that of any nation that ever came unimproved out of the hands of Nature," and he remarks that, as was felt by the South Sea peoples generally, "whenever we came to this happy island we could evidently perceive the opulence and happiness of its inhabitants." It is noteworthy also, that, notwithstanding the high importance which the Tahitians attached to the erotic side of life, they were not deficient in regard for chastity. When Cook, who visited Tahiti many times, was among "this benevolent humane" people, he noted their esteem for chastity, and found that not only were betrothed girls strictly guarded before marriage, but that men also who had refrained from sexual intercourse for some time before marriage were believed to pass at death immediately into the abode of the blessed. "Their behavior, on all occasions, seems to indicate a great openness and generosity of disposition. I never saw them, in any misfortune, labor under the appearance of anxiety, after the critical moment

was past. Neither does care ever seem to wrinkle their brow. On the contrary, even the approach of death does not appear to alter their usual vivacity" (*Third Voyage of Discovery*, 1776-1780). Turnbull visited Tahiti at a later period (*A Voyage Round the World in 1800*, etc., pp. 374-5), but while finding all sorts of vices among them, he is yet compelled to admit their virtues: "Their manner of addressing strangers, from the king to the meanest subject, is courteous and affable in the extreme. . . . . They certainly live amongst each other in more harmony than is usual amongst Europeans. During the whole time I was amongst them I never saw such a thing as a battle. . . . . I never remember to have seen an Otaheitean out of temper. They jest upon each other with greater freedom than the Europeans, but these jests are never taken in ill part. . . . . With regard to food, it is, I believe, an invariable law in Otaheite that whatever is possessed by one is common to all." Thus we see that even among a people who are commonly referred to as the supreme example of a nation given up to uncontrolled licentiousness, the claims of chastity were admitted, and many other virtues vigorously flourished. The Tahitians were brave, hospitable, self-controlled, courteous, considerate to the needs of others, chivalrous to women, even appreciative of the advantages of sexual restraint, to an extent which has rarely, if ever, been known among those Christian nations which have looked down upon them as abandoned to unspeakable vices.

As we turn from savages towards peoples in the barbarous and civilized stages we find a general tendency for chastity, in so far as it is a common possession of the common people, to be less regarded, or to be retained only as a traditional convention no longer strictly observed. The old grounds for chastity in primitive religions and *tabu* have decayed and no new grounds have been generally established. "Although the progress of civilization," wrote Gibbon long ago, "has undoubtedly contributed to assuage the fiercer passions of human nature, it seems to have been less favorable to the virtue of chastity," and Westermarck concludes that "irregular connections between the sexes have, on the whole, exhibited a tendency to increase along with the progress of civilization."

The main difference in the social function of chastity as we pass from savagery to higher stages of culture seems to be that it ceases to exist as a general hygienic measure or a general ceremonial observance, and, for the most part, becomes confined

to special philosophic or religious sects which cultivate it to an extreme degree in a more or less professional way. This state of things is well illustrated by the Roman Empire during the early centuries of the Christian era.[1] Christianity itself was at first one of these sects enamored of the ideal of chastity; but by its superior vitality it replaced all the others and finally imposed its ideals, though by no means its primitive practices, on European society generally.

Chastity manifested itself in primitive Christianity in two different though not necessarily opposed ways. On the one hand it took a stern and practical form in vigorous men and women who, after being brought up in a society permitting a high degree of sexual indulgence, suddenly found themselves convinced of the sin of such indulgence. The battle with the society they had been born into, and with their own old impulses and habits, became so severe that they often found themselves compelled to retire from the world altogether. Thus it was that the parched solitudes of Egypt were peopled with hermits largely occupied with the problem of subduing their own flesh. Their preoccupation, and indeed the preoccupation of much early Christian literature, with sexual matters, may be said to be vastly greater than was the case with the pagan society they had left. Paganism accepted sexual indulgence and was then able to dismiss it, so that in classic literature we find very little insistence on sexual details except in writers like Martial, Juvenal and Petronius who introduce them mainly for satirical ends. But the Christians could not thus escape from the obsession of sex; it was ever with them. We catch interesting glimpses of their struggles, for the most part barren struggles, in the Epistles of St. Jerome, who had himself been an athlete in these ascetic contests.

"Oh, how many times," wrote St. Jerome to Eustochium, the virgin to whom he addressed one of the longest and most interesting of his letters, "when in the desert, in that vast solitude which, burnt up

[1] Thus, long before Christian monks arose, the ascetic life of the cloister on very similar lines existed in Egypt in the worship of Serapis (Dill, *Roman Society*, p. 79).

by the heart of the sun, offers but a horrible dwelling to monks, I imagined myself among the delights of Rome! I was alone, for my soul was full of bitterness. My limbs were covered by a wretched sack and my skin was as black as an Ethiopian's. Every day I wept and groaned, and if I was unwillingly overcome by sleep my lean body lay on the bare earth. I say nothing of my food and drink, for in the desert even invalids have no drink but cold water, and cooked food is regarded as a luxury. Well, I, who, out of fear of hell, had condemned myself to this prison, companion of scorpions and wild beasts, often seemed in imagination among bands of girls. My face was pale with fasting and my mind within my frigid body was burning with desire; the fires of lust would still flare up in a body that already seemed to be dead. Then, deprived of all help, I threw myself at the feet of Jesus, washing them with my tears and drying them with my hair, subjugating my rebellious flesh by long fasts. I remember that more than once I passed the night uttering cries and striking my breast until God sent me peace." "Our century," wrote St. Chrysostom in his *Discourse to Those Who Keep Virgins in Their Houses*, "has seen many men who have bound their bodies with chains, clothed themselves in sacks, retired to the summits of mountains where they have lived in constant vigil and fasting, giving the example of the most austere discipline and forbidding all women to cross the thresholds of their humble dwellings; and yet, in spite of all the severities they have exercised on themselves, it was with difficulty they could repress the fury of their passions." Hilarion, says Jerome, saw visions of naked women when he lay down on his solitary couch and delicious meats when he sat down to his frugal table. Such experiences rendered the early saints very scrupulous. "They used to say," we are told in an interesting history of the Egyptian anchorites, Palladius's *Paradise of the Holy Fathers*, belonging to the fourth century (A. W. Budge, *The Paradise*, vol. ii, p. 129), "that Abbâ Isaac went out and found the footprint of a woman on the road, and he thought about it in his mind and destroyed it saying, 'If a brother seeth it he may fall.'" Similarly, according to the rules of St. Cæsarius of Arles for nuns, no male clothing was to be taken into the convent for the purpose of washing or mending. Even in old age, a certain anxiety about chastity still remained. One of the brothers, we are told in *The Paradise* (p. 132) said to Abbâ Zeno, "Behold thou hast grown old, how is the matter of fornication?" The venerable saint replied, "It knocketh, but it passeth on."

As the centuries went by the same strenuous anxiety to guard chastity still remained, and the old struggle constantly reappeared (see, *e.g.*, Migne's *Dictionnaire d'Ascétisme*, art. "Démon, Tentation du"). Some saints, it is true, like Luigi di Gonzaga, were so angelically natured that they never felt the sting of sexual desire. These seem to have been the exception. St. Benedict and St. Francis experienced the difficulty of

subduing the flesh. St. Magdalena de Pozzi, in order to dispel sexual desires, would roll on thorny bushes till the blood came. Some saints kept a special cask of cold water in their cells to stand in (Lea, *Sacerdotal Celibacy*, vol. i, p. 124). On the other hand, the Blessed Angela de Fulginio tells us in her *Visiones* (cap. XIX) that, until forbidden by her confessor, she would place hot coals in her secret parts, hoping by material fire to extinguish the fire of concupiscence. St Aldhelm, the holy Bishop of Sherborne, in the eighth century, also adopted a homeopathic method of treatment, though of a more literal kind, for William of Malmsbury states that when tempted by the flesh he would have women to sit and lie by him until he grew calm again; the method proved very successful, for the reason, it was thought, that the Devil felt he had been made a fool of.

In time the Catholic practice and theory of asceticism became more formalized and elaborated, and its beneficial effects were held to extend beyond the individual himself. "Asceticism from the Christian point of view," writes Brenier de Montmorand in an interesting study ("Ascétisme et Mysticisme," *Revue Philosophique*, March, 1904) "is nothing else than all the therapeutic measures making for moral purification. The Christian ascetic is an athlete struggling to transform his corrupt nature and make a road to God through the obstacles due to his passions and the world. He is not working in his own interests alone, but—by virtue of the reversibility of merit which compensates that of solidarity in error—for the good and for the salvation of the whole of society."

This is the aspect of early Christian asceticism most often emphasized. But there is another aspect which may be less familiar, but has been by no means less important. Primitive Christian chastity was on one side a strenuous discipline. On another side it was a romance, and this indeed was its most specifically Christian side, for athletic asceticism has been associated with the most various religious and philosophic beliefs. If, indeed, it had not possessed the charm of a new sensation, of a delicious freedom, of an unknown adventure, it would never have conquered the European world. There are only a few in that world who have in them the stuff of moral athletes; there are many who respond to the attraction of romance.

The Christians rejected the grosser forms of sexual indulgence, but in doing so they entered with a more delicate ardor into the more refined forms of sexual intimacy. They cultivated

a relationship of brothers and sisters to each other, they kissed one another; at one time, in the spiritual orgy of baptism, they were not ashamed to adopt complete nakedness.[1]

A very instructive picture of the forms which chastity assumed among the early Christians is given us in the treatise of Chrysostom *Against Those who Keep Virgins in their Houses.* Our fathers, Chrysostom begins, only knew two forms of sexual intimacy, marriage and fornication. Now a third form has appeared: men introduce young girls into their houses and keep them there permanently, respecting their virginity. "What," Chrysostom asks, "is the reason? It seems to me that life in common with a woman is sweet, even outside conjugal union and fleshly commerce. That is my feeling; and perhaps it is not my feeling alone; it may also be that of these men. They would not hold their honor so cheap nor give rise to such scandals if *this pleasure were not violent and tyrannical. . . . That* there should really be a pleasure in this which produces a love more ardent than conjugal union may surprise you at first. But when I give you the proofs you will agree that it is so." The absence of restraint to desire in marriage, he continues, often leads to speedy disgust, and even apart from this, sexual intercourse, pregnancy, delivery, lactation, the bringing up of children, and all the pains and anxieties that accompany these things soon destroy youth and dull the point of pleasure. The virgin is free from these burdens. She retains her vigor and youthfulness, and even at the age of forty may rival the young nubile girl. "A double ardor thus burns in the heart of him who lives with her, and the gratification of desire never extinguishes the bright flame which ever continues to increase in strength." Chrysostom describes minutely all the little cares and attentions which the modern girls of his time required, and which these men delighted to expend on their virginal sweethearts whether in public or in private. He cannot help thinking, however, that the man who lavishes kisses and caresses on a woman whose virginity he retains

[1] At night, in the baptistry, with lamps dimly burning, the women were stripped even of their tunics, plunged three times in the pool, then anointed, dressed in white, and kissed.

is putting himself somewhat in the position of Tantalus. But this new refinement of tender chastity, which came as a delicious discovery to the early Christians who had resolutely thrust away the licentiousness of the pagan world, was deeply rooted, as we discover from the frequency with which the grave Fathers of the Church, apprehensive of scandal, felt called upon to reprove it, though their condemnation is sometimes not without a trace of secret sympathy.[1]

There was one form in which the new Christian chastity flourished exuberantly and unchecked: it conquered literature. The most charming, and, we may be sure, the most popular literature of the early Church lay in the innumerable romances of erotic chastity—to some extent, it may well be, founded on fact—which are embodied to-day in the *Acta Sanctorum*. We can see in even the most simple and non-miraculous early Christian records of the martyrdom of women that the writers were fully aware of the delicate charm of the heroine who, like Perpetua at Carthage, tossed by wild cattle in the arena, rises to gather her torn garment around her and to put up her disheveled hair.[2] It was an easy step to the stories of romantic adventure. Among these delightful stories I may refer especially to the legend of Thekla, which has been placed, incorrectly it may be, as early as the first century, "The Bride and Bridegroom of India" in *Judas Thomas's Acts*, "The Virgin of Antioch" as narrated by St. Ambrose, the history of "Achilleus and Nereus," "Mygdonia and Karish," and "Two Lovers of Auvergne" as told by Gregory of Tours. Early Christian literature abounds in the stories of lovers who had indeed preserved their chastity, and had yet discovered the most exquisite secrets of love.

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[1] Thus Jerome, in his letter to Eustochium, refers to those couples who "share the same room, often even the same bed, and call us suspicious if we draw any conclusions," while Cyprian (*Epistola*, 86) is unable to approve of those men he hears of, one a deacon, who live in familiar intercourse with virgins, even sleeping in the same bed with them, for, he declares, the feminine sex is weak and youth is wanton.

[2] Perpetua (*Acta Sanctorum*, March 7) is termed by Hort and Mayor "that fairest flower in the garden of post-Apostolic Christendom." She was not, however, a virgin, but a young mother with a baby at her breast.

Thekla's day is the twenty-third of September. There is a very good Syriac version (by Lipsius and others regarded as more primitive than the Greek version) of the *Acts of Paul and Thekla* (see, *e.g.*, Wright's *Apocryphal Acts*). These *Acts* belong to the latter part of the second century. The story is that Thekla, refusing to yield to the passion of the high priest of Syria, was put, naked but for a girdle (*subligaculum*) into the arena on the back of a lioness, which licked her feet and fought for her against the other beasts, dying in her defense. The other beasts, however, did her no harm, and she was finally released. A queen loaded her with money, she modified her dress to look like a man, travelled to meet Paul, and lived to old age. Sir W. M. Ramsay has written an interesting study of these *Acts* (*The Church in the Roman Empire*, Ch. XVI). He is of opinion that the *Acts* are based on a first century document, and is able to disentangle many elements of truth from the story. He states that it is the only evidence we possess of the ideas and actions of women during the first century in Asia Minor, where their position was so high and their influence so great. Thekla represents the assertion of woman's rights, and she administered the rite of baptism, though in the existing versions of the *Acts* these features are toned down or eliminated.

Some of the most typical of these early Christian romances are described as Gnostical in origin, with something of the germs of Manichæan dualism which were held in the rich and complex matrix of Gnosticism, while the spirit of these romances is also largely Montanist, with the combined chastity and ardor, the pronounced feminine tone due to its origin in Asia Minor, which marked Montanism. It cannot be denied, however, that they largely passed into the main stream of Christian tradition, and form an essential and important part of that tradition. (Renan, in his *Marc-Aurèle*, Chs. IX and XV, insists on the immense debt of Christianity to Gnostic and Montanist contributions). A characteristic example is the story of "The Betrothed of India" in *Judas Thomas's Acts* (Wright's *Apocryphal Acts*). Judas Thomas was sold by his master Jesus to an Indian merchant who required a carpenter to go with him to India. On disembarking at the city of Sandaruk they heard the sounds of music and singing, and learnt that it was the wedding-feast of the King's daughter, which all must attend, rich and poor, slaves and freemen, strangers and citizens. Judas Thomas went, with his new master, to the banquet and reclined with a garland of myrtle placed on his head. When a Hebrew flute-player came and stood over him and played, he sang the songs of Christ, and it was seen that he was more beautiful than all that were there and the King sent for him to bless the young couple in the bridal chamber. And when all were gone out and the door of the bridal chamber closed, the bridegroom approached the bride, and saw, as it were, Judas

Thomas still talking with her. But it was our Lord who said to him, "I am not Judas, but his brother." And our Lord sat down on the bed beside the young people and began to say to them: "Remember, my children, what my brother spake with you, and know to whom he committed you, and know that if ye preserve yourselves from this filthy intercourse ye become pure temples, and are saved from afflictions manifest and hidden, and from the heavy care of children, the end whereof is bitter sorrow. For their sakes ye will become oppressors and robbers, and ye will be grievously tortured for their injuries. For children are the cause of many pains; either the King falls upon them or a demon lays hold of them, or paralysis befalls them. And if they be healthy they come to ill, either by adultery, or theft, or fornication, or covetousness, or vain-glory. But if ye will be persuaded by me, and keep yourselves purely unto God, ye shall have living children to whom not one of these blemishes and hurts cometh nigh; and ye shall be without care and without grief and without sorrow, and ye shall hope for the time when ye shall see the true wedding-feast." The young couple were persuaded, and refrained from lust, and our Lord vanished. And in the morning, when it was dawn, the King had the table furnished early and brought in before the bridegroom and bride. And he found them sitting the one opposite the other, and the face of the bride was uncovered and the bridegroom was very cheerful. The mother of the bride saith to her: "Why art thou sitting thus, and art not ashamed, but art as if, lo, thou wert married a long time, and for many a day?" And her father, too, said: "Is it thy great love for thy husband that prevents thee from even veiling thyself?" And the bride answered and said: "Truly, my father, I am in great love, and am praying to my Lord that I may continue in this love which I have experienced this night. I am not veiled, because the veil of corruption is taken from me, and I am not ashamed, because the deed of shame has been removed far from me, and I am cheerful and gay, and despise this deed of corruption and the joys of this wedding feast, because I am invited to the true wedding feast. I have not had intercourse with a husband, the end whereof is bitter repentance, because I am betrothed to the true Husband." The bridegroom answered also in the same spirit, very naturally to the dismay of the King, who sent for the sorcerer whom he had asked to bless his unlucky daughter. But Judas Thomas had already left the city and at his inn the King's stewards found only the flute-player, sitting and weeping because he had not taken her with him. She was glad, however, when she heard what had happened, and hastened to the young couple, and lived with them ever afterwards. The King also was finally reconciled, and all ended chastely, but happily.

In these same *Judas Thomas's Acts*, which are not later than the fourth century, we find (eighth act) the story of Mygdonia and Karish,

Mygdonia, the wife of Karish, is converted by Thomas and flees from her husband, naked save for the curtain of the chamber door which she has wrapped around her, to her old nurse. With the nurse she goes to Thomas, who pours holy oil over her head, bidding the nurse to anoint her all over with it; then a cloth is put round her loins and he baptizes her; then she is clothed and he gives her the sacrament. The young rapture of chastity grows lyrical at times, and Judas Thomas breaks out: "Purity is the athlete who is not overcome. Purity is the truth that blencheth not. Purity is worthy before God of being to Him a familiar handmaiden. Purity is the messenger of concord which bringeth the tidings of peace."

Another romance of chastity is furnished by the episode of Drusiana in *The History of the Apostles* traditionally attributed to Abdias, Bishop of Babylon (Bk. v, Ch. IV, *et seq.*). Drusiana is the wife of Andronicus, and is so pious that she will not have intercourse with him. The youth Callimachus falls madly in love with her, and his amorous attempts involve many exciting adventures, but the chastity of Drusiana is finally triumphant.

A characteristic example of the literature we are here concerned with is St. Ambrose's story of "The Virgin in the Brothel" (narrated in his *De Virginibus*, Migne's edition of Ambrose's Works, vols. iii-iv, p. 211). A certain virgin, St. Ambrose tells us, who lately lived at Antioch, was condemned either to sacrifice to the gods or to go to the brothel. She chose the latter alternative. But the first man who came in to her was a Christian soldier who called her "sister," and bade her have no fear. He proposed that they should exchange clothes. This was done and she escaped, while the soldier was led away to death. At the place of execution, however, she ran up and exclaimed that it was not death she feared but shame. He, however, maintained that he had been condemned to death in her place. Finally the crown of martyrdom for which they contended was adjudged to both.

We constantly observe in the early documents of this romantic literature of chastity that chastity is insisted on by no means chiefly because of its rewards after death, nor even because the virgin who devotes herself to it secures in Christ an ever-young lover whose golden-haired beauty is sometimes emphasized. Its chief charm is represented as lying in its own joy and freedom and the security it involves from all the troubles, inconveniences and bondages of matrimony. This early Christian movement of romantic chastity was clearly, in large measure, a revolt of women against men and marriage. This is well brought out in the instructive story, supposed to be of third century origin, of the eunuchs Achilleus and Nereus, as narrated in the *Acta Sanctorum*, May 12th. Achilleus and Nereus were Christian eunuchs of the bedchamber to Domitia, a virgin of noble birth, related to the Emperor Domitian

and betrothed to Aurelian, son of a Consul. One day, as their mistress was putting on her jewels and her purple garments embroidered with gold, they began in turn to talk to her about all the joys and advantages of virginity, as compared to marriage with a mere man. The conversation is developed at great length and with much eloquence. Domitia was finally persuaded. She suffered much from Aurelian in consequence, and when he obtained her banishment to an island she went thither with Achilleus and Nereus, who were put to death. Incidentally, the death of Felicula, another heroine of chastity, is described When elevated on the rack because she would not marry, she constantly refused to deny Jesus, whom she called her lover. "Ego non nego amatorem meum!"

A special department of this literature is concerned with stories of the conversions or the penitence of courtesans. St. Martinianus, for instance (Feb. 13), was tempted by the courtesan Zoe, but converted her. The story of St. Margaret of Cortona (Feb. 22), a penitent courtesan, is late, for she belongs to the thirteenth century. The most delightful document in this literature is probably the latest. the fourteenth century Italian devotional romance called *The Life of Saint Mary Magdalen*, commonly associated with the name of Frate Domenico Cavalca. (It has been translated into English). It is the delicately and deliciously told romance of the chaste and passionate love of the sweet sinner, Mary Magdalene, for her beloved Master.

As time went on the insistence on the joys of chastity in this life became less marked, and chastity is more and more regarded as a state only to be fully rewarded in a future life. Even, however, in Gregory of Tours's charming story of "The Two Lovers of Auvergne," in which this atttitude is clear, the pleasures of chaste love in this life are brought out as clearly as in any of the early romances (*Historia Francorum*, lib. i, cap. XLII). Two senators of Auvergne each had an only child, and they betrothed them to each other. When the wedding day came and the young couple were placed in bed, the bride turned to the wall and wept bitterly. The bridegroom implored her to tell him what was the matter, and, turning towards him, she said that if she were to weep all her days she could never wash away her grief for she had resolved to give her little body immaculate to Christ, untouched by men, and now instead of immortal roses she had only had on her brow faded roses, which deformed rather than adorned it, and instead of the dowry of Paradise which Christ had promised her she had become the consort of a merely mortal man. She deplored her sad fate at considerable length and with much gentle eloquence. At length the bridegroom, overcome by her sweet words felt that eternal life had shone before him like a great light, and declared that if she wished to abstain from carnal desires he was of the same mind. She was grateful, and with clasped

hands they fell asleep. For many years they thus lived together, chastely sharing the same bed. At length she died and was buried, her lover restoring her immaculate to the hands of Christ. Soon afterwards he died also, and was placed in a separate tomb. Then a miracle happened which made manifest the magnitude of this chaste love, for the two bodies were found mysteriously placed together. To this day, Gregory concludes (writing in the sixth century), the people of the place call them "The Two Lovers."

Although Renan (*Marc-Aurèle*, Ch. XV) briefly called attention to the existence of this copious early Christian literature setting forth the romance of chastity, it seems as yet to have received little or no study. It is, however, of considerable importance, not merely for its own sake, but on account of its psychological significance in making clear the nature of the motive forces which made chastity easy and charming to the people of the early Christian world, even when it involved complete abstinence from sexual intercourse. The early Church anathematized the eroticism of the Pagan world, and exorcized it in the most effectual way by setting up a new and more exquisite eroticism of its own.

During the Middle Ages the primitive freshness of Christian chastity began to lose its charm. No more romances of chastity were written, and in actual life men no longer sought daring adventures in the field of chastity. So far as the old ideals survived at all it was in the secular field of chivalry. The last notable figure to emulate the achievements of the early Christians was Robert of Arbrissel in Normandy.

Robert of Arbrissel, who founded, in the eleventh century, the famous and distinguished Order of Fontevrault for women, was a Breton. This Celtic origin is doubtless significant, for it may explain his unfailing ardor and gaiety, and his enthusiastic veneration for womanhood. Even those of his friends who deprecated what they considered his scandalous conduct bear testimony to his unfailing and cheerful temperament, his alertness in action, his readiness for any deed of humanity, and his entire freedom from severity. He attracted immense crowds of people of all conditions, especially women, including prostitutes, and his influence over women was great. Once he went into a brothel to warm his feet, and, incidentally, converted all the women there. "Who are you?" asked one of them, "I have been here twenty-five years and nobody has ever come here to talk about God." Robert's relation with his nuns at Fontevrault was very intimate, and he would often sleep with them. This is set forth precisely in letters written by friends of his, bishops and abbots, one of whom remarks that Robert had "discovered a new

but fruitless form of martyrdom." A royal abbess of Fontevrault in the seventeenth century, pretending that the venerated founder of the order could not possibly have been guilty of such scandalous conduct, and that the letters must therefore be spurious, had the originals destroyed, so far as possible. The Bollandists, in an unscholarly and incomplete account of the matter (*Acta Sanctorum*, Feb. 25), adopted this view. J. von Walter, however, in a recent and thorough study of Robert of Arbrissel (*Die Ersten Wanderprediger Frankreichs*, Theil I), shows that there is no reason whatever to doubt the authentic and reliable character of the impugned letters.

The early Christian legends of chastity had, however, their successors. *Aucassin et Nicolette*, which was probably written in Northern France towards the end of the twelfth century, is above all the descendant of the stories in the *Acta Sanctorum* and elsewhere. It embodied their spirit and carried it forward, uniting their delicate feeling for chastity and purity with the ideal of monogamic love. *Aucassin et Nicolette* was the death-knell of the primitive Christian romance of chastity. It was the discovery that the chaste refinements of delicacy and devotion were possible within the strictly normal sphere of sexual love.

There were at least two causes which tended to extinguish the primitive Christian attraction to chastity, even apart from the influence of the Church authorities in repressing its romantic manifestations. In the first place, the submergence of the old pagan world, with its practice and, to some extent, ideal of sexual indulgence, removed the foil which had given grace and delicacy to the tender freedom of the young Christians. In the second place, the austerities which the early Christians had gladly practised for the sake of their soul's health, were robbed of their charm and spontaneity by being made a formal part of codes of punishment for sin, first in the Penitentials and afterwards at the discretion of confessors. This, it may be added, was rendered the more necessary because the ideal of Christian chastity was no longer largely the possession of refined people who had been rendered immune to Pagan license by being brought up in its midst, and even themselves steeped in it. It was clearly from the first a serious matter for the violent North Africans to maintain the ideal of chastity, and when Christianity

spread to Northern Europe it seemed almost a hopeless task to acclimatize its ideals among the wild Germans. Hereafter it became necessary for celibacy to be imposed on the regular clergy by the stern force of ecclesiastical authority, while voluntary celibacy was only kept alive by a succession of religious enthusiasts perpetually founding new Orders. An asceticism thus enforced could not always be accompanied by the ardent exaltation necessary to maintain it, and in its artificial efforts at self-preservation it frequently fell from its insecure heights to the depths of unrestrained license.[1] This fatality of all hazardous efforts to overpass humanity's normal limits begun to be realized after the Middle Ages were over by clear-sighted thinkers. "Qui veut faire l'ange," said Pascal, pungently summing up this view of the matter, "fait la bête." That had often been illustrated in the history of the Church.

The Penitentials began to come into use in the seventh century, and became of wide prevalence and authority during the ninth and tenth centuries. They were bodies of law, partly spiritual and partly secular, and were thrown into the form of catalogues of offences with the exact measure of penance prescribed for each offence. They represented the introduction of social order among untamed barbarians, and were codes of criminal law much more than part of a system of sacramental confession and penance. In France and Spain, where order on a Christian basis already existed, they were little needed. They had their origin in Ireland and England, and especially flourished in Germany; Charlemagne supported them (see. *e.g.*, Lea, *History of Auricular Confession*, vol. ii, p. 96, also Ch. XVII; Hugh Williams, edition of Gildas, Part II, Appendix 3; the chief Penitentials are reproduced in Wasserschleben's *Bussordnungen*).

In 1216 the Lateran Council, under Innocent III, made confession obligatory. The priestly prerogative of regulating the amount of penance according to circumstances, with greater flexibility than the rigid Penitentials admitted, was first absolutely asserted by Peter of Poitiers.

[1] The strength of early Christian asceticism lay in its spontaneous and voluntary character. When, in the ninth century, the Carlovingians attempted to enforce monastic and clerical celibacy, the result was a great outburst of unchastity and crime; nunneries became brothels, nuns were frequently guilty of infanticide, monks committed unspeakable abominations, the regular clergy formed incestuous relations with their nearest female relatives (Lea, *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy*, vol. i, pp. 155 *et seq.*).

Then Alain de Lille threw aside the Penitentials as obsolete, and declared that the priest himself must inquire into the circumstances of each sin and weigh precisely its guilt (Lea, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 171).

Long before this period, however, the ideals of chastity, so far as they involved any considerable degree of continence, although they had become firmly hardened into the conventional traditions and ideals of the Christian Church, had ceased to have any great charm or force for the people living in Christendom. Among the Northern barbarians, with different traditions of a more vigorous and natural order behind them, the demands of sex were often frankly exhibited. The monk Ordericus Vitalis, in the eleventh century, notes what he calls the "lasciviousness" of the wives of the Norman conquerors of England who, when left alone at home, sent messages that if their husbands failed to return speedily they would take new ones. The celibacy of the clergy was only established with the very greatest difficulty, and when it was established, priests became unchaste. Archbishop Odo of Rouen, in the thirteenth century, recorded in the diary of his diocesan visitations that there was one unchaste priest in every five parishes, and even as regards the Italy of the same period the friar Salimbene in his remarkable autobiography shows how little chastity was regarded in the religious life Chastity could now only be maintained by force, usually the moral force of ecclesiastical authority, which was itself undermined by unchastity, but sometimes even physical force. It was in the thirteenth century, in the opinion of some, that the girdle of chastity (*cingula castitatis*) first begins to appear, but the chief authority, Caufeynon (*La Ceinture de Chasteté*, 1904) believes it only dates from the Renaissance (Schultz, *Das Höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesänger*, vol. i, p. 595; Dufour, *Histoire de la Prostitution*, vol. v, p. 272; Krauss, *Anthropophyteia*, vol. iii, p. 247). In the sixteenth century convents were liable to become almost brothels, as we learn on the unimpeachable authority of Burchard, a Pope's secretary, in his *Diarium*, edited by Thuasne who brings together additional authorities for this statement in a footnote (vol. ii, p. 79); that they remained so in the eighteenth century we see clearly in the pages of Casanova's *Mémoires*, and in many other documents of the period.

The Renaissance and the rise of humanism undoubtedly affected the feeling towards asceticism and chastity. On the one hand a new and ancient sanction was found for the disregard of virtues which men began to look upon as merely monkish, and on the other hand the finer spirits affected by the new movement began to realize that chastity might be better cultivated and observed by those who were free to do as they would than by

those who were under the compulsion of priestly authority. That is the feeling that prevails in Montaigne, and that is the idea of Rabelais when he made it the only rule of his Abbey of Thelème: "Fay ce que vouldras."

A little later this doctrine was repeated in varying tones by many writers more or less tinged by the culture brought into fashion by the Renaissance. "As long as Danae was free," remarks Ferrand in his sixteenth century treatise, *De la Maladie d'Amour*, "she was chaste." And Sir Kenelm Digby, the latest representative of the Renaissance spirit, insists in his *Private Memoirs* that the liberty which Lycurgus, "the wisest human law-maker that ever was," gave to women to communicate their bodies to men to whom they were drawn by noble affection, and the hope of generous offspring, was the true cause why "real chastity flourished in Sparta more than in any other part of the world."

In Protestant countries the ascetic ideal of chastity was still further discredited by the Reformation movement which was in considerable part a revolt against compulsory celibacy. Religion was thus no longer placed on the side of chastity. In the eighteenth century, if not earlier, the authority of Nature also was commonly invoked against chastity. It has thus happened that during the past two centuries serious opinion concerning chastity has only been partially favorable to it. It began to be felt that an unhappy and injurious mistake had been perpetrated by attempting to maintain a lofty ideal which encouraged hypocrisy. "The human race would gain much," as Senancour wrote early in the nineteenth century in his remarkable book on love, "if virtue were made less laborious. The merit would not be so great, but what is the use of an elevation which can rarely be sustained?"[1]

There can be no doubt that the undue discredit into which the idea of chastity began to fall from the eighteenth century

[1] Senancour, *De l'Amour*, vol. ii, p. 233. Islam has placed much less stress on chastity than Christianity, but practically, it would appear, there is often more regard for chastity under Mohammedan rule than under Christian rule. Thus it is stated by "Viator" (*Fortnightly Review*, Dec, 1908) that formerly, under Turkish Moslem rule, it was impossible to buy the virtue of women in Bosnia, but that now, under the Christian rule of Austria, it is everywhere possible to buy women near the Austrian frontier.

onwards was largely due to the existence of that merely external and conventional physical chastity which was arbitrarily enforced so far as it could be enforced,—and is indeed in some degree still enforced, nominally or really,—upon all respectable women outside marriage. The conception of the physical virtue of virginity had degraded the conception of the spiritual virtue of chastity. A mere routine, it was felt, prescribed to a whole sex, whether they would or not, could never possess the beauty and charm of a virtue. At the same time it began to be realized that, as a matter of fact, the state of compulsory virginity is not only not a state especially favorable to the cultivation of real virtues, but that it is bound up with qualities which are no longer regarded as of high value.[1]

"How arbitrary, artificial, contrary to Nature, is the life now imposed upon women in this matter of chastity!" wrote James Hinton forty years ago. "Think of that line: 'A woman who deliberates is lost.' We *make* danger, making all womanhood hang upon a point like this, and surrounding it with unnatural and preternatural dangers. There is a wanton unreason embodied in the life of woman now; the present 'virtue' is a morbid unhealthy plant. Nature and God never poised the life of a woman upon such a needle's point. The whole modern idea of chastity has in it sensual exaggeration, surely, in part, remaining to us from other times, with what was good in it in great part gone."

"The whole grace of virginity," wrote another philosopher, Guyau,

[1] The basis of this feeling was strengthened when it was shown by scholars that the physical virtue of "virginity" had been masquerading under a false name. To remain a virgin seems to have meant at the first, among peoples of early Aryan culture, by no means to take a vow of chastity, but to refuse to submit to the yoke of patriarchal marriage. The women who preferred to stand outside marriage were "virgins," even though mothers of large families, and Æschylus speaks of the Amazons as "virgins," while in Greek the child of an unmarried girl was always "the virgin's son." The history of Artemis, the most primitive of Greek deities, is instructive from this point of view. She was originally only virginal in the sense that she rejected marriage, being the goddess of a nomadic and matriarchal hunting people who had not yet adopted marriage, and she was the goddess of childbirth, worshipped with orgiastic dances and phallic emblems. It was by a late transformation that Artemis became the goddess of chastity (Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. ii. pp. 442 *et seq.*; Sir W. M. Ramsay, *Cities of Phrygia*, vol. i, p. 96; Paul Lafargue, "Les Mythes Historiques," *Revue des Idées*, Dec., 1904).

"is ignorance. Virginity, like certain fruits, can only be preserved by a process of desiccation."

Mérimée pointed out the same desiccating influence of virginity. In a letter dated 1859 he wrote: "I think that nowadays people attach far too much importance to chastity. Not that I deny that chastity is a virtue, but there are degrees in virtues just as there are in vices. It seems to be absurd that a woman should be banished from society for having had a lover, while a woman who is miserly, double-faced and spiteful goes everywhere. The morality of this age is assuredly not that which is taught in the Gospel. In my opinion it is better to love too much than not enough. Nowadays dry hearts are stuck up on a pinnacle" (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, April, 1896).

Dr. H. Paul has developed an allied point. She writes: "There are girls who, even as children, have prostituted themselves by masturbation and lascivious thoughts. The purity of their souls has long been lost and nothing remains unknown to them, but—they have preserved their hymens! That is for the sake of the future husband. Lo! no one dare to doubt their innocence with that unimpeachable evidence! And if another girl, who has passed her childhood in complete purity, now, with awakened senses and warm impetuous womanliness, gives herself to a man in love or even only in passion, they all stand up and scream that she is 'dishonored!' And, not least, the prostituted girl with the hymen. It is she indeed who screams loudest and throws the biggest stones. Yet the 'dishonored' woman, who is sound and wholesome, need not fear to tell what she has done to the man who desires her in marriage, speaking as one human being to another. She has no need to blush, she has exercised her human rights, and no reasonable man will on that account esteem her the less" (Dr. H. Paul, "Die Ueberschätzung der Jungfernschaft." *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, Bd. ii. p. 14, 1907).

In a similar spirit writes F. Erhard (*Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, Bd. i, p. 408): "Virginity in one sense has its worth, but in the ordinary sense it is greatly overestimated. Apart from the fact that a girl who possesses it may yet be thoroughly perverted, this overestimation of virginity leads to the girl who is without it being despised, and has further resulted in the development of a special industry for the preparation, by means of a prudishly cloistral education, of girls who will bring to their husbands the peculiar dainty of a bride who knows nothing about anything Naturally, this can only be achieved at the expense of any rational education. What the undeveloped little goose may turn into, no man can foresee."

Freud (*Sexual-Probleme*, March, 1908) also points out the evil results of the education for marriage which is given to girls on the basis of this ideal of virginity. "Education undertakes the task of repressing the girl's sensuality until the time of betrothal. It not only

forbids sexual relations and sets a high premium on innocence, but it also withdraws the ripening womanly individuality from temptation, maintaining a state of ignorance concerning the practical side of the part she is intended to play in life, and enduring no stirring of love which cannot lead to marriage. The result is that when she is suddenly permitted to fall in love by the authority of her elders, the girl cannot bring her psychic disposition to bear, and goes into marriage uncertain of her own feelings. As a consequence of this artificial retardation of the function of love she brings nothing but deception to the husband who has set all his desires upon her, and manifests frigidity in her physical relations with him."

Senancour (*De l'Amour*, vol. i, p. 285) even believes that, when it is possible to leave out of consideration the question of offspring, not only will the law of chastity become equal for the two sexes, but there will be a tendency for the situation of the sexes to be, to some extent, changed. "Continence becomes a counsel rather than a precept, and it is in women that the voluptuous inclination will be regarded with most indulgence. Man is made for work; he only meets pleasure in passing; he must be content that women should occupy themselves with it more than he. It is men whom it exhausts, and men must always, in part, restrain their desires."

As, however, we liberate ourselves from the bondage of a compulsory physical chastity, it becomes possible to rehabilitate chastity as a virtue. At the present day it can no longer be said that there is on the part of thinkers and moralists any active hostility to the idea of chastity; there is, on the contrary, a tendency to recognize the value of chastity. But this recognition has been accompanied by a return to the older and sounder conception of chastity. The preservation of a rigid sexual abstinence, an empty virginity, can only be regarded as a pseudo-chastity. The only positive virtue which Aristotle could have recognized in this field was a temperance involving restraint of the lower impulses, a wise exercise and not a non-exercise.[1] The best thinkers of the Christian Church adopted the same conception; St. Basil in his important monastic rules laid no weight on self-discipline as an end in itself, but regarded it as an instrument for enabling the spirit to gain power over the flesh. St Augustine declared that continence is only excellent when prac

[1] See, *e.g.*, Nicomachean Ethics, Bk. iii, Ch. XIII.

tised in the faith of the highest good,[1] and he regarded chastity as "an orderly movement of the soul subordinating lower things to higher things, and specially to be manifested in conjugal relationships"; Thomas Aquinas, defining chastity in much the same way, defined impurity as the enjoyment of sexual pleasure not according to right reason, whether as regards the object or the conditions.[2] But for a time the voices of the great moralists were unheard. The virtue of chastity was swamped in the popular Christian passion for the annihilation of the flesh, and that view was, in the sixteenth century, finally consecrated by the Council of Trent, which formally pronounced an anathema upon anyone who should declare that the state of virginity and celibacy was not better than the state of matrimony. Nowadays the pseudo-chastity that was of value on the simple ground that any kind of continence is of higher spiritual worth than any kind of sexual relationship belongs to the past, except for those who adhere to ancient ascetic creeds. The mystic value of virginity has gone; it seems only to arouse in the modern man's mind the idea of a piquancy craved by the hardened rake;[3] it is men who have themselves long passed the age of innocence who attach so much importance to the innocence of their brides. The conception of life-long continence as an ideal has also gone; at the best it is regarded as a mere matter of personal preference. And the conventional simulation of universal chastity, at the bidding of respectability, is coming to be regarded as a hindrance rather than a help to the cultivation of any real chastity.[4]

[1] *De Civitate Dei*, lib. xv, cap. XX. A little further on (lib. xvi, cap. XXV) he refers to Abraham as a man able to use women as a man should, his wife temperately, his concubine compliantly, neither immoderately.

[2] *Summa*, Migne's edition, vol. iii, qu. 154, art I.

[3] See the Study of Modesty in the first volume of these *Studies*.

[4] The majority of chaste youths, remarks an acute critic of modern life (Hellpâch, *Nervosität und Kultur*, p. 175), are merely actuated by traditional principles, or by shyness, fear of venereal infections, lack of self-confidence, want of money, very seldom by any consideration for a future wife, and that indeed would be a tragi-comic error, for a woman lays no importance on intact masculinity. Moreover, he adds, the chaste man is unable to choose a wife wisely, and it is among teachers and clergymen—the chastest class—that most unhappy marriages are made. Milton had already made this fact an argument for facility of divorce.

The chastity that is regarded by the moralist of to-day as a virtue has its worth by no means in its abstinence. It is not, in St. Theresa's words, the virtue of the tortoise which withdraws its limbs under its carapace. It is a virtue because it is a discipline in self-control, because it helps to fortify the character and will, and because it is directly favorable to the cultivation of the most beautiful, exalted, and effective sexual life. So viewed, chastity may be opposed to the demands of debased mediæval Catholicism, but it is in harmony with the demands of our civilized life to-day, and by no means at variance with the requirements of Nature.

There is always an analogy between the instinct of reproduction and the instinct of nutrition. In the matter of eating it is the influence of science, of physiology, which has finally put aside an exaggerated asceticism, and made eating "pure." The same process, as James Hinton well pointed out, has been made possible in the sexual relationships; "science has in its hands the key to purity."[1]

Many influences have, however, worked together to favor an insistence on chastity. There has, in the first place, been an inevitable reaction against the sexual facility which had come to be regarded as natural. Such facility was found to have no moral value, for it tended to relaxation of moral fibre and was unfavorable to the finest sexual satisfaction. It could not even claim to be natural in any broad sense of the word, for, in Nature generally, sexual gratification tends to be rare and difficult.[2] Courtship is arduous and long, the season of love is strictly delimited, pregnancy interrupts sexual relationships. Even among savages, so long as they have been untainted by civilization, virility is usually maintained by a fine asceticism; the

[1] "In eating," said Hinton, "we have achieved the task of combining pleasure with an absence of 'lust.' The problem for man and woman is so to use and possess the sexual passion as to make it the minister to higher things, with no restraint on it but that. It is essentially connected with things of the spiritual order, and would naturally revolve round them. To think of it as merely bodily is a mistake."

[2] See "Analysis of the Sexual Impulse" and Appendix, "The Sexual Instinct in Savages," in vol. iii of these *Studies*.

endurance of hardship, self-control and restraint, tempered by rare orgies, constitute a discipline which covers the sexual as well as every other department of savage life. To preserve the same virility in civilized life, it may well be felt, we must deliberately cultivate a virtue which under savage conditions of life is natural.[1]

The influence of Nietzsche, direct and indirect, has been on the side of the virtue of chastity in its modern sense. The command: "Be hard," as Nietzsche used it, was not so much an injunction to an unfeeling indifference towards others as an appeal for a more strenuous attitude towards one's self, the cultivation of a self-control able to gather up and hold in the forces of the soul for expenditure on deliberately accepted ends. "A relative chastity," he wrote, "a fundamental and wise foresight in the face of erotic things, even in thought, is part of a fine reasonableness in life, even in richly endowed and complete natures."[2] In this matter Nietzsche is a typical representative of the modern movement for the restoration of chastity to its proper place as a real and beneficial virtue, and not a mere empty convention. Such a movement could not fail to make itself felt, for all that favors facility and luxurious softness in sexual matters is quickly felt to degrade character as well as to diminish the finest erotic satisfaction. For erotic satisfaction, in its highest planes, is only possible when we have secured for the sexual impulse a high degree of what Colin Scott calls "irradiation," that is to say a wide diffusion through the whole of the psychic organism. And that can only be attained by placing impediments in the way of the swift and direct gratification of sexual desire, by compelling it to increase its force, to take long circuits, to charge the whole organism so highly that the final climax of gratified love is not the trivial detumescence of a petty desire but the immense consummation of a longing in which the whole soul as well as the whole body has its part. "Only the

[1] I have elsewhere discussed more at length the need in modern civilized life of a natural and sincere asceticism (see *Affirmations*, 1898) "St. Francis and Others."

[2] *Der Wille zur Macht*, p. 392.

chaste can be really obscene," said Huysmans. And on a higher plane, only the chaste can really love.

"Physical purity," remarks Hans Menjago ("Die Ueberschätzung der Physischen Reinheit," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, vol. ii, Part VIII) "was originally valued as a sign of greater strength of will and firmness of character, and it marked a rise above primitive conditions. This purity was difficult to preserve in those unsure days; it was rare and unusual. From this rarity rose the superstition of supernatural power residing in the virgin. But this has no meaning as soon as such purity becomes general and a specially conspicuous degree of firmness of character is no longer needed to maintain it. . . . . Physical purity can only possess value when it is the result of individual strength of character, and not when it is the result of compulsory rules of morality."

Konrad Höller, who has given special attention to the sexual question in schools, remarks in relation to physical exercise: "The greatest advantage of physical exercises, however, is not the development of the active and passive strength of the body and its skill, but the establishment and fortification of the authority of the will over the body and its needs, so much given up to indolence. He who has learnt to endure and overcome, for the sake of a definite aim, hunger and thirst and fatigue, will be the better able to withstand sexual impulses and the temptation to gratify them, when better insight and æsthetic feeling have made clear to him, as one used to maintain authority over his body, that to yield would be injurious or disgraceful" (K. Höller, "Die Aufgabe der Volksschule," *Sexualpädagogik*, p. 70). Professor Schäfenacker (*id.*, p. 102), who also emphasizes the importance of self-control and self-restraint, thinks a youth must bear in mind his future mission, as citizen and father of a family.

A subtle and penetrative thinker of to-day, Jules de Gaultier, writing on morals without reference to this specific question, has discussed what new internal inhibitory motives we can appeal to in replacing the old external inhibition of authority and belief which is now decayed. He answers that the state of feeling on which old faiths were based still persists. "May not," he asks, "the desire for a thing that we love and wish for beneficently replace the belief that a thing is by divine will, or in the nature of things? Will not the presence of a bridle on the frenzy of instinct reveal itself as a useful attitude adopted by instinct itself for its own conservation, as a symptom of the force and health of instinct? Is not empire over oneself, the power of regulating one's acts, a mark of superiority and a motive for self-esteem? Will not this joy of pride have the same authority in preserving the

instincts as was once possessed by religious fear and the pretended imperatives of reason?" (Jules de Gaultier, *La Dépendance de la Morale et l'Indépendance des Mœurs*, p. 153.)

H. G. Wells (in *A Modern Utopia*), pointing out the importance of chastity, though rejecting celibacy, invokes, like Jules de Gaultier, the motive of pride. "Civilization has developed far more rapidly than man has modified. Under the unnatural perfection of security, liberty, and abundance our civilization has attained, the normal untrained human being is disposed to excess in almost every direction; he tends to eat too much and too elaborately, to drink too much, to become lazy faster than his work can be reduced, to waste his interest upon displays, and to make love too much and too elaborately. He gets out of training, and concentrates upon egoistic or erotic broodings. Our founders organized motives from all sorts of sources, but I think the chief force to give men self-control is pride. Pride may not be the noblest thing in the soul, but it is the best king there, for all that. They looked to it to keep a man clean and sound and sane. In this matter, as in all matters of natural desire, they held no appetite must be glutted, no appetite must have artificial whets, and also and equally that no appetite should be starved. A man must come from the table satisfied, but not replete. And, in the matter of love, a straight and clean desire for a clean and straight fellow-creature was our founders' ideal. They enjoined marriage between equals as the duty to the race, and they framed directions of the precisest sort to prevent that uxorious insepar ableness, that connubiality, that sometimes reduces a couple of people to something jointly less than either."

With regard to chastity as an element of erotic satisfaction, Edward Carpenter writes (*Love's Coming of Age*, p. 11): "There is a kind of illusion about physical desire similar to that which a child suffers from when, seeing a beautiful flower, it instantly snatches the same, and destroys in a few moments the form and fragrance which attracted it. He only gets the full glory who holds himself back a little, and truly possesses, who is willing, if need be, not to possess. He is indeed a master of life who, accepting the grosser desires as they come to his body, and not refusing them, knows how to transform them at will into the most rare and fragrant flowers of human emotion."

Beyond its functions in building up character, in heightening and ennobling the erotic life, and in subserving the adequate fulfilment of family and social duties, chastity has a more special value for those who cultivate the arts. We may not always be inclined to believe the writers who have declared that their verse alone is wanton, but their lives chaste. It is certainly true, how-

ever, that a relationship of this kind tends to occur. The stuff of the sexual life, as Nietzsche says, is the stuff of art; if it is expended in one channel it is lost for the other. The masters of all the more intensely emotional arts have frequently cultivated a high degree of chastity. This is notably the case as regards music; one thinks of Mozart,[1] of Beethoven, of Schubert, and many lesser men. In the case of poets and novelists chastity may usually seem to be less prevalent but it is frequently well-marked, and is not seldom disguised by the resounding reverberations which even the slightest love-episode often exerts on the poetic organism. Goethe's life seems, at a first glance, to be a long series of continuous love-episodes. Yet when we remember that it was the very long life of a man whose vigor remained until the end, that his attachments long and profoundly affected his emotional life and his work, and that with most of the women he has immortalized he never had actual sexual relationships at all, and when we realize, moreover, that, throughout, he accomplished an almost inconceivably vast amount of work, we shall probably conclude that sexual indulgence had a very much smaller part in Goethe's life than in that of many an average man on whom it leaves no obvious emotional or intellectual trace whatever. Sterne, again, declared that he must always have a Dulcinea dancing in his head, yet the amount of his intimate relations with women appears to have been small. Balzac spent his life toiling at his desk and carrying on during many years a love correspondence with a woman he scarcely ever saw and at the end only spent a few months of married life with. The like experience has befallen many artistic creators. For, in the words of Landor, "absence is the invisible and incorporeal mother of ideal beauty."

We do well to remember that, while the auto-erotic manifestations through the brain are of infinite variety and importance,

[1] At the age of twenty-five, when he had already produced much fine work. Mozart wrote in his letters that he had never touched a woman, though he longed for love and marriage. He could not afford to marry, he would not seduce an innocent girl, a venial relation was repulsive to him.

the brain and the sexual organs are yet the great rivals in using up bodily energy, and that there is an antagonism between extreme brain vigor and extreme sexual vigor, even although they may sometimes both appear at different periods in the same individual.[1] In this sense there is no paradox in the saying of Ramon Correa that potency is impotence and impotence potency, for a high degree of energy, whether in athletics or in intellect or in sexual activity, is unfavorable to the display of energy in other directions. Every high degree of potency has its related impotencies.

It may be added that we may find a curiously inconsistent proof of the excessive importance attached to sexual function by a society which systematically tries to depreciate sex, in the disgrace which is attributed to the lack of "virile" potency. Although civilized life offers immense scope for the activities of sexually impotent persons, the impotent man is made to feel that, while he need not be greatly concerned if he suffers from nervous disturbances of digestion, if he should suffer just as innocently from nervous disturbances of the sexual impulse, it is almost a crime. A striking example of this was shown, a few years ago, when it was plausibly suggested that Carlyle's relations with his wife might best be explained by supposing that he suffered from some trouble of sexual potency. At once admirers rushed forward to "defend" Carlyle from this "disgraceful" charge; they were more shocked than if it had been alleged that he was a syphilitic. Yet impotence is, at the most, an infirmity, whether due to some congenital anatomical defect or to a disturbance of nervous balance in the delicate sexual mechanism, such as is apt to occur in men of abnormally sensitive temperament. It is no more disgraceful to suffer from it than from dyspepsia, with which, indeed, it may be associated. Many men of genius and high moral character have been sexually deformed. This was the case with Cowper (though this significant fact is suppressed by his biographers); Ruskin was divorced for a reason of this kind; and J. S. Mill, it is said, was sexually of little more than infantile development.

Up to this point I have been considering the quality of chastity and the quality of asceticism in their most general sense

[1] Reibmayr, *Die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Talentes und Genies.*, Bd. i, p. 437.

and without any attempt at precise differentiation.[1] But if we are to accept these as modern virtues, valid to-day, it is necessary that we should be somewhat more precise in defining them. It seems most convenient, and most strictly accordant also with etymology, if we agree to mean by asceticism or *ascesis*, the athlete quality of self-discipline, controlling, by no means necessarily for indefinitely prolonged periods, the gratification of the sexual impulse. By chastity, which is primarily the quality of purity, and secondarily that of holiness, rather than of abstinence, we may best understand a due proportion between erotic claims and the other claims of life. "Chastity," as Ellen Key well says, "is harmony between body and soul in relation to love." Thus comprehended, asceticism is the virtue of control that leads up to erotic gratification, and chastity is the virtue which exerts its harmonizing influence in the erotic life itself.

It will be seen that asceticism by no means necessarily involves perpetual continence. Properly understood, asceticism is a discipline, a training, which has reference to an end not itself. If it is compulsorily perpetual, whether at the dictates of a religious dogma, or as a mere fetish, it is no longer on a natural basis, and it is no longer moral, for the restraint of a man who has spent his whole life in a prison is of no value for life. If it is to be natural and to be moral asceticism must have an end outside itself, it must subserve the ends of vital activity, which cannot be subserved by a person who is engaged in a perpetual struggle with his own natural instincts. A man may, indeed, as a matter of taste or preference, live his whole life in sexual abstinence, freely and easily, but in that case he is not an ascetic, and his abstinence is neither a subject for applause nor for criticism.

[1] We may exclude altogether, it is scarcely necessary to repeat, the quality of virginity—that is to say, the possession of an intact hymen—since this is a merely physical quality with no necessary ethical relationships. The demand for virginity in women is, for the most part, either the demand for a better marketable article, or for a more powerful stimulant to masculine desire. Virginity involves no moral qualities in its possessor Chastity and asceticism, on the other hand, are meaningless terms, except as demands made by the spirit on itself or on the body it controls.

In the same way chastity, far from involving sexual abstinence, only has its value when it is brought within the erotic sphere. A purity that is ignorance, when the age of childish innocence is once passed, is mere stupidity; it is nearer to vice than to virtue. Nor is purity consonant with effort and struggle; in that respect it differs from asceticism. "We conquer the bondage of sex," Rosa Mayreder says, "by acceptance, not by denials, and men can only do this with the help of women." The would-be chastity of cold calculation is equally unbeautiful and unreal, and without any sort of value. A true and worthy chastity can only be supported by an ardent ideal, whether, as among the early Christians, this is the erotic ideal of a new romance, or, as among ourselves, a more humanly erotic ideal. "Only erotic idealism," says Ellen Key, "can arouse enthusiasm for chastity." Chastity in a healthily developed person can thus be beautifully exercised only in the actual erotic life; in part it is the natural instinct of dignity and temperance; in part it is the art of touching the things of sex with hands that remember their aptness for all the fine ends of life. Upon the doorway of entrance to the inmost sanctuary of love there is thus the same inscription as on the doorway to the Epidaurian Sanctuary of Aesculapius: "None but the pure shall enter here."

It will be seen that the definition of chastity remains somewhat lacking in precision. That is inevitable. We cannot grasp purity tightly, for, like snow, it will merely melt in our hands. "Purity itself forbids too minute a system of rules for the observance of purity," well says Sidgwick (*Methods of Ethics*, Bk. iii, Ch. IX). Elsewhere (*op. cit.*, Bk. iii, Ch. XI) he attempts to answer the question: What sexual relations are essentially impure? and concludes that no answer is possible. "There appears to be no distinct principle, having any claim to self-evidence, upon which the question can be answered so as to command general assent." Even what is called "Free Love," he adds, "in so far as it is earnestly advocated as a means to a completer harmony of sentiment between men and women, cannot be condemned as impure, for it seems paradoxical to distinguish purity from impurity merely by less rapidity of transition."

Moll, from the standpoint of medical psychology, reaches the same conclusion as Sidgwick from that of ethics. In a report on the "Value of Chastity for Men," published as an appendix to the third edition

(1899) of his *Konträre Sexualempfindung*, the distinguished Berlin physician discusses the matter with much vigorous common sense, insisting that "chaste and unchaste are *relative ideas*." We must not, he states, as is so often done, identify "chaste" with "sexually abstinent." He adds that we are not justified in describing all extra-marital sexual intercourse as unchaste, for, if we do so, we shall be compelled to regard nearly all men, and some very estimable women, as unchaste. He rightly insists that in this matter we must apply the same rule to women as to men, and he points out that even when it involves what may be technically adultery sexual intercourse is not necessarily unchaste. He takes the case of a girl who, at eighteen, when still mentally immature, is married to a man with whom she finds it impossible to live and a separation consequently occurs, although a divorce may be impossible to obtain. If she now falls passionately in love with a man her love may be entirely chaste, though it involves what is technically adultery.

In thus understanding asceticism and chastity, and their beneficial functions in life, we see that they occupy a place midway between the artificially exaggerated position they once held and that to which they were degraded by the inevitable reaction of total indifference or actual hostility which followed. Asceticism and chastity are not rigid categorical imperatives; they are useful means to desirable ends; they are wise and beautiful arts. They demand our estimation, but not our over-estimation. For in over-estimating them, it is too often forgotten, we over-estimate the sexual instinct. The instinct of sex is indeed extremely important. Yet it has not that all-embracing and supereminent importance which some, even of those who fight against it, are accustomed to believe. That artificially magnified conception of the sexual impulse is fortified by the artificial emphasis placed upon asceticism. We may learn the real place of the sexual impulse in learning how we may reasonably and naturally view the restraints on that impulse.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PROBLEM OF SEXUAL ABSTINENCE.

The Influence of Tradition—The Theological Conception of Lust—Tendency of These Influences to Degrade Sexual Morality—Their Result in Creating the Problem of Sexual Abstinence—The Protests Against Sexual Abstinence—Sexual Abstinence and Genius—Sexual Abstinence in Women—The Advocates of Sexual Abstinence—Intermediate Attitude—Unsatisfactory Nature of the Whole Discussion—Criticism of the Conception of Sexual Abstinence—Sexual Abstinence as Compared to Abstinence from Food—No Complete Analogy—The Morality of Sexual Abstinence Entirely Negative—Is It the Physician's Duty to Advise Extra-Conjugal Sexual Intercourse?—Opinions of Those Who Affirm or Deny This Duty—The Conclusion Against Such Advice—The Physician Bound by the Social and Moral Ideas of His Age—The Physician as Reformer—Sexual Abstinence and Sexual Hygiene—Alcohol—The Influence of Physical and Mental Exercise—The Inadequacy of Sexual Hygiene in This Field—The Unreal Nature of the Conception of Sexual Abstinence—The Necessity of Replacing It by a More Positive Ideal.

WHEN we look at the matter from a purely abstract or even purely biological point of view, it might seem that in deciding that asceticism and chastity are of high value for the personal life we have said all that is necessary to say. That, however, is very far from being the case. We soon realize here, as at every point in the practical application of sexual psychology, that it is not sufficient to determine the abstractly right course along biological lines. We have to harmonize our biological demands with social demands. We are ruled not only by natural instincts but by inherited traditions, that in the far past were solidly based on intelligible grounds, and that even still, by the mere fact of their existence, exert a force which we cannot and ought not to ignore.

In discussing the valuation of the sexual impulse we found that we had good ground for making a very high estimate of love. In discussing chastity and asceticism we found that they also are highly to be valued. And we found that, so far from any

contradiction being here involved, love and chastity are intertwined in all their finest developments, and that there is thus a perfect harmony in apparent opposition. But when we come to consider the matter in detail, in its particular personal applications, we find that a new factor asserts itself. We find that our inherited social and religious traditions exert a pressure, all on one side, which makes it impossible to place the relations of love and chastity simply on the basis of biology and reason. We are confronted at the outset by our traditions. On the one side these traditions have weighted the word "lust"—considered as expressing all the manifestations of the sexual impulse which are outside marriage or which fail to have marriage as their direct and ostentatious end—with deprecatory and sinister meanings. And on the other side these traditions have created the problem of "sexual abstinence," which has nothing to do with either asceticism or chastity as these have been defined in the previous chapter, but merely with the purely negative pressure on the sexual impulse, exerted, independently of the individual's wishes, by his religious and social environment.

The theological conception of "lust," or "libido," as sin, followed logically the early Christian conception of "the flesh," and became inevitable as soon as that conception was firmly established. Not only, indeed, had early Christian ideals a degrading influence on the estimation of sexual desire *per se*, but they tended to depreciate generally the dignity of the sexual relationship. If a man made sexual advances to a woman outside marriage, and thus brought her within the despised circle of "lust," he was injuring her because he was impairing her religious and moral value.[1] The only way he could repair the damage done was by paying her money or by entering into a forced and therefore probably unfortunate marriage with her. That is to say that sexual relationships were, by the ecclesiastical traditions,

[1] This view was an ambiguous improvement on the view, universally prevalent, as Westermarck has shown, among primitive peoples, that the sexual act involves indignity to a woman or depreciation of her only in so far as she is the property of another person who is the really injured party.

placed on a pecuniary basis, on the same level as prostitution. By its well-meant intentions to support the theological morality which had developed on an ascetic basis, the Church was thus really undermining even that form of sexual relationship which it sanctified.

Gregory the Great ordered that the seducer of a virgin shall marry her, or, in case of refusal, be severely punished corporally and shut up in a monastery to perform penance. According to other ecclesiastical rules, the seducer of a virgin, though held to no responsibility by the civil forum, was required to marry her, or to find a husband and furnish a dowry for her. Such rules had their good side, and were especially equitable when seduction had been accomplished by deceit. But they largely tended in practice to subordinate all questions of sexual morality to a money question. The reparation to the woman, also, largely became necessary because the ecclesiastical conception of lust caused her value to be depreciated by contact with lust, and the reparation might be said to constitute a part of penance. Aquinas held that lust, in however slight a degree, is a mortal sin, and most of the more influential theologians took a view nearly or quite as rigid. Some, however, held that a certain degree of delectation is possible in these matters without mortal sin, or asserted, for instance, that to feel the touch of a soft and warm hand is not mortal sin so long as no sexual feeling is thereby aroused. Others, however, held that such distinctions are impossible, and that all pleasures of this kind are sinful. Tomás Sanchez endeavored at much length to establish rules for the complicated problems of delectation that thus arose, but he was constrained to admit that no rules are really possible, and that such matters must be left to the judgment of a prudent man. At that point casuistry dissolves and the modern point of view emerges (see, *e.g.*, Lea, *History of Auricular Confession*, vol. ii, pp. 57. 115, 246, etc.).

Even to-day the influence of the old traditions of the Church still unconsciously survives among us. That is inevitable as regards religious teachers, but it is found also in men of science, even in Protestant countries. The result is that quite contradictory dogmas are found side by side, even in the same writer. On the one hand, the manifestations of the sexual impulse are emphatically condemned as both unnecessary and evil; on the other hand, marriage, which is fundamentally (whatever else it may also be) a manifestation of the sexual impulse, receives equally emphatic approval as the only proper and moral form of

living.[1] There can be no reasonable doubt whatever that it is to the surviving and pervading influence of the ancient traditional theological conception of *libido* that we must largely attribute the sharp difference of opinions among physicians on the question of sexual abstinence and the otherwise unnecessary acrimony with which these opinions have sometimes been stated.

On the one side, we find the emphatic statement that sexual intercourse is necessary and that health cannot be maintained unless the sexual activities are regularly exercised.

"All parts of the body which are developed for a definite use are kept in health, and in the enjoyment of fair growth and of long youth, by the fulfilment of that use, and by their appropriate exercise in the employment to which they are accustomed." In that statement, which occurs in the great Hippocratic treatise "On the Joints," we have the classic expression of the doctrine which in ever varying forms has been taught by all those who have protested against sexual abstinence. When we come down to the sixteenth century outbreak of Protestantism we find that Luther's revolt against Catholicism was in part a protest against the teaching of sexual abstinence. "He to whom the gift of continence is not given," he said in his *Table Talk*, "will not become chaste by fasting and vigils. For my own part I was not excessively tormented [though elsewhere he speaks of the great fires of lust by which he had been troubled], but all the same the more I macerated myself the more I burnt." And three hundred years later, Bebel, the would-be nineteenth century Luther of a different Protestantism, took the same attitude towards sexual abstinence, while Hinton the physician and philosopher, living in a land of rigid sexual conventionalism and prudery, and moved by keen sympathy for the sufferings he saw around him, would break into passionate sarcasm when confronted by the doctrine of sexual abstinence. "There are innumerable ills—terrible destructions, madness even, the ruin of lives—for which the embrace of man and woman would be a remedy. No one thinks of

[1] This implicit contradiction has been acutely pointed out from the religious side by the Rev. H. Northcote, *Christianity and Sex Problems*, p. 53

questioning it. Terrible evils and a remedy in a delight and joy! And man has chosen so to muddle his life that he must say: "There, that would be a remedy, but I cannot use it. *I must be virtuous!*"

If we confine ourselves to modern times and to fairly precise medical statements, we find in Schurig's *Spermatologia* (1720, pp. 274 *et seq.*), not only a discussion of the advantages of moderate sexual intercourse in a number of disorders, as witnessed by famous authorities, but also a list of results—including anorexia, insanity, impotence, epilepsy, even death—which were believed to have been due to sexual abstinence. This extreme view of the possible evils of sexual abstinence seems to have been part of the Renaissance traditions of medicine stiffened by a certain opposition between religion and science. It was still rigorously stated by Lallemand early in the nineteenth century. Subsequently, the medical statements of the evil results of sexual abstinence became more temperate and measured, though still often pronounced. Thus Gyurkovechky believes that these results may be as serious as those of sexual excess. Krafft-Ebing showed that sexual abstinence could produce a state of general nervous excitement (*Jahrbuch für Psychiatrie*, Bd. viii, Heft 1 and 2). Schrenck-Notzing regards sexual abstinence as a cause of extreme sexual hyperæsthesia and of various perversions (in a chapter on sexual abstinence in his *Kriminalpsychologische und Psychopathologische Studien*, 1902, pp. 174-178). He records in illustration the case of a man of thirty-six who had masturbated in moderation as a boy, but abandoned the practice entirely, on moral grounds, twenty years ago, and has never had sexual intercourse, feeling proud to enter marriage a chaste man, but now for years has suffered greatly from extreme sexual hyperæsthesia and concentration of thought on sexual subjects, notwithstanding a strong will and the resolve not to masturbate or indulge in illicit intercourse. In another case a vigorous and healthy man, not inverted, and with strong sexual desires, who remained abstinent up to marriage, suffers from psychic impotence, and his wife remains a virgin notwithstanding all her affection and caresses. Ord considered that sexual abstinence might produce many minor evils. "Most of us," he wrote (*British Medical Journal*, Aug 2, 1884) "have, no doubt, been consulted by men, chaste in act, who are tormented by sexual excitement. They tell one stories of long-continued local excitement, followed by intense muscular weariness, or by severe aching pain in the back and legs. In some I have had complaints of swelling and stiffness in the legs, and of pains in the joints, particularly in the knees;" he gives the case of a man who suffered after prolonged chastity from inflammatory conditions of knees and was only cured by marriage.

Pearce Gould, it may be added, finds that "excessive ungratified sexual desire" is one of the causes of acute orchitis. Remondino ("Some Observations on Continence as a Factor in Health and Disease," *Pacific Medical Journal*, Jan., 1900) records the case of a gentleman of nearly seventy who, during the prolonged illness of his wife, suffered from frequent and extreme priapism, causing insomnia. He was very certain that his troubles were not due to his continence, but all treatment failed and there were no spontaneous emissions. At last Remondino advised him to, as he expresses it, "imitate Solomon." He did so, and all the symptoms at once disappeared. This case is of special interest, because the symptoms were not accompanied by any conscious sexual desire. It is no longer generally believed that sexual abstinence tends to produce insanity, and the occasional cases in which prolonged and intense sexual desire in young women is followed by insanity will usually be found to occur on a basis of hereditary degeneration. It is held by many authorities, however, that minor mental troubles, of a more or less vague character, as well as neurasthenia and hysteria, are by no means infrequently dué to sexual abstinence. Thus Freud, who has carefully studied angstneurosis, the obsession of anxiety, finds that it is a result of sexual abstinence, and may indeed be considered as a vicarious form of such abstinence (Freud, *Sammlung Kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre*, 1906, pp. 76 *et seq.*).

The whole subject of sexual abstinence has been discussed at length by Nyström, of Stockholm, in *Das Geschlechtsleben und seine Gesetze*, Ch. III. He concludes that it is desirable that continence should be preserved as long as possible in order to strengthen the physical health and to develop the intelligence and character. The doctrine of permanent sexual abstinence, however, he regards as entirely false, except in the case of a small number of religious or philosophic persons. "Complete abstinence during a long period of years cannot be borne without producing serious results both on the body and the mind. . . . . Certainly, a young man should repress his sexual impulses as long as possible and avoid everything that may artificially act as a sexual stimulant. If, however, he has done so, and still suffers from unsatisfied normal sexual desires, and if he sees no possibility of marriage within a reasonable time, no one should dare to say that he is committing a sin if, with mutual understanding, he enters into sexual relations with a woman friend, or forms temporary sexual relationships provided, that is, that he takes the honorable precaution of begetting no children, unless his partner is entirely willing to become a mother, and he is prepared to accept all the responsibilities of fatherhood." In an article of later date ("Die Einwirkung der Sexuellen Abstinenz auf die Gesundheit," *Sexual-Probleme*, July, 1908) Nyström vigorously sums up his views. He includes among the results of sexual abstinence orchitis

frequent involuntary seminal emissions, impotence, neurasthenia, depression, and a great variety of nervous disturbances of vaguer character, involving diminished power of work, limited enjoyment of life, sleeplessness, nervousness, and preoccupation with sexual desires and imaginations. More especially there is heightened sexual irritability with erections, or even seminal emissions on the slightest occasion, as on gazing at an attractive woman or in social intercourse with her, or in the presence of works of art representing naked figures. Nyström has had the opportunity of investigating and recording ninety cases of persons who have presented these and similar symptoms as the result, he believes, of sexual abstinence. He has published some of these cases (*Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, Oct., 1908), but it may be added that Rohleder ("Die Abstinentia Sexualis," *ib.*, Nov., 1908) has criticized these cases, and doubts whether any of them are conclusive. Rohleder believes that the bad results of sexual abstinence are never permanent, and also that no anatomically pathological states (such as orchitis) can be thereby produced. But he considers, nevertheless, that even incomplete and temporary sexual abstinence may produce fairly serious results, and especially neurasthenic disturbances of various kinds, such as nervous irritability, anxiety, depression, disinclination for work; also diurnal emissions, premature ejaculations, and even a state approaching satyriasis; and in women hysteria, hystero-epilepsy, and nymphomaniacal manifestations; all these symptoms may, however, he believes, be cured when the abstinence ceases.

Many advocates of sexual abstinence have attached importance to the fact that men of great genius have apparently been completely continent throughout life. This is certainly true (see *ante*, p. 173). But this fact can scarcely be invoked as an argument in favor of the advantages of sexual abstinence among the ordinary population. J. F. Scott selects Jesus, Newton, Beethoven, and Kant as "men of vigor and mental acumen who have lived chastely as bachelors." It cannot, however, be said that Dr. Scott has been happy in the four figures whom he has been able to select from the whole history of human genius as examples of life-long sexual abstinence. We know little with absolute certainty of Jesus, and even if we reject the diagnosis which Professor Binet-Sanglé (in his *Folie de Jesus*) has built up from a minute study of the Gospels, there are many reasons why we should refrain from emphasizing the example of his sexual abstinence; Newton, apart from his stupendous genius in a special field, was an incomplete and unsatisfactory human being who ultimately reached a condition very like insanity; Beethoven was a thoroughly morbid and diseased man, who led an intensely unhappy existence; Kant, from first to last, was a feeble valetudinarian. It would probably be difficult to find a healthy normal man who would voluntarily accept the life led by any of these four, even as the price

of their fame. J. A. Godfrey (*Science of Sex*, pp. 139-147) discusses at length the question whether sexual abstinence is favorable to ordinary intellectual vigor, deciding that it is not, and that we cannot argue from the occasional sexual abstinence of men of genius, who are often abnormally constituted, and physically below the average, to the normally developed man. Sexual abstinence, it may be added, is by no means always a favorable sign, even in men who stand intellectually above the average. "I have not obtained the impression," remarks Freud (*Sexual-Probleme*, March, 1908), "that sexual abstinence is helpful to energetic and independent men of action or original thinkers, to courageous liberators or reformers. The sexual conduct of a man is often symbolic of his whole method of reaction in the world. The man who energetically grasps the object of his sexual desire may be trusted to show a similarly relentless energy in the pursuit of other aims."

Many, though not all, who deny that prolonged sexual abstinence is harmless, include women in this statement. There are some authorities indeed who believe that, whether or not any conscious sexual desire is present, sexual abstinence is less easily tolerated by women than by men.[1]

Cabanis, in his famous and pioneering work, *Rapports du Physique et du Moral*, said in 1802, that women not only bear sexual excess more easily than men, but sexual privations with more difficulty, and a cautious and experienced observer of to-day, Löwenfeld (*Sexualleben und Nervenleiden*, 1899, p. 53), while not considering that normal women bear sexual abstinence less easily than men, adds that this is not the case with women of neuropathic disposition, who suffer much more from this cause, and either masturbate when sexual intercourse is impossible or fall into hystero-neurasthenic states. Busch stated (*Das Geschlechtsleben des Weibes*, 1839, vol. i, pp. 69, 71) that not only is the working of the sexual functions in the organism stronger in women than in men but that the bad results of sexual abstinence are more marked in women. Sir Benjamin Brodie said long ago that the evils of continence to women are perhaps greater than those of incontinence, and to-day Hammer (*Die Gesundheitlichen Gefahren der Geschlechtlichen Enthaltsamkeit*, 1904) states that, so far as reasons of health are concerned, sexual abstinence is no more to be recommended to women than to men. Nyström is of the same opinion, though he thinks that women bear sexual abstinence better than men, and has discussed this special question at length in a section of his *Geschlechtsleben und seine Gesetze*. He agrees with the

[1] It has already been necessary to discuss this point briefly in "The Sexual Impulse in Women," vol. iii of these *Studies*.

experienced Erb that a large number of completely chaste women of high character, and possessing distinguished qualities of mind and heart, are more or less disordered through their sexual abstinence; this is specially often the case with women married to impotent men, though it is frequently not until they approach the age of thirty, Nyström remarks, that women definitely realize their sexual needs.

A great many women who are healthy, chaste, and modest, feel at times such powerful sexual desire that they can scarcely resist the temptation to go into the street and solicit the first man they meet. Not a few such women, often of good breeding, do actually offer themselves to men with whom they may have perhaps only the slightest acquaintance. Routh records such cases (*British Gynæcological Journal*, Feb., 1887), and most men have met with them at some time. When a woman of high moral character and strong passions is subjected for a very long period to the perpetual strain of such sexual craving, especially if combined with love for a definite individual, a chain of evil results, physical and moral, may be set up, and numerous distinguished physicians have recorded such cases, which terminated at once in complete recovery as soon as the passion was gratified. Lauvergne long since described a case. A fairly typical case of this kind was reported in detail by Brachet (*De l'Hypochondrie*, p. 69) and embodied by Griesinger in his classic work on "Mental Pathology." It concerned a healthy married lady, twenty-six years old, having three children. A visiting acquaintance completely gained her affections, but she strenuously resisted the seducing influence, and concealed the violent passion that he had aroused in her. Various serious symptoms, physical and mental, slowly began to appear, and she developed what seemed to be signs of consumption. Six months' stay in the south of France produced no improvement, either in the bodily or mental symptoms. On returning home she became still worse. Then she again met the object of her passion, succumbed, abandoned her husband and children, and fled with him. Six months later she was scarcely recognizable; beauty, freshness and plumpness had taken the place of emaciation; while the symptoms of consumption and all other troubles had entirely disappeared A somewhat similar case is recorded by Camill Lederer, of Vienna (*Monatsschrift für Harnkrankheiten und Sexuelle Hygiene*, 1906, Heft 3). A widow, a few months after her husband's death, began to cough, with symptoms of bronchial catarrh, but no definite signs of lung disease. Treatment and change of climate proved entirely unavailing to effect a cure. Two years later, as no signs of disease had appeared in the lungs, though the symptoms continued, she married again. Within a very few weeks all symptoms had disappeared, and she was entirely fresh and well.

Numerous distinguished gynæcologists have recorded their belief

that sexual excitement is a remedy for various disorders of the sexual system in women, and that abstinence is a cause of such disorders. Matthews Duncan said that sexual excitement is the only remedy for amenorrhœa; "the only emmenagogue medicine that I know of," he wrote (*Medical Times*, Feb. 2, 1884), "is not to be found in the Pharmacopœia: it is erotic excitement. Of the value of erotic excitement there is no doubt." Anstie, in his work on *Neuralgia*, refers to the beneficial effect of sexual intercourse on dysmenorrhœa, remarking that the necessity of the full natural exercise of the sexual function is shown by the great improvement in such cases after marriage, and especially after childbirth. (It may be remarked that not all authorities find dysmenorrhœa benefited by marriage, and some consider that the disease is often thereby aggravated; see, *e.g.*, Wythe Cook, *American Journal Obstetrics*, Dec., 1893.) The distinguished gynæcologist, Tilt, at a somewhat earlier date (*On Uterine and Ovarian Inflammation*, 1862, p. 309), insisted on the evil results of sexual abstinence in producing ovarian irritation, and perhaps subacute ovaritis, remarking that this was specially pronounced in young widows, and in prostitutes placed in penitentiaries. Intense desire, he pointed out, determines organic movements resembling those required for the gratification of the desire These burning desires, which can only be quenched by their legitimate satisfaction, are still further heightened by the erotic influence of thoughts, books, pictures, music, which are often even more sexually stimulating than social intercourse with men, but the excitement thus produced is not relieved by that natural collapse which should follow a state of vital turgescence. After referring to the biological facts which show the effect of psychic influences on the formative powers of the ovario-uterine organs in animals, Tilt continues: "I may fairly infer that similar incitements on the mind of females may have a stimulating effect on the organs of ovulation. I have frequently known menstruation to be irregular, profuse, or abnormal in type during courtship in women in whom nothing similar had previously occurred, and that this protracted the treatment of chronic ovaritis and of uterine inflammation." Bonnifield, of Cincinnati (*Medical Standard*, Dec, 1896), considers that unsatisfied sexual desire is an important cause of catarrhal endometritis. It is well known that uterine fibroids bear a definite relation to organic sexual activity, and that sexual abstinence, more especially the long continued deprivation of pregnancy, is a very important cause of the disease. This is well shown by an analysis by A. E. Giles (*Lancet*, March 2, 1907) of one hundred and fifty cases. As many as fifty-six of these cases, more than a third, were unmarried women, though nearly all were over thirty years of age. Of the ninety-four married women, thirty-four had never been pregnant; of those who had been pregnant, thirty-six had not been so for at least ten years. Thus eighty-four per

cent. had either not been pregnant at all, or had had no pregnancy for at least ten years. It is, therefore, evident that deprivation of sexual function, whether or not involving abstinence from sexual intercourse, is an important cause of uterine fibroid tumors. Balls-Headley, of Victoria (*Evolution of the Diseases of Women*, 1894, and "Etiology of Diseases of Female Genital Organs," Allbutt and Playfair, *System of Gynæcology*), believes that unsatisfied sexual desire is a factor in very many disorders of the sexual organs in women. "My views," he writes in a private letter, "are founded on a really special gynæcological practice of twenty years, during which I have myself taken about seven thousand most careful records. The normal woman is sexually well formed and her sexual feelings require satisfaction in the direction of the production of the next generation, but under the restrictive and now especially abnormal conditions of civilization some women undergo hereditary atrophy, and the uterus and sexual feelings are feeble; in others of good average local development the feeling is in restraint; in others the feelings, as well as the organs, are strong, and if normal use be withheld evils ensue. Bearing in mind these varieties of congenital development in relation to the respective condition of virginity, or sterile or parous married life, the mode of occurrence and of progress of disease grows on the physician's mind, and there is no more occasion for bewilderment than to the methematician studying conic sections, when his knowledge has grown from the basis of the science. The problem is suggested: Has a crowd of unassociated diseases fallen as through a sieve on woman, or have these affections almost necessarily ensued from the circumstances of her unnatural environment?" It may be added that Kisch (*Sexual Life of Woman*), while protesting against any exaggerated estimate of the effects of sexual abstinence, considers that in women it may result, not only in numerous local disorders, but also in nervous disturbance, hysteria, and even insanity, while in neurasthenic women "regulated sexual intercourse has an actively beneficial effect which is often striking."

It is important to remark that the evil results of sexual abstinence in women, in the opinion of many of those who insist upon their importance, are by no means merely due to unsatisfied sexual desire. They may be pronounced even when the woman herself has not the slightest consciousness of sexual needs. This was clearly pointed out forty years ago by the sagacious Anstie (*op. cit*). In women, especially, he remarks, "a certain restless hyperactivity of mind, and perhaps of body also, seems to be the expression of Nature's unconscious resentment of the *neglect of sexual functions*." Such women, he adds, have kept themselves free from masturbation "at the expense of a perpetual and almost fierce activity of mind and muscle" Anstie had found that some of the worst cases of the form of nervosity and neurasthenia which he termed

"spinal irritation," often accompanied by irritable stomach and anæmia get well on marriage. "There can be no question," he continues, "that a very large proportion of these cases in single women (who form by far the greater number of subjects of spinal irritation) are due to this conscious or unconscious irritation kept up by an unsatisfied sexual want. It is certain that very many young persons (women more especially) are tormented by the irritability of the sexual organs without having the least consciousness of sexual desire, and present the sad spectacle of a *vie manquée* without ever knowing the true source of the misery which incapacitates them for all the active duties of life. It is a singular fact that in occasional instances one may even see two sisters, inheriting the same kind of nervous organization, both tormented with the symptoms of spinal irritation and both probably suffering from repressed sexual functions, but of whom one shall be pure-minded and entirely unconscious of the real source of her troubles, while the other is a victim to conscious and fruitless sexual irritation." In this matter Anstie may be regarded as a forerunner of Freud, who has developed with great subtlety and analytic power the doctrine of the transformation of repressed sexual instinct in women into morbid forms. He considers that the nervosity of to-day is largely due to the injurious action on the sexual life of that repression of natural instincts on which our civilization is built up. (Perhaps the clearest brief statement of Freud's views on the matter is to be found in a very suggestive article, "Die 'Kulturelle' Sexualmoral und die Moderne Nervosität," in *Sexual-Probleme*, March, 1908, reprinted in the second series of Freud's *Sammlung Kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre*, 1909). We possess the aptitude, he says, of sublimating and transforming our sexual activities into other activities of a psychically related character, but non-sexual. This process cannot, however, be carried out to an unlimited extent any more than can the conversion of heat into mechanical work in our machines. A certain amount of direct sexual satisfaction is for most organizations indispensable, and the renunciation of this individually varying amount is punished by manifestations which we are compelled to regard as morbid. The process of sublimation, under the influence of civilization, leads both to sexual perversions and to psycho neuroses. These two conditions are closely related, as Freud views the process of their development; they stand to each other as positive and negative, sexual perversions being the positive pole and psycho-neuroses the negative. It often happens, he remarks, that a brother may be sexually perverse, while his sister, with a weaker sexual temperament, is a neurotic whose symptoms are a transformation of her brother's perversion; while in many families the men are immoral, the women pure and refined but highly nervous. In the case of women who have no defect of sexual impulse there is yet the same pressure of civilized

morality pushing them into neurotic states. It is a terribly serious injustice, Freud remarks, that the civilized standard of sexual life is the same for all persons, because though some, by their organization, may easily accept it, for others it involves the most difficult psychic sacrifices. The unmarried girl, who has become nervously weak, cannot be advised to seek relief in marriage, for she must be strong in order to "bear" marriage, while we urge a man on no account to marry a girl who is not strong. The married woman who has experienced the deceptions of marriage has usually no way of relief left but by abandoning her virtue. "The more strenuously she has been educated, and the more completely she has been subjected to the demands of civilization, the more she fears this way of escape, and in the conflict between her desires and her sense of duty, she also seeks refuge—in neurosis. Nothing protects her virtue so surely as disease." Taking a still wider view of the influence of the narrow "civilized" conception of sexual morality on women, Freud finds that it is not limited to the production of neurotic conditions; it affects the whole intellectual aptitude of women. Their education denies them any occupation with sexual problems, although such problems are so full of interest to them, for it inculcates the ancient prejudice that any curiosity in such matters is unwomanly and a proof of wicked inclinations. They are thus terrified from thinking, and knowledge is deprived of worth. The prohibition to think extends, automatically and inevitably, far beyond the sexual sphere. "I do not believe," Freud concludes, "that there is any opposition between intellectual work and sexual activity such as was supposed by Möbius. I am of opinion that the unquestionable fact of the intellectual inferiority of so many women is due to the inhibition of thought imposed upon them for the purpose of sexual repression."

It is only of recent years that this problem has been realized and faced, though solitary thinkers, like Hinton, have been keenly conscious of its existence; for "sorrowing virtue," as Mrs. Ella Wheeler Wilcox puts it, "is more ashamed of its woes than unhappy sin, because the world has tears for the latter and only ridicule for the former." "It is an almost cynical trait of our age," Hellpach wrote a few years ago, "that it is constantly discussing the theme of prostitution, of police control, of the age of consent, of the 'white slavery,' and passes over the moral struggle of woman's soul without an attempt to answer her burning questions."

On the other hand we find medical writers not only asserting with much moral fervor that sexual intercourse outside marriage is always and altogether unnecessary, but declaring, moreover, the harmlessness or even the advantages of sexual abstinence.

Ribbing, the Swedish professor, in his *Hygiène Sexuelle*, advocates sexual abstinence outside marriage, and asserts its harmlessness. Gilles de la Tourette, Féré, and Augagneur in France agree. In Germany Fürbringer (Senator and Kaminer, *Health and Disease in Relation to Marriage*, vol. i, p. 228) asserts that continence is possible and necessary, though admitting that it may, however, mean serious mischief in exceptional cases. Eulenburg (*Sexuale Neuropathie*, p. 14) doubts whether anyone, who otherwise lived a reasonable life, ever became ill, or more precisely neurasthenic, through sexual abstinence. Hegar, replying to the arguments of Bebel in his well-known book on women, denies that sexual abstinence can ever produce satyriasis or nymphomania. Näcke, who has frequently discussed the problem of sexual abstinence (*e.g.*, *Archiv für Kriminal-Anthropologie*, 1903, Heft 1, and *Sexual-Probleme*, June, 1908), maintains that sexual abstinence can, at most, produce rare and slight unfavorable results, and that it is no more likely to produce insanity, even in predisposed individuals, than are the opposite extremes of sexual excess and masturbation. He adds that, so far as his own observations are concerned, the patients in asylums suffer scarcely at all from their compulsory sexual abstinence.

It is in England, however, that the virtues of sexual abstinence have been most loudly and emphatically proclaimed, sometimes indeed with considerable lack of cautious qualification. Acton, in his *Reproductive Organs*, sets forth the traditional English view, as well as Beale in his *Morality and the Moral Question*. A more distinguished representative of the same view was Paget, who, in his lecture on "Sexual Hypochondriasis," coupled sexual intercourse with "theft or lying." Sir William Gowers (*Syphilis and the Nervous System*, 1892, p. 126) also proclaims the advantages of "unbroken chastity," more especially as a method of avoiding syphilis. He is not hopeful, however, even as regards his own remedy, for he adds: "We can trace small ground for hope that the disease will thus be materially reduced." He would still, however, preach chastity to the individual and he does so with all the ascetic ardor of a mediæval monk. "With all the force that any knowledge I possess, and any authority I have, can give, I assert that no man ever yet was in the slightest degree or way the worse for continence or better for incontinence. From the latter all are worse morally; a clear majority are worse physically; and in no small number the result is, and ever will be, utter physical shipwreck on one of the many rocks, sharp, jagged-edged, which beset the way, or on one of the many beds of festering slime which no care can possibly avoid." In America the same view widely prevails, and Dr. J. F. Scott, in his *Sexual-Instinct* (second edition, 1908, Ch III), argues very vigorously and at great length in favor of sexual abstinence. He will not even admit that there

are two sides to the question, though if that were the case, the length and the energy of his arguments would be unnecessary.

Among medical authorities who have discussed the question of sexual abstinence at length it is not, indeed, usually possible to find such unqualified opinions in its favor as those I have quoted. There can be no doubt, however, that a large proportion of physicians, not excluding prominent and distinguished authorities, when casually confronted with the question whether sexual abstinence is harmless, will at once adopt the obvious path of least resistance and reply: Yes. In only a few cases will they even make any qualification of this affirmative answer. This tendency is very well illustrated by an inquiry made by Dr. Ludwig Jacobsohn, of St. Petersburgh ("Die Sexuelle Enthaltsamkeit im Lichte der Medizin," *St. Petersburger Medicinische Wochenschrift*, March 17, 1907). He wrote to over two hundred distinguished Russian and German professors of physiology, neurology, psychiatry, etc., asking them if they regarded sexual abstinence as harmless. The majority returned no answer; eleven Russian and twenty-eight Germans replied, but four of them merely said that "they had no personal experience," etc.; there thus remained thirty-five. Of these E. Pflüger, of Bonn, was skeptical of the advantage of any propaganda of abstinence: "if all the authorities in the world declared the harmlessness of abstinence that would have no influence on youth. Forces are here in play that break through all obstacles." The harmlessness of abstinence was affirmed by Kräpelin, Cramer, Gärtner, Tuczek, Schottelius, Gaffky, Finkler, Selenew, Lassar, Seifert, Gruber; the last, however, added that he knew very few abstinent young men, and himself only considered abstinence good before full development, and intercourse not dangerous in moderation even before then. Brieger knew cases of abstinence without harmful results, but himself thought that no general opinion could be given. Jürgensen said that abstinence *in itself* is not harmful, but that in some cases intercourse exerts a more beneficial influence. Hoffmann said that abstinence is harmless, adding that though it certainly leads to masturbation, that is better than gonorrhœa, to say nothing of syphilis, and is easily kept within bounds. Strümpell replied that sexual abstinence is harmless, and indirectly useful as preserving from the risk of venereal disease, but that sexual intercourse, being normal, is always more desirable. Hensen said that abstinence is not to be unconditionally approved. Rumpf replied that abstinence was not harmful for most before the age of thirty, but after that age there was a tendency to mental obsessions, and marriage should take place at twenty-five. Leyden also considered abstinence harmless until towards thirty, when it leads to psychic anomalies, especially states of anxiety, and a certain affectation. Hein replied that abstinence is harmless for most, but in some leads to hysterical manifestations and indirectly to

bad results from masturbation, while for the normal man abstinence cannot be directly beneficial, since intercourse is natural. Grützner thought that abstinence is almost never harmful. Nescheda said it is harmless in itself, but harmful in so far as it leads to unnatural modes of gratification. Neisser believes that more prolonged abstinence than is now usual would be beneficial, but admitted the sexual excitations of our civilization; he added that of course he saw no harm for healthy men in intercourse. Hoche replied that abstinence is quite harmless in normal persons, but not always so in abnormal persons. Weber thought it had a useful influence in increasing will-power. Tarnowsky said it is good in early manhood, but likely to be unfavorable after twenty-five Orlow replied that, especially in youth, it is harmless, and a man should be as chaste as his wife. Popow said that abstinence is good at all ages and preserves the energy. Blumenau said that in adult age abstinence is neither normal nor beneficial, and generally leads to masturbation, though not generally to nervous disorders; but that even masturbation is better than syphilis. Tschirnew saw no harm in abstinence up to thirty, and thought sexual weakness more likely to follow excess than abstinence. Tschish regarded abstinence as beneficial rather than harmful up to twenty-five or twenty-eight, but thought it difficult to decide after that age when nervous alterations seem to be caused. Darkschewitcz regarded abstinence as harmless up to twenty-five. Fränkel said it was harmless for most, but that for a considerable proportion of people intercourse is a necessity. Erb's opinion is regarded by Jacobsohn as standing alone; he placed the age below which abstinence is harmless at twenty; after that age he regarded it as injurious to health, seriously impeding work and capacity, while in neurotic persons it leads to still more serious results. Jacobsohn concludes that the general opinion of those answering the inquiry may thus be expressed: "Youth should be abstinent. Abstinence can in no way injure them; on the contrary, it is beneficial. If our young people will remain abstinent and avoid extra-conjugal intercourse they will maintain a high ideal of love and preserve themselves from venereal diseases."

The harmlessness of sexual abstinence was likewise affirmed in America in a resolution passed by the American Medical Association in 1906. The proposition thus formally accepted was thus worded: "Continence is not incompatible with health." It ought to be generally realized that abstract propositions of this kind are worthless, because they mean nothing. Every sane person, when confronted by the demand to boldly affirm or deny the proposition, "Continence is not incompatible with health," is bound to affirm it. He might firmly believe that continence is incompatible with the health of most people, and that prolonged continence is incompatible with anyone's health, and yet, if he is to be honest in the use of language, it would be impossible for him

to deny the vague and abstract proposition that "Continence is not incompatible with health." Such propositions are therefore not only without value, but actually misleading.

It is obvious that the more extreme and unqualified opinions in favor of sexual abstinence are based not on medical, but on what the writers regard as moral considerations. Moreover, as the same writers are usually equally emphatic in regard to the advantages of sexual intercourse in marriage, it is clear that they have committed themselves to a contradiction. The same act, as Näcke rightly points out, cannot become good or bad according as it is performed in or out of marriage. There is no magic efficacy in a few words pronounced by a priest or a government official.

Remondino (*loc. cit.*) remarks that the authorities who have committed themselves to declarations in favor of the unconditional advantages of sexual abstinence tend to fall into three errors: (1) they generalize unduly, instead of considering each case individually, on its own merits; (2) they fail to realize that human nature is influenced by highly mixed and complex motives and cannot be assumed to be amenable only to motives of abstract morality; (3) they ignore the great army of masturbators and sexual perverts who make no complaint of sexual suffering, but by maintaining a rigid sexual abstinence, so far as normal relationships are concerned, gradually drift into currents whence there is no return.

Between those who unconditionally affirm or deny the harmlessness of sexual abstinence we find an intermediate party of authorities whose opinions are more qualified. Many of those who occupy this more guarded position are men whose opinions carry much weight, and it is probable that with them rather than with the more extreme advocates on either side the greater measure of reason lies. So complex a question as this cannot be adequately investigated merely in the abstract, and settled by an unqualified negative or affirmative. It is a matter in which every case requires its own special and personal consideration.

"Where there is such a marked opposition of opinion truth is not exclusively on one side," remarks Löwenfeld (*Sexualleben und Nervenleiden*, second edition, p. 40). Sexual abstinence is certainly often injurious to neuropathic persons. (This is now believed by a large number of authorities, and was perhaps first decisively stated by Krafft-Ebing, "Ueber Neurosen durch Abstinenz," *Jahrbüch für Psychiatrie*, 1889, p. 1). Löwenfeld finds no special proclivity to neurasthenia

among the Catholic clergy, and when it does occur, there is no reason to suppose a sexual causation. "In healthy and not hereditarily neuropathic men complete abstinence is possible without injury to the nervous system." Injurious effects, he continues, when they appear, seldom occur until between twenty-four and thirty-six years of age, and even then are not usually serious enough to lead to a visit to a doctor, consisting mainly in frequency of nocturnal emissions, pain in testes or rectum, hyperæsthesia in the presence of women or of sexual ideas. If, however, conditions arise which specially stimulate the sexual emotions, neurasthenia may be produced. Löwenfeld agrees with Freud and Gattel that the neurosis of anxiety tends to occur in the abstinent, careful examination showing that the abstinence is a factor in its production in both sexes. It is common among young women married to much older men, often appearing during the first years of marriage. Under special circumstances, therefore, abstinence can be injurious, but on the whole the difficulties due to such abstinence are not severe, and they only exceptionally call forth actual disturbance in the nervous or psychic spheres. Moll takes a similar temperate and discriminating view. He regards sexual abstinence before marriage as the ideal, but points out that we must avoid any doctrinal extremes in preaching sexual abstinence, for such preaching will merely lead to hypocrisy Intercourse with prostitutes, and the tendency to change a woman like a garment, induce loss of sensitiveness to the spiritual and personal element in woman, while the dangers of sexual abstinence must no more be exaggerated than the dangers of sexual intercourse (Moll *Libido Sexualis*, 1898, vol. i, p. 848; *id.*, *Konträre Sexualempfindung* 1899, p. 588). Bloch also (in a chapter on the question of sexual abstinence in his *Sexualleben unserer Zeit*, 1908) takes a similar standpoint. He advocates abstention during early life and temporary abstention in adult life, such abstention being valuable, not only for the conservation and transformation of energy, but also to emphasize the fact that life contains other matters to strive for beyond the ends of sex. Redlich (*Medizinische Klinik*, 1908, No. 7) also, in a careful study of the medical aspects of the question, takes an intermediate standpoint in relation to the relative advantages and disadvantages of sexual abstinence. "We may say that sexual abstinence is not a condition which must, under all circumstances and at any price, be avoided though it is true that for the majority of healthy adult persons regular sexual intercourse is advantageous, and sometimes is even to be recommended."

It may be added that from the standpoint of Christian religious morality this same attitude, between the extremes of either party, recognizing the advantages of sexual abstinence, but not insisting that they shall be purchased at any price, has also found representation.

Thus, in England, an Anglican clergyman, the Rev. H. Northcote (*Christianity and Sex Problems*, pp. 58, 60) deals temperately and sympathetically with the difficulties of sexual abstinence, and is by no means convinced that such abstinence is always an unmixed advantage; while in Germany a Catholic priest, Karl Jentsch (*Sexualethik, Sexualjustiz, Sexualpolizei*, 1900) sets himself to oppose the rigorous and unqualified assertions of Ribbing in favor of sexual abstinence. Jentsch thus expresses what he conceives ought to be the attitude of fathers, of public opinion, of the State and the Church towards the young man in this matter: "Endeavor to be abstinent until marriage. Many succeed in this. If you can succeed, it is good. But, if you cannot succeed, it is unnecessary to cast reproaches on yourself and to regard yourself as a scoundrel or a lost sinner. Provided that you do not abandon yourself to mere enjoyment or wantonness, but are content with what is necessary to restore your peace of mind, self-possession, and cheerful capacity for work, and also that you observe the precautions which physicians or experienced friends impress upon you."

When we thus analyze and investigate the the three main streams of expert opinions in regard to this question of sexual abstinence—the opinions in favor of it, the opinions in opposition to it, and the opinions which take an intermediate course—we can scarcely fail to conclude how unsatisfactory the whole discussion is. The state of "sexual abstinence" is a completely vague and indefinite state. The indefinite and even meaningless character of the expression "sexual abstinence" is shown by the frequency with which those who argue about it assume that it can, may, or even must, involve masturbation. That fact alone largely deprives it of value as morality and altogether as abstinence. At this point, indeed, we reach the most fundamental criticism to which the conception of "sexual abstinence" lies open. Rohleder, an experienced physician and a recognized authority on questions of sexual pathology, has submitted the current views on "sexual abstinence" to a searching criticism in a lengthy and important paper.[1] He denies altogether that strict sexual abstinence exists at all. "Sexual abstinence," he points out, in any strict scense of the term, must involve abstinence not merely from sexual intercourse but from auto-erotic manifestations, from masturba-

[1] "Die Abstinentia Sexualis," *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenchaft*, Nov., 1908.

tion, from homosexual acts, from all sexually perverse practices. It must further involve a permanent abstention from indulgence in erotic imaginations and voluptuous reverie. When, however, it is possible thus to render the whole psychic field a *tabula rasa* so far as sexual activity is concerned—and if it fails to be so constantly and consistently there is no strict sexual abstinence—then, Rohleder points out, we have to consider whether we are not in presence of a case of sexual anæsthesia, of *anaphrodisia sexualis*. That is a question which is rarely, if ever, faced by those who discuss sexual abstinence. It is, however, an extremely pertinent question, because, as Rohleder insists, if sexual anæsthesia exists the question of sexual abstinence falls to the ground, for we can only "abstain" from actions that are in our power. Complete sexual anæsthesia is, however, so rare a state that it may be practically left out of consideration, and as the sexual impulse, if it exists, must by physiological necessity sometimes become active in some shape—even if only, according to Freud's view, by transformation into some morbid neurotic condition—we reach the conclusion that "sexual abstinence" is strictly impossible. Rohleder has met with a few cases in which there seemed to him no escape from the conclusion that sexual abstinence existed, but in all of these he subsequently found that he was mistaken, usually owing to the practice of masturbation, which he believes to be extremely common and very frequently accompanied by a persistent attempt to deceive the physician concerning its existence. The only kind of "sexual abstinence" that exists is a partial and temporary abstinence. Instead of saying, as some say, "Permanent abstinence is unnatural and cannot exist without physical and mental injury," we ought to say, Rohleder believes, "Permanent abstinence is unnatural and has never existed."

It is impossible not to feel as we contemplate this chaotic mass of opinions, that the whole discussion is revolving round a purely negative idea, and that fundamental fact is responsible for what at first seem to be startling conflicts of statement. If indeed we were to eliminate what is commonly regarded as the religious and moral aspect of the matter—an aspect, be it

remembered, which has no bearing on the essential natural facts of the question—we cannot fail to perceive that these ostentatious differences of conviction would be reduced within very narrow and trifling limits.

We cannot strictly coördinate the impulse of reproduction with the impulse of nutrition. There are very important differences between them, more especially the fundamental difference that while the satisfaction of the one impulse is absolutely necessary both to the life of the individual and of the race, the satisfaction of the other is absolutely necessary only to the life of the race. But when we reduce this question to one of "sexual abstinence" we are obviously placing it on the same basis as that of abstinence from food, that is to say at the very opposite pole to which we place it when (as in the previous chapter) we consider it from the point of view of asceticism and chastity. It thus comes about that on this negative basis there really is an interesting analogy between nutritive abstinence, though necessarily only maintained incompletely and for a short time, and sexual abstinence, maintained more completely and for a longer time. A patient of Janet's seems to bring out clearly this resemblance. Nadia, whom Janet was able to study during five years, was a young woman of twenty-seven, healthy and intelligent, not suffering from hysteria nor from anorexia, for she had a normal appetite. But she had an idea; she was anxious to be slim and to attain this end she cut down her meals to the smallest size, merely a little soup and a few eggs. She suffered much from the abstinence she thus imposed on herself, and was always hungry, though sometimes her hunger was masked by the inevitable stomach trouble caused by so long a persistence in this *régime*. At times, indeed, she had been so hungry that she had devoured greedily whatever she could lay her hands on, and not infrequently she could not resist the temptation to eat a few biscuits in secret. Such actions caused her horrible remorse, but, all the same, she would be guilty of them again. She realized the great efforts demanded by her way of life, and indeed looked upon herself as a heroine for resisting so long. "Sometimes," she told Janet, "I passed whole hours in thinking about food, I was so

hungry. I swallowed my saliva, I bit my handkerchief, I rolled on the ground, I wanted to eat so badly. I searched books for descriptions of meals and feasts, I tried to deceive my hunger by imagining that I too was enjoying all these good things. I was really famished, and in spite of a few weaknesses for biscuits I know that I showed much courage."[1] Nadia's motive idea, that she wished to be slim, corresponds to the abstinent man's idea that he wishes to be "moral," and only differs from it by having the advantage of being somewhat more positive and personal, for the idea of the person who wishes to avoid sexual indulgence because it is "not right" is often not merely negative but impersonal and imposed by the social and religious environment. Nadia's occasional outbursts of reckless greediness correspond to the sudden impulses to resort to prostitution, and her secret weaknesses for biscuits, followed by keen remorse, to lapses into the habit of masturbation. Her fits of struggling and rolling on the ground are precisely like the outbursts of futile desire which occasionally occur to young abstinent men and women in health and strength. The absorption in thoughts about meals and in literary descriptions of meals is clearly analogous to the abstinent man's absorption in wanton thoughts and erotic books. Finally, Nadia's conviction that she is a heroine corresponds exactly to the attitude of self-righteousness which often marks the sexually abstinent.

If we turn to Freud's penetrating and suggestive study of the problem of sexual abstinence in relation to "civilized" sexual morality, we find that, though he makes no reference to the analogy with abstinence from food, his words would for the most part have an equal application to both cases. "The task of subduing so powerful an instinct as the sexual impulse, otherwise than by giving it satisfaction," he writes, "is one which may employ the whole strength of a man. Subjugation through sublimation, by guiding the sexual forces into higher civilizational paths, may succeed with a minority, and even with these only for a time, least easily during the years of ardent youthful energy.

[1] P. Janet, "La Maladie du Scrupule," *Revue Philosophique*, May, 1901.

Most others become neurotic or otherwise come to grief. Experience shows that the majority of people constituting our society are constitutionally unequal to the task of abstinence. We say, indeed, that the struggle with this powerful impulse and the emphasis the struggle involves on the ethical and æsthetic forces in the soul's life 'steels' the character, and for a few favorably organized natures this is true; it must also be acknowledged that the differentiation of individual character so marked in our time only becomes possible through sexual limitations. But in by far the majority of cases the struggle with sensuality uses up the available energy of character, and this at the very time when the young man needs all his strength in order to win his place in the world."[1]

When we have put the problem on this negative basis of abstinence it is difficult to see how we can dispute the justice of *Freud's conclusions. They hold good equally for abstinence* from food and abstinence from sexual love. When we have placed the problem on a more positive basis, and are able to invoke the more active and fruitful motives of asceticism and chastity this unfortunate fight against a natural impulse is abolished. If chastity is an ideal of the harmonious play of all the organic impulses of the soul and body, if asceticism, properly understood, is the athletic striving for a worthy object which causes, for the time, an indifference to the gratification of sexual impulses, we are on wholesome and natural ground, and there is no waste of energy in fruitless striving for a negative end, whether imposed artificially from without, as it usually is, or voluntarily chosen by the individual himself.

[1] S. Freud, *Sexual-Problems*, March, 1908. As Adele Schreiber also points out (*Mutterschutz*, Jan., 1907, p. 30), it is not enough to prove that abstinence is not dangerous; we have to remember that the spiritual and physical energy used up in repressing this mighty instinct often reduces a joyous and energetic nature to a weary and faded shadow. Similarly, Helene Stöcker (*Die Liebe und die Frauen*, p. 105) says: "The question whether abstinence is harmful is, to say the truth, a ridiculous question. One needs to be no nervous specialist to know, as a matter of course, that a life of happy love and marriage is the healthy life, and its complete absence cannot fail to lead to severe psychic depression, even if no direct physiological disturbances can be demonstrated."

For there is really no complete analogy between sexual desire and hunger, between abstinence from sexual relations and abstinence from food. When we put them both on the basis of abstinence we put them on a basis which covers the impulse for food but only half covers the impulse for sexual love. We confer no pleasure and no service on our food when we eat it. But the half of sexual love, perhaps the most important and ennobling half, lies in what we give and not in what we take. To reduce this question to the low level of abstinence, is not only to centre it in a merely negative denial but to make it a solely self-regarding question. Instead of asking: How can I bring joy and strength to another? we only ask: How can I preserve my empty virtue?

Therefore it is that from whatever aspect we consider the question,—whether in view of the flagrant contradiction between the authorities who have discussed this question, or of the illegitimate mingling here of moral and physiological considerations, or of the merely negative and indeed unnatural character of the "virtue" thus set up, or of the failure involved to grasp the ennoblingly altruistic and mutual side of sexual love,—from whatever aspect we approach the problem of "sexual abstinence" we ought only to agree to do so under protest.

If we thus decide to approach it, and if we have reached the conviction—which, in view of all the evidence we can scarcely escape—that, while sexual abstinence in so far as it may be recognized as possible is not incompatible with health, there are yet many adults for whom it is harmful, and a very much larger number for whom when prolonged it is undesirable, we encounter a serious problem. It is a problem which confronts any person, and especially the physician, who may be called upon to give professional advice to his fellows on this matter. If sexual relationships are sometimes desirable for unmarried persons, or for married persons who, for any reason, are debarred from conjugal union, is a physician justified in recommending such sexual relationships to his patient? This is a question that has frequently been debated and decided in opposing senses.

Various distinguished physicians, especially in Germany, have proclaimed the duty of the doctor to recommend sexual intercourse to his patient whenever he considers it desirable. Gyurkovechky, for instance, has fully discussed this question, and answered it in the affirmative. Nyström (*Sexual-Probleme*, July, 1908, p. 413) states that it is the physician's duty, in some cases of sexual weakness, when all other methods of treatment have failed, to recommend sexual intercourse as the best remedy. Dr. Max Marcuse stands out as a conspicuous advocate of the unconditional duty of the physician to advocate sexual intercourse in some cases, both to men and to women, and has on many occasions argued in this sense (*e.g.*, *Darf der Arzt zum Ausserehelichen Geschlechtsverkehr raten?* 1904). Marcuse is strongly of opinion that a physician who, allowing himself to be influenced by moral, sociological, or other considerations, neglects to recommend sexual intercourse when he considers it desirable for the patient's health, is unworthy of his profession, and should either give up medicine or send his patients to other doctors. This attitude, though not usually so emphatically stated, seems to be widely accepted. Lederer goes even further when he states (*Monatsschrift für Harnkrankheiten und Sexuelle Hygiene*, 1906, Heft 3) that it is the physician's duty in the case of a woman who is suffering from her husband's impotence, to advise her to have intercourse with another man, adding that "whether she does so with her husband's consent is no affair of the physician's, for he is not the guardian of morality, but the guardian of health." The physicians who publicly take this attitude are, however, a small minority. In England, so far as I am aware, no physician of eminence has openly proclaimed the duty of the doctor to advise sexual intercourse outside marriage, although, it is scarcely necessary to add, in England, as elsewhere, it happens that doctors, including women doctors, from time to time privately point out to their unmarried and even married patients, that sexual intercourse would probably be beneficial.

The duty of the physician to recommend sexual intercourse has been denied as emphatically as it has been affirmed. Thus Eulenburg (*Sexuale Neuropathie*, p. 43), would by no means advise extra-conjugal relations to his patient; "such advice is quite outside the physician's competence." It is, of course, denied by those who regard sexual abstinence as always harmless, if not beneficial. But it is also denied by many who consider that, under some circumstances, sexual intercourse would do good.

Moll has especially, and on many occasions, discussed the duty of the physician in relation to the question of advising sexual intercourse outside marriage (*e.g.*, in his comprehensive work, *Aerztliche Ethik*, 1902; also *Zeitschrift für Aertzliche Fortbildung*, 1905, Nos. 12-15;

Mutterschutz, 1905. Heft 3; *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, vol. ii, Heft 8). At the outset Moll had been disposed to assert the right of the physician to recommend sexual intercourse under some circumstances; "so long as marriage is unduly delayed and sexual intercourse outside marriage exists," he wrote (*Die Contrâre Sexualempfindung*, second edition, p. 287), "so long, I think, we may use such intercourse therapeutically, provided that the rights of no third person (husband or wife) are injured." In all his later writings, however, Moll ranges himself clearly and decisively on the opposite side. He considers that the physician has no right to overlook the possible results of his advice in inflicting venereal disease, or, in the case of a woman, pregnancy, on his patient, and he believes that these serious results are far more likely to happen than is always admitted by those who defend the legitimacy of such advice. Nor will Moll admit that the physician is entitled to overlook the moral aspects of the question. A physician may know that a poor man could obtain many things good for his health by stealing, but he cannot advise him to steal. Moll takes the case of a Catholic priest who is suffering from neurasthenia due to sexual abstinence. Even although the physician feels certain that the priest may be able to avoid all the risks of disease as well as of publicity, he is not entitled to urge him to sexual intercourse. He has to remember that in thus causing a priest to break his vows of chastity he may induce a mental conflict and a bitter remorse which may lead to the worst results, even on his patient's physical health. Similar results, Moll remarks, may follow such advice when given to a married man or woman, to say nothing of possible divorce proceedings and accompanying evils.

Rohleder (*Vorlesungen über Geschlechtstrieb und Gesamtes Geschlechtsleben der Menschen*) adopts a somewhat qualified attitude in this matter. As a general rule he is decidedly against recommending sexual intercourse outside marriage to those who are suffering from partial or temporary abstinence (the only form of abstinence he recognizes), partly on the ground that the evils of abstinence are not serious or permanent, and partly because the patient is fairly certain to exercise his own judgment in the matter. But in some classes of cases he recommends such intercourse, and notably to bisexual persons, on the ground that he is thus preserving his patient from the criminal risks of homosexual practices.

It seems to me that there should be no doubt whatever as to the correct professional attitude of the physician in relation to this question of advice concerning sexual intercourse. The physician is never entitled to advise his patient to adopt sexual

intercourse outside marriage nor any method of relief which is commonly regarded as illegitimate. It is said that the physician has nothing to do with considerations of conventional morality. If he considers that champagne would be good for a poor patient he ought to recommend him to take champagne; he is not called upon to consider whether the patient will beg, borrow, or steal the champagne. But, after all, even if that be admitted, it must still be said that the physician knows that the champagne, however obtained, is not likely to be poisonous. When, however, he prescribes sexual intercourse, with the same lofty indifference to practical considerations, he has no such knowledge. In giving such a prescription the physician has in fact not the slightest knowledge of what he may be prescribing. He may be giving his patient a venereal disease; he may be giving the anxieties and responsibilities of an illegitimate child; the prescriber is quite in the dark. He is in the same position as if he had prescribed a quack medicine of which the composition was unknown to him, with the added disadvantage that the medicine may turn out to be far more potently explosive than is the case with the usually innocuous patent medicine. The utmost that a physician can properly permit himself to do is to put the case impartially before his patient and to present to him all the risks. The solution must be for the patient himself to work out, as best he can, for it involves social and other considerations which, while they are indeed by no means outside the sphere of medicine, are certainly entirely outside the control of the individual private practitioner of medicine.

Moll also is of opinion that this impartial presentation of the case for and against sexual intercourse corresponds to the physician's duty in the matter. It is, indeed, a duty which can scarcely be escaped by the physician in many cases. Moll points out that it can by no means be assimilated, as some have supposed, with the recommendation of sexual intercourse. It is, on the contrary, he remarks, much more analogous to the physician's duty in reference to operations. He puts before the patient the nature of the operation, its advantages and its risks, but he leaves it to the patient's judgment to accept or reject the operation. Lewitt also (*Geschlechtliche Enthaltsamkeit und Gesundheitsstörungen*, 1905), after discussing the various opinions on this

question, comes to the conclusion that the physician, if he thinks that intercourse outside marriage might be beneficial, should explain the difficulties and leave the patient himself to decide.

There is another reason why, having regard to the prevailing moral opinions at all events among the middle classes, a physician should refrain from advising extra-conjugal intercourse: he places himself in a false relation to his social environment. He is recommending a remedy the nature of which he could not publicly avow, and so destroying the public confidence in himself. The only physician who is morally entitled to advise his patients to enter into extra-conjugal relationships is one who openly acknowledges that he is prepared to give such advice. The doctor who is openly working for social reform has perhaps won the moral right to give advice in accordance with the tendency of his public activity, but even then his advice may be very dubiously judicious, and he would be better advised to confine his efforts at social reform to his public activities. The voice of the physician, as Professor Max Flesch of Frankfort observes, is more and more heard in the development and new growth of social institutions; he is a natural leaders in such movements, and proposals for reform properly come from him. "But," as Flesch continues, "publicly to accept the excellence of existing institutions and in the privacy of the consulting-room to give advice which assumes the imperfection of those institutions is illogical and confusing. It is the physician's business to give advice which is in accordance with the interests of the community as a whole, and those interests require that sexual relationships should be entered into between healthy men and women who are able and willing to accept the results of their union. That should be the physician's rule of conduct. Only so can he become, what to-day he is often proclaimed to be, the leader of the nation.[1]" This view is not, as we see, entirely in accord with that which assumes that the physician's duty is solely and entirely to his patient, without regard to the bearing of his advice on social conduct. The patient's interests are primary, but they are not entitled to be

[1] Max Flesch, "Ehe, Hygine und Sexuelle Moral," *Mutterschutz*, 1905, Heft 7.

placed in antagonism to the interests of society. The advice given by the wise physician must always be in harmony with the social and moral tone of his age. Thus it is that the tendency among the younger generation of physicians to-day to take an active interest in raising that tone and in promoting social reform—a tendency which exists not only in Germany where such interests have long been acute, but also in so conservative a land as England—is full of promise for the future.

The physician is usually content to consider his duty to his patient in relationship to sexual abstinence as sufficiently fulfilled when he attempts to allay sexual hyperæsthesia by medical or hygienic treatment. It can scarcely be claimed, however, that the results of such treatment are usually satisfactory, and sometimes indeed the treatment has a result which is the reverse of that intended. The difficulty generally is that in order to be efficacious the treatment must be carried to an extreme which exhausts or inhibits not only the genital activities alone but the activities of the whole organism, and short of that it may prove a stimulant rather than a sedative. It is difficult and usually impossible to separate out a man's sexual activities and bring influence to bear on these activities alone. Sexual activity is so closely intertwined with the other organic activities, erotic exuberance is so much a flower which is rooted in the whole organism, that the blow which crushes it may strike down the whole man. The bromides are universally recognized as powerful sexual sedatives, but their influence in this respect only makes itself felt when they have dulled all the finest energies of the organism. Physical exercise is universally recommended to sexually hyperæsthetic patients. Yet most people, men and women, find that physical exercise is a positive stimulus to sexual activity. This is notably so as regards walking, and exuberantly energetic young women who are troubled by the irritant activity of their healthy sexual emotions sometimes spend a large part of their time in the vain attempt to lull their activity by long walks. Physical exercise only proves efficacious in this respect when it is carried to an extent which produces general exhaustion. Then indeed the sexual activity is lulled, but so are all the mental and

physical activities. It is undoubtedly true that exercises and games of all sorts for young people of both sexes have a sexually hygienic as well as a generally hygienic influence which is undoubtedly beneficial. They are, on all grounds, to be preferred to prolonged sedentary occupations. But it is idle to suppose that games and exercises will suppress the sexual impulses, for in so far as they favor health, they favor all the impulses that are the result of health. The most that can be expected is that they may tend to restrain the manifestations of sex by dispersing the energy they generate.

There are many physical rules and precautions which are advocated, not without reason, as tending to inhibit or diminish sexual activity. The avoidance of heat and the cultivation of cold is one of the most important of these. Hot climates, a close atmosphere, heavy bed-clothing, hot baths, all tend powerfully to excite the sexual system, for that system is a peripheral sensory organ, and whatever stimulates the skin generally, stimulates the sexual system.[1] Cold, which contracts the skin also deadens the sexual feelings, a fact which the ascetics of old knew and acted upon. The garments and the posture of the body are not without influence. Constriction or pressure in the neighborhood of the sexual region, even tight corsets, as well as internal pressure, as from a distended bladder, are sources of sexual irritation. Sleeping on the back, which congests the spinal centres, also acts in the same way, as has long been known by those who attend to sexual hygiene; thus it is stated that in the Franciscan order it is prohibited to lie on the back. Food and drink are, further, powerful sexual stimulants. This is true even of the simplest and most wholesome nourishment, but it is more especially true of flesh meat, and, above all, of alcohol in its stronger forms such as spirits, liqueurs, sparkling and heavy wines, and even many English beers. This has always been clearly realized by those who cultivate asceticism, and it is one of the powerful reasons why alcohol should not be given in early youth. As St. Jerome wrote, when telling Eustochium that she must avoid wine like poison, "wine and youth are the

[1] See the Section on Touch in the fourth volume of these *Studies*.

two fires of lust. Why add oil to the flame?"[1] Idleness, again, especially when combined with rich living, promotes sexual activity, as Burton sets forth at length in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, and constant occupation, on the other hand, concentrates the wandering activities.

Mental exercise, like physical exercise, has sometimes been advocated as a method of calming sexual excitement, but it seems to be equally equivocal in its action. If it is profoundly interesting and exciting it may stir up rather than lull the sexual emotions. If it arouses little interest it is unable to exert any kind of influence. This is true even of mathematical occupations which have been advocated by various authorities, including Broussais, as aids to sexual hygiene.[2] "I have tried mechanical mental work," a lady writes, "such as solving arithmetical or algebraic problems, but it does no good; in fact it seems only to increase the excitement." "I studied and especially turned my attention to mathematics," a clergyman writes, "with a view to check my sexual tendencies. To a certain extent I was successful. But at the approach of an old friend, a voice or a touch, these tendencies came back again with renewed strength. I found mathematics, however, the best thing on the whole to take off my attention from women, better than religious exercises which I tried when younger (twenty-two to thirty)." At the best, however, such devices are of merely temporary efficacy.

It is easier to avoid arousing the sexual impulses than to impose silence on them by hygienic measures when once they are

[1] "I have had two years' close experience and connexion with the Trappists," wrote Dr. Butterfield, of Natal (*British Medical Journal*, Sept. 15, 1906, p. 668), "both as medical attendant and as being a Catholic in creed myself. I have studied them and investigated their life, habits and diet, and though I should be very backward in adopting it myself, as not suited to me individually, the great bulk of them are in absolute ideal health and strength, seldom ailing, capable of vast work, mental and physical. Their life is very simple and very regular. A healthier body of men and women, with perfect equanimity of temper—this latter I lay great stress on—it would be difficult to find. Health beams in their eyes and countenance and actions. Only in sickness or prolonged journeys are they allowed any strong foods—meats eggs, etc.—or any alcohol.

[2] Féré, *L'Instinct Sexuel*, second edition, p. 332.

aroused. It is, therefore, in childhood and youth that all these measures may be most reasonably observed in order to avoid any premature sexual excitement. In one group of stolidly normal children influences that might be expected to act sexually pass away unperceived. At the other extreme, another group of children are so neurotically and precociously sensitive that no precautions will preserve them from such influences. But between these groups there is another, probably much the largest, who resist slight sexual suggestions but may succumb to stronger or longer influences, and on these the cares of sexual hygiene may profitably be bestowed.[1]

After puberty, when the spontaneous and inner voice of sex may at any moment suddenly make itself heard, all hygienic precautions are liable to be flung to the winds, and even the youth or maiden most anxious to retain the ideals of chastity can often do little but wait till the storm has passed. It sometimes happens that a prolonged period of sexual storm and stress occurs soon after puberty, and then dies away although there has been little or no sexual gratification, to be succeeded by a period of comparative calm. It must be remembered that in many, and perhaps most, individuals, men and women, the sexual appetite, unlike hunger or thirst, can after a prolonged struggle, be reduced to a more or less quiescent state which, far from injuring, may even benefit the physical and psychic vigor generally. This may happen whether or not sexual gratification has been obtained. If there has never been any such gratification, the struggle is less severe and sooner over, unless the individual is of highly erotic

[1] Rural life, as we have seen when discussing its relation to sexual precocity, is on one side the reverse of a safeguard against sexual influences. But, on the other hand, in so far as it involves hard work and simple living under conditions that are not nervously stimulating, it is favorable to a considerably delayed sexual activity in youth and to a relative continence. Ammon, in the course of his anthropological investigations of Baden conscripts, found that sexual intercourse was rare in the country before twenty, and even sexual emissions during sleep rare before nineteen or twenty. It is said, also, he repeats, that no one has a right to run after girls who does not yet carry a gun, and the elder lads sometimes brutally ill-treat any younger boy found going about with a girl. No doubt this is often preliminary to much license later.

temperament. If there has been gratification, if the mind is filled not merely with desires but with joyous experience to which the body also has grown accustomed, then the struggle is longer and more painfully absorbing. The succeeding relief, however, if it comes, is sometimes more complete and is more likely to be associated with a state of psychic health. For the fundamental experiences of life, under normal conditions, bring not only intellectual sanity, but emotional pacification. A conquest of the sexual appetites which has never at any period involved a gratification of these appetites seldom produces results that commend themselves as rich and beautiful.

In these combats there are, however, no permanent conquests. For a very large number of people, indeed, though there may be emotional changes and fluctuations dependent on a variety of circumstances, there can scarcely be said to be any conquest at all. They are either always yielding to the impulses that assail them, or always resisting those impulses, in the first case with remorse, in the second with dissatisfaction. In either case much of their lives, at the time when life is most vigorous, is wasted. With women, if they happen to be of strong passions and reckless impulses to abandonment, the results may be highly enervating, if not disastrous to the general psychic life. It is to this cause, indeed, that some have been inclined to attribute the frequent mediocrity of women's work in artistic and intellectual fields. Women of intellectual force are frequently if not generally women of strong passions, and if they resist the tendency to merge themselves in the duties of maternity their lives are often wasted in emotional conflict and their psychic natures impoverished.[1]

[1] The numerical preponderance which celibate women teachers have now gained in the American school system has caused much misgiving among many sagacious observers, and is said to be unsatisfactory in its results on the pupils of both sexes. A distinguished authority, Professor McKeen Cattell ("The School and the Family," *Popular Science Monthly*, Jan., 1909), referring to this preponderance of "devitalized and unsexed spinsters," goes so far as to say that "the ultimate result of letting the celibate female be the usual teacher has been such as to make it a question whether it would not be an advantage to the country if the whole school plant could be scrapped."

The extent to which sexual abstinence and the struggles it involves may hamper and absorb the individual throughout life is well illustrated in the following case. A lady, vigorous, robust, and generally healthy, of great intelligence and high character, has reached middle life without marrying, or ever having sexual relationships. She was an only child, and when between three and four years of age, a playmate some six years older, initiated her into the habit of playing with her sexual parts. She was, however, at this age quite devoid of sexual feelings, and the habit dropped naturally, without any bad effects, as soon as she left the neighborhood of this girl a year or so later. Her health was good and even brilliant, and she developed vigorously at puberty. At the age of sixteen, however, a mental shock caused menstruation to diminish in amount during some years, and simultaneously with this diminution persistent sexual excitement appeared spontaneously, for the first time. She regarded such feelings as abnormal and unhealthy, and exerted all her powers of self-control in resisting them. But will power had no effect in diminishing the feelings. There was constant and imperious excitement, with the sense of vibration, tension, pressure, dilatation and tickling, accompanied, it may be, by some ovarian congestion, for she felt that on the left side there was a network of sexual nerves, and retroversion of the uterus was detected some years later. Her life was strenuous with many duties, but no occupation could be pursued without this undercurrent of sexual hyperæsthesia involving perpetual self-control. This continued more or less acutely for many years, when menstruation suddenly stopped altogether, much before the usual period of the climacteric. At the same time the sexual excitement ceased, and she became calm, peaceful, and happy. Diminished menstruation was associated with sexual excitement, but abundant menstruation and its complete absence were both accompanied by the relief of excitement. This lasted for two years. Then, for the treatment of a trifling degree of anæmia, she was subjected to a long, and, in her case, injudicious course of hypodermic injections of strychnia. From that time, five years ago, up to the present, there has been constant sexual excitement, and she has always to be on guard lest she should be overtaken by a sexual spasm. Her torture is increased by the fact that her traditions make it impossible for her (except under very exceptional circumstances) to allude to the cause of her sufferings. "A woman is handicapped," she writes. "She may never speak to anyone on such a subject. She must live her tragedy alone, smiling as much as she can under the strain of her terrible burden." To add to her trouble, two years ago, she felt impelled to resort to masturbation, and has done so about once a month since; this not only brings no real relief, and leaves irritability, wakefulness, and dark marks under the eyes, but is a cause of remorse to her, for she regards masturbation as

entirely abnormal and unnatural. She has tried to gain benefit, not merely by the usual methods of physical hygiene, but by suggestion, Christian Science, *etc.*, but all in vain. "I may say," she writes, "that it is the most passionate desire of my heart to be freed from this bondage, that I may relax the terrible years-long tension of resistance, and be happy in my own way. If I had this affliction once a month, once a week, even twice a week, to stand against it would be child's play. I should scorn to resort to unnatural means, however moderately. But self-control itself has its revenges, and I sometimes feel as if it is no longer to be borne."

Thus while it is an immense benefit in physical and psychic development if the eruption of the disturbing sexual emotions can be delayed until puberty or adolescence, and while it is a very great advantage, after that eruption has occurred, to be able to gain control of these emotions, to crush altogether the sexual nature would be a barren, if not, indeed, a perilous victory, bringing with it no satisfaction. "If I had only had three weeks' happiness," said a woman, "I would not quarrel with Fate, but to have one's whole life so absolutely empty is horrible." If such vacuous self-restraint may, by courtesy, be termed a virtue, it is but a negative virtue. The persons who achieve it, as the result of congenitally feeble sexual aptitudes, merely (as Gyurkovechky, Fürbringer, and Löwenfeld have all alike remarked) made a virtue of their weakness. Many others, whose instincts were less weak, when they disdainfully put to flight the desires of sex in early life, have found that in later life that foe returns in tenfold force and perhaps in unnatural shapes.[1]

[1] Corre (*Les Criminels*, p. 351) mentions that of thirteen priests convicted of crime, six were guilty of sexual attempts on children, and of eighty-three convicted lay teachers, forty-eight had committed similar offenses. This was at a time when lay teachers were in practice almost compelled to live a celibate life; altered conditions have greatly diminished this class of offense among them. Without going so far as crime, many moral and religious men, clergymen and others, who have led severely abstinent lives in youth, sometimes experience in middle age or later the eruption of almost uncontrollable sexual impulses, normal or abnormal. In women such manifestations are apt to take the form of obsessional thoughts of sexual character, as *e.g.*, the case (*Comptes-Rendus Congrès International de Médecine*, Moscow, 1897, vol. iv, p. 27) of a chaste woman who was compelled to think about and look at the sexual organs of men.

The conception of "sexual abstinence" is, we see, an entirely false and artificial conception. It is not only ill-adjusted to the hygienic facts of the case but it fails even to invoke any genuinely moral motive, for it is exclusively self-regarding and self-centred. It only becomes genuinely moral, and truly inspiring, when we transform it into the altruistic virtue of self-sacrifice. When we have done so we see that the element of abstinence in it ceases to be essential. "Self-sacrifice," writes the author of a thoughtful book on the sexual life, "is acknowledged to be the basis of virtue; the noblest instances of self-sacrifice are those dictated by sexual affection. Sympathy is the secret of altruism; nowhere is sympathy more real and complete than in love. Courage, both moral and physical, the love of truth and honor, the spirit of enterprise, and the admiration of moral worth, are all inspired by love as by nothing else in human nature. Celibacy denies itself that inspiration or restricts its influence, according to the measure of its denial of sexual intimacy. Thus the deliberate adoption of a consistently celibate life implies the narrowing down of emotional and moral experience to a degree which is, from the broad scientific standpoint, unjustified by any of the advantages piously supposed to accrue from it."[1]

In a sane natural order all the impulses are centred in the fulfilment of needs and not in their denial. Moreover, in this special matter of sex, it is inevitable that the needs of others, and not merely the needs of the individual himself, should determine action. It is more especially the needs of the female which are the determining factor; for those needs are more various, complex and elusive, and in his attentiveness to their gratification the male finds a source of endless erotic satisfaction. It might be thought that the introduction of an altruistic motive here is merely the claim of theoretical morality insisting that there shall be a firm curb on animal instinct. But, as we have again and again seen throughout the long course of these *Studies*, it is not so. The animal instinct itself makes this demand. It is a

[1] J. A. Godfrey, *The Science of Sex*, p. 138.

biological law that rules throughout the zoölogical world and has involved the universality of courtship. In man it is only modified because in man sexual needs are not entirely concentrated in reproduction, but more or less penetrate the whole of life.

While from the point of view of society, as from that of Nature, the end and object of the sexual impulse is procreation, and nothing beyond procreation, that is by no means true for the individual, whose main object it must be to fulfil himself harmoniously with that due regard for others which the art of living demands. Even if sexual relationships had no connection with procreation whatever—as some Central Australian tribes believe—they would still be justifiable, and are, indeed, an indispensable aid to the best moral development of the individual, for it is only in so intimate a relationship as that of sex that the finest graces and aptitudes of life have full scope. Even the saints cannot forego the sexual side of life. The best and most accomplished saints from Jerome to Tolstoy—even the exquisite Francis of Assisi—had stored up in their past all the experiences that go to the complete realization of life, and if it were not so they would have been the less saints.

The element of positive virtue thus only enters when the control of the sexual impulse has passed beyond the stage of rigid and sterile abstinence and has become not merely a deliberate refusal of what is evil in sex, but a deliberate acceptance of what is good. It is only at that moment that such control becomes a real part of the great art of living. For the art of living, like any other art, is not compatible with rigidity, but lies in the weaving of a perpetual harmony between refusing and accepting, between giving and taking.[1]

The future, it is clear, belongs ultimately to those who are slowly building up sounder traditions into the structure of life. The "problem of sexual abstinence" will more and more sink into insignificance. There remain the great solid fact of love, the great solid fact of chastity. Those are eternal. Between them

[1] See, *e.g.*, Havelock Ellis, "St. Francis and Others," *Affirmations*.

there is nothing but harmony. The development of one involves the development of the other.

It has been necessary to treat seriously this problem of "sexual abstinence" because we have behind us the traditions of two thousand years based on certain ideals of sexual law and sexual license, together with the long effort to build up practices more or less conditioned by those ideals. We cannot immediately escape from these traditions even when we question their validity for ourselves. We have not only to recognize their existence, but also to accept the fact that for some time to come they must still to a considerable extent control the thoughts and even in some degree the actions of existing communities.

It is undoubtedly deplorable. It involves the introduction of an artificiality into a real natural order. Love is real and positive; chastity is real and positive. But sexual abstinence is unreal and negative, in the strict sense perhaps impossible. The underlying feelings of all those who have emphasized its importance is that a physiological process can be good or bad according as it is or is not carried out under certain arbitrary external conditions, which render it licit or illicit. An act of sexual intercourse under the name of "marriage" is beneficial; the very same act, under the name of "incontinence," is pernicious. No physiological process, and still less any spiritual process, can bear such restriction. It is as much as to say that a meal becomes good or bad, digestible or indigestible, according as a grace is or is not pronounced before the eating of it.

It is deplorable because, such a conception being essentially unreal, an element of unreality is thus introduced into a matter of the gravest concern alike to the individual and to society. Artificial disputes have been introduced where no matter of real dispute need exist. A contest has been carried on marked by all the ferocity which marks contests about metaphysical or pseudo-metaphysical differences having no concrete basis in the actual world. As will happen in such cases, there has, after all, been no real difference between the disputants because the point they quarreled over was unreal. In truth each side was right and each side was wrong.

It is necessary, we see, that the balance should be held even. An absolute license is bad; an absolute abstinence—even though some by nature or circumstances are urgently called to adopt it—is also bad. They are both alike away from the gracious equilibrium of Nature. And the force, we see, which naturally holds this balance even is the biological fact that the act of sexual union is the satisfaction of the erotic needs, not of one person, but of two persons.

CHAPTER VII.

PROSTITUTION.

I. *The Orgy*:—The Religious Origin of the Orgy—The Feast of Fools—Recognition of the Orgy by the Greeks and Romans—The Orgy Among Savages—The Drama—The Object Subserved by the Orgy.

II. *The Origin and Development of Prostitution*:—The Definition of Prostitution—Prostitution Among Savages—The Conditions Under Which Professional Prostitution Arises—Sacred Prostitution—The Rite of Mylitta—The Practice of Prostitution to Obtain a Marriage Portion—The Rise of Secular Prostitution in Greece—Prostitution in the East—India, China, Japan, etc.—Prostitution in Rome—The Influence of Christianity on Prostitution—The Effort to Combat Prostitution—The Mediæval Brothel—The Appearance of the Courtesan—Lullia D'Aragona—Veronica Franco—Ninon de Lenclos—Later Attempts to Eradicate Prostitution—The Regulation of Prostitution—Its Futility Becoming Recognized.

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IV. *The Present Social Attitude Towards Prostitution*:—The Decay of the Brothel—The Tendency to the Humanization of Prostitution—The Monetary Aspects of Prostitution—The Geisha—The Hetaira—The

Moral Revolt Against Prostitution—Squalid Vice Based on Luxurious Virtue—The Ordinary Attitude Towards Prostitutes—Its Cruelty Absurd—The Need of Reforming Prostitution—The Need of Reforming Marriage—These Two Needs Closely Correlated—The Dynamic Relationships Involved.

I. The Orgy.

TRADITIONAL morality, religion, and established convention combine to promote not only the extreme of rigid abstinence but also that of reckless license. They preach and idealize the one extreme; they drive those who cannot accept it to adopt the opposite extreme. In the great ages of religion it even happens that the severity of the rule of abstinence is more or less deliberately tempered by the permission for occasional outbursts of license. We thus have the orgy, which flourished in mediæval days and is, indeed, in its largest sense, a universal manifestation, having a function to fulfil in every orderly and laborious civilization, built up on natural energies that are bound by more or less inevitable restraints.

The consideration of the orgy, it may be said, lifts us beyond the merely sexual sphere, into a higher and wider region which belongs to religion. The Greek *orgeia* referred originally to ritual things done with a religious purpose, though later, when dances of Bacchanals and the like lost their sacred and inspiring character, the idea was fostered by Christianity that such things were immoral.[1] Yet Christianity was itself in its origin an orgy of the higher spiritual activities released from the uncongenial servitude of classic civilization, a great festival of the poor and the humble, of the slave and the sinner. And when, with the necessity for orderly social organization, Christianity had ceased to be this it still recognized, as Paganism had done, the need for an occasional orgy. It appears that in 743 at a Synod held in Hainault reference was made to the February debauch (*de Spurcalibus in februario*) as a pagan practice; yet it was precisely this pagan festival which was embodied in the accepted customs of the Christian Church as the chief orgy of the ecclesiastical

[1] See, *e.g.*, Cheetham's Hulsean Lectures, *The Mysteries, Pagan and Christian*, pp. 123, 136.

year, the great Carnival prefixed to the long fast of Lent. The celebration on Shrove Tuesday and the previous Sunday constituted a Christian Bacchanalian festival in which all classes joined. The greatest freedom and activity of physical movement was encouraged; "some go about naked without shame, some crawl on all fours, some on stilts, some imitate animals."[1] As time went on the Carnival lost its most strongly marked Bacchanalian features, but it still retains its essential character as a permitted and temporary relaxation of the tension of customary restraints and conventions. The Mediæval Feast of Fools—a New Year's Revel well established by the twelfth century, mainly in France—presented an expressive picture of a Christian orgy in its extreme form, for here the most sacred ceremonies of the Church became the subject of fantastic parody. The Church, according to Nietzsche's saying, like all wise legislators, recognized that where great impulses and habits have to be cultivated, intercalary days must be appointed in which these impulses and habits may be denied, and so learn to hunger anew.[2] The clergy took the leading part in these folk-festivals, for to the men of that age, as Méray remarks, "the temple offered the complete notes of the human gamut; they found there the teaching of all duties, the consolation of all sorrows, the satis-

[1] Hormayr's *Taschenbuch*, 1835, p. 255. Hagelstange, in a chapter on mediæval festivals in his *Suddeutsches Bauernleben im Mittelalter*, shows how, in these Christian orgies which were really of pagan origin, the German people reacted with tremendous and boisterous energy against the laborious and monotonous existence of everyday life.

[2] This was clearly realized by the more intelligent upholders of the Feast of Fools. Austere persons wished to abolish this Feast, and in a remarkable petition sent up to the Theological Faculty of Paris (and quoted by Flogel, *Geschichte des Grotesk-Komischen*, fourth edition, p. 204) the case for the Feast is thus presented: "We do this according to ancient custom, in order that folly, which is second nature to man and seems to be inborn, may at least once a year have free outlet. Wine casks would burst if we failed sometimes to remove the bung and let in air. Now we are all ill bound casks and barrels which would let out the wine of wisdom if by constant devotion and fear of God we allowed it to ferment. We must let in air so that it may not be spoilt. Thus on some days we give ourselves up to sport, so that with the greater zeal we may afterwards return to the worship of God." The Feast of Fools was not suppressed until the middle of the sixteenth century, and relics of it persisted (as at Aix) till near the end of the eighteenth century.

faction of all joys. The sacred festivals of mediæval Christianity were not a survival from Roman times; they leapt from the very heart of Christian society."[1] But, as Méray admits, all great and vigorous peoples, of the East and the West, have found it necessary sometimes to play with their sacred things.

Among the Greeks and Romans this need is everywhere visible, not only in their comedy and their literature generally, but in everyday life. As Nietzsche truly remarks (in his *Geburt der Tragödie*) the Greeks recognized all natural impulses, even those that are seemingly unworthy, and safeguarded them from working mischief by providing channels into which, one special days and in special rites, the surplus of wild energy might harmlessly flow. Plutarch, the last and most influential of the Greek moralists, well says, when advocating festivals (in his essay "On the Training of Children"), that "even in bows and harps we loosen their strings that we may bend and wind them up again." Seneca, perhaps the most influential of Roman if not of European moralists, even recommended occasional drunkenness. "Sometimes," he wrote in his *De Tranquillitate*, "we ought to come even to the point of intoxication, not for the purpose of drowning ourselves but of sinking ourselves deep in wine. For it washes away cares and raises our spirits from the lowest depths. The inventor of wine is called *Liber* because he frees the soul from the servitude of care, releases it from slavery, quickens it, and makes it bolder for all undertakings." The Romans were a sterner and more serious people than the Greeks, but on that very account they recognized the necessity of occasionally relaxing their moral fibres in order to preserve their tone, and encouraged the prevalence of festivals which were marked by much more abandonment than those of Greece. When these

[1] A. Méray, *La Vie au Temps des Libres Prêcheurs*, vol. ii, Ch. X. A good and scholarly account of the Feast of Fools is given by E. K. Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, Ch. XIII. It is true that the Church and the early Fathers often anathematized the theatre. But Gregory of Nazianzen wished to found a Christian theatre; the Mediæval Mysteries were certainly under the protection of the clergy; and St. Thomas Aquinas, the greatest of the schoolmen, only condemns the theatre with cautious qualifications.

festivals began to lose their moral sanction and to fall into decay the decadence of Rome had begun.

All over the world, and not excepting the most primitive savages—for even savage life is built up on systematic constraints which sometimes need relaxation—the principle of the orgy is recognized and accepted. Thus Spencer and Gillen describe[1] the Nathagura or fire-ceremony of the Warramunga tribe of Central Australia, a festival taken part in by both sexes, in which all the ordinary rules of social life are broken, a kind of Saturnalia in which, however, there is no sexual license, for sexual license is, it need scarcely be said, no essential part of the orgy, even when the orgy lightens the burden of sexual constraints. In a widely different part of the world, in British Columbia, the Salish Indians, according to Hill Tout,[2] believed that, long before the whites came, their ancestors observed a Sabbath or seventh day ceremony for dancing and praying, assembling at sunrise and dancing till noon. The Sabbath, or periodically recurring orgy,—not a day of tension and constraint but a festival of joy, a rest from all the duties of everyday life,—has, as we know, formed an essential part of many of the orderly ancient civilizations on which our own has been built;[3] it is highly probable that the stability of these ancient civilizations was intimately associated with their recognition of the need of a Sabbath orgy. Such festivals are, indeed, as Crawley observes, processes of purification and reinvigoration, the effort to put off "the old man" and put on "the new man," to enter with fresh energy on the path of everyday life.[4]

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, Ch. XII.

[2] *Journal Anthropological Institute*, July-Dec., 1904, p. 329.

[3] Westermarck (*Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, vol. ii, pp. 283-9) shows how widespread is the custom of setting apart a periodical rest day.

[4] A. E. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, pp. 273 *et seq.*, Crawley brings into association with this function of great festivals the custom, found in some parts of the world, of exchanging wives at these times. "It has nothing whatever to do with the marriage system, except as breaking it for a season, women of forbidden degree being lent, on the same grounds as conventions and ordinary relations are broken at festivals of the Saturnalia type, the object being to change life and start afresh, by exchanging everything one can, while the very act of exchange coincides with the other desire, to weld the community together" (*Ib.*, p. 479).

The orgy is an institution which by no means has its significance only for the past. On the contrary, the high tension, the rigid routine, the gray monotony of modern life insistently call for moments of organic relief, though the precise form that that orgiastic relief takes must necessarily change with other social changes. As Wilhelm von Humboldt said, "just as men need suffering in order to become strong so they need joy in order to become good." Charles Wagner, insisting more recently (in his *Jeunesse*) on the same need of joy in our modern life, regrets that dancing in the old, free, and natural manner has gone out of fashion or become unwholesome. Dancing is indeed the most fundamental and primitive form of the orgy, and that which most completely and healthfully fulfils its object. For while it is undoubtedly, as we see even among animals, a process by which sexual tumescence is accomplished,[1] it by no means necessarily becomes focussed in sexual detumescence but it may itself become a detumescent discharge of accumulated energy. It was on this account that, at all events in former days, the clergy in Spain, on moral grounds, openly encouraged the national passion for dancing. Among cultured people in modern times, the orgy tends to take on a purely cerebral form, which is less wholesome because it fails to lead to harmonious discharge along motor channels. In these comparatively passive forms, however, the orgy tends to become more and more pronounced under the conditions of civilization. Aristotle's famous statement concerning the function of tragedy as "purgation" seems to be a recognition of the beneficial effects of the orgy.[2] Wagner's music-dramas appeal powerfully to this need; the theatre, now as ever, fulfils a great function of the same kind, inherited from the ancient days when it was the ordered expression of a sexual festival,[3]

[1] See "The Analysis of the Sexual Impulse" in vol. iii of these *Studies*.

[2] G. Murray, *Ancient Greek Literature*, p. 211.

[3] The Greek drama probably arose out of a folk-festival of more or less sexual character, and it is even possible that the mediæval drama had a somewhat similar origin (see Donaldson, *The Greek Theatre;* Gilbert Murray, *loc. cit ;* Karl Pearson. *The Chances of Death*, vol. ii, pp. 135-6, 280 *et seq.*).

The theatre, indeed, tends at the present time to assume a larger importance and to approximate to the more serious dramatic performances of classic days by being transferred to the day-time and the open-air. France has especially taken the initiative in these performances, analogous to the Dionysiac festivals of antiquity and the Mysteries and Moralities of the Middle Ages. The movement began some years ago at Orange. In 1907 there were, in France, as many as thirty open-air theatres (Théâtres de la Nature," "Théâtres du Soleil," etc.,) while it is in Marseilles that the first formal open-air theatre has been erected since classic days.[1] In England, likewise, there has been a great extension of popular interest in dramatic performances, and the newly instituted Pageants, carried out and taken part in by the population of the region commemorated in the Pageant, are festivals of the same character. In England, however, at the present time, the real popular orgiastic festivals are the Bank holidays, with which may be associated the more occasional celebrations, "Maffekings," etc., often called out by comparatively insignificant national events but still adequate to arouse orgiastic emotions as genuine as those of antiquity, though they are lacking in beauty and religious consecration. It is easy indeed for the narrowly austere person to view such manifestations with a supercilious smile, but in the eyes of the moralist and the philosopher these orgiastic festivals exert a salutary and preservative function. In every age of dull and monotonous routine—and all civilization involves such routine—many natural impulses and functions tend to become suppressed, atrophied, or perverted. They need these moments of joyous exercise and expression, moments in which they may not necessarily attain their full activity but in which they will at all events be able, as Cyples expresses it, to rehearse their great possibilities.[2]

[1] R. Canudo, "Les Chorèges Français," *Mercure de France*, May 1, 1907, p. 180.

[2] "This is, in fact," Cyples declares (*The Process of Human Experience*, p. 743), "Art's great function—to rehearse within us greater egoistic possibilities, to habituate us to larger actualizations of personality in a rudimentary manner," and so to arouse, "aimlessly but splendidly, the sheer as yet unfulfilled possibilities within us."

II. The Origin and Development of Prostitution.

The more refined forms of the orgy flourish in civilization, although on account of their mainly cerebral character they are not the most beneficent or the most effective. The more primitive and muscular forms of the orgy tend, on the other hand, under the influence of civilization, to fall into discredit and to be so far as possible suppressed altogether. It is partly in this way that civilization encourages prostitution. For the orgy in its primitive forms, forbidden to show itself openly and reputably, seeks the darkness, and allying itself with a fundamental instinct to which civilized society offers no complete legitimate satisfaction, it firmly entrenches itself in the very centre of civilized life, and thereby constitutes a problem of immense difficulty and importance.[1]

It is commonly said that prostitution has existed always and everywhere. That statement is far from correct. A kind of amateur prostitution is occasionally found among savages, but usually it is only when barbarism is fully developed and is already approaching the stage of civilization that well developed prostitution is found. It exists in a systematic form in every civilization.

What is prostitution? There has been considerable discussion as to the correct definition of prostitution.[2] The Roman Ulpian said that a prostitute was one who openly abandons her body to a number of men without choice, for money.[3] Not all modern definitions have been so satisfactory. It is sometimes said a prostitute is a woman who gives herself to numerous men. To be sound, however, a definition must be applicable to both

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[1] Even when monotonous labor is intellectual, it is not thereby protected against degrading orgiastic reactions. Prof. L. Gurlitt shows (*Die Neue Generation*, January, 1909, pp. 31-6) how the strenuous, unremitting intellectual work of Prussian seminaries leads among both teachers and scholars to the worst forms of the orgy.

[2] Rabutaux discusses various definitions of prostitution, *De la Prostitution en Europe*, pp. 119 *et seq.* For the origin of the names to designate the prostitute, see Schrader, *Reallexicon*, art. "Beischläferin."

[3] *Digest*, lib. xxiii, tit. ii, p. 43. If she only gave herself to one or two persons, though for money, it was not prostitution.

sexes alike and we should certainly hesitate to describe a man who had sexual intercourse with many women as a prostitute. The idea of venality, the intention to sell the favors of the body, is essential to the conception of prostitution. Thus Guyot defines a prostitute as "any person for whom sexual relationships are subordinated to gain."[1] It is not, however, adequate to define a prostitute simply as a woman who sells her body. That is done every day by women who become wives in order to gain a home and a livelihood, yet, immoral as this conduct may be from any high ethical standpoint, it would be inconvenient and even misleading to call it prostitution.[2] It is better, therefore, to define a prostitute as a woman who temporarily sells her sexual favors to various persons. Thus, according to Wharton's *Law-lexicon* a prostitute is "a woman who indiscriminately consorts with men for hire"; Bonger states that "those women are prostitutes who sell their bodies for the exercise of sexual acts and make of this a profession";[3] Richard again states that "a prostitute is a woman who publicly gives herself to the first comer in return for a pecuniary remuneration."[4] As, finally, the prevalence of homosexuality has led to the existence of male prostitutes, the definition must be put in a form irrespective of sex, and we may, therefore, say that a prostitute is a person who makes it a profession

[1] Guyot, *La Prostitution*, p. 8. The element of venality is essential, and religious writers (like Robert Wardlaw, D.D., of Edinburgh, in his *Lectures on Female Prostitution*, 1842, p. 14) who define prostitution as "the illicit intercourse of the sexes," and synonymous with theological "fornication," fall into an absurd confusion.

[2] "Such marriages are sometimes stigmatized as 'legalized prostitution,'" remarks Sidgwick (*Methods of Ethics*, Bk iii. Ch. XI), "but the phrase is felt to be extravagant and paradoxical."

[3] Bonger, *Criminalité et Conditions Economiques*, p. 378. Bonger believes that the act of prostitution is "intrinsically equal to that of a man or woman who contracts a marriage for economical reasons."

[4] E. Richard, *La Prostitution à Paris*, 1890, p. 44. It may be questioned whether publicity or notoriety should form an essential part of the definition; it seems, however, to be involved, or the prostitute cannot obtain clients. Reuss states that she must, in addition, be absolutely without means of subsistence; that is certainly not essential. Nor is it necessary, as the *Digest* insisted, that the act should be performed "without pleasure;" that may be as it will, without affecting the prostitutional nature of the act.

to gratify the lust of various persons of the opposite sex or the same sex.

It is essential that the act of prostitution should be habitually performed with "various persons." A woman who gains her living by being mistress to a man, to whom she is faithful, is not a prostitute, although she often becomes one afterwards, and may have been one before. The exact point at which a woman begins to be a prostitute is a question of considerable importance in countries in which prostitutes are subject to registration. Thus in Berlin, not long ago, a girl who was mistress to a rich cavalry officer and supported by him, during the illness of the officer accidentally met a man whom she had formerly known, and once or twice invited him to see her, receiving from him presents in money. This somehow came to the knowledge of the police, and she was arrested and sentenced to one day's imprisonment as an unregistered prostitute. On appeal, however, the sentence was annulled. Liszt, in his *Strafrecht*, lays it down that a girl who obtains whole or part of her income from "fixed relationships" is not practicing unchastity for gain in the sense of the German law (*Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, Jahrgang 1, Heft 9, p. 345).

It is not altogether easy to explain the origin of the systematized professional prostitution with the existence of which we are familiar in civilization. The amateur kind of prostitution which has sometimes been noted among primitive peoples—the fact, that is, that a man may give a woman a present in seeking to persuade her to allow him to have intercourse with her—is really not prostitution as we understand it. The present in such a case is merely part of a kind of courtship leading to a temporary relationship. The woman more or less retains her social position and is not forced to make an avocation of selling herself because henceforth no other career is possible to her. When Cook came to New Zealand his men found that the women were not impregnable, "but the terms and manner of compliance were as decent as those in marriage among us," and according "to their notions the agreement was as innocent." The consent of the woman's friends was necessary, and when the preliminaries were settled it was also necessary to treat this "Juliet of a night" with "the same delicacy as is here required with the wife for life, and the lover who presumed to take any liberties by which this was

violated was sure to be disappointed."[1] In some of the Melanesian Islands, it is said that women would sometimes become prostitutes, or on account of their bad conduct be forced to become prostitutes for a time; they were not, however, particularly despised, and when they had in this way accumulated a certain amount of property they could marry well, after which it would not be proper to refer to their former career.[2]

When prostitution first arises among a primitive people it sometimes happens that little or no stigma is attached to it for the reason that the community has not yet become accustomed to attach any special value to the presence of virginity. Schurtz quotes from the old Arabic geographer Al-Bekri some interesting remarks about the Slavs: "The women of the Slavs, after they have married, are faithful to their husbands. If, however, a young girl falls in love with a man she goes to him and satisfies her passion. And if a man marries and finds his wife a virgin he says to her: 'If you were worth anything men would have loved you, and you would have chosen one who would have taken away your virginity.' Then he drives her away and renounces her." It is a feeling of this kind which, among some peoples, leads a girl to be proud of the presents she has received from her lovers and to preserve them as a dowry for her marriage, knowing that her value will thus be still further heightened. Even among the Southern Slavs of modern Europe, who have preserved much of the primitive sexual freedom, this freedom, as Krauss, who has minutely studied the manners and customs of these peoples, declares, is fundamentally different from vice, licentiousness, or immodesty.[3]

Prostitution tends to arise, as Schurtz has pointed out, in every society in which early marriage is difficult and intercourse outside marriage is socially disapproved. "Venal women everywhere appear as soon as the free sexual intercourse of young people is repressed, without the necessary consequences being

[1] Hawkesworth, *Account of the Voyages*, etc., 1775. vol. ii, p. 254.
[2] R. W. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 235.
[3] F. S. Krauss, *Romanische Forschungen*, 1903, p. 290.

impeded by unusually early marriages."[1] The repression of sexual intimacies outside marriage is a phenomenon of civilization, but it is not itself by any means a measure of a people's general level, and may, therefore, begin to appear at an early period. But it is important to remember that the primitive and rudimentary forms of prostitution, when they occur, are merely temporary, and frequently—though not invariably—involve no degrading influence on the woman in public estimation, sometimes indeed increasing her value as a wife. The woman who sells herself for money purely as a professional matter, without any thought of love or passion, and who, by virtue of her profession, belongs to a pariah class definitely and rigidly excluded from the main body of her sex, is a phenomenon which can seldom be found except in developed civilization. It is altogether incorrect to speak of prostitutes as a mere survival from primitive times.

On the whole, while among savages sexual relationships are sometimes free before marriage, as well as on the occasion of special festivals, they are rarely truly promiscuous and still more rarely venal. When savage women nowadays sell themselves, or are sold by their husbands, it has usually been found that we are concerned with the contamination of European civilization.

The definite ways in which professional prostitution may arise are no doubt many.[2] We may assent to the general principle laid down by Schurtz, that whenever the free union of young people is impeded under conditions in which early marriage is also difficult prostitution must certainly arise. There are, however, different ways in which this principle may take shape. So far as our western civilization is concerned—the civilization, that

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[1] H. Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Mannerbünde*, 1902, p. 190. In this work Schurtz brings together (pp. 189-201) some examples of the germs of prostitution among primitive peoples. Many facts and references are given by Westermarck (*History of Human Marriage*, pp. 66 *et seq.*, and *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, vol. ii, pp. 441 *et seq*).

[2] Bachofen (more especially in his *Mutterrecht* and *Sage von Tanaquil*) argued that even religious prostitution sprang from the resistance of primitive instincts to the individualization of love. *Cf.* Robertson Smith, *Religion of Semites*, second edition, p. 59.

is to say, which has its cradle in the Mediterranean basin—it would seem that the origin of prostitution is to be found primarily in a religious custom, religion, the great conserver of social traditions, preserving in a transformed shape a primitive freedom that was passing out of general social life.[1] The typical example is that recorded by Herodotus, in the fifth century before Christ, at the temple of Mylitta, the Babylonian Venus, where every woman once in her life had to come and give herself to the first stranger who threw a coin in her lap, in worship of the goddess. The money could not be refused, however small the amount, but it was given as an offertory to the temple, and the woman, having followed the man and thus made oblation to Mylitta, returned home and lived chastely ever afterwards.[2] Very similar customs existed in other parts of Western Asia, in North Africa, in Cyprus and other islands of the Eastern Mediterranean, and also in Greece, where the Temple of Aphrodite on the fort at Corinth possessed over a thousand hierodules, dedicated to the service of the goddess, from time to time, as Strabo states, by those who desired to make thank-offering for mercies vouchsafed to them. Pindar refers to the hospitable young Corinthian women ministrants whose thoughts often turn towards Ourania

[1] Whatever the reason may be, there can be no doubt that there is a widespread tendency for religion and prostitution to be associated; it is possibly to some extent a special case of that general connection between the religious and sexual impulses which has been discussed elsewhere (Appendix C to vol. i of these *Studies*). Thus A. B. Ellis, in his book on *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of West Africa* (pp. 124, 141) states that here women dedicated to a god become promiscuous prostitutes. W. G. Sumner (*Folkways*, Ch. XVI) brings together many facts concerning the wide distribution of religious prostitution.

[2] Herodotus, Bk. I, Ch. CXCIX; Baruch, Ch. VI, p. 43. Modern scholars confirm the statements of Herodotus from the study of Babylonian literature, though inclined to deny that religious prostitution occupied so large a place as he gives it. A tablet of the Gilgamash epic, according to Morris Jastrow, refers to prostitutes as attendants of the goddess Ishtar in the city Uruk (or Erech), which was thus a centre, and perhaps the chief centre, of the rites described by Herodotus (Morris Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* 1898, p 475). Ishtar was the goddess of fertility, the great mother goddess, and the prostitutes were priestesses, attached to her worship who took part in ceremonies intended to symbolize fertility. These priestesses of Ishtar were known by the general name Kadishtu, "the holy ones" (*op. cit.*, pp. 485, 660).

Aphrodite[1] in whose temple they burned incense; and Athenæus mentions the importance that was attached to the prayers of the Corinthian prostitutes in any national calamity.[2]

We seem here to be in the presence, not merely of a religiously preserved survival of a greater sexual freedom formerly existing,[3] but of a specialized and ritualized development of that primitive cult of the generative forces of Nature which involves the belief that all natural fruitfulness is associated with, and promoted by, acts of human sexual intercourse which thus acquire a religious significance. At a later stage acts of sexual intercourse having a religious significance become specialized and localized in temples, and by a rational transition of ideas it becomes believed that such acts of sexual intercourse in the service of the god, or with persons devoted to the god's service, brought benefits to the individual who performed them, more especially, if a woman, by insuring her fertility. Among primitive peoples generally this conception is embodied mainly in seasonal festivals, but among the peoples of Western Asia who had ceased to be primitive, and among whom traditional priestly and hieratic influences had acquired very great influence, the earlier

[1] It is usual among modern writers to associate Aphrodite Pandemos, rather than Ourania, with venal or promiscuous sexuality, but this is a complete mistake, for the Aphrodite Pandemos was purely political and had no sexual significance. The mistake was introduced, perhaps intentionally, by Plato. It has been suggested that that arch-juggler, who disliked democratic ideas, purposely sought to pervert and vulgarize the conception of Aphrodite Pandemos (Farnell, *Cults of Greek States*, vol. ii, p. 660).

[2] Athenæus. Bk. xiii, cap. XXXII. It appears that the only other Hellenic community where the temple cult involved unchastity was a city of the Locri Epizephyrii (Farnell, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 636).

[3] I do not say an earlier "promiscuity," for the theory of a primitive sexual promiscuity is now widely discredited, though there can be no reasonable doubt that the early prevalence of mother-right was more favorable to the sexual freedom of women than the later patriarchal system. Thus in very early Egyptian days a woman could give her favors to any man she chose by sending him her garment, even if she were married. In time the growth of the rights of men led to this being regarded as criminal, but the priestesses of Amen retained the privilege to the last, as being under divine protection (Flinders Petrie, *Egyptian Tales*, pp. 10, 48).

generative cult had thus, it seems probable, naturally changed its form in becoming attached to the temples.[1]

The theory that religious prostitution developed, as a general rule, out of the belief that the generative activity of human beings possessed a mysterious and sacred influence in promoting the fertility of Nature generally seems to have been first set forth by Mannhardt in his *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte* (pp. 283 *et seq.*). It is supported by Dr. F. S. Krauss ("Beischlafausübung als Kulthandlung," *Anthropophyteia*, vol. iii, p. 20), who refers to the significant fact that in Baruch's time, at a period long anterior to Herodotus, sacred prostitution took place under the trees. Dr. J. G. Frazer has more especially developed this conception of the origin of sacred prostitution in his *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*. He thus summarizes his lengthy discussion: "We may conclude that a great Mother Goddess, the personification of all the reproductive energies of nature, was worshipped under different names, but with a substantial similarity of myth and ritual by many peoples of western Asia; that associated with her was a lover, or rather series of lovers, divine yet mortal, with whom she mated year by year, their commerce being deemed essential to the propagation of animals and plants, each in their several kind; and further, that the fabulous union of the divine pair was simulated, and, as it were, multiplied on earth by the real, though temporary, union of the human sexes at the sanctuary of the goddess for the sake of thereby ensuring the fruitfulness of the ground and the increase of man and beast. In course of time, as the institution of individual marriage grew in favor, and the old communism fell more and more into discredit, the revival of the ancient practice, even for a single occasion in a woman's life, became ever more repugnant to the moral sense of the people, and accordingly they resorted to various expedients for evading in practice the obligation which they still acknowledged in theory. . . . . But while the majority of women thus contrived to observe the form of religion without sacrificing their virtue, it was still thought necessary to the general welfare that a certain number of them should discharge the old obligation in the old way. These became prostitutes, either for life or for a term of years, at one of the temples: dedicated to the service of religion, they were invested with a sacred

[1] It should be added that Farnell ("The Position of Women in Ancient Religion." *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*. 1904, p. 88) seeks to explain the religious prostitution of Babylonia as a special religious modification of the custom of destroying virginity before marriage in order to safeguard the husband from the mystic dangers of defloration. E. S. Hartland, also ("Concerning the Rite at the Temple of Mylitta." *Anthropological Essays Presented to E. B. Tyler*. p. 189), suggests that this was a puberty rite connected with ceremonial defloration. This theory is not, however, generally accepted by Semitic scholars.

character, and their vocation, far from being deemed infamous, was probably long regarded by the laity as an exercise of more than common virtue, and rewarded with a tribute of mixed wonder, reverence, and pity, not unlike that which in some parts of the world is still paid to women who seek to honor their Creator in a different way by renouncing the natural functions of their sex and the tenderest relations of humanity" (J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 1907, pp. 23 *et seq.*).

It is difficult to resist the conclusion that this theory represents the central and primitive idea which led to the development of sacred prostitution. It seems equally clear, however, that as time went on, and especially as temple cults developed and priestly influence increased, this fundamental and primitive idea tended to become modified, and even transformed. The primitive conception became specialized in the belief that religious benefits, and especially the gift of fruitfulness, were gained *by the worshipper*, who thus sought the goddess's favor by an act of unchastity which might be presumed to be agreeable to an unchaste deity. The rite of Mylitta, as described by Herodotus, was a late development of this kind in an ancient civilization, and the benefit sought was evidently for the worshipper herself. This has been pointed out by Dr. Westermarck, who remarks that the words spoken to the woman by her partner as he gives her the coin—"May the goddess be auspicious to thee!"—themselves indicate that the object of the act was to insure her fertility, and he refers also to the fact that strangers frequently had a semi-supernatural character, and their benefits a specially efficacious character (Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, vol. ii, p. 446). It may be added that the rite of Mylitta thus became analogous with another Mediterranean rite, in which the act of simulating intercourse with the representative of a god, or his image, ensured a woman's fertility. This is the rite practiced by the Egyptians of Mendes, in which a woman went through the ceremony of simulated intercourse with the sacred goat, regarded as the representative of a deity of Pan-like character (Herodotus, Bk ii, Ch. XLVI; and see Dulaure, *Des Divinités Génératrices*, Ch. II; *cf.* vol. v of these *Studies*, "Erotic Symbolism," Sect. IV). This rite was maintained by Roman women, in connection with the statues of Priapus, to a very much later date, and St. Augustine mentions how Roman matrons placed the young bride on the erect member of Priapus (*De Civitate Dei*, Bk. iii, Ch. IX). The idea evidently running through this whole group of phenomena is that the deity, or the representative or even mere image of the deity, is able, through a real or simulated act of intercourse, to confer on the worshipper a portion of its own exalted generative activity.

At a later period, in Corinth, prostitutes were still the priestesses of Venus, more or less loosely attached to her

temples, and so long as that was the case they enjoyed a considerable degree of esteem. At this stage, however, we realize that religious prostitution was developing a utilitarian side. These temples flourished chiefly in sea-coast towns, in islands, in large cities to which many strangers and sailors came. The priestesses of Cyprus burnt incense on her altars and invoked her sacred aid, but at the same time Pindar addresses them as "young girls who welcome all strangers and give them hospitality." Side by side with the religious significance of the act of generation the needs of men far from home were already beginning to be definitely recognized. The Babylonian woman had gone to the temple of Mylitta to fulfil a personal religious duty; the Corinthian priestess had begun to act as an avowed minister to the sexual needs of men in strange cities.

The custom which Herodotus noted in Lydia of young girls prostituting themselves in order to acquire a marriage portion which they may dispose of as they think fit (Bk. 1, Ch. 93) may very well have developed (as Frazer also believes) out of religious prostitution; we can indeed trace its evolution in Cyprus where eventually, at the period when Justinian visited the island, the money given by strangers to the women was no longer placed on the altar but put into a chest to form marriage-portions for them. It is a custom to be found in Japan and various other parts of the world, notably among the Ouled-Nail of Algeria,[1] and is not necessarily always based on religious prostitution; but it obviously cannot exist except among peoples who see nothing very derogatory in free sexual intercourse for the purpose of obtaining money, so that the custom of Mylitta furnished a natural basis for it.[2]

[1] The girls of this tribe, who are remarkably pretty, after spending two or three years in thus amassing a little dowry, return home to marry, and are said to make model wives and mothers. They are described by Bertherand in Parent-Duchâtelet, *La Prostitution à Paris*, vol. ii, p. 539.

[2] In Abyssinia (according to Fiaschi, *British Medical Journal*, March 13, 1897), where prostitution has always been held in high esteem, the prostitutes, who are now subject to medical examination twice a week, still attach no disgrace to their profession, and easily find husbands afterwards. Potter (*Sohrab and Rustem*, pp. 168 *et seq.*) gives references as regards peoples, widely dispersed in the Old World and the New, among whom the young women have practiced prostitution to obtain a dowry.

As a more spiritual conception of religion developed, and as the growth of civilization tended to deprive sexual intercourse of its sacred halo, religious prostitution in Greece was slowly abolished, though on the coasts of Asia Minor both religious prostitution and prostitution for the purpose of obtaining a marriage portion persisted to the time of Constantine, who put an end to these ancient customs.[1] Superstition was on the side of the old religious prostitution; it was believed that women who had never sacrificed to Aphrodite became consumed by lust, and according to the legend recorded by Ovid—a legend which seems to point to a certain antagonism between sacred and secular prostitution—this was the case with the women who first became public prostitutes. The decay of religious prostitution, doubtless combined with the cravings always born of the growth of civilization, led up to the first establishment, attributed by legend to Solon, of a public brothel, a purely secular establishment for a purely secular end: the safeguarding of the virtue of the general population and the increase of the public revenue. With that institution the evolution of prostitution, and of the modern marriage system of which it forms part, was completed. The Athenian *dikterion* is the modern brothel; the *dikteriade* is the modern state-regulated prostitute. The free *hetairæ*, indeed, subsequently arose, educated women having no taint of the *dikterion*, but they likewise had no official part in public worship.[2] The primitive conception of the sanctity of sexual intercourse in the divine service had been utterly lost.

A fairly typical example of the conditions existing among savages is to be found in the South Sea Island of Rotuma, where "prostitution for money or gifts was quite unknown." Adultery after marriage was

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1 At Tralles, in Lydia, even in the second century A. D., as Sir W. M. Ramsay notes (*Cities of Phrygia*, vol. i, pp. 94, 115), sacred prostitution was still an honorable practice for women of good birth who "felt themselves called upon to live the divine life under the influence of divine inspiration."

2 The gradual secularization of prostitution from its earlier religious form has been traced by various writers (see, *e.g.*, Dupouey, *La Prostitution dans l'Antiquité*). The earliest complimentary reference to the *Hetaira* in literature is to be found, according to Benecke (*Antimachus of Colophon*, p. 36), in Bacchylides.

also unknown. But there was great freedom in the formation of sexual relationships before marriage (J. Stanley Gardiner, *Journal Anthropological Institute*, February, 1898, p. 409). Much the same is said of the Bantu Ba mbola of Africa (*op. cit.*, July-December, 1905, p. 410).

Among the early Cymri of Wales, representing a more advanced social stage, prostitution appears to have been not absolutely unknown, but public prostitution was punished by loss of valuable privileges (R. B. Holt, "Marriage Laws and Customs of the Cymri," *Journal Anthropological Institute*, August-November, 1898, pp. 161-163).

Prostitution was practically unknown in Burmah, and regarded as shameful before the coming of the English and the example of the modern Hindus. The missionaries have unintentionally, but inevitably, favored the growth of prostitution by condemning free unions (*Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, November, 1903, p. 720). The English brought prostitution to India. "That was not specially the fault of the English," said a Brahmin to Jules Bois, "it is the crime of your civilization. We have never had prostitutes. I mean by that horrible word the brutalized servants of the gross desire of the passerby. We had, and we have, castes of singers and dancers who are married to trees—yes, to trees—by touching ceremonies which date from Vedic times; our priests bless them and receive much money from them. They do not refuse themselves to those who love them and please them. Kings have made them rich. They represent all the arts; they are the visible beauty of the universe" (Jules Bois, *Visions de l'Inde*, p. 55).

Religious prostitutes, it may be added, "the servants of the god," are connected with temples in Southern India and the Deccan. They are devoted to their sacred calling from their earliest years, and it is their chief business to dance before the image of the god, to whom they are married (though in Upper India professional dancing girls are married to inanimate objects), but they are also trained in arousing and assuaging the desires of devotees who come on pilgrimage to the shrine. For the betrothal rites by which, in India, sacred prostitutes are consecrated, see, *e.g.*, A. Van Gennep, *Rites de Passage*, p. 142.

In many parts of Western Asia, where barbarism had reached a high stage of development, prostitution was not unknown, though usually disapproved. The Hebrews knew it, and the historical Biblical references to prostitutes imply little reprobation. Jephtha was the son of a prostitute, brought up with the legitimate children, and the story of Tamar is instructive. But the legal codes were extremely severe on Jewish maidens who became prostitutes (the offense was quite tolerable in strange women), while Hebrew moralists exercised their invectives against prostitution; it is sufficient to refer to a well-known passage in the Book of Proverbs (see art. "Harlot," by Cheyne, in the *Encylopædia Biblica*). Mahomed also severely condemned prostitution, though some-

what more tolerant to it in slave women; according to Haleby, however, prostitution was practically unknown in Islam during the first centuries after the Prophet's time.

The Persian adherents of the somewhat ascetic *Zendavesta* also knew prostitution, and regarded it with repulsion: "It is the Gahi [the courtesan, as an incarnation of the female demon, Gahi], O Spitama Zarathustra! who mixes in her the seed of the faithful and the unfaithful, of the worshipper of Mazda and the worshipper of the Dævas, of the wicked and the righteous. Her look dries up one-third of the mighty floods that run from the mountains, O Zarathustra; her look withers one-third of the beautiful, golden-hued, growing plants, O Zarathustra; her look withers one-third of the strength of Spenta Armaiti [the earth]; and her touch withers in the faithful one-third of his good thoughts, of his good words, of his good deeds, one-third of his strength, of his victorious power, of his holiness. Verily I say unto thee, O Spitama Zarathustra! such creatures ought to be killed even more than gliding snakes, than howling wolves, than the she-wolf that falls upon the fold, or than the she-frog that falls upon the waters with her thousandfold brood" (*Zend-Avesta, the Vendidad*, translated by James Darmesteter, Farfad XVIII).

In practice, however, prostitution is well established in the modern East. Thus in the Tartar-Turcoman region houses of prostitution lying outside the paths frequented by Christians have been described by a writer who appears to be well informed ("Orientalische Prostitution," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, 1907, Bd. ii, Heft 1). These houses are not regarded as immoral or forbidden, but as places in which the visitor will find a woman who gives him for a few hours the illusion of being in his own home, with the pleasure of enjoying her songs, dances, and recitations, and finally her body. Payment is made at the door, and no subsequent question of money arises; the visitor is henceforth among friends, almost as if in his own family. He treats the prostitute almost as if she were his wife, and no indecorum or coarseness of speech occurs. "There is no obscenity in the Oriental brothel." At the same time there is no artificial pretence of innocence.

In Eastern Asia, among the peoples of Mongolian stock, especially in China, we find prostitution firmly established and organized on a practical business basis. Prostitution is here accepted and viewed with no serious disfavor, but the prostitute herself is, nevertheless, treated with contempt. Young children are frequently sold to be trained to a life of prostitution, educated accordingly, and kept shut up from the world. Young widows (remarriage being disapproved) frequently also slide into a life of prostitution. Chinese prostitutes often end through opium and the ravages of syphilis (see, *e.g.*, Coltman's *The Chinese*, 1900, Ch. VII). In ancient China, it is said prostitutes were a superior

class and occupied a position somewhat similar to that of the *hetairæ* in Greece. Even in modern China, however, where they are very numerous, and the flower boats, in which in towns by the sea they usually live, very luxurious, it is chiefly for entertainment, according to some writers, that they are resorted to. Tschang Ki Tong, military attaché in Paris (as quoted by Ploss and Bartels), describes the flower boat as less analogous to a European brothel than to a *café chantant;* the young Chinaman comes here for music, for tea, for agreeable conversation with the flower-maidens, who are by no means necessarily called upon to minister to the lust of their visitors.

In Japan, the prostitute's lot is not so degraded as in China. The greater refinement of Japanese civilization allows the prostitute to retain a higher degree of self-respect. She is sometimes regarded with pity, but less often with contempt. She may associate openly with men, ultimately be married, even to men of good social class, and rank as a respectable woman. "In riding from Tokio to Yokohama, the past winter," Coltman observes (*op. cit.*, p. 113), "I saw a party of four young men and three quite pretty and gaily-painted prostitutes, in the same car, who were having a glorious time. They had two or three bottles of various liquors, oranges, and fancy cakes, and they ate, drank and sang, besides playing jokes on each other and frolicking like so many kittens You may travel the whole length of the Chinese Empire and never wit ness such a scene." Yet the history of Japanese prostitutes (which has been written in an interesting and well-informed book, *The Nightless City*, by an English student of sociology who remains anonymous) shows that prostitution in Japan has not only been severely regulated, but very widely looked down upon, and that Japanese prostitutes have often had to suffer greatly; they were at one time practically slaves and often treated with much hardship. They are free now, and any condition approaching slavery is strictly prohibited and guarded against. It would seem, however, that the palmiest days of Japanese prostitution lay some centuries back. Up to the middle of the eighteenth century Japanese prostitutes were highly accomplished in singing, dancing, music, etc. Towards this period, however, they seem to have declined in social consideration and to have ceased to be well educated. Yet even to-day, says Matignon ("La Prostitution au Japon," *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, October, 1906), less infamy attaches to prostitution in Japan than in Europe, while at the same time there is less immorality in Japan than in Europe. Though prostitution is organized like the postal or telegraph service, there is also much clandestine prostitution. The prostitution quarters are clean, beautiful and well-kept, but the Japanese prostitutes have lost much of their native good taste in costume by trying to imitate European fashions. It was when prostitution began to decline two centuries ago, that the geishas first appeared and were

organized in such a way that they should not, if possible, compete as prostitutes with the recognized and licensed inhabitants of the Yoshiwara, as the quarter is called to which prostitutes are confined. The geishas, of course, are not prostitutes, though their virtue may not always be impregnable, and in social position they correspond to actresses in Europe.

In Korea, at all events before Korea fell into the hands of the Japanese, it would seem that there was no distinction between the class of dancing girls and prostitutes. "Among the courtesans," Angus Hamilton states, "the mental abilities are trained and developed with a view to making them brilliant and entertaining companions. These 'leaves of sunlight' are called *gisaing*, and correspond to the geishas of Japan. Officially, they are attached to a department of government, and are controlled by a bureau of their own, in common with the Court musicians. They are supported from the national treasury, and they are in evidence at official dinners and all palace entertainments. They read and recite; they dance and sing; they become accomplished artists and musicians. They dress with exceptional taste; they move with exceeding grace; they are delicate in appearance, very frail and very human, very tender, sympathetic, and imaginative." But though they are certainly the prettiest women in Korea, move in the highest society, and might become concubines of the Emperor, they are not allowed to marry men of good class (Angus Hamilton, *Korea*, p. 52).

The history of European prostitution, as of so many other modern institutions, may properly be said to begin in Rome. Here at the outset we already find that inconsistently mixed attitude towards prostitution which to-day is still preserved. In Greece it was in many respects different. Greece was nearer to the days of religious prostitution, and the sincerity and refinement of Greek civilization made it possible for the better kind of prostitute to exert, and often be worthy to exert, an influence in all departments of life which she has never been able to exercise since, except perhaps occasionally, in a much slighter degree, in France. The course, vigorous, practical Roman was quite ready to tolerate the prostitute, but he was not prepared to carry that toleration to its logical results; he never felt bound to harmonize inconsistent facts of life. Cicero, a moralist of no mean order, without expressing approval of prostitution, yet could not understand how anyone should wish to prohibit youths from commerce

with prostitutes, such severity being out of harmony with all the customs of the past or the present.[1] But the superior class of Roman prostitutes, the *bonæ mulieres*, had no such dignified position as the Greek *hetairæ*. Their influence was indeed immense, but it was confined, as it is in the case of their European successors to-day, to fashions, customs, and arts. There was always a certain moral rigidity in the Roman which prevented him from yielding far in this direction. He encouraged brothels, but he only entered them with covered head and face concealed in his cloak. In the same way, while he tolerated the prostitute, beyond a certain point he sharply curtailed her privileges. Not only was she deprived of all influence in the higher concerns of life, but she might not even wear the *vitta* or the *stola*; she could indeed go almost naked if she pleased, but she must not ape the emblems of the respectable Roman matron.[2]

The rise of Christianity to political power produced on the whole less change of policy than might have been anticipated. The Christian rulers had to deal practically as best they might with a very mixed, turbulent, and semi-pagan world. The leading fathers of the Church were inclined to tolerate prostitution for the avoidance of greater evils, and Christian emperors, like their pagan predecessors, were willing to derive a tax from prostitution. The right of prostitution to exist was, however, no longer so unquestionably recognized as in pagan days, and from time to time some vigorous ruler sought to repress prostitution by severe enactments. The younger Theodosius and Valentinian definitely ordained that there should be no more brothels and that anyone giving shelter to a prostitute should be punished. Justinian confirmed that measure and ordered that all panders were to be exiled on pain of death. These enactments were quite vain. But during a thousand years they were repeated again and again in various parts of Europe, and invariably with the same fruitless or worse than fruitless results. Theodoric, king of the

[1] Cicero, *Oratio prô Coelio*, Cap. XX.

[2] Pierre Dufour, *Histoire de la Prostitution*, vol. ii, Chs. XIX-XX. The real author of this well-known history of prostitution, which, though not scholarly in its methods, brings together a great mass of interesting information, is said to be Paul Lacroix.

Visigoths, punished with death those who promoted prostitution, and Recared, a Catholic king of the same people in the sixth century, prohibited prostitution altogether and ordered that a prostitute, when found, should receive three hundred strokes of the whip and be driven out of the city. Charlemagne, as well as Genserich in Carthage, and later Frederick Barbarossa in Germany, made severe laws against prostitution which were all of no effect, for even if they seemed to be effective for the time the reaction was all the greater afterwards.[1]

It is in France that the most persistent efforts have been made to combat prostitution. Most notable of all were the efforts of the King and Saint, Louis IX. In 1254 St. Louis ordained that prostitutes should be driven out altogether and deprived of all their money and goods, even to their mantles and gowns. In 1256 he repeated this ordinance and in 1269, before setting out for the Crusades, he ordered the destruction of all places of prostitution. The repetition of those decrees shows how ineffectual they were. They even made matters worse, for prostitutes were forced to mingle with the general population and their influence was thus extended. St. Louis was unable to put down prostitution even in his own camp in the East, and it existed outside his own tent. His legislation, however, was frequently imitated by subsequent rulers of France, even to the middle of the seventeenth century, always with the same ineffectual and worse results. In 1560 an edict of Charles IX abolished brothels, but the number of prostitutes was thereby increased rather than diminished, while many new kinds of brothels appeared in unsuspected shapes and were more dangerous than the more recognized brothels which had been suppressed.[2] In spite of all such legislation, or because of it, there has been no country in which prostitution has played a more conspicuous part.[3]

1 Rabutaux, in his *Histoire de la Prostitution en Europe*, describes many attempts to suppress prostitution; *cf.* Dufour, *op. cit.*, vol. iii.

2 Dufour, *op. cit.*, vol. vi, Ch. XLI. It was in the reign of the homosexual Henry III that the tolerance of brothels was established.

3 In the eighteenth century, especially, houses of prostitution in Paris attained to an astonishing degree of elaboration and prosperity.

At Mantua, so great was the repulsion aroused by prostitutes that they were compelled to buy in the markets any fruit or bread that had been soiled by the mere touch of their hands. It was so also in Avignon in 1243. In Catalonia they could not sit at the same table as a lady or a knight or kiss any honorable person.[1] Even in Venice, the paradise of prostitution, numerous and severe regulations were passed against it, and it was long before the Venetian rulers resigned themselves to its toleration and regulation.[2]

The last vigorous attempt to uproot prostitution in Europe was that of Maria Theresa at Vienna in the middle of the eighteenth century. Although of such recent date it may be mentioned here because it was mediæval alike in its conception and methods. Its object indeed, was to suppress not only prostitution, but fornication generally, and the means adopted were fines, imprisonment, whipping and torture. The supposed causes of fornication were also dealt with severely; short dresses were prohibited; billiard rooms and cafés were inspected; no waitresses were allowed, and when discovered, a waitress was liable to be handcuffed and carried off by the police. The Chastity Commission, under which these measures were rigorously carried out, was, apparently, established in 1751 and was quietly abolished by the Emperor Joseph II, in the early years of his reign. It was the general opinion that this severe legislation was really ineffective, and that it caused much more serious evils than it cured.[3] It is certain in any case that, for a long time

Owing to the constant watchful attention of the police a vast amount of detailed information concerning these establishments was accumulated, and during recent years much of it has been published. A summary of this literature will be found in Dühren's *Neue Forshungen uber den Marquis de Sade und seine Zeit*, 1904, pp. 97 *et seq.*

1 Rabutaux, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

2 Calza has written the history of Venetian prostitution; and some of the documents he found have been reproduced by Mantegazza, *Gli Amori degli Uomimi*, cap. XIV. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, a comparatively late period, Coryat visited Venice, and in his *Crudities* gives a full and interesting account of its courtesans, who then numbered, he says, at least 20.000; the revenue they brought into the State maintained a dozen galleys.

3 J. Schrank, *Die Prostitution in Wien*, Bd. I, pp. 152-206.

past, illegitimacy has been more prevalent in Vienna than in any other great European capital.

Yet the attitude towards prostitutes was always mixed and inconsistent at different places or different times, or even at the same time and place. Dufour has aptly compared their position to that of the mediæval Jews; they were continually persecuted, ecclesiastically, civilly, and socially, yet all classes were glad to have recourse to them and it was impossible to do without them. In some countries, including England in the fourteenth century, a special costume was imposed on prostitutes as a mark of infamy.[1] Yet in many respects no infamy whatever attached to prostitution. High placed officials could claim payment of their expenses incurred in visiting prostitutes when traveling on public business. Prostitution sometimes played an official part in festivities and receptions accorded by great cities to royal guests, and the brothel might form an important part of the city's hospitality. When the Emperor Sigismund came to Ulm in 1434 the streets were illuminated at such times as he or his suite desired to visit the common brothel. Brothels under municipal protection are found in the thirteenth century in Augsburg, in Vienna, in Hamburg.[2] In France the best known *abbayes* of prostitutes were those of Toulouse and Montpellier.[3] Durkheim is of opinion that in the early middle ages, before this period, free love and marriage were less severely differentiated. It was the rise of the middle class, he considers, anxious to protect their wives and daughters, which led to a regulated and publicly recognized attempt to direct debauchery into a separate channel, brought under control.[4] These brothels constituted a kind of public service, the directors of them being regarded almost as public officials, bound to keep a certain number of prostitutes. to charge according to a fixed tariff, and not to receive into their houses girls belonging to the neighborhood. The institutions of

1 U. Robert, *Les Signes d'Infamie au Moyen Age*, Ch. IV.

2 Rudeck (*Geschichte der offentlichen Sittlichkeit in Deutschland*, pp. 26-36) gives many details concerning the important part played by prostitutes and brothels in mediæval German life.

3 They are described by Rabutaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 90 *et seq.*

4 *L'Année Sociologique*, seventh year, 1904, p. 440.

this kind lasted for three centuries. It was, in part, perhaps, the impetus of the new Protestant movement, but mainly the terrible devastation produced by the introduction of syphilis from America at the end of the fifteenth century which, as Burckhardt and others have pointed out, led to the decline of the mediæval brothels.[1]

The superior modern prostitute, the "courtesan" who had no connection with the brothel, seems to have been the outcome of the Renaissance and made her appearance in Italy at the end of the fifteenth century. "Courtesan" or "cortegiana" meant a lady following the court, and the term began at this time to be applied to a superior prostitute observing a certain degree of decorum and restraint.[2] In the papal court of Alexander Borgia the courtesan flourished even when her conduct was not altogether dignified. Burchard, the faithful and unimpeachable chronicler of this court, describes in his diary how, one evening, in October, 1501, the Pope sent for fifty courtesans to be brought to his chamber; after supper, in the presence of Cæsar Borgia and his young sister Lucrezia, they danced with the servitors and others who were present, at first clothed, afterwards naked. The candlesticks with lighted candles were then placed upon the floor and chestnuts thrown among them, to be gathered by the women crawling between the candlesticks on their hands and feet. Finally a number of prizes were brought forth to be awarded to those men "qui pluries dictos meretrices carnaliter agnoscerent." the victor in the contest being decided according to the judgment of the spectators.[3] This scene, enacted publicly in the Apostolic

[1] Bloch, *Der Ursprung der Syphilis.* As regards the German "Frauenhausen" see Max Bauer, *Das Geschlechtsleben in der Deutschen Vergangenheit*, pp. 133-214. In Paris, Dufour states (*op. cit.*, vol. v. Ch. XXXIV), brothels under the ordinances of St. Louis had many rights which they lost at last in 1560, when they became merely tolerated houses, without statutes, special costumes, or confinement to special streets.

[2] "Cortegiana, hoc est meretrix honesta," wrote Burchard, the Pope's Secretary, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, *Diarium*, ed. Thuasne, vol. ii, p. 442; other authorities are quoted by Thuasne in a note.

[3] Burchard, *Diarium*, vol. iii, p. 167. Thuasne quotes other authorities in confirmation.

palace and serenely set forth by the impartial secretary, is at once a notable episode in the history of modern prostitution and one of the most illuminating illustrations we possess of the paganism of the Renaissance.

Before the term "courtesan" came into repute, prostitutes were even in Italy commonly called "sinners," *peccatrice*. The change, Graf remarks in a very interesting study of the Renaissance prostitute ("Una Cortigiana fra Mille," *Attraverso il Cinquecento*, pp. 217-351), "reveals a profound alteration in ideas and in life;" a term that suggested infamy gave place to one that suggested approval, and even honor, for the courts of the Renaissance period represented the finest culture of the time. The best of these courtesans seem to have been not altogether unworthy of the honor they received. We can detect this in their letters. There is a chapter on the letters of Renaissance prostitutes, especially those of Camilla de Pisa which are marked by genuine passion, in Lothar Schmidt's *Frauenbriefe der Renaissance*. The famous Imperia, called by a Pope in the early years of the sixteenth century "nobilissimum Romæ scortum," knew Latin and could write Italian verse. Other courtesans knew Italian and Latin poetry by heart, while they were accomplished in music, dancing, and speech. We are reminded of ancient Greece, and Graf, discussing how far the Renaissance courtesans resembled the hetairæ, finds a very considerable likeness, especially in culture and influence, though with some differences due to the antagonism between religion and prostitution at the later period.

The most distinguished figure in every respect among the courtesans of that time was certainly Tullia D'Aragona. She was probably the daughter of Cardinal D'Aragona (an illegitimate scion of the Spanish royal family) by a Ferrarese courtesan who became his mistress. Tullia has gained a high reputation by her verse. Her best sonnet is addressed to a youth of twenty, whom she passionately loved, but who did not return her love. Her *Guerrino Meschino*, a translation from the Spanish, is a very pure and chaste work. She was a woman of refined instincts and aspirations, and once at least she abandoned her life of prostitution. She was held in high esteem and respect. When, in 1546, Cosimo, Duke of Florence, ordered all prostitutes to wear a yellow veil or handkerchief as a public badge of their profession, Tullia appealed to the Duchess, a Spanish lady of high character, and received permission to dispense with this badge on account of her "rara scienzia di poesia et filosofia." She dedicated her *Rime* to the Duchess. Tullia D'Aragona was very beautiful, with yellow hair, and remarkably large and bright eyes, which dominated those who came near her. She was of proud bearing and inspired unusual respect (G. Biagi, "Un' Etera Romana,"

Nuova Antologia, vol. iv, 1886, pp. 655-711; S. Bongi, *Rivista critica della Letteratura Italiana*, 1886, IV, p. 186).

Tullia D'Aragona was clearly not a courtesan at heart. Perhaps the most typical example of the Renaissance courtesan at her best is furnished by Veronica Franco, born in 1546 at Venice, of middle class family and in early life married to a doctor. Of her also it has been said that, while by profession a prostitute, she was by inclination a poet. But she appears to have been well content with her profession, and never ashamed of it. Her life and character have been studied by Arturo Graf, and more slightly in a little book by Tassini. She was highly cultured, and knew several languages; she also sang well and played on many instruments. In one of her letters she advises a youth who was madly in love with her that if he wishes to obtain her favors he must leave off importuning her and devote himself tranquilly to study. "You know well," she adds, "that all those who claim to be able to gain my love, and who are extremely dear to me, are strenuous in studious discipline. . . . . If my fortune allowed it I would spend all my time quietly in the academies of virtuous men." The Diotimas and Aspasias of antiquity, as Graf comments, would not have demanded so much of their lovers. In her poems it is possible to trace some of her love histories, and she often shows herself torn by jealousy at the thought that perhaps another woman may approach her beloved. Once she fell in love with an ecclesiastic, possibly a bishop, with whom she had no relationships, and after a long absence, which healed her love, she and he became sincere friends. Once she was visited by Henry III of France, who took away her portrait, while on her part she promised to dedicate a book to him; she so far fulfilled this as to address some sonnets to him and a letter: "neither did the King feel ashamed of his intimacy with the courtesan," remarks Graf, "nor did she suspect that he would feel ashamed of it." When Montaigne passed through Venice she sent him a little book of hers, as we learn from his *Journal*, though they do not appear to have met. Tintoret was one of her many distinguished friends, and she was a strenuous advocate of the high qualities of modern, as compared with ancient, art. Her friendships were affectionate, and she even seems to have had various grand ladies among her friends. She was, however, so far from being ashamed of her profession of courtesan that in one of her poems she affirms she has been taught by Apollo other arts besides those he is usually regarded as teaching:

> "Così dolce e gustevole divento,
> Quando mi trovo con persona in letto
> Da cui amata e gradita mi sento."

In a certain *catalogo* of the prices of Venetian courtesans Veronica is assigned only 2 scudi for her favors, while the courtesan to whom the

catalogue is dedicated is set down at 25 scudi. Graf thinks there may be some mistake or malice here, and an Italian gentleman of the time states that she required not less than 50 scudi from those to whom she was willing to accord what Montaigne called the "negotiation entière."

In regard to this matter it may be mentioned that, as stated by Bandello, it was the custom for a Venetian prostitute to have six or seven gentlemen at a time as her lovers. Each was entitled to come to sup and sleep with her on one night of the week, leaving her days free. They paid her so much per month, but she always definitely reserved the right to receive a stranger passing through Venice, if she wished, changing the time of her appointment with her lover for the night. The high and special prices which we find recorded are, of course, those demanded from the casual distinguished stranger who came to Venice as, once in the sixteenth century, Montaigne came.

In 1580 (when not more than thirty-four) Veronica confessed to the Holy Office that she had had six children. In the same year she formed the design of founding a home, which should not be a monastery, where prostitutes who wished to abandon their mode of life could find a refuge with their children, if they had any. This seems to have led to the establishment of a Casa del Soccorso. In 1591 she died of fever, reconciled with God and blessed by many unfortunates. She had a good heart and a sound intellect, and was the last of the great Renaissance courte sans who revived Greek hetairism (Graf, *Attraverso il Cinquecento*, pp. 217-351). Even in sixteenth century Venice, however, it will be seen, Veronica Franco seems to have been not altogether at peace in the career of a courtesan. She was clearly not adapted for ordinary marriage, yet under the most favorable conditions that the modern world has ever offered it may still be doubted whether a prostitute's career can offer complete satisfaction to a woman of large heart and brain.

Ninon de Lenclos, who is frequently called "the last of the great courtesans," may seem an exception to the general rule as to the inability of a woman of good heart, high character, and fine intelligence to find satisfaction in a prostitute's life. But it is a total misconception alike of Ninon de Lenclos's temperament and her career to regard her as in any true sense a prostitute at all. A knowledge of even the barest outlines of her life ought to prevent such a mistake. Born early in the seventeenth century, she was of good family on both sides; her mother was a woman of severe life, but her father, a gentleman of Touraine, inspired her with his own Epicurean philosophy as well as his love of music. She was extremely well educated. At the age of sixteen or seventeen she had her first lover, the noble and valiant Gaspard de Coligny; he was followed for half a century by a long succession of other lovers, sometimes more than one at a time; three years was the longest period during which she was faithful to one lover. Her attrac-

tions lasted so long that, it is said, three generations of Sévignés were among her lovers. Tallemant des Réaux enables us to study in detail her *liaisons*.

It is not, however, the abundance of lovers which makes a woman a prostitute, but the nature of her relationships with them. Sainte Beuve, in an otherwise admirable study of Ninon de Lenclos (*Causeries du Lundi*, vol. iv), seems to reckon her among the courtesans. But no woman is a prostitute unless she uses men as a source of pecuniary gain. Not only is there no evidence that this was the case with Ninon, but all the evidence excludes such a relationship. "It required much skill," said Voltaire, "and a great deal of love on her part, to induce her to accept presents." Tallemant, indeed, says that she sometimes took money from her lovers, but this statement probably involves nothing beyond what is contained in Voltaire's remark, and, in any case, Tallemant's gossip, though usually well informed, was not always reliable. All are agreed as to her extreme disinterestedness.

When we hear precisely of Ninon de Lenclos in connection with money, it is not as receiving a gift, but only as repaying a debt to an old lover, or restoring a large sum left with her for safe keeping when the owner was exiled. Such incidents are far from suggesting the professional prostitute of any age; they are rather the relationships which might exist between men friends. Ninon de Lenclos's character was in many respects far from perfect, but she combined many masculine virtues, and especially probity, with a temperament which, on the whole, was certainly feminine; she hated hypocrisy, and she was never influenced by pecuniary considerations. She was, moreover, never reckless, but always retained a certain self-restraint and temperance, even in eating and drinking, and, we are told, she never drank wine. She was, as Sainte-Beuve has remarked, the first to realize that there must be the same virtues for men and for women, and that it is absurd to reduce all feminine virtues to one. "Our sex has been burdened with all the frivolities," she wrote, "and men have reserved to themselves the essential qualities: I have made myself a man." She sometimes dressed as a man when riding (see, *e.g.*, *Correspondence Authentique* of Ninon de Lenclos, with a good introduction by Emile Colombey). Consciously or not, she represented a new feminine idea at a period when—as we may see in many forgotten novels written by the women of that time—ideas were beginning to emerge in the feminine sphere. She was the first, and doubtless, from one point of view, the most extreme representative of a small and distinguished group of French women among whom Georges Sand is the finest personality.

Thus it is idle to attempt to adorn the history of prostitution with the name of Ninon de Lenclos. A debauched old prostitute would never, like Ninon towards the end of her long life, have been able to retain or

to conquer the affection and the esteem of many of the best men and women of her time; even to the austere Saint-Simon it seemed that there reigned in her little court a decorum which the greatest princesses cannot achieve. She was not a prostitute, but a woman of unique personality with a little streak of genius in it. That she was inimitable we need not perhaps greatly regret. In her old age, in 1699, her old friend and former lover, Saint-Evremond, wrote to her, with only a little exaggeration, that there were few princesses and few saints who would not leave their courts and their cloisters to change places with her. "If I had known beforehand what my life would be I would have hanged myself," was her oft-quoted answer. It is, indeed, a solitary phrase that slips in, perhaps as the expression of a momentary mood; one may make too much of it. More truly characteristic is the fine saying in which her Epicurean philosophy seems to stretch out towards Nietzsche: "La joie de l'esprit en marque la force."

The frank acceptance of prostitution by the spiritual or even the temporal power has since the Renaissance become more and *more exceptional. The opposite extreme of attempting to uproot* prostitution has also in practice been altogether abandoned. Sporadic attempts have indeed been made, here and there, to put down prostitution with a strong hand even in quite modern times. It is now, however, realized that in such a case the remedy is worse than the disease.

In 1860 a Mayor of Portsmouth felt it his duty to attempt to suppress prostitution. "In the early part of his mayoralty," according to a witness before the Select Committee on the Contagious Diseases Acts (p. 393), "there was an order passed that every beerhouse-keeper and licensed victualer in the borough known to harbor these women would be dealt with, and probably lose his license. On a given day about three hundred or four hundred of these forlorn outcasts were bundled wholesale into the streets, and they formed up in a large body, many of them with only a shift and a petticoat on, and with a lot of drunken men and boys with a fife and fiddle they paraded the streets for several days. They marched in a body to the workhouse, but for many reasons they were refused admittance. . . . . These women wandered about for two or three days shelterless, and it was felt that the remedy was very much worse than the disease, and the women were allowed to go back to their former places."

Similar experiments have been made even more recently in America. "In Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, in 1891, the houses of prostitutes were

closed, the inmates turned out upon the streets, and were refused lodging and even food by the citizens of that place. A wave of popular remonstrance, all over the country, at the outrage on humanity, created a reaction which resulted in a last condition by no means better than the first." In the same year also a similar incident occurred in New York with the same unfortunate results (Isidore Dyer, "The Municipal Control of Prostitution in the United States," report presented to the Brussels International Conference in 1899).

There grew up instead the tendency to regulate prostitution, to give it a semi-official toleration which enabled the authorities to exercise a control over it, and to guard as far as possible against its evil by medical and police inspection. The new brothel system differed from the ancient mediæval houses of prostitution in important respects; it involved a routine of medical inspection and it endeavored to suppress any rivalry by unlicensed prostitutes outside. Bernard Mandeville, the author of the *Fable of the Bees,* and an acute thinker, was a pioneer in the advocacy of this system. In 1724, in his *Modest Defense of Publick Stews,* he argues that "the encouraging of public whoring will not only prevent most of the mischievous effects of this vice, but even lessen the quantity of whoring in general, and reduce it to the narrowest bounds which it can possibly be contained in." He proposed to discourage private prostitution by giving special privileges and immunities to brothels by Act of Parliament. His scheme involved the erection of one hundred brothels in a special quarter of the city, to contain two thousand prostitutes and one hundred matrons of ability and experience with physicians and surgeons, as well as commissioners to oversee the whole. Mandeville was regarded merely as a cynic or worse, and his scheme was ignored or treated with contempt. It was left to the genius of Napoleon, eighty years later, to establish the system of "maisons de tolérance," which had so great an influence over modern European practice during a large part of the last century and even still in its numerous survivals forms the subject of widely divergent opinions.

On the whole, however, it must be said that the system of registering, examining, and regularizing prostitutes now belongs

to the past. Many great battles have been fought over this question; the most important is that which raged for many years in England over the Contagious Diseases Acts, and is embodied in the 600 pages of a Report by a Select Committee on these Acts issued in 1882. The majority of the members of the Committee reported favorably to the Acts which were, notwithstanding, repealed in 1886, since which date no serious attempt has been made in England to establish them again.

At the present time, although the old system still stands in many countries with the inert stolidity of established institutions, it no longer commands general approval. As Paul and Victor Margueritte have truly stated, in the course of an acute examination of the phenomena of state-regulated prostitution as found in Paris, the system is "barbarous to start with and almost inefficacious as well." The expert is every day more clearly demonstrating its inefficacy while the psychologist and the sociologist are constantly becoming more convinced that it is barbarous.

It can indeed by no means be said that any unanimity has been attained. It is obviously so urgently necessary to combat the flood of disease and misery which proceeds directly from the spread of syphilis and gonorrhœa, and indirectly from the prostitution which is the chief propagator of these diseases, that we cannot be surprised that many should eagerly catch at any system which seems to promise a palliation of the evils. At the present time, however, it is those best acquainted with the operation of the system of control who have most clearly realized that the supposed palliation is for the most part illusory,[1] and in any case attained at the cost of the artificial production of other evils. In France, where the system of the registration and control of

[1] The example of Holland, where some large cities have adopted the regulation of prostitution and others have not, is instructive as regards the illusory nature of the advantages of regulation. In 1883 Dr. Després brought forward figures, supplied by Dutch officials, showing that in Rotterdam, where prostitution was regulated, both prostitution and venereal diseases were more prevalent than in Amsterdam, a city without regulation (A. Després, *La Prostitution en France*, p. 122).

prostitutes has been established for over a century,[1] and where consequently its advantages, if such there are, should be clearly realized, it meets with almost impassioned opposition from able men belonging to every section of the community. In Germany the opposition to regularized control has long been led by well-equipped experts, headed by Blaschko of Berlin. Precisely the same conclusions are being reached in America. Gottheil, of New York, finds that the municipal control of prostitution is "neither successful nor desirable." Heidingsfeld concludes that the regulation and control system in force in Cincinnati has done little good and much harm; under the system among the private patients in his own clinic the proportion of cases of both syphilis and gonorrhœa has increased; "suppression of prostitutes is impossible and control is impracticable."[2]

It is in Germany that the attempt to regulate prostitution still remains most persistent, with results that in Germany itself are regarded as unfortunate. Thus the German law inflicts a penalty on householders who permit illegitimate sexual intercourse in their houses. This is meant to strike the unlicensed prostitute, but it really encourages prostitution, for a decent youth and girl who decide to form a relationship which later may develop into marriage, and which is not illegal (for extra-marital sexual intercourse *per se* is not in Germany, as it is by the antiquated laws of several American States, a punishable offense), are subjected to so much trouble and annoyance by the suspicious police that it is much easier for the girl to become a prostitute and put herself under the protection of the police. The law was largely directed against those who live on the profits of prostitution. But in practice it works out differently. The prostitute simply has to pay extravagantly high rents, so that her landlord really lives on the fruits of her trade, while she has to carry on her business with increased activity and on a larger scale in order to cover her heavy expenses (P. Hausmeister, "Zur Analyse der Prostitution," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, vol. ii, 1907, p. 294).

In Italy, opinion on this matter is much divided. The regulation of prostitution has been successively adopted, abandoned, and readopted In Switzerland, the land of governmental experiments, various plans are

[1] It was in 1802 that the medical inspection of prostitutes in Paris brothels was introduced, though not until 1825 fully established and made general.

[2] M. L. Heidingsfeld. "The Control of Prostitution," *Journal American Medical Association*, January 30, 1904.

tried in different cantons. In some there is no attempt to interfere with prostitution, except under special circumstances; in others all prostitution, and even fornication generally, is punishable; in Geneva only native prostitutes are permitted to practice; in Zurich, since 1897, prostitution is prohibited, but care is taken to put no difficulties in the path of free sexual relationships which are not for gain. With these different regulations, morals in Switzerland generally are said to be much on the same level as elsewhere (Moreau-Christophe, *Du Problème de la Misère*, vol. iii, p. 259). The same conclusion holds good of London. A disinterested observer, Félix Remo (*La Vie Galante en Angleterre*, 1888, p. 237), concluded that, notwithstanding its free trade in prostitution, its alcoholic excesses, its vices of all kinds, "London is one of the most moral capitals in Europe." The movement towards freedom in this matter has been evidenced in recent years by the abandonment of the system of regulation by Denmark in 1906.

Even the most ardent advocates of the registration of prostitutes recognize that not only is the tendency of civilization opposed rather than favorable to the system, but that in the numerous countries where the system persists registered prostitutes are losing ground in the struggle against clandestine prostitutes. Even in France, the classic land of police-controlled prostitutes, the "maisons de tolérance" have long been steadily decreasing in number, by no means because prostitution is decreasing but because low-class *brasseries* and small *cafés-chantants*, which are really unlicensed brothels, are taking their place.[1]

The wholesale regularization of prostitution in civilized centres is nowadays, indeed, advocated by few, if any, of the authorities who belong to the newer school. It is at most claimed as desirable in certain places under special circumstances.[2] Even those who would still be glad to see prostitution thoroughly

[1] See, *e.g.*, G. Bérault, *La Maison de Tolérance*, Thèse de Paris, 1904.

[2] Thus the circumstances of the English army in India are of a special character. A number of statements (from the reports of committees, official publications, etc.) regarding the good influence of regulation in reducing venereal diseases in India are brought together by Surgeon-Colonel F. H. Welch, "The Prevention of Syphilis," *Lancet*, August 12, 1899. The system has been abolished, but only as the result of a popular outcry and not on the question of its merits.

in the control of the police now recognize that experience shows this to be impossible. As many girls begin their career as prostitutes at a very early age, a sound system of regulation should be prepared to enroll as permanent prostitutes even girls who are little more than children. That, however, is a logical conclusion against which the moral sense, and even the common sense, of a community instinctively revolts. In Paris girls may not be inscribed as prostitutes until they have reached the age of sixteen and some consider even that age too low.[1] Moreover, whenever she becomes diseased, or grows tired of her position, the registered woman may always slip out of the hands of the police and establish herself elswhere as a clandestine prostitute. Every rigid attempt to keep prostitution within the police ring leads to offensive interference with the actions and the freedom of respectable women which cannot fail to be intolerable in any free community. Even in a city like London, where prostitution is relatively free, the supervision of the police has led to scandalous police charges against women who have done nothing whatever which should legitimately arouse suspicion of their behavior. The escape of the infected woman from the police cordon has, it is obvious, an effect in raising the apparent level of health of registered women, and the police statistics are still further fallaciously improved by the fact that the inmates of brothels are older on the average than clandestine prostitutes and have become immune to disease.[2] These facts are now becoming fairly obvious and well recognized. The state regulation of prostitu-

[1] Thus Richard, who accepts regulation and was instructed to report on it for the Paris Municipal Council, would not have girls inscribed as professional prostitutes until they are of age and able to realize what they are binding themselves to (E. Richard, *La Prostitution à Paris*, p. 147). But at that age a large proportion of prostitutes have been practicing their profession for years.

[2] In Germany, where the cure of infected prostitutes under regulation is nearly everywhere compulsory, usually at the cost of the community, it is found that 18 is the average age at which they are affected by syphilis; the average age of prostitutes in brothels is higher than that of those outside, and a much larger proportion have therefore become immune to disease (Blaschko, "Hygiene der Syphilis," in Weyl's *Handbuch der Hygiene*, Bd. ii, p. 62, 1900).

tion is undesirable, on moral grounds for the oft-emphasized reason that it is only applied to one sex, and on practical grounds because it is ineffective. Society allows the police to harass the prostitute with petty persecutions under the guise of charges of "solicitation," "disorderly conduct," etc., but it is no longer convinced that she ought to be under the absolute control of the police.

The problem of prostitution, when we look at it narrowly, seems to be in the same position to-day as at any time in the course of the past three thousand years. In order, however, to comprehend the real significance of prostitution, and to attain a reasonable attitude towards it, we must look at it from a broader point of view; we must consider not only its evolution and history, but its causes and its relation to the wider aspects of modern social life. When we thus view the problem from a broader standpoint we shall find that there is no conflict between the claims of ethics and those of social hygiene, and that the co-ordinated activity of both is involved in the progressive refinement and purification of civilized sexual relationships.

III. The Causes of Prostitution.

The history of the rise and development of prostitution enables us to see that prostitution is not an accident of our marriage system, but an essential constituent which appears concurrently with its other essential constituents. The gradual development of the family on a patriarchal and largely monogamic basis rendered it more and more difficult for a woman to dispose of her own person. She belongs in the first place to her father, whose interest it was to guard her carefully until a husband appeared who could afford to purchase her. In the enhancement of her value the new idea of the market value of virginity gradually developed, and where a "virgin" had previously meant a woman who was free to do as she would with her own body its meaning was now reversed and it came to mean a woman who was precluded from having intercourse with men. When she was transferred from her father to a husband, she

was still guarded with the same care; husband and father alike found their interest in preserving their women from unmarried men. The situation thus produced resulted in the existence of a large body of young men who were not yet rich enough to obtain wives, and a large number of young women, not yet chosen as wives, and many of whom could never expect to become wives. At such a point in social evolution prostitution is clearly inevitable; it is not so much the indispensable concomitant of marriage as an essential part of the whole system. Some of the superfluous or neglected women, utilizing their money value and perhaps at the same time reviving traditions of an earlier freedom, find their social function in selling their favors to gratify the temporary desires of the men who have not yet been able to acquire wives. Thus every link in the chain of the marriage system is firmly welded and the complete circle formed.

But while the history of the rise and development of prostitution shows us how indestructible and essential an element prostitution is of the marriage system which has long prevailed in Europe—under very varied racial, political, social, and religious conditions—it yet fails to supply us in every respect with the data necessary to reach a definite attitude towards prostitution to-day. In order to understand the place of prostitution in our existing system, it is necessary that we should analyze the chief factors of prostitution. We may most conveniently learn to understand these if we consider prostitution, in order, under four aspects. These are: (1) *economic* necessity; (2) *biological* predisposition; (3) *moral* advantages; and (4) what may be called its *civilizational* value.

While these four factors of prostitution seem to me those that here chiefly concern us, it is scarcely necessary to point out that many other causes contribute to produce and modify prostitution. Prostitutes themselves often seek to lead other girls to adopt the same paths; recruits must be found for brothels, whence we have the "white slave trade," which is now being energetically combated in many parts of the world; while all the forms of seduction towards this life are favored and often predisposed to by alcoholism. It will generally be found that several

causes have combined to push a girl into the career of prostitution.

The ways in which various factors of environment and suggestion unite to lead a girl into the paths of prostitution are indicated in the following statement in which a correspondent has set forth his own conclusions on this matter as a man of the world: "I have had a somewhat varied experience among loose women, and can say, without hesitation, that not more than 1 per cent. of the women I have known could be regarded as educated. This indicates that almost invariably they are of humble origin, and the terrible cases of overcrowding that are daily brought to light suggest that at very early ages the sense of modesty becomes extinct, and long before puberty a familiarity with things sexual takes place. As soon as they are old enough these girls are seduced by their sweethearts; the familiarity with which they regard sexual matters removes the restraint which surrounds a girl whose early life has been spent in decent surroundings. Later they go to work in factories and shops; if pretty and attractive, they consort with managers and foremen. Then the love of finery, which forms so large a part of the feminine character, tempts the girl to become the 'kept' woman of some man of means. A remarkable thing in this connection is the fact that they rarely enjoy excitement with their protectors, preferring rather the coarser embraces of some man nearer their own station in life, very often a soldier. I have not known many women who were seduced and deserted, though this is a fiction much affected by prostitutes. Barmaids supply a considerable number to the ranks of prostitution, largely on account of their addiction to drink; drunkenness invariably leads to laxness of moral restraint in women. Another potent factor in the production of prostitutes lies in the flare of finery flaunted by some friend who has adopted the life. A girl, working hard to live, sees some friend, perhaps making a call in the street where the hard-working girl lives, clothed in finery, while she herself can hardly get enough to eat. She has a conversation with her finely-clad friend who tells her how easily she can earn money, explaining what a vital asset the sexual organs are, and soon another one is added to the ranks."

There is some interest in considering the reasons assigned for prostitutes entering their career. In some countries this has been estimated by those who come closely into official or other contact with prostitutes. In other countries, it is the rule for girls, before they are registered as prostitutes, to state the reasons for which they desire to enter the career.

Parent-Duchâtelet, whose work on prostitutes in Paris is still an authority, presented the first estimate of this kind. He found that of over five thousand prostitutes, 1441 were influenced by poverty, 1425 by

seduction of lovers who had abandoned them, 1255 by the loss of parents from death or other cause. By such an estimate, nearly the whole number are accounted for by wretchedness, that is by economic causes, alone (Parent-Duchâtelet, *De la Prostitution*, 1857, vol. i, p. 107).

In Brussels during a period of twenty years (1865-1884) 3505 women were inscribed as prostitutes. The causes they assigned for desiring to take to this career present a different picture from that shown by Parent-Duchâtelet, but perhaps a more reliable one, although there are some marked and curious discrepancies. Out of the 3505, 1523 explained that extreme poverty was the cause of their degradation; 1118 frankly confessed that their sexual passions were the cause; 420 attributed their fall to evil company; 316 said they were disgusted and weary of their work, because the toil was so arduous and the pay so small; 101 had been abandoned by their lovers; 10 had quarrelled with their parents; 7 were abandoned by their husbands; 4 did not agree with their guardians; 3 had family quarrels; 2 were compelled to prostitute themselves by their husbands, and 1 by her parents (*Lancet*. June 28, 1890, p. 1442).

In London, Merrick found that of 16,022 prostitutes who passed through his hands during the years he was chaplain at Millbank prison, 5061 voluntarily left home or situation for "a life of pleasure;" 3361 assigned poverty as the cause; 3154 were "seduced" and drifted on to the street; 1636 were betrayed by promises of marriage and abandoned by lover and relations. On the whole, Merrick states, 4790, or nearly one-third of the whole number, may be said to owe the adoption of their career directly to men, 11,232 to other causes. He adds that of those pleading poverty a large number were indolent and incapable (G. P. Merrick, *Work Among the Fallen*, p. 38).

Logan, an English city missionary with an extensive acquaintance with prostitutes, divided them into the following groups: (1) One fourth of the girls are servants, especially in public houses, beer shops, etc., and thus led into the life; (2) one-fourth come from factories, etc.; (3) nearly one-fourth are recruited by procuresses who visit country towns, markets, etc.; (4) a final group includes, on the one hand, those who are induced to become prostitutes by destitution, or indolence or a bad temper, which unfits them for ordinary avocations, and, on the other hand, those who have been seduced by a false promise of marriage (W. Logan, *The Great Social Evil*, 1871, p. 53).

In America Sanger has reported the results of inquiries made of two thousand New York prostitutes as to the causes which induced them to take up their avocation:

Destitution	525
Inclination	513
Seduced and abandoned	258
Drink and desire for drink	181
Ill-treatment by parents, relations, or husbands.	164
As an easy life	124
Bad company	84
Persuaded by prostitutes	71
Too idle to work	29
Violated	27
Seduced on emigrant ship	16
Seduced in emigrant boarding homes	8
	2,000

(Sanger, *History of Prostitution*, p. 488.)

In America, again, more recently, Professor Woods Hutchinson put himself into communication with some thirty representative men in various great metropolitan centres, and thus summarizes the answers as regards the etiology of prostitution:

	Per cent.
Love of display, luxury and idleness	42.1
Bad family surroundings	23.8
Seduction in which they were innocent victims.	11.3
Lack of employment	9.4
Heredity	7.8
Primary sexual appetite	5.6

(Woods Hutchinson, "The Economics of Prostitution," *American Gynæcologic and Obstetric Journal*, September, 1895; *Id.*, *The Gospel According to Darwin*, p. 194.)

In Italy, in 1881, among 10,422 inscribed prostitutes from the age of seventeen upwards, the causes of prostitution were classified as follows:

Vice and depravity	2,752
Death of parents, husband, etc.	2,139
Seduction by lover	1,653
Seduction by employer	927
Abandoned by parents, husband, etc.	794
Love of luxury	698
Incitement by lover or other persons outside family	666
Incitement by parents or husband	400
To support parents or children	393

(Ferriani, *Minorenni Delinquenti*, p. 193.)

The reasons assigned by Russian prostitutes for taking up their career are (according to Federow) as follows:

38.5	per	cent.	insufficient wages.
21.	"	"	desire for amusement.
14.	"	"	loss of place.
9.5	"	"	persuasion by women friends.
6.5	"	"	loss of habit of work.
5.5	"	"	chagrin, and to punish lover.
.5	"	"	drunkenness.

(Summarized in *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, Nov. 15, 1901.)

1. *The Economic Causation of Prostitution.*—Writers on prostitution frequently assert that economic conditions lie at the root of prostitution and that its chief cause is poverty, while prostitutes themselves often declare that the difficulty of earning a livelihood in other ways was a main cause in inducing them to adopt this career. "Of all the causes of prostitution," Parent-Duchâtelet wrote a century ago, "particularly in Paris, and probably in all large cities, none is more active than lack of work and the misery which is the inevitable result of insufficient wages." In England, also, to a large extent, Sherwell states, "morals fluctuate with trade."[1] It is equally so in Berlin where the number of registered prostitutes increases during bad years.[2] It is so also in America. It is the same in Japan; "the cause of causes is poverty."[3]

Thus the broad and general statement that prostitution is largely or mainly an economic phenomenon, due to the low wages of women or to sudden depressions in trade, is everywhere made by investigators. It must, however, be added that these general statements are considerably qualified in the light of the detailed investigations made by careful inquirers. Thus Ströhmberg, who minutely investigated 462 prostitutes, found that only one assigned destitution as the reason for adopting her career, and on investigation this was found to be an impudent lie.[4] Hammer

[1] A. Sherwell, *Life in West London*, 1897, Ch. V.

[2] Bonger brings together statistics illustrating this point, *op. cit.* pp. 402-6.

[3] *The Nightless City*, p. 125.

[4] Ströhmberg, as quoted by Aschaffenburg, *Das Verbrechen*, 1903, p. 77.

found that of ninety registered German prostitutes not one had entered on the career out of want or to support a child, while some went on the street while in the possession of money, or without wishing to be paid.[1] Pastor Buschmann, of the Teltow Magdalene Home in Berlin, finds that it is not want but indifference to moral considerations which leads girls to become prostitutes. In Germany, before a girl is put on the police register, due care is always taken to give her a chance of entering a Home and getting work; in Berlin, in the course of ten years, only two girls—out of thousands—were willing to take advantage of this opportunity. The difficulty experienced by English Rescue Homes in finding girls who are willing to be "rescued" is notorious. The same difficulty is found in other cities, even where entirely different conditions prevail; thus it is found in Madrid, according to Bernaldo de Quiros and Llanas Aguilaniedo, that the prostitutes who enter the Homes, notwithstanding all the devotion of the nuns, on leaving at once return to their old life. While the economic factor in prostitution undoubtedly exists, the undue frequency and emphasis with which it is put forward and accepted is clearly due, in part to ignorance of the real facts, in part to the fact that such an assumption appeals to those whose weakness it is to explain all social phenomena by economic causes, and in part to its obvious plausibility.[2]

Prostitutes are mainly recruited from the ranks of factory girls, domestic servants, shop girls, and waitresses. In some

[1] *Monatsschrift fur Harnkrankheiten und Sexuelle Hygiene*, 1906. Heft 10, p. 460. But this cause is undoubtedly effective in some cases of unmarried women in Germany unable to get work (see article by Sister Henrietta Arendt. Police-Assistant at Stuttgart, *Sexual-Probleme*, December, 1908).

[2] Thus, for instance, we find Irma von Troll-Borostyáni saying in her book, *Im Freien Reich* (p. 170): "Go and ask these unfortunate creatures if they willingly and freely devoted themselves to vice. And nearly all of them will tell you a story of need and destitution, of hunger and lack of work, which compelled them to it or else of love and seduction and the fear of the discovery of their false step which drove them out of their homes, helpless and forsaken, into the pool of vice from which there is hardly any salvation." It is, of course, quite true that the prostitute is frequently ready to tell such stories to philanthropic persons who expect to hear them, and sometimes even put the words into her mouth.

of these occupations it is difficult to obtain employment all the year round. In this way many milliners, dressmakers and tailoresses become prostitutes when business is slack, and return to business when the season begins. Sometimes the regular work of the day is supplemented concurrently by prostitution in the street in the evening. It is said, possibly with some truth, that amateur prostitution of this kind is extremely prevalent in England, as it is not checked by the precautions which, in countries where prostitution is regulated, the clandestine prostitute must adopt in order to avoid registration. Certain public lavatories and dressing-rooms in central London are said to be used by the girls for putting on, and finally washing off before going home, the customary paint.[1] It is certain that in England a large proportion of parents belonging to the working and even lower middle class ranks are unacquainted with the nature of the lives led by their own daughters. It must be added, also, that occasionally this conduct of the daughter is winked at or encouraged by the parents; thus a correspondent writes that he "knows some towns in England where prostitution is not regarded as anything disgraceful, and can remember many cases where the mother's house has been used by the daughter with the mother's knowledge."

Acton, in a well-informed book on London prostitution, written in the middle of the last century, said that prostitution is "a transitory stage, through which an untold number of British women are ever on their passage."[2] This statement was strenuously denied at the time by many earnest moralists who refused to admit that it was possible for a woman who had sunk into so deep a pit of degradation ever to climb out again, respectably safe and sound. Yet it is certainly true as regards a considerable proportion of women, not only in England, but in other countries also. Thus Parent-Duchâtelet, the greatest authority on French prostitution, stated that "prostitution is for the majority only a transitory stage; it is quitted usually during the first year; very

[1] C. Booth, *Life and Labour*, final volume, p. 125. Similarly in Sweden, Kullberg states that girls of thirteen to seventeen, living at home with their parents in comfortable circumstances, have often been found on the streets.

[2] W. Acton, *Prostitution*, 1870, pp. 39, 49.

few prostitutes continue until extinction." It is difficult, however, to ascertain precisely of how large a proportion this is true; there are no data which would serve as a basis for exact estimation,[1] and it is impossible to expect that respectable married women would admit that they had ever been "on the streets"; they would not, perhaps, always admit it even to themselves.

The following case, though noted down over twenty years ago, is fairly typical of a certain class, among the lower ranks of prostitution, in which the economic factor counts for much, but in which we ought not too hastily to assume that it is the sole factor.

Widow, aged thirty, with two children. Works in an umbrella manufactory in the East End of London, earning eighteen shillings a week by hard work, and increasing her income by occasionally going out on the streets in the evenings. She haunts a quiet side street which is one of the approaches to a large city railway terminus. She is a comfortable, almost matronly-looking woman, quietly dressed in a way that is only noticeable from the skirts being rather short. If spoken to she may remark that she is "waiting for a lady friend," talks in an affected way about the weather, and parenthetically introduces her offers. She will either lead a man into one of the silent neighboring lanes filled with warehouses, or will take him home with her. She is willing to accept any sum the man may be willing or able to give; occasionally it is a sovereign, sometimes it is only a sixpence; on an average she earns a few shillings in an evening. She had only been in London for ten months; before that she lived in Newcastle. She did not go on the streets there; "circumstances alter cases," she sagely remarks. Though

[1] In Lyons, according to Potton, of 3884 prostitutes, 3194 abandoned, or apparently abandoned, their profession; in Paris a very large number became servants, dressmakers, or tailoresses, occupations which, in many cases, doubtless, they had exercised before (Parent-Duchâtelet. *De la Prostitution*. 1857. vol. i, p. 584; vol. ii, p. 451). Sloggett (quoted by Acton) stated that at Davenport, 250 of the 1775 prostitutes there married. It is well known that prostitutes occasionally marry extremely well. It was remarked nearly a century ago that marriages of prostitutes to rich men were especially frequent in England, and usually turned out well; the same seems to be true still. In their own social rank they not infrequently marry cabmen and policemen, the two classes of men with whom they are brought most closely in contact in the streets. As regards Germany, C. K. Schneider (*Die Prostituirte und die Gesellschaft*), states that young prostitutes take up all sorts of occupations and situations sometimes, if they have saved a little money, establishing a business, while old prostitutes become procuresses, brothel-keepers, lavatory women, and so on. Not a few prostitutes marry, he adds, but the proportion among inscribed German prostitutes is very small, less than 2 per cent.

not speaking well of the police, she says they do not interfere with her as they do with some of the girls. She never gives them money, but hints that it is sometimes necessary to gratify their desires in order to keep on good terms with them.

It must always be remembered, for it is sometimes forgotten by socialists and social reformers, that while the pressure of poverty exerts a markedly modifying influence on prostitution, in that it increases the ranks of the women who thereby seek a livelihood and may thus be properly regarded as a factor of prostitution, no practicable raising of the rate of women's wages could possibly serve, directly and alone, to abolish prostitution. De Molinari, an economist, after remarking that "prostitution is an industry" and that if other competing industries can offer women sufficiently high pecuniary inducements they will not be so frequently attracted to prostitution, proceeds to point out that that by no means settles the question. "Like every other industry prostitution is governed by the demand of the need to which it responds. As long as that need and that demand persist, they will provoke an offer. It is the need and the demand that we must act on, and perhaps science will furnish us the means to do so."[1] In what way Molinari expects science to diminish the demand for prostitutes, however, is not clearly brought out.

Not only have we to admit that no practicable rise in the rate of wages paid to women in ordinary industries can possibly compete with the wages which fairly attractive women of quite ordinary ability can earn by prostitution,[2] but we have also to realize that a rise in general prosperity—which alone can render a rise of women's wages healthy and normal—involves a rise in the wages of prostitution, and an increase in the number of prostitutes. So that if good wages is to be regarded as the antagonist of prostitution, we can only say that it more than

1 G. de Molinari, *La Viriculture*, 1897, p. 155.

2 Reuss and other writers have reproduced typical extracts from the private account books of prostitutes, showing the high rate of their earnings. Even in the common brothels, in Philadelphia (according to Goodchild, "The Social Evil in Philadelphia," *Arena*, March, 1896), girls earn twenty dollars or more a week, which is far more than they could earn in any other occupation open to them.

gives back with one hand what it takes with the other. To so marked a degree is this the case that Després in a detailed moral and demographic study of the distribution of prostitution in France comes to the conclusion that we must reverse the ancient doctrine that "poverty engenders prostitution" since prostitution regularly increases with wealth,[1] and as a département rises in wealth and prosperity, so the number both of its inscribed and its free prostitutes rises also. There is indeed a fallacy here, for while it is true, as Després argues, that wealth demands prostitution, it is also true that a wealthy community involves the extreme of poverty as well as of riches and that it is among the poorer elements that prostitution chiefly finds its recruits. The ancient dictum that "poverty engenders prostitution" still stands, but it is complicated and qualified by the complex conditions of civilization. Bonger, in his able discussion of the economic side of the question, has realized the wide and deep basis of prostitution when he reaches the conclusion that it is "on the one hand the inevitable complement of the existing legal monogamy, and on the other hand the result of the bad conditions in which many young girls grow up, the result of the physical and psychical wretchedness in which the women of the people live, and the consequence also of the inferior position of women in our actual society."[2] A narrowly economic consideration of prostitution can by no means bring us to the root of the matter.

One circumstance alone should have sufficed to indicate that the inability of many women to secure "a living wage," is far from being the most fundamental cause of prostitution: a large proportion of prostitutes come from the ranks of domestic service. Of all the great groups of female workers, domestic servants are the freest from economic anxieties; they do not pay for food or for lodging; they often live as well as their mistresses, and in a large proportion of cases they have fewer money anxieties than their mistresses. Moreover, they supply an almost universal demand, so that there is never any need for even very moderately competent servants to be in want of work. They constitute, it is true, a very large body which could not fail to supply a certain contingent of recruits to prostitution. But when we see that domestic

[1] A. Després, *La Prostitution en France*, 1883.
[2] Bonger, *Criminalité et Conditions Economiques*, 1905, pp. 378-414.

service is the chief reservoir from which prostitutes are drawn, it should be clear that the craving for food and shelter is by no means the chief cause of prostitution.

It may be added that, although the significance of this predominance of servants among prostitutes is seldom realized by those who fancy that to remove poverty is to abolish prostitution, it has not been ignored by the more thoughtful students of social questions. Thus Sherwell, while pointing out truly that, to a large extent, "morals fluctuate with trade," adds that, against the importance of the economic factor, it is a suggestive and in every way impressive fact that the majority of the girls who frequent the West End of London (88 per cent., according to the Salvation Army's Registers) are drawn from domestic service where the economic struggle is not severely felt (Arthur Sherwell, *Life in West London*, Ch. V, "Prostitution").

It is at the same time worthy of note that by the conditions of their lives servants, more than any other class, resemble prostitutes (Bernaldo de Quiros and Llanas Aguilaniedo have pointed this out in *La Mala Vida en Madrid*, p. 240). Like prostitutes, they are a class of women apart; they are not entitled to the considerations and the little courtesies usually paid to other women; in some countries they are even registered, like prostitutes; it is scarcely surprising that when they suffer from so many of the disadvantages of the prostitute, they should sometimes desire to possess also some of her advantages. Lily Braun (*Frauenfrage*, pp. 389 *et seq.*) has set forth in detail these unfavorable conditions of domestic labor as they bear on the tendency of servant-girls to become prostitutes. R. de Ryckère, in his important work, *La Servante Criminelle* (1907, pp. 460 *et seq.*; *cf.*, the same author's article, "La Criminalité Ancillaire," *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, July and December, 1906), has studied the psychology of the servant-girl. He finds that she is specially marked by lack of foresight, vanity, lack of invention, tendency to imitation, and mobility of mind. These are characters which ally her to the prostitute. De Ryckère estimates the proportion of former servants among prostitutes generally as fifty per cent., and adds that what is called the "white slavery" here finds its most complacent and docile victims. He remarks, however, that the servant prostitute is, on the whole, not so much immoral as non-moral.

In Paris Parent-Duchâtelet found that, in proportion to their number, servants furnished the largest contingent to prostitution, and his editors also found that they head the list (Parent-Duchâtelet, edition 1857, vol. i, p. 83). Among clandestine prostitutes at Paris, Commenge has more recently found that former servants constitute forty per cent. In Bordeaux Jeannel (*De le Prostitution Publique*, p. 102) also found that in 1860 forty per cent. of prostitutes had been servants, seamstresses coming next with thirty-seven per cent.

In Germany and Austria it has long been recognized that domestic service furnishes the chief number of recruits to prostitution. Lippert, in Germany, and Grosz-Hoffinger, in Austria, pointed out this predominance of maid-servants and its significance before the middle of the nineteenth century, and more recently Blaschko has stated ("Hygiene der Syphilis" in Weyl's *Handbuch der Hygiene*, Bd. ii, p. 40) that among Berlin prostitutes in 1898 maid-servants stand at the head with fifty-one per cent. Baumgarten has stated that in Vienna the proportion of servants is fifty-eight per cent.

In England, according to the Report of a Select Committee of the Lords on the laws for the protection of children, sixty per cent. of prostitutes have been servants. F. Remo, in his *Vie Galante en Angleterre*, states the proportion as eighty per cent. It would appear to be even higher as regards the West End of London. Taking London as a whole the extensive statistics of Merrick (*Work Among the Fallen*), chaplain of the Millbank Prison, showed that out of 14,790 prostitutes, 5823, or about forty per cent., had previously been servants, laundresses coming next, and then dressmakers; classifying his data somewhat more summarily and roughly, Merrick found that the proportion of servants was fifty-three per cent.

In America, among two thousand prostitutes, Sanger states that forty-three per cent. had been servants, dressmakers coming next, but at a long interval, with six per cent. (Sanger, *History of Prostitution*, p. 524). Among Philadelphia prostitutes, Goodchild states that "domestics are probably in largest proportion," although some recruits may be found from almost any occupation.

It is the same in other countries. In Italy, according to Tammeo (*La Prostituzione*, p. 100), servants come first among prostitutes with a proportion of twenty-eight per cent., followed by the group of dressmakers, tailoresses and milliners, seventeen per cent. In Sardinia, A. Mantegazza states, most prostitutes are servants from the country. In Russia, according to Fiaux, the proportion is forty-five per cent. In Madrid, according to Eslava (as quoted by Bernaldo de Quiros and Llanas Aguilaniedo (*La Mala Vida en Madrid*, p. 239), servants come at the head of registered prostitutes with twenty-seven per cent.—almost the same proportion as in Italy—and are followed by dressmakers. In Sweden, according to Welander (*Monatsshefte für Praktische Dermatologie*, 1899, p. 477) among 2541 inscribed prostitutes, 1586 (or sixty-two per cent.) were domestic servants; at a long interval followed 210 seamstresses, then 168 factory workers, etc.

2. *The Biological Factor of Prostitution.*—Economic considerations, as we see, have a highly important modificatory

influence on prostitution, although it is by no means correct to assert that they form its main cause. There is another question which has exercised many investigators: To what extent are prostitutes predestined to this career by organic constitution? It is generally admitted that economic and other conditions are an exciting cause of prostitution; in how far are those who succumb predisposed by the possession of abnormal personal characteristics? Some inquirers have argued that this predisposition is so marked that prostitution may fairly be regarded as a feminine equivalent for criminality, and that in a family in which the men instinctively turn to crime, the women instinctively turn to prostitution. Others have as strenuously denied this conclusion.

Lombroso has more especially advocated the doctrine that prostitution is the vicarious equivalent of criminality. In this he was developing the results reached, in the important study of the Jukes family, by Dugdale, who found that "there where the brothers commit crime, the sisters adopt prostitution;" the fines and imprisonments of the women of the family were not for violations of the right of property, but mainly for offences against public decency. "The psychological as well as anatomical identity of the criminal and the born prostitute," Lombroso and Ferrero concluded, "could not be more complete: both are identical with the moral insane, and therefore, according to the axiom, equal to each other. There is the same lack of moral sense, the same hardness of heart, the same precocious taste for evil, the same indifference to social infamy, the same volatility, love of idleness, and lack of foresight, the same taste for facile pleasures, for the orgy and for alcohol, the same, or almost the same, vanity. Prostitution is only the feminine side of criminality. And so true is it that prostitution and criminality are two analogous, or, so to say, parallel, phenomena, that at their extremes they meet. The prostitute is, therefore, psychologically a criminal: if she commits no offenses it is because her physical weakness, her small intelligence, the facility of acquiring what she wants by more easy methods, dispenses her from the necessity of crime, and on these very grounds prostitution represents the specific form of feminine criminality." The authors add that "prostitution is, in a certain sense, socially useful as an outlet for masculine sexuality and a preventive of crime" (Lombroso and Ferrero, *La Donna Delinquente*, 1893, p. 571).

Those who have opposed this view have taken various grounds, and by no means always understood the position they are attacking. Thus

W. Fischer (in *Die Prostitution*) vigorously argues that prostitution is not an inoffensive equivalent of criminality, but a factor of criminality. Féré, again (in *Dégénérescence et Criminalité*), asserts that criminality and prostitution are not equivalent, but identical. "Prostitutes and criminals," he holds, "have as a common character their unproductiveness, and consequently they are both anti-social. Prostitution thus constitutes a form of criminality." The essential character of criminals is not, however, their unproductiveness, for that they share with a considerable proportion of the wealthiest of the upper classes; it must be added, also, that the prostitute, unlike the criminal, is exercising an activity for which there is a demand, for which she is willingly paid, and for which she has to work (it has sometimes been noted that the prostitute looks down on the thief, who "does not work"); she is carrying on a profession, and is neither more nor less productive than those who carry on many more reputable professions. Aschaffenburg, also believing himself in opposition to Lombroso, argues, somewhat differently from Féré, that prostitution is not indeed, as Féré said, a form of criminality, but that it is too frequently united with criminality to be regarded as an equivalent. Mönkemöller has more recently supported the same view. Here, however, as usual, there is a wide difference of opinion as to the proportion of prostitutes of whom this is true. It is recognized by all investigators to be true of a certain number, but while Baumgarten, from an examination of eight thousand prostitutes, only found a minute proportion who were criminals, Ströhmberg found that among 462 prostitutes there were as many as 175 thieves. From another side, Morasso (as quoted in *Archivio di Psichiatria*, 1896, fasc. I), on the strength of his own investigations, is more clearly in opposition to Lombroso, since he protests altogether against any purely degenerative view of prostitutes which would in any way assimilate them with criminals.

The question of the sexuality of prostitutes, which has a certain bearing on the question of their tendency to degeneration, has been settled by different writers in different senses. While some, like Morasso, assert that sexual impulse is a main cause inducing women to adopt a prostitute's career, others assert that prostitutes are usually almost devoid of sexual impulse. Lombroso refers to the prevalence of sexual frigidity among prostitutes.[1] In London, Merrick, speaking from a knowledge of over 16,000 prostitutes, states that he has met with "only a very

[1] *La Donna Delinquente*, p. 401.

few cases" in which gross sexual desire has been the motive to adopt a life of prostitution. In Paris, Raciborski had stated at a much earlier period that "among prostitutes one finds very few who are prompted to libertinage by sexual ardor."[1] Commenge, again, a careful student of the Parisian prostitute, cannot admit that sexual desire is to be classed among the serious causes of prostitution. "I have made inquiries of thousands of women on this point," he states, "and only a very small number have told me that they were driven to prostitution for the satisfaction of sexual needs. Although girls who give themselves to prostitution are often lacking in frankness, on this point, I believe, they have no wish to deceive. When they have sexual needs they do not conceal them, but, on the contrary, show a certain *amour-propre* in acknowledging them, as a sufficient sort of justification for their life; so that if only a very small minority avow this motive the reason is that for the great majority it has no existence."

There can be no doubt that the statements made regarding the sexual frigidity of prostitutes are often much too unqualified. This is in part certainly due to the fact that they are usually made by those who speak from a knowledge of old prostitutes whose habitual familiarity with normal sexual intercourse in its least attractive aspects has resulted in complete indifference to such intercourse, so far as their clients are concerned.[2] It may be stated with truth that to the woman of deep passions the ephemeral and superficial relationships of prostitution can offer no temptation. And it may be added that the majority of prostitutes begin their career at a very early age, long before the somewhat late period at which in women the tendency for passion to

[1] Raciborski, *Traité de l'Impuissance*, p. 20. It may be added that Bergh, a leading authority on the anatomical peculiarities of the external female sexual organs, who believe that strong development of the external genital organs accompanies libidinous tendencies, has not found such development to be common among prostitutes.

[2] Hammer, who has had much opportunity of studying the psychology of prostitutes, remarks that he has seen no reason to suspect sexual coldness (*Monatsschrift für Harnkrankheiten und Sexuelle Hygiene*, 1906, Heft 2, p. 85), although, as he has elsewhere stated, he is of opinion that indolence, rather than excess of sensuality, is the chief cause of prostitution.

become strong, has yet arrived.[1] It may also be said that an indifference to sexual relationships, a tendency to attach no personal value to them, is often a predisposing cause in the adoption of a prostitute's career; the general mental shallowness of prostitutes may well be accompanied by shallowness of physical emotion. On the other hand, many prostitutes, at all events early in their careers, appear to show a marked degree of sensuality, and to women of coarse sexual fibre the career of prostitution has not been without attractions from this point of view; the gratification of physical desire is known to act as a motive in some cases and is clearly indicated in others.[2] This is scarcely surprising when we remember that prostitutes are in a very large proportion of cases remarkably robust and healthy persons in general respects.[3] They withstand without difficulty the risks of their profession, and though under its influence the manifestations of sexual feeling can scarcely fail to become modified or perverted in course of time, that is no proof of the original absence of sexual sensibility. It is not even a proof of its loss, for the real sexual nature of the normal prostitute, and her possibilities of sexual ardor, are chiefly manifested, not in her professional relations with her clients, but in her relations with her "fancy boy" or "bully."[4] It is quite true that the conditions of her life often make it practically advantageous to the prostitute to have attached to her a man who is devoted to her interests

[1] See "The Sexual Impulse in Women," in the third volume of these *Studies*.

[2] Tait stated that in Edinburgh many married women living with their husbands in comfortable circumstances, and having children, were found to be acting as prostitutes, that is, in the regular habit of making assignations with strangers (W. Tait, *Magdalenism in Edinburgh*, 1842, p. 16).

[3] Janke brings together opinions to this effect, *Die Willkurliche Hervorbringen des Geschlechts*, p. 275. "If we compare a prostitute of thirty-five with her respectable sister," Acton remarked (*Prostitution*, 1870, p. 39), "we seldom find that the constitutional ravages often thought to be necessary consequences of prostitution exceed those attributable to the cares of a family and the heart-wearing struggles of virtuous labor."

[4] Hirschfeld states (*Wesen der Liebe*, p. 35) that the desire for intercourse with a sympathetic person is heightened, and not decreased, by a professional act of coitus.

and will defend them if necessary, but that is only a secondary, occasional, and subsidiary advantage of the "fancy boy," so far as prostitutes generally are concerned. She is attracted to him primarily because he appeals to her personally and she wants him for herself. The motive of her attachment is, above all, erotic, in the full sense, involving not merely sexual relations but possession and common interests, a permanent and intimate life led together. "You know that what one does in the way of business cannot fill one's heart," said a German prostitute; "Why should we not have a husband like other women? I, too, need love. If that were not so we should not want a bully." And he, on his part, reciprocates this feeling and is by no means merely moved by self-interest.[1]

One of my correspondents, who has had much experience of prostitutes, not only in Britain, but also in Germany, France, Belgium and Holland, has found that the normal manifestations of sexual feeling are much more common in British than in continental prostitutes. "I should say," he writes, "that in normal coitus foreign women are generally unconscious of sexual excitement. I don't think I have ever known a foreign woman who had any semblance of orgasm. British women, on the other hand, if a man is moderately kind, and shows that he has some feelings beyond mere sensual gratification, often abandon themselves to the wildest delights of sexual excitement. Of course in this life, as in others, there is keen competition, and a woman, to vie with her competitors, must please her gentlemen friends; but a man of the world can always distinguish between real and simulated passion." (It is possible, however, that he may be most successful in arousing the feelings of his own fellow-country women.) On the other hand, this writer finds that the foreign women are more anxious to provide for the enjoyment of their temporary consorts and to ascertain what pleases

[1] This has been clearly shown by Hans Ostwald (from whom I take the above-quoted observation of a prostitute), one of the best authorities on prostitute life and character; see, *e.g.*, his article, "Die erotischen Beziehungen zwischen Dirne und Zuhälter," *Sexual-Probleme*, June, 1908. In the subsequent number of the same periodical (July, 1908, p. 393) Dr. Max Marcuse supports Ostwald's experiences, and says that the letters of prostitutes and their bullies are love-letters exactly like those of respectable people of the same class, and with the same elements of love and jealousy; these relationships, he remarks, often prove very enduring. The prostitute author of the *Tagebuch einer Verlorenen* (p. 147) also has some remarks on the prostitute's relations to her bully, stating that it is simply the natural relationship of a girl to her lover.

them. "The foreigner seems to make it the business of her life to discover some abnormal mode of sexual gratification for her consort." For their own pleasure also foreign prostitutes frequently ask for *cunnilinctus*, in preference to normal coitus, while anal coitus is also common. The difference evidently is that the British women, when they seek gratification, find it in normal coitus, while the foreign women prefer more abnormal methods. There is, however, one class of British prostitutes which this correspondent finds to be an exception to the general rule: the class of those who are recruited from the lower walks of the stage. "Such women are generally more licentious—that is to say, more acquainted with the bizarre in sexualism—than girls who come from shops or bars; they show a knowledge of *fellatio*, and even anal coitus, and during menstruation frequently suggest inter-mammary coitus."

On the whole it would appear that prostitutes, though not usually impelled to their life by motives of sensuality, on entering and during the early part of their career possess a fairly average amount of sexual impulse, with variations in both directions of excess and deficiency as well as of perversion. At a somewhat later period it is useless to attempt to measure the sexual impulse of prostitutes by the amount of pleasure they take in the professional performance of sexual intercourse. It is necessary to ascertain whether they possess sexual instincts which are gratified in other ways. In a large proportion of cases this is found to be so. Masturbation, especially, is extremely common among prostitutes everywhere; however prevalent it may be among women who have no other means of obtaining sexual gratification it is admitted by all to be still more prevalent among prostitutes, indeed almost universal.[1]

Homosexuality, though not so common as masturbation, is very frequently found among prostitutes—in France, it would seem, more frequently than in England—and it may indeed be

[1] Thus Moraglia found that among 180 prostitutes in North Italian brothels, and among 23 elegant Italian and foreign cocottes, every one admitted that she masturbated, preferably by friction of the clitoris; 113 of them, the majority, declared that they preferred solitary or mutual masturbation to normal coitus. Hammer states (*Zehn Lebensläufe Berliner Kontrollmädchen* in Ostwald's series of "Grosstadt Dokumente," 1905) that when in hospital all but three or four of sixty prostitutes masturbate, and those who do not are laughed at by the rest.

said that it occurs more often among prostitutes than among any other class of women. It is favored by the acquired distaste for normal coitus due to professional intercourse with men, which leads homosexual relationships to be regarded as pure and ideal by comparison. It would appear also that in a considerable proportion of cases prostitutes present a congenital condition of sexual inversion, such a condition, with an accompanying indifference to intercourse with men, being a predisposing cause of the adoption of a prostitute's career. Kurella even regards prostitutes as constituting a sub-variety of congenital inverts. Anna Rüling in Germany states that about twenty per cent. prostitutes are homosexual; when asked what induced them to become prostitutes, more than one inverted woman of the street has replied to her that it was purely a matter of business, sexual feeling not coming into the question except with a friend of the same sex.[1]

The occurrence of congenital inversion among prostitutes—although we need not regard prostitutes as necessarily degenerate as a class—suggests the question whether we are likely to find an unusually large number of physical and other anomalies among them. It cannot be said that there is unanimity of opinion on this point. For some authorities prostitutes are merely normal ordinary women of low social rank, if indeed their instincts are not even a little superior to those of the class in which they were born. Other investigators find among them so large a proportion of individuals deviating from the normal that they are inclined to place prostitutes generally among one or other of the abnormal classes.[2]

[1] *Jahrbuch für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, Jahrgang VII, 1905, p 148; "Sexual Inversion," vol. ii of these *Studies*, Ch. IV. Hammer found that of twenty-five prostitutes in a reformatory as many as twenty-three were homosexual, or, on good grounds, suspected to be such. Hirschfeld (*Berlins Drittes Geschlecht*, p. 65) mentions that prostitutes sometimes accost better-class women who, from their man-like air, they take to be homosexual; from persons of their own sex prostitutes will accept a smaller remuneration, and sometimes refuse payment altogether.

[2] With prostitution, as with criminality, it is of course difficult to disentangle the element of heredity from that of environment even when we have good grounds for believing that the factor of heredity here, as throughout the whole of life, cannot fail to carry much weight. It is

Baumgarten, in Vienna, from a knowledge of over 8000 prostitutes, concluded that only a very minute proportion are either criminal or psychopathic in temperament or organization (*Archiv für Kriminal-Anthropologie*, vol. xi, 1902). It is not clear, however, that Baumgarten carried out any detailed and precise investigations. Mr. Lane, a London police magistrate, has stated as the result of his own observation, that prostitution is "at once a symptom and outcome of the same deteriorated physique and decadent moral fibre which determine the manufacture of male tramps, petty thieves, and professional beggars, of whom the prostitute is in general the female analogue" (*Ethnological Journal*, April, 1905, p. 41). This estimate is doubtless correct as regards a considerable proportion of the women, often enfeebled by drink, who pass through the police courts, but it could scarcely be applied without qualification to prostitutes generally.

Morasso (*Archivio di Psichiatria*, 1896, fasc. I) has protested against a purely degenerative view of prostitutes on the strength of his own observations. There is, he states, a category of prostitutes, unknown to scientific inquirers, which he calls that of the *prostitute di alto bordo*. Among these the signs of degeneration, physical or moral, are not to be found in greater number than among women who do not belong to prostitution. They reveal all sorts of characters, some of them showing great refinement, and are chiefly marked off by the possession of an unusual degree of sexual appetite. Even among the more degraded group of the *bassa prostituzione*, he asserts, we find a predominance of sexual, as well as professional, characters, rather than the signs of degeneration. It is sufficient to quote one more testimony, as set down many years ago by a woman of high intelligence and character, Mrs. Craik, the novelist: "The women who fall are by no means the worst of their station," she wrote. "I have heard it affirmed by more than one lady—by one in particular whose experience was as large as her benevolence—that many of them are of the very best, refined, intelligent, truthful, and affectionate. 'I don't know how it is,' she would say, 'whether their very superiority makes them dissatisfied with their own rank—such brutes or clowns as laboring men often are!—so that they fall easier victims to the rank above them; or whether, though this theory will shock many people, other virtues can exist and flourish entirely distinct

certain, in any case, that prostitution frequently runs in families. "It has often been my experience," writes a former prostitute (Hedwig Hard, *Beichte einer Gefallenen*, p. 156) "that when in a family a girl enters this path, her sister soon afterwards follows her. I have met with innumerable cases; sometimes three sisters will all be on the register, and I knew a case of four sisters, whose mother, a midwife, had been in prison, and the father drank. In this case, all four sisters, who were very beautiful, married, one at least very happily, to a rich doctor who took her out of the brothel at sixteen and educated her."

from, and after the loss of, that which we are accustomed to believe the indispensable prime virtue of our sex—chastity. I cannot explain it; I can only say that it is so, that some of my most promising village girls have been the first to come to harm; and some of the best and most faithful servants I ever had, have been girls who have fallen into shame, and who, had I not gone to the rescue and put them in the way to do well, would infallibly have become 'lost women'" (*A Woman's Thoughts About Women*, 1858, p. 291). Various writers have insisted on the good moral qualities of prostitutes. Thus in France, Despine first enumerates their vices as (1) greediness and love of drink, (2) lying, (3) anger, (4) want of order and untidiness, (5) mobility of character, (6) need of movement, (7) tendency to homosexuality; and then proceeds to detail their good qualities: their maternal and filial affection, their charity to each other; and their refusal to denounce each other; while they are frequently religious, sometimes modest, and generally very honest (Despine, *Psychologie Naturelle*, vol. iii, pp. 207 *et seq.;* as regards Sicilian prostitutes, *cf.* Càllari, *Archivio di Psichiatria*, fasc. IV, 1903) The charity towards each other, often manifested in distress, is largely neutralized by a tendency to professional suspicion and jealousy of each other.

Lombroso believes that the basis of prostitution must be found in moral idiocy. If by moral idiocy we are to understand a condition at all closely allied with insanity, this assertion is dubious. There seems no clear relationship between prostitution and insanity, and Tammeo has shown (*La Prostituzione*, p. 76) that the frequency of prostitutes in the various Italian provinces is in inverse ratio to the frequency of insane persons; as insanity increases, prostitution decreases. But if we mean a minor degree of moral imbecility—that is to say, a bluntness of perception for the ordinary moral considerations of civilization which, while it is largely due to the hardening influence of an unfavorable early environment, may also rest on a congenital predisposition—there can be no doubt that moral imbecility of slight degree is very frequently found among prostitutes. It would be plausible, doubtless, to say that every woman who gives her virginity in exchange for an inadequate return is an imbecile. If she gives herself for love, she has, at the worst, made a foolish mistake, such as the young and inexperienced may at any time make. But if she deliberately proposes to sell herself, and does so for nothing or next to nothing, the case is altered. The experiences of Commenge in Paris are instructive on this point. "For many young girls," he writes, "modesty has no existence, they experience no emotion in showing themselves completely undressed, they abandon themselves to any chance individual whom they will never see again. They attach no importance to their virginity; they are deflowered under the strangest conditions, without the least thought or care about the act they are

accomplishing. No sentiment, no calculation, pushes them into a man's arms. They let themselves go without reflexion and without motive, in an almost animal manner, from indifference and without pleasure." He was acquainted with forty-five girls between the ages of twelve and seventeen who were deflowered by chance strangers whom they never met again; they lost their virginity, in Dumas's phrase, as they lost their milk-teeth, and could give no plausible account of the loss. A girl of fifteen, mentioned by Commenge, living with her parents who supplied all her wants, lost her virginity by casually meeting a man who offered her two francs if she would go with him; she did so without demur and soon begun to accost men on her own account. A girl of fourteen, also living comfortably with her parents, sacrificed her virginity at a fair in return for a glass of beer, and henceforth begun to associate with prostitutes. Another girl of the same age, at a local fête, wishing to go round on the hobby horse, spontaneously offered herself to the man directing the machinery for the pleasure of a ride. Yet another girl, of fifteen, at another fete, offered her virginity in return for the same momentary joy (Commenge, *Prostitution Clandestine*, 1897, pp. 101 *et seq.*). In the United States, Dr. W. Travis Gibb, examining physician to the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, bears similar testimony to the fact that in a fairly large proportion of "rape" cases the child is the willing victim. "It is horribly pathetic," he says (*Medical Record*, April 20, 1907), "to learn how far a nickel or a quarter will go towards purchasing the virtue of these children."

In estimating the tendency of prostitutes to display congenital physical anomalies, the crudest and most obvious test, though not a precise or satisfactory one, is the general impression produced by the face. In France, when nearly 1000 prostitutes were divided into five groups from the point of view of their looks, only from seven to fourteen per cent. were found to belong to the first group, or that of those who could be said to possess youth and beauty (Jeannel, *De la Prostitution Publique*, 1860, p. 168). Woods Hutchinson, again, judging from an extensive acquaintance with London, Paris, Vienna, New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, asserts that a handsome or even attractive-looking prostitute, is rare, and that the general average of beauty is lower than in any other class of women. "Whatever other evils," he remarks, "the fatal power of beauty may be responsible for, it has nothing to do with prostitution" (Woods Hutchinson, "The Economics of Prostitution," *American Gynæcological and Obstetric Journal*, September, 1895). It must, of course, be borne in mind that these estimates are liable to be vitiated through being based chiefly on the inspection of women who most obviously belong to the class of prostitutes and have already been coarsened by their profession.

If we may conclude—and the fact is probably undisputed—that

beautiful, agreeable, and harmoniously formed faces are rare rather than common among prostitutes, we may certainly say that minute examination will reveal a large number of physical abnormalities. One of the earliest important physical investigations of prostitutes was that of Dr. Pauline Tarnowsky in Russia (first published in the *Vratch* in 1887, and afterwards as *Etudes anthropométriques sur les Prostituées et les Voleuses*). She examined fifty St. Petersburg prostitutes who had been inmates of a brothel for not less than two years, and also fifty peasant women of, so far as possible, the same age and mental development. She found that (1) the prostitute showed shorter anterior-posterior and transverse diameters of skull; (2) a proportion equal to eighty-four per cent. showed various signs of physical degeneration (irregular skull, asymmetry of face, anomalies of hard palate, teeth, ears, etc.). This tendency to anomaly among the prostitutes was to some extent explained when it was found that about four-fifths of them had parents who were habitual drunkards, and nearly one-fifth were the last survivors of large families; such families have been often produced by degenerate parents.

The frequency of hereditary degeneration has been noted by Bonhoeffer among German prostitutes. He investigated 190 Breslau prostitutes in prison, and therefore of a more abnormal class than ordinary prostitutes, and found that 102 were hereditarily degenerate, and mostly with one or both parents who were drunkards; 53 also showed feeblemindedness (*Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Strafwissenschaft*, Bd. xxiii, p. 106).

The most detailed examinations of ordinary non-criminal prostitutes, both anthropometrically and as regards the prevalence of anomalies, have been made in Italy, though not on a sufficiently large number of subjects to yield absolutely decisive results. Thus Fornasari made a detailed examination of sixty prostitutes belonging chiefly to Emilia and Venice, and also of twenty-seven others belonging to Bologna, the latter group being compared with a third group of twenty normal women belonging to Bologna (*Archivio di Psichiatria*, 1892, fasc. VI). The prostitutes were found to be of lower type than the normal individuals, having smaller heads and larger faces. As the author himself points out, his subjects were not sufficiently numerous to justify far-reaching generalizations, but it may be worth while to summarize some of his results. At equal heights the prostitutes showed greater weight; at equal ages they were of shorter stature than other women, not only of well-to-do, but of the poor class: height of face, bi-zygomatic diameter (though not the distance between zygomas), the distance from chin to external auditory meatus, and the size of the jaw were all greater in the prostitutes; the hands were longer and broader, compared to the palm, than in ordinary women; the foot also was longer in prostitutes, and the thigh, as compared to the calf, was larger. It is noteworthy that in

most particulars, and especially in regard to head measurements, the variations were much greater among the prostitutes than among the other women examined; this is to some extent, though not entirely, to be accounted for by the slightly greater number of the former.

Ardu (in the same number of the *Archivio*) gave the result of observations (undertaken at Lombroso's suggestion) as to the frequency of abnormalities among prostitutes. The subjects were seventy-four in number and belonged to Professor Giovannini's *Clinica Sifilopatica* at Turin. The abnormalities investigated were virile distribution of hair on pubes, chest, and limbs, hypertrichosis on forehead, left-handedness, atrophy of nipple, and tattooing (which was only found once). Combining Ardu's observations with another series of observations on fifty-five prostitutes examined by Lombroso, it is found that virile disposition of hair is found in fifteen per cent. as against six per cent. in normal women; some degree of hypertrichosis in eighteen per cent.; left-handedness in eleven per cent. (but in normal women as high as twelve per cent. according to Gallia); and atrophy of nipple in twelve per cent.

Giuffrida-Ruggeri, again (*Atti della Società Romana di Antropologia*, 1897, p. 216), on examining eighty-two prostitutes found anomalies in the following order of decreasing frequency: tendency of eyebrows to meet, lack of cranial symmetry, depression at root of nose, defective development of calves, hypertrichosis and other anomalies of hair, adherent or absent lobule, prominent zigoma, prominent forehead or frontal bones, bad implantation of teeth, Darwinian tubercle of ear, thin vertical lips. These signs are separately of little or no importance, though together not without significance as an indication of general anomaly.

More recently Ascarilla, in an elaborate study (*Archivio di Psichiatria*, 1906, fasc. VI, p. 812) of the finger prints of prostitutes, comes to the conclusion that even in this respect prostitutes tend to form a class showing morphological inferiority to normal women. The patterns tend to show unusual simplicity and uniformity, and the significance of this is indicated by the fact that a similar uniformity is shown by the finger prints of the insane and deaf mutes (De Sanctis and Toscano, *Atti Società Romana Antropologia*, vol. viii, 1901, fasc. II).

In Chicago Dr. Harriet Alexander, in conjunction with Dr. E. S. Talbot and Dr. J. G. Kiernan, examined thirty prostitutes in the Bridewell, or House of Correction; only the "obtuse" class of professional prostitutes reach this institution, and it is not therefore surprising that they were found to exhibit very marked stigmata of degeneracy. In race nearly half of those examined were Celtic Irish. In sixteen the zygomatic processes were unequal and very prominent. Other facial asymmetries were common. In three cases the heads were of Mongoloid type; sixteen were epignathic, and eleven prognathic; five showed arrest

of development of face. Brachycephaly predominated (seventeen cases); the rest were mesaticephalic; there were no dolichocephals. Abnormalities in shape of the skull were numerous, and twenty-nine had defective ears. Four were demonstrably insane, and one was an epileptic (H. C. B. Alexander, "Physical Abnormalities in Prostitutes," Chicago Academy of Medicine, April, 1893; E. S. Talbot, *Degeneracy*, p. 320; *Id.*, *Irregularities of the Teeth*, fourth edition, p. 141).

It would seem, on the whole, so far as the evidence at present goes, that prostitutes are not quite normal representatives of the ranks into which they were born. There has been a process of selection of individuals who slightly deviate congenitally from the normal average and are, correspondingly, slightly inapt for normal life.[1] The psychic characteristics which accompany such deviation are not always necessarily of an obviously unfavorable nature; the slightly neurotic girl of low class birth—disinclined for hard work, through defective energy, and perhaps greedy and selfish—may even seem to possess a refinement superior to her station. While, however, there is a tendency to anomaly among prostitutes, it must be clearly recognized that that tendency remains slight so long as we consider impartially the whole class of prostitutes. Those investigators who have reached the conclusion that prostitutes are a highly degenerate and abnormal class have only observed special groups of prostitutes, more especially those who are frequently found in prison. It is not possible to form a just conception of prostitutes by studying them only in prison, any more than it would be possible to form a just conception of clergymen, doctors, or lawyers by studying them exclusively in prison, and this remains true even although a much larger proportion of prostitutes than of members of the more reputable professions pass through prisons; that fact no doubt partly indicates the greater abnormality of prostitutes.

It has, of course, to be remembered that the special conditions of the lives of prostitutes tend to cause in them the appearance of certain professional characteristics which are entirely acquired and not congenital. In that way we may account for the gradual modification of the feminine secondary and tertiary

[1] This fact is not contradicted by the undoubted fact that prostitutes are by no means always contented with the life they choose.

sexual characters, and the appearance of masculine characters, such as the frequent deep voice, etc.[1] But with all due allowance for these acquired characters, it remains true that such comparative investigations as have so far been made, although inconclusive, seem to indicate that, even apart from the prevalence of acquired anomalies, the professional selection of their avocation tends to separate out from the general population of the same social class, individuals who possess anthropometrical characters varying in a definite direction. The observations thus made seem, in this way, to indicate that prostitutes tend to be in weight over the average, though not in stature, that in length of arm they are inferior though the hands are longer (this has been found alike in Italy and Russia); they have smaller ankles and larger calves, and still larger thighs in proportion to their large calves. The estimated skull capacity and the skull circumference and diameters are somewhat below the normal, not only when compared with respectable women but also with thieves; there is a tendency to brachycephaly (both in Italy and Russia); the cheek-bones are usually prominent and the jaws developed; the hair is darker than in respectable women though less so than in thieves; it is also unusually abundant, not only on the head but also on the pudenda and elsewhere; the eyes have been found to be decidedly darker than those of either respectable women or criminals.[2]

So far as the evidence goes it serves to indicate that prostitutes tend to approximate to the type which, as was shown in the previous volume, there is reason to regard as specially indicative of developed sexuality. It is, however, unnecessary to discuss this question until our anthropometrical knowledge of prostitutes is more extended and precise.

3. *The Moral Justification of Prostitution.*—There are and always have been moralists—many of them people whose opinions are deserving of the most serious respect—who consider that,

1 This point has been discussed by Bloch, *Sexualleben unserer Zeit*, Ch. XIII.

2 Various series of observations are summarized by Lombroso and Ferrero, *La Donna Delinquente*, 1893, Part III, cap. IV.

allowing for the need of improved hygienic conditions, the existence of prostitution presents no serious problem for solution. It is, at most, they say, a necessary evil, and, at best, a beneficent institution, the bulwark of the home, the inevitable reverse of which monogamy is the obverse. "The immoral guardian of public morality," is the definition of prostitutes given by one writer, who takes the humble view of the matter, and another, taking the loftier ground, writes: "The prostitute fulfils a social mission. She is the guardian of virginal modesty, the channel to carry off adulterous desire, the protector of matrons who fear late maternity; it is her part to act as the shield of the family." "Female Decii," said Balzac in his *Physiologie du Mariage* of prostitutes, "they sacrifice themselves for the republic and make of their bodies a rampart for the protection of respectable families." In the same way Schopenhauer called prostitutes "human sacrifices on the altar of monogamy." Lecky, again, in an oft-quoted passage of rhetoric,[1] may be said to combine both the higher and the lower view of the prostitute's mission in human society, to which he even seeks to give a hieratic character. "The supreme type of vice," he declared, "she is ultimately the most efficient guardian of virtue. But for her, the unchallenged purity of countless happy homes would be polluted, and not a few who, in the pride of their untempted chastity, think of her with an indignant shudder, would have known the agony of remorse and of despair. On that one degraded and ignoble form are concentrated the passions that might have filled the world with shame. She remains, while creeds and civilizations rise and fall, the eternal priestess of humanity, blasted for the sins of the people."[2]

I am not aware that the Greeks were greatly concerned with

[1] *History of European Morals*, vol. iii, p. 283.

[2] Similarly Lord Morley has written (*Diderot*, vol. ii, p. 20): "The purity of the family, so lovely and dear as it is, has still only been secured hitherto by retaining a vast and dolorous host of female outcasts . . . . upon whose heads as upon the scapegoat of the Hebrew ordinance, we put all the iniquities of the children of the house, and all their transgressions in all their sins, and then banish them with maledictions into the foul outer wilderness and the land not inhabited."

the moral justification of prostitution. They had not allowed it to assume very offensive forms and for the most part they were content to accept it. The Romans usually accepted it, too, but, we gather, not quite so easily. There was an austerely serious, almost Puritanic, spirit in the Romans of the old stock and they seem sometimes to have felt the need to assure themselves that prostitution really was morally justifiable. It is significant to note that they were accustomed to remember that Cato was said to have expressed satisfaction on seeing a man emerge from a brothel, for otherwise he might have gone to lie with his neighbor's wife.[1]

The social necessity of prostitution is the most ancient of all the arguments of moralists in favor of the toleration of prostitutes; and if we accept the eternal validity of the marriage system with which prostitution developed, and of the theoretical morality based on that system, this is an exceedingly forcible, if not an unanswerable, argument.

The advent of Christianity, with its special attitude towards the "flesh," necessarily caused an enormous increase of attention to the moral aspects of prostitution. When prostitution was not morally denounced, it became clearly necessary to morally justify it; it was impossible for a Church, whose ideals were more or less ascetic, to be benevolently indifferent in such a matter. As a rule we seem to find throughout that while the more independent and irresponsible divines take the side of denunciation, those theologians who have had thrust upon them the grave responsibilities of ecclesiastical statesmanship have rather tended towards the reluctant moral justification of prostitution. Of this we have a fine example of the first importance in St. Augustine, after St. Paul the chief builder of the Christian Church. In a treatise written in 386 to justify the Divine regulation of the world, we find him declaring that just as the executioner, however repulsive he may be, occupies a necessary place in society, so the prostitute and her like, however sordid and ugly and wicked they may be, are equally necessary; remove

[1] Horace, *Satires*, lib. i, 2.

prostitutes from human affairs and you would pollute the world with lust: "Aufer meretrices de rebus humanis, turbaveris omnia libidinibus."[1] Aquinas, the only theological thinker of Christendom who can be named with Augustine, was of the same mind with him on this question of prostitution. He maintained the sinfulness of fornication but he accepted the necessity of prostitution as a beneficial part of the social structure, comparing it to the sewers which keep a palace pure.[2] "Prostitution in towns is like the sewer in a palace; take away the sewers and the palace becomes an impure and stinking place." Liguori, the most influential theologian of more modern times, was of the like opinion.

This wavering and semi-indulgent attitude towards prostitution was indeed generally maintained by theologians. Some, following Augustine and Aquinas, would permit prostitution for the avoidance of greater evils; others were altogether opposed to it; others, again, would allow it in towns but nowhere else. It was, however, universally held by theologians that the prostitute has a right to her wages, and is not obliged to make restitution.[3] The earlier Christian moralists found no difficulty in maintaining that there is no sin in renting a house to a prostitute for the purposes of her trade; absolution was always granted for this and abstention not required.[4] Fornication, however, always remained a sin, and from the twelfth century onwards the Church made a series of organized attempts to reclaim prostitutes. All Catholic theologians hold that a prostitute is bound to confess the sin of prostitution, and most, though not all, theologians have believed that a man also must confess intercourse with a prostitute. At the same time, while there was a certain indulgence to the prostitute herself, the Church was always very severe on those

[1] Augustine, *De Ordine*, Bk. II, Ch. IV.

[2] *De Regimine Principum* (*Opuscula XX*), lib. iv, cap. XIV. I am indebted to the Rev. H. Northcote for the reference to the precise place where this statement occurs; it is usually quoted more vaguely.

[3] Lea, *History of Auricular Confession*, vol. ii, p 69. There was even, it seems, an eccentric decision of the Salamanca theologians that a nun might so receive money, "licite et valide."

[4] Lea, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 263, 399.

who lived on the profits of promoting prostitution, on the *lenones*. Thus the Council of Elvira, which was ready to receive without penance the prostitute who married, refused reconciliation, even at death, to persons who had been guilty of *lenocinium*.[1]

Protestantism, in this as in many other matters of sexual morality, having abandoned the confessional, was usually able to escape the necessity for any definite and responsible utterances concerning the moral status of prostitution. When it expressed any opinion, or sought to initiate any practical action, it naturally founded itself on the Biblical injunctions against fornication, as expressed by St. Paul, and showed no mercy for prostitutes and no toleration for prostitution. This attitude, which was that of the Puritans, was the more easy since in Protestant countries, with the exception of special districts at special periods—such as Geneva and New England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—theologians have in these matters been called upon to furnish religious exhortation rather than to carry out practical policies. The latter task they have left to others, and a certain confusion and uncertainty has thus often arisen in the lay Protestant mind. This attitude in a thoughtful and serious writer, is well illustrated in England by Burton, writing a century after the Reformation. He refers with mitigated approval to "our Pseudo-Catholics," who are severe with adultery but indulgent to fornication, being perhaps of Cato's mind that it should be encouraged to avoid worse mischiefs at home, and who holds brothels "as necessary as churches" and "have whole Colleges of Courtesans in their towns and cities." "They hold it impossible," he continues, "for idle persons, young, rich and lusty, so many servants, monks, friars, to live honest, too tyrannical a burden to compel them to be chaste, and most unfit to suffer poor men, younger brothers and soldiers at all to marry, as also diseased persons, votaries, priests, servants. Therefore as well to keep and ease the one as the other, they tolerate and wink at these kind of brothel-houses and stews. Many probable arguments they have to prove the lawfulness, the necessity, and a

[1] Rabutaux, *De la Prostitution en Europe*, pp. 22 *et seq.*

toleration of them, as of usery; and without question in policy they are not to be contradicted, but altogether in religion."[1]

It was not until the beginning of the following century that the ancient argument of St. Augustine for the moral justification of prostitution was boldly and decisively stated in Protestant England, by Bernard Mandeville in his *Fable of the Bees,* and at its first promulgation it seemed so offensive to the public mind that the book was suppressed. "If courtesans and strumpets were to be prosecuted with as much rigor as some silly people would have it," Mandeville wrote, "what locks or bars would be sufficient to preserve the honor of our wives and daughters? . . . . It is manifest that there is a necessity of sacrificing one part of womankind to preserve the other, and prevent a filthiness of a more heinous nature. From whence I think I may justly conclude that chastity may be supported by incontinence, and the best of virtues want the assistance of the worst of vices."[2] After Mandeville's time this view of prostitution began to become common in Protestant as well as in other countries, though it was not usually so clearly expressed.

It may be of interest to gather together a few more modern examples of statements brought forward for the moral justification of prostitution.

Thus in France Meusnier de Querlon, in his story of *Psaphion,* written in the middle of the eighteenth century, puts into the mouth of a Greek courtesan many interesting reflections concerning the life and position of the prostitute. She defends her profession with much skill, and argues that while men imagine that prostitutes are merely the despised victims of their pleasures, these would-be tyrants are really dupes who are ministering to the needs of the women they trample beneath their feet, and themselves equally deserve the contempt they bestow. "We return disgust for disgust, as they must surely perceive. We often abandon to them merely a statue, and while inflamed by their own desires they consume themselves on insensible charms, our tranquil coldness leisurely enjoys their sensibility. Then it is we resume all our

[1] Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy,* Part III, Sect. III, Mem. IV, Subs. II.

[2] B. Mandeville, *Remarks to Fable of the Bees,* 1714, pp 93-9; *cf.* P. Sakmann, *Bernard de Mandeville,* pp. 101-4.

rights. A little hot blood has brought these proud creatures to our feet, and rendered us mistresses of their fate. On which side, I ask, is the advantage?" But all men, she adds, are not so unjust towards the prostitute, and she proceeds to pronounce a eulogy, not without a slight touch of irony in it, of the utility, facility, and convenience of the brothel.

A large number of the modern writers on prostitution insist on its socially beneficial character. Thus Charles Richard concludes his book on the subject with the words: "The conduct of society with regard to prostitution must proceed from the principle of gratitude without false shame for its utility, and compassion for the poor creatures at whose expense this is attained" (*La Prostitution devant le Philosophe*, 1882, p. 171). "To make marriage permanent is to make it difficult," an American medical writer observes; "to make it difficult is to defer it, to defer it is to maintain in the community an increasing number of sexually perfect individuals, with normal, or, in cases where repression is prolonged, excessive sexual appetites. The social evil is the natural outcome of the physical nature of man, his inherited impulses, and the artificial conditions under which he is compelled to live" ("The Social Evil," *Medicine*, August and September, 1906). Woods Hutchinson, while speaking with strong disapproval of prostitution and regarding prostitutes as "the worst specimens of the sex," yet regards prostitution as a social agency of the highest value. "From a medico-economic point of view I venture to claim it as one of the grand selective and eliminative agencies of nature, and of highest value to the community. It may be roughly characterized as a safety valve for the institution of marriage" (*The Gospel According to Darwin*, p. 193; *cf.* the same author's article on "The Economics of Prostitution," summarized in *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, November 21, 1895). Adolf Gerson, in a somewhat similar spirit, argues ("Die Ursache der Prostitution," *Sexual-Probleme*, September, 1908) that "prostitution is one of the means used by Nature to limit the procreative activity of men, and especially to postpone the period of sexual maturity." Molinari considers that the social benefits of prostitution have been manifested in various ways from the first; by sterilizing, for instance, the more excessive manifestations of the sexual impulse prostitution suppressed the necessity for the infanticide of superfluous children, and led to the prohibition of that primitive method of limiting the population (G. de Molinari, *La Viriculture*, p. 45). In quite another way than that mentioned by Molinari, prostitution has even in very recent times led to the abandonment of infanticide. In the Chinese province of Ping-Yang, Matignon states, it was usual not many years ago for poor parents to kill forty per cent. of the girl children, or even all of them, at birth, for they were too expensive to rear and brought nothing in, since men who wished to marry could easily obtain a wife

in the neighboring province of Wenchu, where women were very easy to obtain. Now, however, the line of steamships along the coast makes it very easy for girls to reach the brothels of Shang Hai, where they can earn money for their families; the custom of killing them has therefore died out (Matignon, *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, 1896, p. 72). "Under present conditions," writes Dr. F. Erhard ("Auch ein Wort zur Ehereform," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, Jahrgang I, Heft 9), "prostitution (in the broadest sense, including free relationships) is necessary in order that young men may, in some degree, learn to know women, for conventional conversation cannot suffice for this; an exact knowledge of feminine thought and action is, however, necessary for a proper choice, since it is seldom possible to rely on the certainty of instinct. It is good also that men should wear off their horns before marriage, for the polygamous tendency will break through somewhere. Prostitution will only spoil those men in whom there is not much to spoil, and if the desire for marriage is thus lost, the man's unbegotten children may have cause to thank him." Neisser, Näcke, and many others, have pleaded for prostitution, and even for brothels, as "necessary evils."

It is scarcely necessary to add that many, among even the strongest upholders of the moral advantages of prostitution, believe that some improvement in method is still desirable. Thus Bérault looks forward to a time when regulated brothels will become less contemptible. Various improvements may, he thinks, in the near future, "deprive them of the barbarous attributes which mark them out for the opprobrium of the skeptical or ignorant multitude, while their recognizable advantages will put an end to the contempt aroused by their cynical aspect" (*La Maison de Tolérance*, Thèse de Paris, 1904).

4. *The Civilizational Value of Prostitution.*—The moral argument for prostitution is based on the belief that our marriage system is so infinitely precious that an institution which serves as its buttress must be kept in existence, however ugly or otherwise objectionable it may in itself be. There is, however, another argument in support of prostitution which scarcely receives the emphasis it deserves. I refer to its influence in adding an element, in some form or another necessary, of gaiety and variety to the ordered complexity of modern life, a relief from the monotony of its mechanical routine, a distraction from its dull and respectable monotony. This is distinct from the more specific function of prostitution as an outlet for superfluous sexual energy, and may even affect those who have

little or no commerce with prostitutes. This element may be said to constitute the civilizational value of prostitution.

It is not merely the general conditions of civilization, but more specifically the conditions of urban life, which make this factor insistent. Urban life imposes by the stress of competition a very severe and exacting routine of dull work. At the same time it makes men and women more sensitive to new impressions, more enamored of excitement and change. It multiplies the opportunities of social intercourse; it decreases the chances of detection of illegitimate intercourse while at the same time it makes marriage more difficult, for, by heightening social ambitions and increasing the expenses of living, it postpones the time when a home can be created. Urban life delays marriage and yet renders the substitutes for marriage more imperative.[1]

There cannot be the slightest doubt that it is this motive—the effort to supplement the imperfect opportunities for self-development offered by our restrained, mechanical, and laborious civilization—which plays one of the chief parts in inducing women to adopt, temporarily or permanently, a prostitute's life. We have seen that the economic factor is not, as was once supposed, by any means predominant in this choice. Nor, again, is there any reason to suppose that an over-mastering sexual impulse is a leading factor. But a large number of young women turn instinctively to a life of prostitution because they are moved by an obscure impulse which they can scarcely define to themselves or express, and are often ashamed to confess. It is, therefore, surprising that this motive should find so large a place even in the formal statistics of the factors of prostitution. Merrick, in London, found that 5000, or nearly a third, of the prostitutes he investigated, voluntarily gave up home or situation "for a life of pleasure," and he puts this at the head of the causes of prostitu-

[1] These conditions favor temporary free unions, but they also favor prostitution. The reason is, according to Adolf Gerson (*Sexual-Probleme*, September, 1908), that the woman of good class will not have free unions. Partly moved by moral traditions, and partly by the feeling that a man should be legally her property, she will not give herself out of love to a man; and he therefore turns to the lower-class woman who gives herself for money.

tion.[1] In America Sanger found that "inclination" came almost at the head of the causes of prostitution, while Woods Hutchinson found "love of display, luxury and idleness" by far at the head. "Disgusted and wearied with work" is the reason assigned by a large number of Belgian girls when stating to the police their wish to be enrolled as prostitutes. In Italy a similar motive is estimated to play an important part. In Russia "desire for amusement" comes second among the causes of prostitution. There can, I think, be little doubt that, as a thoughtful student of London life has concluded, the problem of prostitution is "at bottom a mad and irresistible craving for excitement, a serious and wilful revolt against the monotony of commonplace ideals, and the uninspired drudgery of everyday life."[2] It is this factor of prostitution, we may reasonably conclude, which is mainly responsible for the fact, pointed out by F. Schiller,[3] that with the development of civilization the supply of prostitutes tends to outgrow the demand.

Charles Booth seems to be of the same opinion, and quotes (*Life and Labor of the People*, Third Series, vol. vii, p. 364) from a Rescue Committee Report: "The popular idea is, that these women are eager to leave a life of sin. The plain and simple truth is that, for the most part, they have no desire at all to be rescued. So many of these women do not, and will not, regard prostitution as a sin. 'I am taken out to dinner and to some place of amusement every night; why should I give it up?'" Merrick, who found that five per cent. of 14,000 prostitutes who passed through Millbank Prison, were accustomed to combine religious observance with the practice of their profession, also remarks in regard to their feelings about morality: "I am convinced that there are many poor men and women who do not in the least understand what is

[1] Many girls, said Ellice Hopkins, get into mischief merely because they have in them an element of the "black kitten," which must frolic and play, but has no desire to get into danger. "Do you not think it a little hard," she added, "that men should have dug by the side of her foolish dancing feet a bottomless pit, and that she cannot have her jump and fun in safety, and put on her fine feathers like the silly bird-witted thing she is, without a single false step dashing her over the brink, and leaving her with the very womanhood dashed out of her?"

[2] A. Sherwell, *Life in West London*, 1897, Ch. V.

[3] As quoted by Bloch, *Sexualleben Unserer Zeit*, p. 358. In Berlin during recent years the number of prostitutes has increased at nearly double the rate at which the general population has increased. It is no doubt probable that the supply tends to increase the demand.

implied in the term 'immorality.' Out of courtesy to you, they may assent to what you say, but they do not comprehend your meaning when you talk of virtue or purity; you are simply talking over their heads" (Merrick, *op. cit.*, p. 28). The same atttitude may be found among prostitutes everywhere. In Italy Ferriani mentions a girl of fifteen who, when accused of indecency with a man in a public garden, denied with tears and much indignation. He finally induced her to confess, and then asked her: "Why did you try to make me believe you were a good girl?" She hesitated, smiled, and said: "Because *they say* girls ought not to do what I do, but ought to work. But I am what I am, and it is no concern of theirs." This attitude is often more than an instinctive feeling; in intelligent prostitutes it frequently becomes a reasoned conviction. "I can bear everything, if so it must be," wrote the author of the *Tagebuch einer Verlorenen* (p. 291), "even serious and honorable contempt, but I cannot bear scorn. Contempt—yes, if it is justified. If a poor and pretty girl with sick and bitter heart stands alone in life, cast off, with temptations and seductions offering on every side, and, in spite of that, out of inner conviction she chooses the grey and monotonous path of renunciation and middle-class morality, I recognize in that girl a personality, who has a certain justification in looking down with contemptuous pity on weaker girls. But those geese who, under the eyes of their shepherds and life-long owners, have always been pastured in smooth green fields, have certainly no right to laugh scornfully at others who have not been so fortunate." Nor must it be supposed that there is necessarily any sophistry in the prostitute's justification of herself. Some of our best thinkers and observers have reached a conclusion that is not dissimilar. "The actual conditions of society are opposed to any high moral feeling in women," Marro observes (*La Pubertà*, p. 402), "for between those who sell themselves to prostitution and those who sell themselves to marriage, the only difference is in price and duration of the contract."

We have already seen how very large a part in prostitution is furnished by those who have left domestic service to adopt this life (*ante* p. 264). It is not difficult to find in this fact evidence of the kind of impulse which impels a woman to adopt the career of prostitution. "The servant, in our society of equality," wrote Goncourt, recalling somewhat earlier days when she was often admitted to a place in the family life, "has become nothing but a paid pariah, a machine for doing household work, and is no longer allowed to share the employer's human life."[1] And in England,

[1] Goncourt, *Journal*, vol. iii, p. 49.

even half a century ago, we already find the same statements concerning the servant's position: "domestic service is a complete slavery," with early hours and late hours, and constant running up and down stairs till her legs are swollen; "an amount of ingenuity appears too often to be exercised, worthy of a better cause, in obtaining the largest possible amount of labor out of the domestic machine"; in addition she is "a kind of lightning conductor," to receive the ill-temper and morbid feelings of her mistress and the young ladies; so that, as some have said, "I felt so miserable I did not care what became of me, I wished I was dead."[1] The servant is deprived of all human relationships; she must not betray the existence of any simple impulse, or natural need. At the same time she lives on the fringe of luxury; she is surrounded by the tantalizing visions of pleasure and amusement for which her fresh young nature craves.[2] It is not surprising that, repelled by unrelieved drudgery and attracted by idle luxury, she should take the plunge which will alone enable her to enjoy the glittering aspects of civilization which seem so desirable to her.[3]

It is sometimes stated that the prevalence of prostitution among girls who were formerly servants is due to the immense numbers of servants who are seduced by their masters or the young men of the family, and are thus forced on to the streets. Undoubtedly in a certain proportion of cases, perhaps sometimes a fairly considerable proportion, this is a decisive factor in the matter, but it scarcely seems to be the chief factor. The existence of relationships between servants and masters, it must be remembered, by no means necessarily implies seduction

1 Vanderkiste, *The Dens of London*, 1854, p. 242.

2 Bonger (*Criminalité et Conditions Economiques*, p. 406) refers to the prevalence of prostitution among dressmakers and milliners, as well as among servants, as showing the influence of contact with luxury, and adds that the rich women, who look down on prostitution, do not always realize that they are themselves an important factor of prostitution, both by their luxury and their idleness; while they do not seem to be aware that they would themselves act in the same way if placed under the same conditions.

3 H. Lippert, in his book on prostitution in Hamburg, laid much stress on the craving for dress and adornment as a factor of prostitution, and Bloch (*Das Sexualleben unserer Zeit*, p. 372) considers that this factor is usually underestimated, and that it exerts an especially powerful influence on servants.

In a large number of cases the servant in a household is, in sexual matters, the teacher rather than the pupil. (In "The Sexual Impulse in Women," in the third volume of these *Studies*, I have discussed the part played by servants as sexual initiators of the young boys in the households in which they are placed.) The more precise statistics of the causes of prostitution seldom assign seduction as the main determining factor in more than about twenty per cent. of cases, though this is obviously one of the most easily avowable motives (see *ante*, p. 256). Seduction by any kind of employer constitutes only a proportion (usually less than half) even of these cases. The special case of seduction of servants by masters can thus play no very considerable part as a factor of prostitution.

The statistics of the parentage of illegitimate children have some bearing on this question. In a series of 180 unmarried mothers assisted by the Berlin Bund für Mutterschutz, particulars are given of the occupations both of the mothers, and, as far as possible, of the fathers. The former were one-third servant-girls, and the great majority of the remainder assistants in trades or girls carrying on work at home. At the head of the fathers (among 120 cases) came artisans (33), followed by tradespeople (22); only a small proportion (20 to 25) could be described as "gentlemen," and even this proportion loses some of its significance when it is pointed out that some of the girls were also of the middle-class; in nineteen cases the fathers were married men (*Mutterschutz*, January, 1907, p. 45).

Most authorities in most countries are of opinion that girls who eventually (usually between the ages of fifteen and twenty) become prostitutes have lost their virginity at an early age, and in the great majority of cases through men of their own class. "The girl of the people falls by the people," stated Reuss in France (*La Prostitution*, p. 41). "It is her like, workers like herself, who have the first fruits of her beauty and virginity. The man of the world who covers her with gold and jewels only has their leavings." Martineau, again (*De la Prostitution Clandestine*, 1885), showed that prostitutes are usually deflowered by men of their own class. And Jeannel, in Bordeaux, found reason for believing that it is not chiefly their masters who lead servants astray; they often go into service because they have been seduced in the country, while lazy, greedy, and unintelligent girls are sent from the country into the town to service. In Edinburgh, W. Tait (*Magdalenism*, 1842) found that soldiers more than any other class in the community are the seducers of women, the Highlanders being especially notorious in this respect. Soldiers have this reputation everywhere, and in Germany especially it is constantly found that the presence of the soldiery in a country district, as at the annual manœuvres, is the cause of unchastity and illegitimate births; it is so also in Austria, where, long ago, Gross-

Hoffinger stated that soldiers were responsible for at least a third of all illegitimate births, a share out of all proportion to their numbers. In Italy, Marro, investigating the occasion of the loss of virginity in twenty-two prostitutes, found that ten gave themselves more or less spontaneously to lovers or masters, ten yielded in the expectation of marriage, and two were outraged (*La Pubertà*, p. 461). The loss of virginity Marro adds, though it may not be the direct cause of prostitution, often leads on to it. "When a door has once been broken in," a prostitute said to him, "it is difficult to keep it closed" In Sardinia, as A. Mantegazza and Ciuffo found, prostitutes are very largely servants from the country who have already been deflowered by men of their own class.

This civilizational factor of prostitution, the influence of luxury and excitement and refinement in attracting the girl of the people, as the flame attracts the moth, is indicated by the fact that it is the country-dwellers who chiefly succumb to the fascination. The girls whose adolescent explosive and orgiastic impulses, sometimes increased by a slight congenital lack of nervous balance, have been latent in the dull monotony of country life and heightened by the spectacle of luxury acting on the unrelieved drudgery of town life, find at last their complete gratification in the career of a prostitute. To the town girl, born and bred in the town, this career has not usually much attraction, unless she has been brought up from the first in an environment that predisposes her to adopt it. She is familiar from childhood with the excitements of urban civilization and they do not intoxicate her; she is, moreover, more shrewd to take care of herself than the country girl, and too well acquainted with the real facts of the prostitute's life to be very anxious to adopt her career. Beyond this, also, it is probable that the stocks she belongs to possess a native or acquired power of resistance to unbalancing influences which has enabled them to survive in urban life. She has become immune to the poisons of that life.[1]

[1] Since this was written the influence of several generations of town-life in immunizing a stock to the evils of that life (though without reference to prostitution) has been set forth by Reibmayr, *Die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Talentes und Genies*, 1908, vol. ii. pp. 73 *et seq.*

In all great cities a large proportion, if not the majority, of the inhabitants have usually been born outside the city (in London only about fifty per cent. of heads of households are definitely reported as born in London); and it is not therefore surprising that prostitutes also should often be outsiders. Still it remains a significant fact that so typically urban a phenomenon as prostitution should be so largely recruited from the country. This is everywhere the case. Merrick enumerates the regions from which came some 14,000 prostitutes who passed through Millbank Prison. Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, Essex and Devon are the counties that stand at the head, and Merrick estimates that the contingent of London from the four counties which make up London was 7000, or one-half of the whole; military towns like Colchester and naval ports like Plymouth supply many prostitutes to London; Ireland furnished many more than Scotland, and Germany far more than any other European country, France being scarcely represented at all (Merrick, *Work Among the Fallen*, 1890, pp. 14 13). It is, of course, possible that the proportions among those who pass through a prison do not accurately represent the proportions among prostitutes generally. The registers of the London Salvation Army Rescue Home show that sixty per cent. of the girls and women come from the provinces (A. Sherwell, *Life in West London*, Ch. V). This is exactly the same proportion as Tait found among prostitutes generally, half a century earlier, in Edinburgh. Sanger found that of 2000 prostitutes in New York as many as 1238 were born abroad (703 in Ireland), while of the remaining 762 only half were born in the State of New York, and clearly (though the exact figures are not given) a still smaller proportion in New York City. Prostitutes come from the North—where the climate is uncongenial, and manufacturing and sedentary occupations prevail—much more than from the South; thus Maine, a cold bleak maritime State, sent twenty-four of these prostitutes to New York, while equidistant Virginia, which at the same rate should have sent seventy-two, only sent nine; there was a similar difference between Rhode Island and Maryland (Sanger, *History of Prostitution*, p. 452). It is instructive to see here the influence of a dreary climate and monotonous labor in stimulating the appetite for a "life of pleasure." In France, as shown by a map in Parent-Duchâtelet's work (vol. i, pp. 37-64, 1857), if the country is divided into five zones, on the whole running east and west, there is a steady and progressive decrease in the number of prostitutes each zone sends to Paris, as we descend southwards. Little more than a third seem to belong to Paris, and, as in America, it is the serious and hard-working North, with its relatively cold climate, which furnishes the largest contingent; even in old France, Dufour remarks (*op. cit.*, vol. iv, Ch. XV), prostitution, as the *fabliaux* and *romans* show, was less infamous in the *langue d'oil* than in the *langue d'oc*, so that they were

doubtless rare in the South. At a later period Reuss states (*La Prostitution*, p. 12) that "nearly all the prostitutes of Paris come from the provinces." Jeannel found that of one thousand Bordeaux prostitutes only forty-six belonged to the city itself, and Potton (Appendix to Parent-Duchâtelet, vol. ii, p. 446) states that of nearly four thousand Lyons prostitutes only 376 belonged to Lyons. In Vienna, in 1873, Schrank remarks that of over 1500 prostitutes only 615 were born in Vienna. The general rule, it will be seen, though the variations are wide, is that little more than a third of a city's prostitutes are children of the city.

It is interesting to note that this tendency of the prostitute to reach cities from afar, this migratory tendency—which they nowadays share with waiters—is no merely modern phenomenon. "There are few cities in Lombardy, or France, or Gaul," wrote St. Boniface nearly twelve centuries ago, "in which there is not an adulteress or prostitute of the English nation," and the Saint attributes this to the custom of going on pilgrimage to foreign shrines. At the present time there is no marked English element among Continental prostitutes. Thus in Paris, according to Reuss (*La Prostitution*, p. 12), the foreign prostitutes in decreasing order are Belgian, German (Alsace-Lorraine), Swiss (especially Geneva), Italian, Spanish, and only then English. Connoisseurs in this matter say, indeed, that the English prostitute, as compared with her Continental (and especially French) sister, fails to show to advantage, being usually grasping as regards money and deficient in charm.

It is the appeal of civilization, though not of what is finest and best in civilization, which more than any other motive, calls women to the career of a prostitute. It is now necessary to point out that for the man also, the same appeal makes itself felt in the person of the prostitute. The common and ignorant assumption that prostitution exists to satisfy the gross sensuality of the young unmarried man, and that if he is taught to bridle gross sexual impulse or induced to marry early the prostitute must be idle, is altogether incorrect. If all men married when quite young, not only would the remedy be worse than the disease—a point which it would be out of place to discuss here—but the remedy would not cure the disease. The prostitute is something more than a channel to drain off superfluous sexual energy, and her attraction by no means ceases when men are married, for a large number of the men who visit prostitutes, if not the majority,

are married. And alike whether they are married or unmarried the motive is not one of uncomplicated lust.

In England, a well-informed writer remarks that "the value of marriage as a moral agent is evidenced by the fact that all the better-class prostitutes in London are almost entirely supported by married men," while in Germany, as stated in the interesting series of reminiscences by a former prostitute, Hedwig Hard's *Beichte einer Gefallenen*, (p. 208), the majority of the men who visit prostitutes are married. The estimate is probably excessive. Neisser states that only twenty-five per cent. of cases of gonorrhœa occur in married men. This indication is probably misleading in the opposite direction, as the married would be less reckless than the young and unmarried. As regards the motives which lead married men to prostitutes, Hedwig Hard narrates from her own experiences an incident which is instructive and no doubt typical. In the town in which she lived quietly as a prostitute a man of the best social class was introduced by a friend, and visited her habitually. She had often seen and admired his wife, who was one of the beauties of the place, and had two charming children; husband and wife seemed devoted to each other, and every one envied their happiness. He was a man of intellect and culture who encouraged Hedwig's love of books; she became greatly attached to him, and one day ventured to ask him how he could leave his lovely and charming wife to come to one who was not worthy to tie her shoe-lace. "Yes, my child," he answered, "but all her beauty and culture brings nothing to my heart. She is cold, cold as ice, proper, and, above all, phlegmatic. Pampered and spoilt, she lives only for herself; we are two good comrades, and nothing more. If, for instance, I come back from the club in the evening and go to her bed, perhaps a little excited, she becomes nervous and she thinks it improper to wake her. If I kiss her she defends herself, and tells me that I smell horribly of cigars and wine. And if perhaps I attempt more, she jumps out of bed, bristles up as though I were assaulting her, and threatens to throw herself out of the window if I touch her. So, for the sake of peace, I leave her alone and come to you." There can be no doubt whatever that this is the experience of many married men who would be well content to find the sweetheart as well as the friend in their wives. But the wives, from a variety of causes, have proved incapable of becoming the sexual mates of their husbands. And the husbands, without being carried away by any impulse of strong passion or any desire for infidelity, seek abroad what they cannot find at home.

This is not the only reason why married men visit prostitutes. Even men who are happily married to women in all chief respects fitted to them, are apt to find, after some years of married life, a mysterious

craving for variety. They are not tired of their wives, they have not the least wish or intention to abandon them, they will not, if they can help it, give them the slightest pain. But from time to time they are led by an almost irresistible and involuntary impulse to seek a temporary intimacy with women to whom nothing would persuade them to join themselves permanently. Pepys, whose *Diary*, in addition to its other claims upon us, is a psychological document of unique importance, furnishes a very characteristic example of this kind of impulse. He had married a young and charming wife, to whom he is greatly attached, and he lives happily with her, save for a few occasional domestic quarrels soon healed by kisses; his love is witnessed by his jealousy, a jealousy which, as he admits, is quite unreasonable, for she is a faithful and devoted wife. Yet a few years after marriage, and in the midst of a life of strenuous official activity, Pepys cannot resist the temptation to seek the temporary favors of other women, seldom prostitutes, but nearly always women of low social class—shop women, workmen's wives, superior servant-girls. Often he is content to invite them to a quiet ale-house, and to take a few trivial liberties. Sometimes they absolutely refuse to allow more than this; when that happens he frequently thanks Almighty God (as he makes his entry in his *Diary* at night) that he has been saved from temptation and from loss of time and money; in any case, he is apt to vow that it shall never occur again. It always does occur again. Pepys is quite sincere with himself; he makes no attempt at justification or excuse; he knows that he has yielded to a temptation; it is an impulse that comes over him at intervals, an impulse that he seems unable long to resist. Throughout it all he remains an estimable and diligent official, and in most respects a tolerably virtuous man, with a genuine dislike of loose people and loose talk. The attitude of Pepys is brought out with incomparable simplicity and sincerity because he is setting down these things for his own eyes only, but his case is substantially that of a vast number of other men, perhaps indeed of the typical *homme moyen sensuel* (see Pepys, *Diary*, ed. Wheatley; *e.g.*, vol. iv, *passim*).

There is a third class of married men, less considerable in number but not unimportant, who are impelled to visit prostitutes: the class of sexually perverted men. There are a great many reasons why such men may desire to be married, and in some cases they marry women with whom they find it possible to obtain the particular form of sexual gratification they crave. But in a large proportion of cases this is not possible. The conventionally bred woman often cannot bring herself to humor even some quite innocent fetishistic whim of her husband's, for it is too alien to her feelings and too incomprehensible to her ideas, even though she may be genuinely in love with him; in many cases the husband would not venture to ask, and scarcely even wish, that his wife

should lend herself to play the fantastic or possibly degrading part his desires demand. In such a case he turns naturally to the prostitute, the only woman whose business it is to fulfil his peculiar needs. Marriage has brought no relief to these men, and they constitute a noteworthy proportion of a prostitute's clients in every great city. The most ordinary prostitute of any experience can supply cases from among her own visitors to illustrate a treatise of psychopathic sexuality. It may suffice here to quote a passage from the confessions of a young London (Strand) prostitute as written down from her lips by a friend to whom I am indebted for the document; I have merely turned a few colloquial terms into more technical forms. After describing how, when she was still a child of thirteen in the country, a rich old gentleman would frequently come and exhibit himself before her and other girls, and was eventually arrested and imprisoned, she spoke of the perversities she had met with since she had become a prostitute. She knew a young man, about twenty-five, generally dressed in a sporting style, who always came with a pair of live pigeons, which he brought in a basket. She and the girl with whom she lived had to undress and take the pigeons and wring their necks; he would stand in front of them, and as the necks were wrung orgasm occurred. Once a man met her in the street and asked her if he might come with her and lick her boots. She agreed, and he took her to a hotel, paid half a guinea for a room, and, when she sat down, got under the table and licked her boots, which were covered with mud; he did nothing more. Then there were some things, she said, that were too dirty to repeat; well, one man came home with her and her friend and made them urinate into his mouth. She also had stories of flagellation, generally of men who whipped the girls, more rarely of men who liked to be whipped by them. One man, who brought a new birch every time, liked to whip her friend until he drew blood. She knew another man who would do nothing but smack her nates violently. Now all these things, which come into the ordinary day's work of the prostitute, are rooted in deep and almost irresistible impulses (as will be clear to any reader of the discussion of Erotic Symbolism in the previous volume of these *Studies*). They must find some outlet. But it is only the prostitute who can be relied upon, through her interests and training, to overcome the natural repulsion to such actions, and gratify desires which, without gratification, might take on other and more dangerous forms.

Although Woods Hutchinson quotes with approval the declaration of a friend, "Out of thousands I have never seen one with good table manners," there is still a real sense in which the prostitute represents, however inadequately, the attraction of

civilization. "There was no house in which I could habitually see a lady's face and hear a lady's voice," wrote the novelist Anthony Trollope in his *Autobiography*, concerning his early life in London. "No allurement to decent respectability came in my way. It seems to me that in such circumstances the temptations of loose life will almost certainly prevail with a young man. The temptation at any rate prevailed with me." In every great city, it has been said, there are thousands of men who have no right to call any woman but a barmaid by her Christian name.[1] All the brilliant fever of civilization pulses round them in the streets but their lips never touch it. It is the prostitute who incarnates this fascination of the city, far better than the virginal woman, even if intimacy with her were within reach. The prostitute represents it because she herself feels it, because she has even sacrificed her woman's honor in the effort to identify herself with it. She has unbridled feminine instincts, she is a mistress of the feminine arts of adornment, she can speak to him concerning the mysteries of womanhood and the luxuries of sex with an immediate freedom and knowledge the innocent maiden cloistered in her home would be incapable of. She appeals to him by no means only because she can gratify the lower desires of sex, but also because she is, in her way, an artist, an expert in the art of feminine exploitation, a leader of feminine fashions. For she is this, and there are, as Simmel has stated in his *Philosophie der Mode*, good psychological reasons why she always should be this. Her uncertain social position makes all that is conventional and established hateful to her, while her temperament makes perpetual novelty delightful. In new fashions she finds "an æsthetic form of that instinct of destruction which seems peculiar to all pariah existences, in so far as they are not completely enslaved in spirit."

[1] In France this intimacy is embodied in the delicious privilege of *tutoiement*. "The mystery of *tutoiement!*" exclaims Ernest La Jennesse in *L'Holocauste:* "Barriers broken down, veils drawn away, and the ease of existence! At a time when I was very lonely, and trying to grow accustomed to Paris and to misfortune, I would go miles—on foot, naturally—to see a girl cousin and an aunt, merely to have something to *tutoyer*. Sometimes they were not at home, and I had to come back with my *tu*, my thirst for confidence and familiarity and brotherliness."

"However surprising it may seem to some," a modern writer remarks, "prostitutes must be put on the same level as artists. Both use their gifts and talents for the joy and pleasure of others, and, as a rule, for payment. What is the essential difference between a singer who gives pleasure to hearers by her throat and a prostitute who gives pleasure to those who seek her by another part of her body? All art works on the senses." He refers to the significant fact that actors, and especially actresses, were formerly regarded much as prostitutes are now (R. Hellmann, *Ueber Geschlechtsfreiheit*, pp. 245-252).

Bernaldo de Quiros and Llanas Aguilaniedo (*La Mala Vida en Madrid*, p. 242) trace the same influence still lower in the social scale. They are describing the more squalid kind of *café chantant*, in which, in Spain and elsewhere, the most vicious and degenerate feminine creatures become waitresses (and occasionally singers and dancers), playing the part of amiable and distinguished *hetairæ* to the public of carmen and shop-boys who frequent these resorts. "Dressed with what seems to the youth irreproachable taste, with hair elaborately prepared, and clean face adorned with flowers or trinkets, affable and at times haughty, superior in charm and in finery to the other women he is able to know, the waitresses become the most elevated example of the *femme galante* whom he is able to contemplate and talk to, the courtesan of his sphere."

But while to the simple, ignorant, and hungry youth the prostitute appeals as the embodiment of many of the refinements and perversities of civilization, on many more complex and civilized men she exerts an attraction of an almost reverse kind. She appeals by her fresh and natural coarseness, her frank familiarity with the crudest facts of life; and so lifts them for a moment out of the withering atmosphere of artificial thought and unreal sentiment in which so many civilized persons are compelled to spend the greater part of their lives. They feel in the words which the royal friend of a woman of this temperament is said to have used in explaining her incomprehensible influence over him: "She is so splendidly vulgar!"

In illustration of this aspect of the appeal of prostitution, I may quote a passage in which the novelist, Hermant, in his *Confession d'un Enfant d'Hier* (Lettre VII), has set down the reasons which may lead the super-refined child of a cultured age, yet by no means radically or completely vicious, to find satisfaction in commerce with prostitutes: "As long as my heart was not touched the object of my satisfaction was completely indifferent to me. I was, moreover, a great lover of absolute

liberty, which is only possible in the circle of these anonymous creatures and in their reserved dwelling. There everything became permissible. With other women, however low we may seek them, certain convenances must be observed, a kind of protocol. To these one can say everything: one is protected by incognito and assured that nothing will be divulged. I profited by this freedom, which suited my age, but with a perverse fancy which was not characteristic of my years. I scarcely know where I found what I said to them, for it was the opposite of my tastes, which were simple, and, if I may venture to say so, classic. It is true that, in matters of love, unrestrained naturalism always tends to perversion, a fact that can only seem paradoxical at first sight. Primitive peoples have many traits in common with degenerates. It was, however, only in words that I was unbridled; and that was the only occasion on which I can recollect seriously lying. But that necessity, which I then experienced, of expelling a lower depth of ignoble instincts, seems to me characteristic and humiliating. I may add that even in the midst of these dissipations I retained a certain reserve. The contacts to which I exposed myself failed to soil me; nothing was left when I had crossed the threshold. I have always retained, from that forcible and indifferent commerce, the habit of attributing no consequence to the action of the flesh. The amorous function, which religion and morality have surrounded with mystery or seasoned with sin, seems to me a function like any other, a little vile, but agreeable, and one to which the usual epilogue is too long. . . . . This kind of companionship only lasted for a short time." This analysis of the attitude of a certain common type of civilized modern man seems to be just, but it may perhaps occur to some readers that a commerce which led to "the action of the flesh" being regarded as of no consequence can scarcely be said to have left no taint.

In a somewhat similar manner, Henri de Régnier, in his novel, *Les Rencontres de Monsieur Brêot* (p. 50), represents Bercaillé as deliberately preferring to take his pleasures with servant-girls rather than with ladies, for pleasure was, to his mind, a kind of service, which could well be accommodated with the services they are accustomed to give: and then they are robust and agreeable, they possess the *naiveté* which is always charming in the common people, and they are not apt to be repelled by those little accidents which might offend the fastidious sensibilities of delicately bred ladies.

Bloch, who has especially emphasized this side of the appeal of prostitution (*Das Sexualleben unserer Zeit*, pp. 359-362), refers to the delicate and sensitive young Danish writer, J. P. Jakobsen, who seems to have acutely felt the contrast between the higher and more habitual impulses, and the occasional outburst of what he felt to be lower instincts; in his *Niels Lyhne* he describes the kind of double life in which a man is true for a fortnight to the god he worships, and is then

overcome by other powers which madly bear him in their grip towards what he feels to be humiliating, perverse, and filthy. "At such moments," Bloch remarks, "the man is another being. The 'two souls' in the breast become a reality. Is that the famous scholar, the lofty idealist, the fine-souled æsthetician, the artist who has given us so many splendid and pure works in poetry and painting? We no longer recognize him, for at such moments another being has come to the surface, another nature is moving within him, and with the power of an elementary force is impelling him towards things at which his 'upper consciousness,' the civilized man within him, would shudder." Bloch believes that we are here concerned with a kind of normal masculine masochism, which prostitution serves to gratify.

IV. The Present Social Attitude Towards Prostitution.

We have now surveyed the complex fact of prostitution in some of its most various and typical aspects, seeking to realize, intelligently and sympathetically, the fundamental part it plays as an elementary constituent of our marriage system. Finally we have to consider the grounds on which prostitution now appears to a large and growing number of persons not only an unsatisfactory method of sexual gratification but a radically bad method.

The movement of antagonism towards prostitution manifests itself most conspicuously, as might beforehand have been anticipated, by a feeling of repugnance towards the most ancient and typical, once the most credited and best established prostitutional manifestation, the brothel. The growth of this repugnance is not confined to one or two countries but is international, and may thus be regarded as corresponding to a real tendency in our civilization. It is equally pronounced in prostitutes themselves and in the people who are their clients. The distaste on the one side increases the distaste on the other. Since only the most helpless or the most stupid prostitutes are nowadays willing to accept the servitude of the brothel, the brothel-keeper is forced to resort to extraordinary methods for entrapping victims, and even to take part in that cosmopolitan trade in "white slaves"

which exists solely to feed brothels.[1] This state of things has a natural reaction in prejudicing the clients of prostitution against an institution which is going out of fashion and out of credit. An even more fundamental antipathy is engendered by the fact that the brothel fails to respond to the high degree of personal freedom and variety which civilization produces, and always demands even when it fails to produce. On one side the prostitute is disinclined to enter into a slavery which usually fails even to bring her any reward; on the other side her client feels it as part of the fascination of prostitution under civilized conditions that he shall enjoy a freedom and choice the brothel cannot provide.[2] Thus it comes about that brothels which once contained nearly all the women who made it a business to minister to the sexual needs of men, now contain only a decreasing minority, and that the transformation of cloistered prostitution into free prostitution is approved by many social reformers as a gain to the cause of morality.[3]

The decay of brothels, whether as cause or as effect, has been associated with a vast increase of prostitution outside brothels. But the repugnance to brothels in many essential respects also applies to prostitution generally, and, as we shall see, it is exerting a profoundly modifying influence on that prostitution.

The changing feeling in regard to prostitution seems to express itself mainly in two ways. On the one hand there are those who, without desiring to abolish prostitution, resent the abnegation which accompanies it, and are disgusted by its sordid aspects. They may have no moral scruples against prostitution,

[1] For some facts and references to the extensive literature concerning this trade, see, *e.g.*, Bloch, *Das Sexualleben Unserer Zeit*, pp. 374 376; also K. M. Baer, *Zeitschrift fur Sexualwissenschaft*, Sept., 1908; Paulucci de Calboli, *Nuova Antologia*, April, 1902.

[2] These considerations do not, it is true, apply to many kinds of sexual perverts who form an important proportion of the clients of brothels. These can frequently find what they crave inside a brothel much more easily than outside.

[3] Thus Charles Booth, in his great work on *Life and Labor in London*, final volume (p. 128), recommends that "houses of accommodation," instead of being hunted out, should be tolerated as a step towards the suppression of brothels.

and they know no reason why a woman should not freely do as she will with her own person. But they believe that, if prostitution is necessary, the relationships of men with prostitutes should be humane and agreeable to each party, and not degrading to either. It must be remembered that under the conditions of civilized urban life, the discipline of work is often too severe, and the excitements of urban existence too constant, to render an abandonment to orgy a desirable recreation. The gross form of orgy appeals, not to the town-dweller but to the peasant, and to the sailor or soldier who reaches the town after long periods of dreary routine and emotional abstinence. It is a mistake, even, to suppose that the attraction of prostitution is inevitably associated with the fulfilment of the sexual act. So far is this from being the case that the most attractive prostitute may be a woman who, possessing few sexual needs of her own, desires to please by the charm of her personality; these are among those who most often find good husbands. There are many men who are even well content merely to have a few hours' free intimacy with an agreeable woman, without any further favor, although that may be open to them. For a very large number of men under urban conditions of existence the prostitute is ceasing to be the degraded instrument of a moment's lustful desire; they seek an agreeable human person with whom they may find relaxation from the daily stress or routine of life. When an act of prostitution is thus put on a humane basis, although it by no means thereby becomes conducive to the best development of either party, it at least ceases to be hopelessly degrading. Otherwise it would not have been possible for religious prostitution to flourish for so long in ancient days among honorable women of good birth on the shores of the Mediterranean, even in regions like Lydia, where the position of women was peculiarly high.[1]

It is true that the monetary side of prostitution would still exist. But it is possible to exaggerate its importance. It must

[1] "Towns like Woolwich, Aldershot, Portsmouth, Plymouth," it has been said, "abound with wretched, filthy monsters that bear no resemblance to women; but it is drink, scorn, brutality and disease which have reduced them to this state, not the mere fact of associating with men."

be pointed out that, though it is usual to speak of the prostitute as a woman who "sells herself," this is rather a crude and inexact way of expressing, in its typical form, the relationship of a prostitute to her client. A prostitute is not a commodity with a market-price, like a loaf or a leg of mutton. She is much more on a level with people belonging to the professional classes, who accept fees in return for services rendered; the amount of the fee varies, on the one hand in accordance with professional standing, on the other hand in accordance with the client's means, and under special circumstances may be graciously dispensed with altogether. Prostitution places on a venal basis intimate relationships which ought to spring up from natural love, and in so doing degrades them. But strictly speaking there is in such a case no "sale." To speak of a prostitute "selling herself" is scarcely even a pardonable rhetorical exaggeration; it is both inexact and unjust.[1]

This tendency in an advanced civilization towards the humanization of prostitution is the reverse process, we may note, to that which takes place at an earlier stage of civilization when the ancient conception of the religious dignity of prostitution begins to fall into disrepute. When men cease to reverence women who are prostitutes in the service of a goddess they set up in their place prostitutes who are merely abject slaves, flattering themselves that they are thereby working in the cause of "progress" and "morality." On the shores of the Mediterranean this process took place more than two thousand years ago, and is associated with the name of Solon. To-day we may see the same process going on in India. In some parts of India (as at Jejuri, near Poonah) first born girls are dedicated to Khandoba or other gods; they are married to the god and termed *muralis*. They serve in the temple, sweep it, and wash

[1] "The contract of prostitution in the opinion of prostitutes themselves," Bernaldo de Quiros and Llanas Aguilaniedo remark (*La Mala Vida en Madrid*, p. 254), "cannot be assimilated to a sale, nor to a contract of work, nor to any other form of barter recognized by the civil law. They consider that in these pacts there always enters an element which makes it much more like a gift in a matter in which no payment could be adequate. 'A woman's body is without price' is an axiom of prostitution. The money placed in the hands of her who procures the satisfaction of sexual desire is not the price of the act, but an offering which the priestess of Venus applies to her maintenance." To the Spaniard, as true, every transaction which resembles trade is repugnant, but the principle underlying this feeling holds good of prostitution generally.

the holy vessels, also they dance, sing and prostitute themselves. They are forbidden to marry, and they live in the homes of their parents, brothers, or sisters; being consecrated to religious service, they are untouched by degradation. Nowadays, however, Indian "reformers," in the name of "civilization and science," seek to persuade the *muralis* that they are "plunged in a career of degradation." No doubt in time the would-be moralists will drive the *muralis* out of their temples and their homes, deprive them of all self-respect, and convert them into wretched outcasts, all in the cause of "science and civilization" (see, *e.g.*, an article by Mrs. Kashibai Deodhar, *The New Reformer*, October, 1907). So it is that early reformers create for the reformers of a later day the task of humanizing prostitution afresh.

There can be no doubt that this more humane conception of prostitution is to-day beginning to be realized in the actual civilized life of Europe. Thus in writing of prostitution in Paris, Dr. Robert Michels ("Erotische Streifzüge," *Mutterschutz*, 1906, Heft 9, p. 368) remarks: "While in Germany the prostitute is generally considered as an 'outcast' creature, and treated accordingly, an instrument of masculine lust to be used and thrown away, and whom one would under no circumstances recognize in public, in France the prostitute plays in many respects the part which once give significance and fame to the *hetairæ* of Athens." And after describing the consideration and respect which the Parisian prostitute is often able to require of her friends, and the non-sexual relation of comradeship which she can enter into with other men, the writer continues: "A girl who certainly yields herself for money, but by no means for the first comer's money, and who, in addition to her 'business friends,' feels the need of, so to say, non-sexual companions with whom she can associate in a free comrade-like way, and by whom she is treated and valued as a free human being, is not wholly lost for the moral worth of humanity." All prostitution is bad, Michels concludes, but we should have reason to congratulate ourselves if love-relationships of this Parisian species represented the lowest known form of extra-conjugal sexuality. (As bearing on the relative consideration accorded to prostitutes I may mention that a Paris prostitute remarked to a friend of mine that Englishmen would ask her questions which no Frenchman would venture to ask.)

It is not, however, only in Paris, although here more markedly and prominently, that this humanizing change in prostitution is beginning to make itself felt. It is manifested, for instance, in the greater openness of a man's sexual life. "While he formerly slinked into a brothel in a remote street," Dr. Willy Hellpach remarks (*Nervosität und Kultur*, p. 169), "he now walks abroad with his 'liaison,' visiting the theatres and cafés, without indeed any anxiety to meet his acquaintances, but with no embarrassment on that point. The thing is becoming more com-

monplace, more—natural." It is also, Hellpach proceeds to point out, thus becoming more moral also, and much unwholesome prudery and pruriency is being done away with.

In England, where change is slow, this tendency to the humanization of prostitution may be less pronounced. But it certainly exists. In the middle of the last century Lecky wrote (*History of European Morals*, vol. ii, p. 285) that habitual prostitution "is in no other European country so hopelessly vicious or so irrevocable." That statement, which was also made by Parent-Duchâtelet and other foreign observers, is fully confirmed by the evidence on record. But it is a statement which would hardly be made to-day, except prehaps, in reference to special confined areas of our cities. It is the same in America, and we may doubtless find this tendency reflected in the report on *The Social Evil* (1902), drawn up by a committee in New York, who gave it (p. 176) as one of their chief recommendations that prostitution should no longer be regarded as a crime, in which light, one gathers, it had formerly been regarded in New York. That may seem but a small step in the path of humanization, but it is in the right direction.

It is by no means only in lands of European civilization that we may trace with developing culture the refinement and humanization of the slighter bonds of relationship with women. In Japan exactly the same demands led, several centuries ago, to the appearance of the geisha. In the course of an interesting and precise study of the geisha Mr. R T Farrer remarks (*Nineteenth Century*, April, 1904): "The geisha is in no sense necessarily a courtesan. She is a woman educated to attract; perfected from her childhood in all the intricacies of Japanese literature; practiced in wit and repartee; inured to the rapid give and-take of conversation on every topic, human and divine. From her earliest youth she is broken into an inviolable charm of manner incomprehensible to the finest European, yet she is almost invariably a blossom of the lower classes, with dumpy claws, and squat, ugly nails. Her education physical and moral, is far harder than that of the *ballerina*, and her success is achieved only after years of struggle and a bitter agony of torture. . . . . And the geisha's social position may be compared with that of the European actress. The Geisha-house offers prizes as desirable as any of the Western stage. A great geisha with twenty nobles sitting round her, contending for her laughter, and kept in constant check by the flashing bodkin of her wit, holds a position no less high and famous than that of Sarah Bernhardt in her prime She is equally sought, equally flattered, quite as madly adored, that quiet little elderly plain girl in dull blue. But she is prized thus primarily for her tongue, whose power only ripens fully as her physical charms decline. She demands vast sums for her owners, and even so often appears and dances only at her own pleasure. Few, if any, Westerners ever see a

really famous geisha. She is too great to come before a European, except for an august or imperial command. Finally she may, and frequently does, marry into exalted places. In all this there is not the slightest necessity for any illicit relation."

In some respects the position of the ancient Greek *hetaira* was more analogus to that of the Japanese *geisha* than to that of the prostitute in the strict sense. For the Greeks, indeed, the *hetaira*, was not strictly a *porne* or prostitute at all. The name meant friend or companion, and the woman to whom the name was applied held an honorable position, which could not be accorded to the mere prostitute. Athenæus (Bk. xiii, Chs. XXVIII-XXX) brings together passages showing that the *hetaira* could be regarded as an independent citizen, pure, simple, and virtuous, altogether distinct from the common crew of prostitutes, though these might ape her name. The *hetairæ* "were almost the only Greek women," says Donaldson (*Woman*, p. 59), "who exhibited what was best and noblest in women's nature." This fact renders it more intelligible why a woman of such intellectual distinction as Aspasia should have been a *hetaira*. There seems little doubt as to her intellectual distinction. "Æschines, in his dialogue entitled 'Aspasia,'" writes Gomperz, the historian of Greek philosophy (*Greek Thinkers*, vol. iii, pp. 124 and 343), "puts in the mouth of that distinguished woman an incisive criticism of the mode of life traditional for her sex. It would be exceedingly strange," Gomperz adds, in arguing that an inference may thus be drawn concerning the historical Aspasia, "if three authors—Plato, Xenophon and Æschines—had agreed in fictitiously enduing the companion of Pericles with what we might very reasonably have expected her to possess—a highly cultivated mind and intellectual influence." It is even possible that the movement for woman's right which, as we dimly divine through the pages of Aristophanes, took place in Athens in the fourth century B. C., was led by *hetairæ*. According to Ivo Bruns (*Frauenemancipation in Athen*, 1900, p. 19) "the most certain information which we possess concerning Aspasia bears a strong resemblance to the picture which Euripides and Aristophanes present to us of the leaders of the woman movement." It was the existence of this movement which made Plato's ideas on the community of women appear far less absurd than they do to us. It may perhaps be thought by some that this movement represented on a higher plane that love of distruction, or, as we should better say, that spirit of revolt and aspiration, which Simmel finds to mark the intellectual and artistic activity of those who are unclassed or dubiously classed in the social hierarchy. Ninon de Lenclos, as we have seen, was not strictly a courtesan, but she was a pioneer in the assertion of woman's rights. Aphra Behn who, a little later in England, occupied a similarly dubious social position, was likewise a pioneer in generous humanitarian aspirations, which have since been adopted in the world at large.

These refinements of prostitution may be said to be chiefly the outcome of the late and more developed stages in civilization. As Schurtz has put it (*Altersklassen und Männerbünde*, p. 191): "The cheerful, skilful and artistically accomplished *hetaira* frequently stands as an ideal figure in opposition to the intellectually uncultivated wife banished to the interior of the house. The courtesan of the Italian Renaissance, Japanese geishas, Chinese flower-girls, and Indian bayaderas, all show some not unnoble features, the breath of a free artistic existence. They have achieved—with, it is true, the sacrifice of their highest worth—an independence from the oppressive rule of man and of household duties, and a part of the feminine endowment which is so often crippled comes in them to brilliant development. Prostitution in its best form may thus offer a path by which these feminine characteristics may exert a certain influence on the development of civilization. We may also believe that the artistic activity of women is in some measure able to offer a counterpoise to the otherwise less pleasant results of sexual abandonment, preventing the coarsening and destruction of the emotional life; in his *Magda* Sudermann has described a type of woman who, from the standpoint of strict morality, is open to condemnation, but in her art finds a foothold, the strength of which even ill-will must unwillingly recognize." In his *Sex and Character*, Weininger has developed in a more extreme and extravagant manner the conception of the prostitute as a fundamental and essential part of life, a permanent feminine type.

There are others, apparently in increasing numbers, who approach the problem of prostitution not from an æsthetic standpoint but from a moral standpoint. This moral attitude is not, however, that conventionalized morality of Cato and St. Augustine and Lecky, set forth in previous pages, according to which the prostitute in the street must be accepted as the guardian of the wife in the home. These moralists reject indeed the claim of that belief to be considered moral at all. They hold that it is not morally possible that the honor of some women shall be purchaseable at the price of the dishonor of other women, because at such a price virtue loses all moral worth. When they read that, as Goncourt stated, "the most luxurious articles of women's *trousseaux*, the bridal chemises of girls with dowries of six hundred thousand francs, are made in the prison of Clairvaux,"[1] they see the symbol of the intimate dependence of our luxurious

[1] *Journal des Goncourt*, vol. iii; this was in 1866.

virtue on our squalid vice. And while they accept the historical and sociological evidence which shows that prostitution is an inevitable part of the marriage system which still survives among us, they ask whether it is not possible so to modify our marriage system that it shall not be necessary to divide feminine humanity into "disreputable" women, who make sacrifices which it is dishonorable to make, and "respectable" women, who take sacrifices which it cannot be less dishonorable to accept.

Prostitutes, a distinguished man of science has said (Duclaux, *L'Hygiène Sociale*, p. 243), "have become things which the public uses when it wants them, and throws on the dungheap when it has made them vile. In its pharisaism it even has the insolence to treat their trade as shameful, as though it were not just as shameful to buy as to sell in this market." Bloch (*Sexuelleben unserer Zeit*, Ch. XV) insists that prostitution must be ennobled, and that only so can it be even diminished. Isidore Dyer, of New Orleans, also argues that we cannot check prostitution unless we create "in the minds of men and women a spirit of tolerance instead of intolerance of fallen women." This point may be illustrated by a remark by the prostitute author of the *Tagebuch einer Verlorenen*. "If the profession of yielding the body ceased to be a shameful one," she wrote, "the army of 'unfortunates' would diminish by four-fifths—I will even say nine-tenths. Myself, for example! How gladly would I take a situation as companion or governess!" "One of two things," wrote the eminent sociologist Tarde ("La Morale Sexuelle," *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, January, 1907), "either prostitution will disappear through continuing to be dishonorable and will be replaced by some other institution which will better remedy the defects of monogamous marriage, or it will survive by becoming respectable, that is to say, by making itself respected, whether liked or disliked." Tarde thought this might perhaps come about by a better organization of prostitutes, a more careful selection among those who desired admission to their ranks and the cultivation of professional virtues which would raise their moral level. "If courtesans fulfil a need," Balzac had already said in his *Physiologie du Mariage*, "they must become an institution."

This moral attitude is supported and enforced by the inevitable democratic tendency of civilization which, although it by no means destroys the idea of class, undermines that idea as the mark of fundamental human distinctions and renders it superficial. Prostitution no longer makes a woman a slave; it ought not to make her even a pariah: "My body is my own," said

the young German prostitute of to-day, "and what I do with it is nobody else's concern." When the prostitute was literally a slave moral duty towards her was by no means necessarily identical with moral duty towards the free woman. But when, even in the same family, the prostitute may be separated by a great and impassable social gulf from her married sister, it becomes possible to see, and in the opinion of many imperatively necessary to see, that a readjustment of moral values is required. For thousands of years prostitution has been defended on the ground that the prostitute is necessary to ensure the "purity of women." In a democratic age it begins to be realized that prostitutes also are women.

The developing sense of a fundamental human equality underlying the surface divisions of class tends to make the usual attitude towards the prostitute, the attitude of her clients even more than that of society generally, seem painfully cruel. The callous and coarsely frivolous tone of so many young men about prostitutes, it has been said, is "simply cruelty of a peculiarly brutal kind," not to be discerned in any other relation of life.[1] And if this attitude is cruel even in speech it is still more cruel in action, whatever attempts may be made to disguise its cruelty.

Canon Lyttleton's remarks may be taken to refer chiefly to young men of the upper middle class. Concerning what is perhaps the usual attitude of lower middle class people towards prostitution, I may quote from a remarkable communication which has reached me from Australia: "What are the views of a young man brought up in a middle-class Christian English family on prostitutes? Take my father, for instance. He first mentioned prostitutes to me, if I remember rightly, when speaking of his life before marriage. And he spoke of them as he would speak of a horse he had hired, paid for, and dismissed from his mind when it had rendered him service. Although my mother was so kind and good she spoke of abandoned women with disgust and scorn as of some unclean animal. As it flatters vanity and pride to be able with good countenance and universal consent to look down on something, I soon grasped the situation and adopted an attitude which is, in the main, that of most

[1] Rev. the Hon. C. Lyttleton, *Training of the Young in Laws of Sex*. p. 42.

middle-class Christian Englishmen towards prostitutes. But as puberty develops this attitude has to be accommodated with the wish to make use of this scum, these moral lepers. The ordinary young man, who likes a spice of immorality and has it when in town, and thinks it is not likely to come to his mother's or sisters' ears, does not get over his arrogance and disgust or abate them in the least. He takes them with him, more or less disguised, to the brothel, and they color his thoughts and actions all the time he is sleeping with prostitutes, or kissing them, or passing his hands over them, as he would over a mare, getting as much as he can for his money. To tell the truth, on the whole, that was my attitude too. But if anyone had asked me for the smallest reason for this attitude, for this feeling of superiority, pride, *hauteur*, and prejudice, I should, like any other 'respectable' young man, have been entirely at a loss, and could only have gaped foolishly."

From the modern moral standpoint which now concerns us, not only is the cruelty involved in the dishonor of the prostitute absurd, but not less absurd, and often not less cruel, seems the honor bestowed on the respectable women on the other side of the social gulf. It is well recognized that men sometimes go to prostitutes to gratify the excitement aroused by fondling their betrothed.[1] As the emotional and physical results of ungratified excitement are not infrequently more serious in women than in men, the betrothed women in these cases are equally justified in seeking relief from other men, and the vicious circle of absurdity might thus be completed.

From the point of view of the modern moralist there is another consideration which was altogether overlooked in the conventional and traditional morality we have inherited, and was indeed practically non-existent in the ancient days when that morality was still a living reality. Women are no longer divided only into the two groups of wives who are to be honored, and prostitutes who are the dishonored guardians of that honor; there is a large third class of women who are neither wives nor prosti-

[1] See, *e.g.*, R. W. Taylor, *Treatise on Sexual Disorders*, 1897, pp. 74-5. Georg Hirth (*Wege zur Heimat*, 1909, p. 619) narrates the case of a young officer who, being excited by the caresses of his betrothed and having too much respect for her to go further than this, and too much respect for himself to resort to masturbation, knew nothing better than to go to a prostitute. Syphilis developed a few days after the wedding. Hirth adds, briefly, that the results were terrible.

tutes. For this group of the unmarried virtuous the traditional morality had no place at all; it simply ignored them. But the new moralist, who is learning to recognize both the claims of the individual and the claims of society, begins to ask whether on the one hand these women are not entitled to the satisfaction of their affectional and emotional impulses if they so desire, and on the other hand whether, since a high civilization involves a diminished birth-rate, the community is not entitled to encourage every healthy and able-bodied woman to contribute to maintain the birth-rate when she so desires.

All the considerations briefly indicated in the preceding pages—the fundamental sense of human equality generated by our civilization, the repugnance to cruelty which accompanies the refinement of urban life, the ugly contrast of extremes which shock our developing democratic tendencies, the growing sense of the rights of the individual to authority over his own person, the no less strongly emphasized right of the community to the best that the individual can yield—all these considerations are every day more strongly influencing the modern moralist to assume towards the prostitute an attitude altogether different from that of the morality which we derived from Cato and Augustine. He sees the question in a larger and more dynamic manner. Instead of declaring that it is well worth while to tolerate and at the same time to contemn the prostitute, in order to preserve the sanctity of the wife in her home, he is not only more inclined to regard each as the proper guardian of her own moral freedom, but he is less certain about the time-honored position of the prostitute, and moreover, by no means sure that the wife in the home may not be fully as much in need of rescuing as the prostitute in the street; he is prepared to consider whether reform in this matter is not most likely to take place in the shape of a fairer apportionment of sexual privileges and sexual duties to women generally, with an inevitably resultant elevation in the sexual lives of men also.

The revolt of many serious reformers against the injustice and degradation now involved by our system of prostitution is so profound that some have declared themselves ready to accept any revolution of

ideas which would bring about a more wholesome transmutation of moral values. "Better indeed were a saturnalia of *free* men and women," exclaims Edward Carpenter (*Love's Coming of Age*, p. 62), "than the spectacle which, as it is, our great cities present at night."

Even those who would be quite content with as conservative a treatment as possible of social institutions still cannot fail to realize that prostitution is unsatisfactory, unless we are content to make very humble claims of the sexual act. "The act of prostitution," Godfrey declares (*The Science of Sex*, p. 202), "may be physiologically complete. but it is complete in no other sense. All the moral and intellectual factors which combine with physical desire to form the perfect sexual attraction are absent. All the higher elements of love—admiration, respect, honor, and self-sacrificing devotion—are as foreign to prostitution as to the egoistic act of masturbation. The principal drawbacks to the morality of the act lie in its associations more than in the act itself. Any affectional quality which a more or less promiscuous connection might possess is at once destroyed by the intrusion of the monetary element. In the resulting degradation the woman has the largest share, since it makes her a pariah and involves her in all the hardening and depraving influences of social ostracism. But her degradation only serves to render her influence on her partners more demoralizing. Prostitution," he concludes, "has a strong tendency towards emphasizing the naturally selfish attitude of men towards women, and encouraging them in the delusion, born of unregulated passions, that the sexual act itself is the aim and end of the sex life. Prostitution can therefore make no claim to afford even a temporary solution to the sex problem. It fulfils only that mission which has made it a 'necessary evil'—the mission of palliative to the physical rigors of celibacy and monogamy. It does so at the cost of a considerable amount of physical and moral deterioration. much of which is undoubtedly due to the action of society in completing the degradation of the prostitute by persistent ostracism. Prostitution was not so great an evil when it was not thought so great, yet even at its best it was a real evil, a melancholy and sordid travesty of sincere and natural passional relations. It is an evil which we are bound to have with us so long as celibacy is a custom and monogamy a law." It is the wife as well as the prostitute who is degraded by a system which makes venal love possible. "The time has gone past," the same writer remarks elsewhere (p. 195) "when a mere ceremony can really sanctify what is base and transform lust and greed into the sincerity of sexual affection. If, to enter into sexual connections with a man for a solely material end is a disgrace to humanity, it is a disgrace under the marriage bond just as much as apart from the hypocritical blessing of the church or the law. If the public prostitute is a being who deserves to be treated as a pariah, it is hopelessly irrational to withhold every sort

of moral opprobrium from the woman who leads a similar life under a different set of external circumstances. Either the prostitute wife must come under the moral ban, or there must be an end to the complete ostracism under which the prostitute labors."

The thinker who more clearly and fundamentally than others, and first of all, realized the dynamical relationships of prostitution, as dependent upon a change in the other social relationships of life, was James Hinton. More than thirty years ago, in fragmentary writings that still remain unpublished, since he never worked them into an orderly form, Hinton gave vigorous and often passionate expression to this fundamental idea. It may be worth while to quote a few brief passages from Hinton's MSS.: "I feel that the laws of force should hold also amid the waves of human passion, that the relations of mechanics are true, and will rule also in human life. . . . . There is a tension, a crushing of the soul, by our modern life, and it is ready for a sudden spring to a different order in which the forces shall rearrange themselves. It is a dynamical question presented in moral terms. . . . . Keeping a portion of the woman population without prospect of marriage means having prostitutes, that is women as instruments of man's mere sensuality, and this means the killing, in many of them, of all pure love or capacity of it. This is the fact we have to face. . . . . To-day I saw a young woman whose life was being consumed by her want of love, a case of threatened utter misery: now see the price at which we purchase her ill-health; for her ill health we pay the crushing of another girl into hell. We give that for it; her wretchedness of soul and body are bought by prostitution; we have prostitutes made for that. . . . . We devote some women recklessly to perdition to make a hothouse Heaven for the rest. . . . . One wears herself out in vainly trying to endure pleasures she is not strong enough to enjoy, while other women are perishing for lack of these very pleasures. If marriage is this, is it not embodied lust? The happy Christian homes are the true dark places of the earth. . . . . Prostitution for man, restraint for woman—they are two sides of the same thing, and both are denials of love, like luxury and asceticism. The mountains of restraint must be used to fill up the abysses of luxury."

Some of Hinton's views were set forth by a writer intimately acquainted with him in a pamphlet entitled *The Future of Marriage: An Eirenicon for a Question of To day*, by a Respectable Woman (1885) "When once the conviction is forced home upon the 'good' women," the writer remarks, "that their place of honor and privilege rests upon the degradation of others as its basis, they will never rest till they have either abandoned it or sought for it some other pedestal. If our inflexible marriage system has for its essential condition the existence side by side with it of prostitution, then one of two things follows: either pros-

titution must be shown to be compatible with the well-being, moral and physical, of the women who practice it, or our marriage system must be condemned. If it was clearly put before anyone, he could not seriously assert that to be 'virtue' which could only be practiced at the expense of another's vice. . . . . Whilst the laws of physics are becoming so universally recognized that no one dreams of attempting to annihilate a particle of matter, or of force, yet we do not instinctively apply the same conception to moral forces, but think and act as if we could simply do away with an evil, while leaving unchanged that which gives it its strength. This is the only view of the social problem which can give us hope. That prostitution should simply cease, leaving everything else as it is, would be disastrous if it were possible. But it is not possible. The weakness of all existing efforts to put down prostitution is that they are directed against it as an isolated thing, whereas it is only one of the symptoms proceeding from a common disease."

Ellen Key, who during recent years has been the chief apostle of a gospel of sexual morality based on the needs of women as the mothers of the race, has, in a somewhat similar spirit, denounced alike prostitution and rigid marriage, declaring (in her *Essays on Love and Marriage*) that "the development of erotic personal consciousness is as much hindered by socially regulated 'morality' as by socially regulated 'immorality,'" and that "the two lowest and socially sanctioned expressions of sexual dualism, rigid marriage and prostitution, will gradually become impossible, because with the conquest of the idea of erotic unity they will no longer correspond to human needs."

We may sum up the present situation as regards prostitution by saying that on the one hand there is a tendency for its elevation, in association with the growing humanity and refinement of civilization, characteristics which must inevitably tend to mark more and more both those women who become prostitutes and those men who seek them; on the other hand, but perhaps through the same dynamic force, there is a tendency towards the slow elimination of prostitution by the successful competition of higher and purer methods of sexual relationship freed from pecuniary considerations. This refinement and humanization, this competition by better forms of sexual love, are indeed an essential part of progress as civilization becomes more truly sound, wholesome, and sincere.

This moral change cannot, it seems probable, fail to be accompanied by the realization that the facts of human life are

more important than the forms. For all changes from lower to higher social forms, from savagery to civilization, are accompanied—in so far as they are vital changes—by a slow and painful groping towards the truth that it is only in natural relations that sanity and sanctity can be found, for, as Nietzsche said, the "return" to Nature should rather be called the "ascent." Only so can we achieve the final elimination from our hearts of that clinging tradition that there is any impurity or dishonor in acts of love for which the reasonable, and not merely the conventional, conditions have been fulfilled. For it is vain to attempt to cleanse our laws, or even our by-laws, until we have first cleansed our hearts.

It would be out of place here to push further the statement of the moral question as it is to-day beginning to shape itself in the sphere of sex. In a psychological discussion we are only concerned to set down the actual attitude of the moralist, and of civilization. The practical outcome of that attitude must be left to moralists and sociologists and the community generally to work out.

Our inquiry has also, it may be hoped, incidentally tended to show that in practically dealing with the question of prostitution it is pre-eminently necessary to remember the warning which, as regards many other social problems, has been embodied by Herbert Spencer in his famous illustration of the bent iron plate. In trying to make the bent plate smooth, it is useless, Spencer pointed out, to hammer directly on the buckled up part; if we do so we merely find that we have made matters worse; our hammering, to be effective, must be around, and not directly on, the offensive elevation we wish to reduce. only so can the iron plate be hammered smooth.[1] But this elementary

[1] It is an oft-quoted passage but can scarcely be quoted too often: "You see that this wrought iron plate is not quite flat: it sticks up a little, here towards the left—'cockles,' as we say. How shall we flatten it? Obviously, you reply, by hitting down on the part that is prominent. Well, here is a hammer, and I give the plate a blow as you advise. Harder, you say. Still no effect. Another stroke? Well there is one, and another, and another. The prominence remains, you see the evil is as great as ever—greater, indeed. But that is not all. Look at the warp which the plate has got near the opposite edge. Where it was

law has not been understood by moralists. The plain, practical, common-sense reformer, as he fancied himself to be—from the time of Charlemagne onwards—has over and over again brought his heavy fist directly down on to the evil of prostitution and has always made matters worse. It is only by wisely working outside and around the evil that we can hope to lessen it effectually. By aiming to develop and raise the relationships of men to women, and of women to women, by modifying our notions of sexual relationships, and by introducing a saner and truer conception of womanhood and of the responsibilities of women as well as of men, by attaining, socially as well as economically, a higher level of human living—it is only by such methods as these that we can reasonably expect to see any diminution and alleviation of the evil of prostitution. So long as we are incapable of such methods we must be content with the prostitution we deserve, learning to treat it with the pity, and the respect, which so intimate a failure of our civilization is entitled to.

flat before it is now curved. A pretty bungle we have made of it. Instead of curing the original defect we have produced a second. Had we asked an artisan practiced in 'planishing,' as it is called, he would have told us that no good was to be done, but only mischief, by hitting down on the projecting part. He would have taught us how to give variously-directed and specially-adjusted blows with a hammer elsewhere: so attacking the evil, not by direct, but by indirect actions. The required process is less simple than you thought. Even a sheet of metal is not to be successfully dealt with after those common-sense methods in which you have so much confidence. What, then, shall we say about a society? . . . . Is humanity more readily straightened than an iron plate?" (*The Study of Sociology*, p. 270.)

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CONQUEST OF THE VENEREAL DISEASES.

The Significance of the Venereal Diseases—The History of Syphilis—The Problem of Its Origin—The Social Gravity of Syphilis—The Social Dangers of Gonorrhœa—The Modern Change in the Methods of Combating Venereal Diseases—Causes of the Decay of the System of Police Regulation—Necessity of Facing the Facts—The Innocent Victims of Venereal Diseases—Diseases Not Crimes—The Principle of Notification—The Scandinavian System—Gratuitous Treatment—Punishment for Transmitting Venereal Diseases—Sexual Education in Relation to Venereal Diseases—Lectures, Etc.—Discussion in Novels and on the Stage—The "Disgusting" Not the "Immoral."

It may, perhaps, excite surprise that in the preceding discussion of prostitution scarcely a word has been said of venereal diseases. In the eyes of many people, the question of prostitution is simply the question of syphilis. But from the psychological point of view with which we are directly concerned, as from the moral point of view with which we cannot fail to be indirectly concerned, the question of the diseases which may be, and so frequently are, associated with prostitution cannot be placed in the first line of significance. The two questions, however intimately they may be mingled, are fundamentally distinct. Not only would venereal diseases still persist even though prostitution had absolutely ceased, but, on the other hand, when we have brought syphilis under the same control as we have brought the somewhat analogous disease of leprosy, the problem of prostitution would still remain.

Yet, even from the standpoint which we here occupy, it is scarcely possible to ignore the question of venereal disease, for the psychological and moral aspects of prostitution, and even the whole question of the sexual relationships, are, to some extent, affected by the existence of the serious diseases which are specially liable to be propagated by sexual intercourse.

Fournier, one of the leading authorities on this subject has well said that syphilis, alcoholism, and tuberculosis are the three

modern plagues. At a much earlier period (1851) Schopenhauer in *Parerga und Paralipomena* had expressed the opinion that the two things which mark modern social life, in distinction from that of antiquity, and to the advantage of the latter, are the knightly principle of honor and venereal disease; together, he added, they have poisoned life, and introduced a hostile and even diabolical element into the relations of the sexes, which has indirectly affected all other social relationships.[1] It is like a merchandise, says Havelburg, of syphilis, which civilization has everywhere carried, so that only a very few remote districts of the globe (as in Central Africa and Central Brazil) are to-day free from it.[2]

It is undoubtedly true that in the older civilized countries the manifestations of syphilis, though still severe and a cause of physical deterioration in the individual and the race, are less severe than they were even a generation ago.[3] This is partly the result of earlier and better treatment, partly, it is possible, the result also of the syphilization of the race, some degree of immunity having now become an inherited possession, although it must be remembered that an attack of syphilis does not necessarily confer immunity from the actual attack of the disease even in the same individual. But it must be added that, even though it has become less severe, syphilis, in the opinion of many, is nevertheless still spreading, even in the chief centres of civilization; this has been noted alike in Paris and in London.[4]

[1] It is probable that Schopenhauer felt a more than merely speculative interest in this matter. Bloch has shown good reason for believing that Schopenhauer himself contracted syphilis in 1813, and that this was a factor in constituting his conception of the world and in confirming his constitutional pessimism (*Medizinische Klinik*, Nos. 25 and 26, 1906).

[2] Havelburg, in Senator and Kaminer, *Health and Disease in Relation to Marriage*, vol. i, pp. 186-189.

[3] This is the very definite opinion of Lowndes after an experience of fifty-four years in the treatment of venereal diseases in Liverpool (*British Medical Journal*, Feb. 9, 1907, p. 334). It is further indicated by the fact (if it is a real fact) that since 1876 there has been a decline of both the infantile and general mortality from syphilis in England.

[4] "There is no doubt whatever that syphilis is on the increase in London, judging from hospital work alone," says Pernet (*British Medical Journal*, March 30, 1907). Syphilis was evidently very prevalent, however, a century or two ago, and there is no ground for asserting positively that it is more prevalent to-day.

According to the belief which is now tending to prevail, syphilis was brought to Europe at the end of the fifteenth century by the first discoverers of America. In Seville, the chief European port for America, it was known as the Indian disease, but when Charles VIII and his army first brought it to Italy in 1495, although this connection with the French was only accidental, it was called the Gallic disease, "a monstrous disease," said Cataneus, "never seen in previous centuries and altogether unknown in the world."

The synonyms of syphilis were at first almost innumerable. It was in his Latin poem *Syphilis sive Morbus Gallicus*, written before 1521 and published at Verona in 1530, that Fracastorus finally gave the disease its now universally accepted name, inventing a romantic myth to account for its origin.

Although the weight of authoritative opinion now seems to incline towards the belief that syphilis was brought to Europe from America, on the discovery of the New World, it is only within quite recent years that that belief has gained ground, and it scarcely even yet seems certain that what the Spaniards brought back from America was really a disease absolutely new to the Old World, and not a more virulent form of an old disease of which the manifestations had become benign. Buret, for instance (*Le Syphilis Aujourd'hui et chez les Anciens*, 1890), who some years ago reached "the deep conviction that syphilis dates from the creation of man," and believed, from a minute study of classic authors, that syphilis existed in Rome under the Cæsars, was of opinion that it has broken out at different places and at different times, in epidemic bursts exhibiting different combinations of its manifold symptoms, so that it passed unnoticed at ordinary times, and at the times of its more intense manifestation was looked upon as a hitherto unknown disease. It was thus regarded in classic times, he considers, as coming from Egypt, though he looked upon its real home as Asia. Leopold Glück has likewise quoted (*Archiv für Dermatologie und Syphilis*, January, 1899) passages from the medical epigrams of a sixteenth century physician, Gabriel Ayala, declaring that syphilis is not really a new disease, though popularly supposed to be so, but an old disease which has broken out with hitherto unknown violence. There is, however, no conclusive reason for believing that syphilis was known at all in classic antiquity. A. V. Notthaft ("Die Legende von der Althertums-syphilis," in the Rindfleisch *Festschrift*, 1907, pp. 377-592) has critically investigated the passages in classic authors which were supposed by Rosenbaum, Buret,

Proksch and others to refer to syphilis. It is quite true, Notthaft admits, that many of these passages might possibly refer to syphilis, and one or two would even better fit syphilis than any other disease. But, on the whole, they furnish no proof at all, and no syphilologist, he concludes, has ever succeeded in demonstrating that syphilis was known in antiquity. That belief is a legend. The most damning argument against it, Notthaft points out, is the fact that, although in antiquity there were great physicians who were keen observers, not one of them gives any description of the primary, secondary, tertiary, and congenital forms of this disease. China is frequently mentioned as the original home of syphilis, but this belief is also quite without basis, and the Japanese physician, Okamura, has shown (*Monatsschrift für praktische Dermatologie*, vol. xxviii, pp. 296 *et seq.*) that Chinese records reveal nothing relating to syphilis earlier than the sixteenth century. At the Paris Academy of Medicine in 1900 photographs from Egypt were exhibited by Fouquet of human remains which date from B. C. 2400, showing bone lesions which seemed to be clearly syphilitic; Fournier, however, one of the greatest of authorities, considered that the diagnosis of syphilis could not be maintained until other conditions liable to produce somewhat similar bone lesions had been eliminated (*British Medical Journal*, September 29, 1900, p. 946). In Florida and various regions of Central America, in undoubtedly pre-Columbian burial places, diseased bones have been found which good authorities have declared could not be anything else than syphilitic (*e.g.*, *British Medical Journal*, November 20, 1897, p. 1487), though it may be noted that so recently as 1899 the cautious Virchow stated that pre-Columbian syphilis in America was still for him an open question (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Heft 2 and 3, 1899, p. 216). From another side, Seler, the distinguished authority on Mexican antiquity, shows (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1895, Heft 5, p. 449) that the ancient Mexicans were acquainted with a disease which, as they described it, might well have been syphilis. It is obvious, however, that while the difficulty of demonstrating syphilitic diseased bones in America is as great as in Europe, the demonstration, however complete, would not suffice to show that the disease had not already an existence also in the Old World. The plausible theory of Ayala that fifteenth century syphilis was a virulent recrudescence of an ancient disease has frequently been revived in more modern times. Thus J. Knott ("The Origin of Syphilis," *New York Medical Journal*, October 31, 1908) suggests that though not new in fifteenth century Europe, it was then imported afresh in a form rendered more aggravated by coming from an exotic race, as is believed often to be the case.

It was in the eighteenth century that Jean Astruc began the rehabilitation of the belief that syphilis is really a comparatively modern disease of American origin, and since then various authorities of

weight have given their adherence to this view. It is to the energy and learning of Dr. Iwan Bloch, of Berlin (the first volume of whose important work, *Der Ursprung der Syphilis*, was published in 1901) that we owe the fullest statement of the evidence in favor of the American origin of syphilis. Bloch regards Ruy Diaz de Isla, a distinguished Spanish physician, as the weightiest witness for the Indian origin of the disease, and concludes that it was brought to Europe by Columbus's men from Central America, more precisely from the Island of Haiti, to Spain in 1493 and 1494, and immediately afterwards was spread by the armies of Charles VIII in an epidemic fashion over Italy and the other countries of Europe.

It may be added that even if we have to accept the theory that the central regions of America constitute the place of origin of European syphilis, we still have to recognize that syphilis has spread in the North American continent very much more slowly and partially than it has in Europe, and even at the present day there are American Indian tribes among whom it is unknown Holder, on the basis of his own experiences among Indian tribes, as well as of wide inquiries among agency physicians, prepared a table showing that among some thirty tribes and groups of tribes, eighteen were almost or entirely free from venereal disease, while among thirteen it was very prevalent Almost without exception, the tribes where syphilis is rare or unknown refuse sexual intercourse with strangers, while those among whom such disease is prevalent are morally lax. It is the whites who are the source of infection among these tribes (A. B. Holder, "Gynecic Notes Among the American Indians," *American Journal of Obstetrics*, 1892. No. 1).

Syphilis is only one, certainly the most important, of a group of three entirely distinct "venereal diseases" which have only been distinguished in recent times, and so far as their precise nature and causation are concerned, are indeed only to-day beginning to be understood, although two of them were certainly known in antiquity. It is but seventy years ago since Ricord, the great French syphilologist, following Bassereau, first taught the complete independence of syphilis both from gonorrhœa and soft chancre, at the same time expounding clearly the three stages, primary, secondary and tertiary, through which syphilitic manifestations tend to pass, while the full extent of tertiary syphilitic symptoms is scarcely yet grasped, and it is only to-day beginning to be generally realized that two of the most prevalent and serious diseases of the brain and nervous system—general paralysis and

tabes dorsalis or locomotor ataxia—have their predominant though not sole and exclusive cause in the invasion of the syphilitic poison many years before. In 1879 a new stage of more precise knowledge of the venereal diseases began with Neisser's discovery of the gonococcus which is the specific cause of gonorrhœa. This was followed a few years later by the discovery by Ducrey and Unna of the bacillus of soft chancre, the least important of the venereal diseases because exclusively local in its effects. Finally, in 1905—after Metchnikoff had prepared the way by succeeding in carrying syphilis from man to monkey, and Lassar, by inoculation, from monkey to monkey—Fritz Schaudinn made his great discovery of the protozoal *Spirochæta pallida* (since sometimes called *Treponema pallidum*), which is now generally regarded as the cause of syphilis, and thus revealed the final hiding place of one of the most dangerous and insidious foes of humanity.[1]

There is no more subtle poison than that of syphilis. It is not, like small-pox or typhoid, a disease which produces a brief and sudden storm, a violent struggle with the forces of life, in which it tends, even without treatment, provided the organism is healthy, to succumb, leaving little or no traces of its ravages behind. It penetrates ever deeper and deeper into the organism, with the passage of time leading to ever new manifestations, and no tissue is safe from its attack. And so subtle is this all-pervading poison that though its outward manifestations are amenable to prolonged treatment, it is often difficult to say that the poison has been finally killed out.[2]

The immense importance of syphilis, and the chief reason

[1] See, *e.g.*, A. Neisser, *Die experimentelle Syphilisforschung*, 1906, and E. Hoffmann (who was associated with Schaudinn's discovery), *Die Aetiologie der Syphilis*, 1906; D'Arcy Power, *A System of Syphilis*, 1908, etc.; F. W. Mott, "Pathology of Syphilis in the Light of Modern Research," *British Medical Journal*, February 20, 1909; also, *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry*, vol. iv, 1909.

[2] There is some difference of opinion on this point, and though it seems probable that early and thorough treatment usually cures the disease in a few years and renders further complications highly improbable, it is not possible, even under the most favorable circumstanecs, to speak with absolute certainty as to the future.

why it is necessary to consider it here, lies in the fact that its results are not confined to the individual himself, nor even to the persons to whom he may impart it by the contagion due to contact in or out of sexual relationships: it affects the offspring, and it affects the power to produce offspring. It attacks men and women at the centre of life, as the progenitors of the coming race, inflicting either sterility or the tendency to aborted and diseased products of conception. The father alone can perhaps transmit syphilis to his child, even though the mother escapes infection, and the child born of syphilitic parents may come into the world apparently healthy only to reveal its syphilitic origin after a period of months or even years. Thus syphilis is probably a main cause of the enfeeblement of the race.[1]

Alike in the individual and in his offspring syphilis shows its deteriorating effects on all the structures of the body, but especially on the brain and nervous system. There are, as has been pointed out by Mott, a leading authority in this matter,[2] five ways in which syphilis affects the brain and nervous system: (1) by moral shock; (2) by the effects of the poison in producing anæmia and impaired general nutrition; (3) by causing inflammation of the membranes and tissues of the brain; (4) by producing arterial degeneration, leading on to brain-softening, paralysis, and dementia; (5) as a main cause of the parasyphilitic affections of general paralysis and tabes dorsalis.

It is only within recent years that medical men have recognized the preponderant part played by acquired or inherited syphilis in producing general paralysis, which so largely helps to fill lunatic asylums, and tabes dorsalis which is the most important disease of the spinal cord. Even to-day it can scarcely

[1] "That syphilis has been, and is, one of the chief causes of physical degeneration in England cannot be denied, and it is a fact that is acknowledged on all sides," writes Lieutenant-Colonel Lambkin, the medical officer in command of the London Military Hospital for Venereal Diseases. "To grapple with the treatment of syphilis among the civil population of England ought to be the chief object of those interested in that most burning question, the physical degeneration of our race" (*British Medical Journal*, August 19, 1905).

[2] F. W. Mott, "Syphilis as a Cause of Insanity," *British Medical Journal*, October 18, 1902.

be said that there is complete agreement as to the supreme importance of the factor of syphilis in these diseases. There can, however, be little doubt that in about ninety-five per cent. at least of cases of general paralysis syphilis is present.[1]

Syphilis is not indeed by itself an adequate cause of general paralysis for among many savage peoples syphilis is very common while general paralysis is very rare. It is, as Krafft-Ebing was accustomed to say, syphilization and civilization working together which produce general paralysis, perhaps in many cases, there is reason for thinking, on a nervous soil that is hereditarily degenerated to some extent; this is shown by the abnormal prevalence of congenital stigmata of degeneration found in general paralytics by Näcke and others. "Paralyticus nascitur atque fit," according to the dictum of Obersteiner. Once undermined by syphilis, the deteriorated brain is unable to resist the jars and strains of civilized life, and the result is general paralysis, truly described as "one of the most terrible scourges of modern times." In 1902 the Psychological Section of the British Medical Association, embodying the most competent English authority on this question, unanimously passed a resolution recommending that the attention of the Legislature and other public bodies should be called to the necessity for immediate action in view of the fact that "general paralysis, a very grave and frequent form of brain disease, together with other varieties of insanity, is largely due to syphilis, and is therefore preventable." Yet not a single step has yet been taken in this direction.

The dangers of syphilis lie not alone in its potency and its persistence but also in its prevalence. It is difficult to state the exact incidence of syphilis, but a great many partial investigations have been made in various countries, and it would appear that

[1] It can seldom be proved in more than eighty per cent. of cases, but in twenty per cent. of old syphilitic cases it is commonly impossible to find traces of the disease or to obtain a history of it. Crocker found that it was only in eighty per cent. of cases of absolutely certain syphilitic skin diseases that he could obtain a history of syphilitic infection and Mott found exactly the same percentage in absolutely certain syphilitic lesions of the brain; Mott believes (*e.g.* "Syphilis in Relation to the Nervous System," *British Medical Journal*, January 4, 1908) that syphilis is the essential cause of general paralysis and tabes.

from five to twenty per cent. of the population in European countries is syphilitic, while about fifteen per cent. of the syphilitic cases die from causes directly or indirectly due to the disease.[1] In France generally, Fournier estimates that seventeen per cent. of the whole population have had syphilis, and at Toulouse, Audry considers that eighteen per cent. of all his patients are syphilitic. In Copenhagen, where notification is obligatory, over four per cent. of the population are said to be syphilitic. In America a committee of the Medical Society of New York, appointed to investigate the question, reported as the result of exhaustive inquiry that in the city of New York not less than a quarter of a million of cases of venereal disease occurred every year, and a leading New York dermatologist has stated that among the better class families he knows intimately at least one-third of the sons have had syphilis. In Germany eight hundred thousand cases of venereal disease are by one authority estimated to occur yearly, and in the larger universities twenty-five per cent. of the students are infected every term, venereal disease being, however, specially common among students. The yearly number of men invalided in the German army by venereal diseases equals a third of the total number wounded in the Franco-Prussian war. Yet the German army stands fairly high as regards freedom from venereal disease when compared with the British army which is more syphilized than any other European army.[2] The British army, however, being professional and not

[1] Audry, *La Semaine Médicale*, June 26, 1907. When Europeans carry syphilis to lands inhabited by people of lower race, the results are often very much worse than this. Thus Lambkin, as a result of a special mission to investigate syphilis in Uganda, found that in some districts as many as ninety per cent. of the people suffer from syphilis, and *fifty to sixty per cent. of the infant mortality is due to this cause.* These people are Baganda, a highly intelligent, powerful, and well-organized tribe before they received, in the gift of syphilis, the full benefit of civilization and Christianity, which (Lambkin points out) has been largely the cause of the spread of the disease by breaking down social customs and emancipating the women. Christianity is powerful enough to break down the old morality, but not powerful enough to build up a new morality (*British Medical Journal*, October 3, 1908, p. 1037).

[2] Even within the limits of the English army it is found in India (H. C. French, *Syphilis in the Army*, 1907) that venereal disease is ten times more frequent among British troops than among Native troops.

national, is less representative of the people than is the case in countries where some form of conscription prevails. At one London hospital it could be ascertained that ten per cent. of the patients had had syphilis; this probably means a real proportion of about fifteen per cent., a high though not extremely high ratio. Yet it is obvious that even if the ratio is really lower than this the national loss in life and health, in defective procreation and racial deterioration, must be enormous and practically incalculable. Even in cash the venereal budget is comparable in amount to the general budget of a great nation. Stritch estimates that the cost to the British nation of venereal diseases in the army, navy and Government departments alone, amounts annually to £3,000,000, and when allowance is made for superannuations and sick-leave indirectly occasioned through these diseases, though not appearing in the returns as such, the more accurate estimate of the cost to the nation is stated to be £7,000,000. The adoption of simple hygienic measures for the prevention and the speedy cure of venereal diseases will be not only indirectly but even directly a source of immense wealth to the nation.

Syphilis is the most obviously and conspicuously appalling of the venereal diseases. Yet it is less frequent and in some respects less dangerously insidious than the other chief venereal disease, gonorrhœa.[1] At one time the serious nature of gonorrhœa, especially in women, was little realized. Men accepted it with a light heart as a trivial accident; women ignored it. This failure to realize the gravity of gonorrhœa,

Outside of national armies it is found, by admission to hospital and death rates, that the United States stands far away at the head for frequency of venereal disease, being followed by Great Britain, then France and Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Germany.

[1] There is no dispute concerning the antiquity of gonorrhœa in the Old World as there is regarding syphilis. The disease was certainly known at a very remote period. Even Esarhaddon, the famous King of Assyria, referred to in the Old Testament, was treated by the priests for a disorder which, as described in the cuneiform documents of the time, could only have been gonorrhœa. The disease was also well known to the ancient Egyptians, and evidently common, for they recorded many prescriptions for its treatment (Oefele. "Gonorrhoe 1350 vor Christi Geburt," *Monatshefte für Praktische Dermatologie*, 1899, p. 260).

even sometimes on the part of the medical profession—so that it has been popularly looked upon, in Grandin's words, as of little more significance than a cold in the nose—has led to a reaction on the part of some towards an opposite extreme, and the risks and dangers of gonorrhœa have been even unduly magnified. This is notably the case as regards sterility. The inflammatory results of gonorrhœa are indubitably a potent cause of sterility in both sexes; some authorities have stated that not only eighty per cent. of the deaths from inflammatory diseases of the pelvic organs and the majority of the cases of chronic invalidism in women, but ninety per cent. of involuntary sterile marriages, are due to gonorrhœa. Neisser, a great authority, ascribes to this disease without doubt fifty per cent. of such marriages. Even this estimate is in the experience of some observers excessive. It is fully proved that the great majority of men who have had gonorrhœa, even if they marry within two years of being infected, fail to convey the disease to their wives, and even of the women infected by their husbands more than half have children. This is, for instance, the result of Erb's experience, and Kisch speaks still more strongly in the same sense. Bumm, again, although regarding gonorrhœa as one of the two chief causes of sterility in women, finds that it is not the most frequent cause, being only responsible for about one-third of the cases; the other two-thirds are due to developmental faults in the genital organs. Dunning in America has reached results which are fairly concordant with Bumm's.

With regard to another of the terrible results of gonorrhœa, the part it plays in producing life-long blindness from infection of the eyes at birth, there has long been no sort of doubt. The Committee of the Ophthalmological Society in 1884, reported that thirty to forty-one per cent. of the inmates of four asylums for the blind in England owed their blindness to this cause.[1] In German asylums Reinhard found that thirty per cent. lost their sight from the same cause. The total number of persons blind from gonorrhœal infection from their mothers at birth is

[1] *Cf.* Memorandum by Sydney Stephenson, Report of Ophthalmia Neonatorum Committee. *British Medical Journal*, May 8, 1909.

enormous. The British Royal Commission on the Condition of the Blind estimated there were about seven thousand persons in the United Kingdom alone (or twenty-two per cent. of the blind persons in the country) who became blind as the result of this disease, and Mookerji stated in his address on Ophthalmology at the Indian Medical Congress of 1894 that in Bengal alone there were six hundred thousand totally blind beggars, forty per cent. of whom lost their sight at birth through maternal gonorrhœa; and this refers to the beggar class alone.

Although gonorrhœa is liable to produce many and various calamities,[1] there can be no doubt that the majority of gonorrhœal persons escape either suffering or inflicting any very serious injury. The special reason why gonorrhœa has become so peculiarly serious a scourge is its extreme prevalence. It is difficult to estimate the proportion of men and women in the general population who have had gonorrhœa, and the estimates vary within wide limits. They are often set too high. Erb, of Heidelberg, anxious to disprove exaggerated estimates of the prevalence of gonorrhœa, went over the records of two thousand two hundred patients in his private practice (excluding all hospital patients) and found the proportion of those who had suffered from gonorrhœa was 48.5 per cent.

Among the working classes the disease is much less prevalent than among higher-class people. In a Berlin Industrial Sick Club, 412 per 10,000 men and 69 per 10,000 women had gonorrhœa in a year; taking a series of years the Club showed a steady increase in the number of men, and decrease in the number of women, with venereal infection; this seems to indicate that the laboring classes are beginning to have intercourse more with prostitutes and less with respectable girls.[2] In America Wood Ruggles has given (as had Noggerath previously, for New York), the prevalence of gonorrhœa among adult males as from 75 to 80 per cent.; Tenney places it much lower, 20 per cent. for males

[1] The extent of these evils is set forth, *e.g.*, in a comprehensive essay by Taylor, *American Journal Obstetrics*, January, 1908.

[2] Neisser brings together figures bearing on the prevalence of gonorrhœa in Germany, Senator and Kaminer, *Health and Disease in Relation to Marriage*, vol. ii, pp. 486-492.

and 5 per cent. for females. In England, a writer in the *Lancet*, some years ago,[1] found as the result of experience and inquiries that 75 per cent. adult males have had gonorrhœa once, 40 per cent. twice, 15 per cent. three or more times. According to Dulberg about twenty per cent. of new cases occur in married men of good social class, the disease being comparatively rare among married men of the working class in England.

Gonorrhœa in its prevalence is thus only second to measles and in the gravity of its results scarcely second to tuberculosis. "And yet," as Grandin remarks in comparing gonorrhœa to tuberculosis, "witness the activity of the crusade against the latter and the criminal apathy displayed when the former is concerned."[2] The public must learn to understand, another writer remarks, that "gonorrhœa is a pest that concerns its highest interests and most sacred relations as much as do smallpox, cholera, diphtheria, or tuberculosis."[3]

It cannot fairly be said that no attempts have been made to beat back the flood of venereal disease. On the contrary, such attempts have been made from the first. But they have never been effectual;[4] they have never been modified to changed condi-

[1] *Lancet*, September 23, 1882. As regards women, Dr. Frances Ivens (*British Medical Journal*, June 19, 1909) has found at Liverpool that 14 per cent. of gynæcological cases revealed the presence of gonorrhœa. They were mostly poor respectable married women. This is probably a high proportion, as Liverpool is a busy seaport, but it is less than Sänger's estimate of 18 per cent.

[2] E. H. Grandin, *Medical Record*, May 26, 1906.

[3] E. W. Cushing, "Sociological Aspects of Gonorrhœa," *Transactions American Gynecological Society*, vol. xxii, 1897.

[4] It is only in very small communities ruled by an autocratic power with absolute authority to control conditions and to examine persons of both sexes that reglementation becomes in any degree effectual. This is well shown by Dr. W. E. Harwood, who describes the system he organized in the mines of the Minnesota Iron Company (*Journal American Medical Association*, December 22, 1906). The women in the brothels on the company's estate were of the lowest class, and disease was very prevalent. Careful examination of the women was established, and control of the men, who, immediately on becoming diseased, were bound to declare by what woman they had been infected. The woman was responsible for the medical bill of the man she infected, and even for his board, if incapacitated, and the women were compelled to maintain a fund for their own hospital expenses when required. In this way venereal disease, though not entirely uprooted, was very greatly diminished.

tion; at the present day they are hopelessly unscientific and entirely opposed alike to the social and the individual demands of modern peoples. At the various conferences on this question which have been held during recent years the only generally accepted conclusion which has emerged is that all the existing systems of interference or non-interference with prostitution are unsatisfactory.[1]

The character of prostitution has changed and the methods of dealing with it must change. Brothels, and the systems of official regulation which grew up with special reference to brothels, are alike out of date; they have about them a mediæval atmosphere, an antiquated spirit, which now render them unattractive and suspected. The conspicuously distinctive brothel is falling into disrepute; the liveried prostitute absolutely under municipal control can scarcely be said to exist. Prostitution tends to become more diffused, more intimately mingled with social life generally, less easily distinguished as a definitely separable part of life. We can nowadays only influence it by methods of permeation which bear upon the whole of our social life.

The objection to the regulation of prostitution is still of slow growth, but it is steadily developing everywhere, and may be traced equally in scientific opinion and in popular feeling. In France the municipalities of some of the largest cities have either suppressed the system of regulation entirely or shown their disapproval of it, while an inquiry among several hundred medical men showed that less than one-third were in favor of maintaining regulation (*Die Neue Generation*, June, 1909, p. 244). In Germany, where there is in some respects more

[1] A clear and comprehensive statement of the present position of the question is given by Iwan Bloch, *Das Sexualleben Unserer Zeit*, Chs. XIII-XV. How ineffectual the system of police regulation is, even in Germany, where police interference is tolerated to so marked a degree, may be illustrated by the case of Mannheim. Here the regulation of prostitution is very severe and thorough, yet a careful inquiry in 1905 among the doctors of Mannheim (ninety-two of whom sent in detailed returns) showed that of six hundred cases of venereal disease in men, nearly half had been contracted from prostitutes. About half the remaining cases (nearly a quarter of the whole) were due to waitresses and bar-maids; then followed servant-girls (Lion and Loeb, in *Sexual-pädagogik*, the Proceedings of the Third German Congress for Combating Venereal Diseases, 1907, p. 295).

patient endurance of interference with the liberty of the individual than in France, England, or America, various elaborate systems for organizing prostitution and dealing with venereal disease continue to be maintained, but they cannot be completely carried out, and it is generally admitted that in any case they could not accomplish the objects sought. Thus in Saxony no brothels are officially tolerated, though as a matter of fact they nevertheless exist. Here, as in many other parts of Germany, most minute and extensive regulations are framed for the use of prostitutes. Thus at Leipzig they must not sit on the benches in public promenades, nor go to picture galleries, or theatres, or concerts, or restaurants, nor look out of their windows, nor stare about them in the street, nor smile, nor wink, etc., etc. In fact, a German prostitute who possesses the heroic self-control to carry out conscientiously all the self-denying ordinances officially decreed for her guidance would seem to be entitled to a Government pension for life.

Two methods of dealing with prostitution prevail in Germany. In some cities public houses of prostitution are tolerated (though not licensed); in other cities prostitution is "free," though "secret." Hamburg is the most important city where houses of prostitution are tolerated and segregated. But, it is stated, "everywhere, by far the larger proportion of the prostitutes belong to the so-called 'secret' class." In Hamburg, alone, are suspected men, when accused of infecting women, officially examined; men of every social class must obey a summons of this kind, which is issued secretly, and if diseased, they are bound to go under treatment, if necessary under compulsory treatment in the city hospital, until no longer dangerous to the community.

In Germany it is only when a woman has been repeatedly observed to act suspiciously in the streets that she is quietly warned; if the warning is disregarded she is invited to give her name and address to the police, and interviewed. It is not until these methods fail that she is officially inscribed as a prostitute. The inscribed women, in some cities at all events, contribute to a sick benefit fund which pays their expenses when in hospital. The hesitation of the police to inscribe a woman on the official list is legitimate and inevitable, for no other course would be tolerated; yet the majority of prostitutes begin their careers very young, and as they tend to become infected very early after their careers begin, it is obvious that this delay contributes to render the system of regulation ineffective. In Berlin, where there are no officially recognized brothels, there are some six thousand inscribed prostitutes, but it is estimated that there are over sixty thousand prostitutes who are not inscribed. (The foregoing facts are taken from a series of papers describing personal investigations in Germany made by Dr. F. Bierhoff, of New York, "Police Methods for the Sanitary Control of Prostitution," *New York Medical Journal*, August, 1907.) The estima-

tion of the amount of clandestine prostitution can indeed never be much more than guesswork; exactly the same figure of sixty thousand is commonly brought forward as the probable number of prostitutes not only in Berlin, but also in London and in New York. It is absolutely impossible to say whether it is under or over the real number, for secret prostitution is quite intangible. Even if the facts were miraculously revealed there would still remain the difficulty of deciding what is and what is not prostitution. The avowed and public prostitute is linked by various gradations on the one side to the respectable girl living at home who seeks some little relief from the oppression of her respectability, and on the other hand to the married woman who has married for the sake of a home. In any case, however, it is very certain that public prostitutes living entirely on the earnings of prostitution form but a small proportion of the vast army of women who may be said, in a wide sense of the word, to be prostitutes, *i.e.*, who use their attractiveness to obtain from men not love alone, but money or goods.

"The struggle against syphilis is only possible if we agree to regard its victims as unfortunate and not as guilty. . . . . We must give up the prejudice which has led to the creation of the term 'shameful diseases,' and which commands silence concerning this scourge of the family and of humanity." In these words of Duclaux, the distinguished successor of Pasteur at the Pasteur Institute, in his noble and admirable work *L'Hygiène Sociale,* we have indicated to us, I am convinced, the only road by which we can approach the rational and successful treatment of the great social problem of venereal disease.

The supreme importance of this key to the solution of a problem which has often seemed insoluble is to-day beginning to become recognized in all quarters, and in every country. Thus a distinguished German authority, Professor Finger (*Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, Bd. i, Heft 5) declares that venereal disease must not be regarded as the well-merited punishment for a debauched life, but as an unhappy accident. It seems to be in France, however, that this truth has been proclaimed with most courage and humanity, and not alone by the followers of science and medicine, but by many who might well be excused from interfering with so difficult and ungrateful a task. Thus the brothers, Paul and Victor Margueritte, who occupy a brilliant and honorable place in contemporary French letters, have distinguished themselves by advocating a more humane attitude towards prostitutes, and a more modern method of dealing with the question of venereal

disease. "The true method of prevention is that which makes it clear to all that syphilis is not a mysterious and terrible thing, the penalty of the sin of the flesh, a sort of shameful evil branded by Catholic malediction, but an ordinary disease which may be treated and cured." It may be remarked that the aversion to acknowledge venereal disease is at least as marked in France as in any other country; "maladies honteuses" is a consecrated French term, just as "loathsome disease" is in English; "in the hospital," says Landret, "it requires much trouble to obtain an avowal of gonorrhœa, and we may esteem ourselves happy if the patient acknowledges the fact of having had syphilis."

No evils can be combated until they are recognized, simply and frankly, and honestly discussed. It is a significant and even symbolic fact that the bacteria of disease rarely flourish when they are open to the free currents of pure air. Obscurity, disguise, concealment furnish the best conditions for their vigor and diffusion, and these favoring conditions we have for centuries past accorded to venereal diseases. It was not always so, as indeed the survival of the word 'venereal' itself in this connection, with its reference to a goddess, alone suffices to show. Even the name "syphilis" itself, taken from a romantic poem in which Fracastorus sought a mythological origin for the disease, bears witness to the same fact. The romantic attitude is indeed as much out of date as that of hypocritical and shamefaced obscurantism. We need to face these diseases in the same simple, direct, and courageous way which has already been adopted successfully in the case of smallpox, a disease which, of old, men thought analogous to syphilis and which was indeed once almost as terrible in its ravages.

At this point, however, we encounter those who say that it is unnecessary to show any sort of recognition of venereal diseases, and immoral to do anything that might seem to involve indulgence to those who suffer from such diseases; they have got what they deserve and may well be left to perish. Those who take this attitude place themselves so far outside the pale of civilization—to say nothing of morality or religion—that they might well be disregarded. The progress of the race, the development of humanity, in fact and in feeling, has consisted in the elimination of an attitude which it is an insult to primitive peoples to term

savage. Yet it is an attitude which should not be ignored for it still carries weight with many who are too weak to withstand those who juggle with fine moral phrases. I have even seen in a medical quarter the statement that venereal disease cannot be put on the same level with other infectious diseases because it is "the result of voluntary action." But all the diseases, indeed all the accidents and misfortunes of suffering human beings, are equally the involuntary results of voluntary actions. The man who is run over in crossing the street, the family poisoned by unwholesome food, the mother who catches the disease of the child she is nursing, all these suffer as the involuntary result of the voluntary act of gratifying some fundamental human instinct—the instinct of activity, the instinct of nutrition, the instinct of affection. The instinct of sex is as fundamental as any of these, and the involuntary evils which may follow the voluntary act of gratifying it stand on exactly the same level. This is the essential fact: a human being in following the human instincts implanted within him has stumbled and fallen. Any person who sees, not this essential fact but merely some subsidiary aspect of it, reveals a mind that is twisted and perverted; he has no claim to arrest our attention.

But even if we were to adopt the standpoint of the would-be moralist, and to agree that everyone must be left to suffer his deserts, it is far indeed from being the fact that all those who contract venereal diseases are in any sense receiving their deserts. In a large number of cases the disease has been inflicted on them in the most absolutely involuntary manner. This is, of course, true in the case of the vast number of infants who are infected at conception or at birth. But it is also true in a scarcely less absolute manner of a large proportion of persons infected in later life.

Syphilis insontium, or syphilis of the innocent, as it is commonly called, may be said to fall into five groups: (1) the vast army of congenitally syphilitic infants who inherit the disease from father or mother; (2) the constantly occurring cases of syphilis contracted, in the course of their professional duties, by doctors, midwives and wet-nurses; (3) infection as a result of

affection, as in simple kissing; (4) accidental infection from casual contacts and from using in common the objects and utensils of daily life, such as cups, towels, razors, knives (as in ritual circumcision), etc; (5) the infection of wives by their husbands.[1]

Hereditary congenital syphilis belongs to the ordinary pathology of the disease and is a chief element in its social danger since it is responsible for an enormous infantile mortality.[2] The risks of extragenital infection in the professional activity of doctors, midwives and wet-nurses is also universally recognized. In the case of wet-nurses infected by their employers' syphilitic infants at their breast, the penalty inflicted on the innocent is peculiarly harsh and unnecessary. The influence of infected low-class midwives is notably dangerous, for they may inflict widespread injury in ignorance; thus the case has been recorded of a midwife, whose finger became infected in the course of her duties, and directly or indirectly contaminated one hundred persons. Kissing is an extremely common source of syphilitic infection, and of all extragenital regions the mouth is by far the most frequent seat of primary syphilitic sores. In some cases, it is true, especially in prostitutes, this is the result of abnormal sexual contacts. But in the majority of cases it is the result of ordinary and slight kisses as between young children, between parents and children, between lovers and friends and acquaint-

[1] A sixth less numerous class might be added of the young girls, often no more than children, who have been practically raped by men who believe that intercourse with a virgin is a cure for obstinate venereal disease. In America this belief is frequently held by Italians, Chinese, negroes, etc. W. Travis Gibb, *Examining Physician of the* New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, has examined over 900 raped children (only a small proportion, he states, of the cases actually occurring), and finds that thirteen per cent have venereal diseases. A fairly large proportion of these cases, among girls from twelve to sixteen, are, he states, willing victims. Dr. Flora Pollack, also, of the Johns Hopkins Hospital Dispensary, estimates that in Baltimore alone from 800 to 1,000 children between the ages of one and fifteen are venereally infected every year. The largest number, she finds, is at the age of six, and the chief cause appears to be, not lust, but superstition.

[2] For a discussion of inherited syphilis, see, *e.g.*, Clement Lucas, *Lancet*, February 1, 1908.

ances. Fairly typical examples, which have been reported, are those of a child, kissed by a prostitute, who became infected and subsequently infected its mother and grandmother; of a young French bride contaminated on her wedding-day by one of the guests who, according to French custom, kissed her on the cheek after the ceremony; of an American girl who, returning from a ball, kissed, at parting, the young man who had accompanied her home, thus acquiring the disease which she not long afterwards imparted in the same way to her mother and three sisters. The ignorant and unthinking are apt to ridicule those who point out the serious risks of miscellaneous kissing. But it remains nevertheless true that people who are not intimate enough to know the state of each other's health are not intimate enough to kiss each other. Infection by the use of domestic utensils, linen, etc., while comparatively rare among the better social classes, is extremely common among the lower classes and among the less civilized nations; in Russia, according to Tarnowsky, the chief authority, seventy per cent. of all cases of syphilis in the rural districts are due to this cause and to ordinary kissing, and a special conference in St. Petersburg in 1897, for the consideration of the methods of dealing with venereal disease, recorded its opinion to the same effect; much the same seems to be true regarding Bosnia and various parts of the Balkan peninsula where syphilis is extremely prevalent among the peasantry. As regards the last group, according to Bulkley in America, fifty per cent. of women generally contract syphilis innocently, chiefly from their husbands, while Fournier states that in France seventy-five per cent. of married women with syphilis have been infected by their husbands, most frequently (seventy per cent.) by husbands who were themselves infected before marriage and supposed that they were cured. Among men the proportion of syphilitics who have been accidentally infected, though less than among women, is still very considerable; it is stated to be at least ten per cent., and possibly it is a much larger proportion of cases. The scrupulous moralist who is anxious that all should have their deserts cannot fail to be still more anxious to prevent the innocent from suffering in place of the guilty. But it is

absolutely impossible for him to combine these two aims; syphilis cannot be at the same time perpetuated for the guilty and abolished for the innocent.

I have been taking only syphilis into account, but nearly all that is said of the accidental infection of syphilis applies with equal or greater force to gonorrhœa, for though gonorrhœa does not enter into the system by so many channels as syphilis, it is a more common as well as a more subtle and elusive disease.

The literature of Syphilis Insontium is extremely extensive. There is a bibliography at the end of Duncan Bulkley's *Syphilis in the Innocent*, and a comprehensive summary of the question in a Leipzig Inaugural Dissertation by F. Moses, *Zur Kasuistik der Extragenitalen Syphilis-infektion*, 1904.

Even, however, when we have put aside the vast number of venereally infected people who may be said to be, in the narrowest and most conventionally moral sense, "innocent" victims of the diseases they have contracted, there is still much to be said on this question. It must be remembered that the majority of those who contract venereal diseases by illegitimate sexual intercourse are young. They are youths, ignorant of life, scarcely yet escaped from home, still undeveloped, incompletely educated, and easily duped by women; in many cases they have met, as they thought, a "nice" girl, not indeed strictly virtuous but, it seemed to them, above all suspicion of disease, though in reality she was a clandestine prostitute. Or they are young girls who have indeed ceased to be absolutely chaste, but have not yet lost all their innocence, and who do not consider themselves, and are not by others considered, prostitutes; that indeed, is one of the rocks on which the system of police regulation of prostitution comes to grief, for the police cannot catch the prostitute at a sufficiently early stage. Of women who become syphilitic, according to Fournier, twenty per cent. are infected before they are nineteen; in hospitals the proportion is as high as forty per cent.; and of men fifteen per cent. cases occur between eleven and twenty-one years of age. The age of maximum frequency of infection is for women twenty years (in the rural population eighteen), and for men twenty-three years. In Germany Erb

finds that as many as eighty-five per cent men with gonorrhœa contracted the disease between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five, a very small percentage being infected after thirty. These young things for the most part fell into a trap which Nature had baited with her most fascinating lure; they were usually ignorant; not seldom they were deceived by an attractive personality; often they were overcome by passion; frequently all prudence and reserve had been lost in the fumes of wine. From a truly moral point of view they were scarcely less innocent than children.

"I ask," says Duclaux, "whether when a young man, or a young girl, abandon themselves to a dangerous caress society has done what it can to warn them. Perhaps its intentions were good, but when the need came for precise knowledge a silly prudery has held it back, and it has left its children without *viaticum*. . . . I will go further, and proclaim that in a large number of cases the husbands who contaminate their wives are innocent. No one is responsible for the evil which he commits without knowing it and without willing it." I may recall the suggestive fact, already referred to, that the majority of husbands who infect their wives contracted the disease before marriage. They entered on marriage believing that their disease was cured, and that they had broken with their past. Doctors have sometimes (and quacks frequently) contributed to this result by too sanguine an estimate of the period necessary to destroy the poison. So great an authority as Fournier formerly believed that the syphilitic could safely be allowed to marry three or four years after the date of infection, but now, with increased experience, he extends the period to four or five years. It is undoubtedly true that, especially when treatment has been thorough and prompt, the diseased constitution, in a majority of cases, can be brought under complete control in a shorter period than this, but there is always a certain proportion of cases in which the powers of infection persist for many years, and even when the syphilitic husband is no longer capable of infecting his wife he may still perhaps be in a condition to effect a disastrous influence on the offspring.

In nearly all these cases there was more or less ignorance—which is but another word for innocence as we commonly understand innocence—and when at last, after the event, the facts are more or less bluntly explained to the victim he frequently exclaims: "Nobody told me!" It is this fact which condemns the

pseudo-moralist. If he had seen to it that mothers began to explain the facts of sex to their little boys and girls from childhood, if he had (as Dr. Joseph Price urges) taught the risks of venereal disease in the Sunday-school, if he had plainly preached on the relations of the sexes from the pulpit, if he had seen to it that every youth at the beginning of adolescence received some simple technical instruction from his family doctor concerning sexual health and sexual disease—then, though there would still remain the need of pity for those who strayed from a path that must always be difficult to walk in, the would-be moralist at all events would in some measure be exculpated. But he has seldom indeed lifted a finger to do any of these things.

Even those who may be unwilling to abandon an attitude of private moral intolerance towards the victims of venereal diseases may still do well to remember that since the public manifestation of their intolerance is mischievous, and at the best useless, it is necessary for them to restrain it in the interests of society. They would not be the less free to order their own personal conduct in the strictest accordance with their superior moral rigidity; and that after all is for them the main thing. But for the sake of society it is necessary for them to adopt what they may consider the convention of a purely hygienic attitude towards these diseases. The erring are inevitably frightened by an attitude of moral reprobation into methods of concealment, and these produce an endless chain of social evils which can only be dissipated by openness. As Duclaux has so earnestly insisted, it is impossible to grapple successfully with venereal disease unless we consent not to introduce our prejudices, or even our morals and religion, into the question, but treat it purely and simply as a sanitary question. And if the pseudo-moralist still has difficulty in co-operating towards the healing of this social sore he may be reminded that he himself—like every one of us little though we may know it—has certainly had a great army of syphilitic and gonorrhœal persons among his own ancestors during the past four centuries. We are all bound together, and it is absurd, even when it is not inhuman, to cast contempt on our own flesh and blood.

I have discussed rather fully the attitude of those who plead

morality as a reason for ignoring the social necessity of combating venereal disease, because although there may not be many who seriously and understandingly adopt so anti-social and inhuman an attitude there are certainly many who are glad at need of the existence of so fine an excuse for their moral indifference or their mental indolence.[1] When they are confronted by this great and difficult problem they find it easy to offer the remedy of conventional morality, although they are well aware that on a large scale that remedy has long been proved to be ineffectual. They ostentatiously affect to proffer the useless thick end of the wedge at a point where it is only possible with much skill and prudence to insinuate the thin working end.

The general acceptance of the fact that syphilis and gonorrhœa are diseases, and not necessarily crimes or sins, is the condition for any practical attempt to deal with this question from the sanitary point of view which is now taking the place of the antiquated and ineffective police point of view. The Scandinavian countries of Europe have been the pioneers in practical modern hygienic methods of dealing with venereal disease. There are several reasons why this has come about. All the problems of sex—of sexual love as well as of sexual disease—have long been prominent in these countries, and an impatience with prudish hypocrisy seems here to have been more pronounced than elsewhere; we see this spirit, for instance, emphatically embodied in the plays of Ibsen, and to some extent in Björnson's works. The fearless and energetic temper of the people impels them to deal practically with sexual difficulties, while their strong instincts of independence render them averse to the bureaucratic police methods which have flourished in Germany and France. The Scandinavians have thus been the natural pioneers of the methods of combating venereal diseases which are now becoming

[1] Much harm has been done in some countries by the foolish and mischievous practice of friendly societies and sick clubs of ignoring venereal diseases, and not according free medical aid or sick pay to those members who suffer from them. This practice prevailed, for instance, in Vienna until 1907, when a more humane and enlightened policy was inaugurated, venereal diseases being placed on the same level as other diseases.

generally recognized to be the methods of the future, and they have fully organized the system of putting venereal diseases under the ordinary law and dealing with them as with other contagious diseases.

The first step in dealing with a contagious disease is to apply to it the recognized principles of notification. Every new application of the principle, it is true, meets with opposition. It is without practical result, it is an unwarranted inquisition into the affairs of the individual, it is a new tax on the busy medical practitioner, etc. Certainly notification by itself will not arrest the progress of any infectious disease. But it is an essential element in every attempt to deal with the prevention of disease. Unless we know precisely the exact incidence, local variations, and temporary fluctuations of a disease we are entirely in the dark and can only beat about at random. All progress in public hygiene has been accompanied by the increased notification of disease, and most authorities are agreed that such notification must be still further extended, any slight inconvenience thus caused to individuals being of trifling importance compared to the great public interests at stake. It is true that so great an authority as Neisser has expressed doubt concerning the extension of notification to gonorrhœa; the diagnosis cannot be infallible, and the patients often give false names. These objections, however, seem trivial; diagnosis can very seldom be infallible (though in this field no one has done so much for exact diagnosis as Neisser himself), and names are not necessary for notification, and are not indeed required in the form of compulsory notification of venereal disease which existed a few years ago in Norway.

The principle of the compulsory notification of venereal diseases seems to have been first established in Prussia, where it dates from 1835. The system here, however, is only partial, not being obligatory in all cases but only when in the doctor's opinion secrecy might be harmful to the patient himself or to the community; it is only obligatory when the patient is a soldier. This method of notification is indeed on a wrong basis, it is not part of a comprehensive sanitary system but merely an auxiliary to police methods of dealing with prostitution. According to the

Scandinavian system, notification, though not an essential part of this system, rests on an entirely different basis.

The Scandinavian plan in a modified form has lately been established in Denmark. This little country, so closely adjoining Germany, for some time followed in this matter the example of its great neighbor and adopted the police regulation of prostitution and venereal disease. The more fundamental Scandinavian affinities of Denmark were, however, eventually asserted, and in 1906, the system of regulation was entirely abandoned and Denmark resolved to rely on thorough and systematic application of the sanitary principle already accepted in the country, although something of German influence still persists in the strict regulation of the streets and the penalties imposed upon brothel-keepers, leaving prostitution itself free. The decisive feature of the present system is, however, that the sanitary authorities are now exclusively medical. Everyone, whatever his social or financial position, is entitled to the free treatment of venereal disease. Whether he avails himself of it or not, he is in any case bound to undergo treatment. Every diseased person is thus, so far as it can be achieved, in a doctor's hands. All doctors have their instructions in regard to such cases, they have not only to inform their patients that they cannot marry so long as risks of infection are estimated to be present, but that they are liable for the expenses of treatment, as well as the dangers suffered, by any persons whom they may infect. Although it has not been possible to make the system at every point thoroughly operative, its general success is indicated by the entire reliance now placed on it, and the abandonment of the police regulation of prostitution. A system very similar to that of Denmark was established some years previously in Norway. The principle of the treatment of venereal disease at the public expense exists also in Sweden as well as in Finland, where treatment is compulsory.[1]

[1] Active measures against venereal disease were introduced in Sweden early in the last century, and compulsory and gratuitous treatment established. Compulsory notification was introduced many years ago in Norway, and by 1907 there was a great diminution in the prevalence of venereal diseases; there is compulsory treatment.

It can scarcely be said that the principle of notification has yet been properly applied on a large scale to venereal diseases. But it is constantly becoming more widely advocated, more especially in England and the United States,[1] where national temperament and political traditions render the system of the police regulation of prostitution impossible—even if it were more effective than it practically is—and where the system of dealing with venereal disease on the basis of public health has to be recognized as not only the best but the only possible system.[2]

In association with this, it is necessary, as is also becoming ever more widely recognized, that there should be the most ample facilities for the gratuitous treatment of venereal diseases; the general establishment of free dispensaries, open in the evenings, is especially necessary, for many can only seek advice and help at this time. It is largely to the systematic introduction of facilities for gratuitous treatment that the enormous reduction in venereal disease in Sweden, Norway, and Bosnia is attributed. It is the absence of the facilities for treatment, the implied feeling that the victims of venereal disease are not sufferers but merely offenders not entitled to care, that has in the past operated so disastrously in artificially promoting the dissemination of preventable diseases which might be brought under control.

If we dispense with the paternal methods of police regulation, if we rely on the general principles of medical hygiene, and for the rest allow the responsibility for his own good or bad actions to rest on the individual himself, there is a further step, already fully recognized in principle, which we cannot neglect to take: We must look on every person as accountable for the venereal diseases he transmits. So long as we refuse to recognize venereal diseases as on the same level as other infectious diseases, and so long as we offer no full and fair facilities for their treat-

[1] See, *e g.*, Morrow, *Social Diseases and Marriage*, Ch. XXXVII.

[2] A committee of the Medical Society of New York, appointed in 1902 to consider this question, reported in favor of notification without giving names and addresses, and Dr. C R. Drysdale, who took an active part in the Brussels International Conference of 1899, advocated a similar plan in England, *British Medical Journal*, February 3, 1900.

ment, it is unjust to bring the individual to account for spreading them. But if we publicly recognize the danger of infectious venereal diseases, and if we leave freedom to the individual, we must inevitably declare, with Duclaux, that every man or woman must be held responsible for the diseases he or she communicates.

According to the Oldenburg Code of 1814 it was a punishable offence for a venereally diseased person to have sexual intercourse with a healthy person, whether or not infection resulted. In Germany to-day, however, there is no law of this kind, although eminent German legal authorities, notably Von Liszt, are of opinion that a paragraph should be added to the Code declaring that sexual intercourse on the part of a person who knows that he is diseased should be punishable by imprisonment for a period not exceeding two years, the law not to be applied as between married couples except on the application of one of the parties. At the present time in Germany the transmission of venereal disease is only punishable as a special case of the infliction of bodily injury.[1] In this matter Germany is behind most of the Scandinavian countries where individual responsibility for venereal infection is well recognized and actively enforced.

In France, though the law is not definite and satisfactory, actions for the transmission of syphilis are successfully brought before the courts. Opinion seems to be more decisively in favor of punishment for this offense than it is in Germany. In 1883 Després discussed the matter and considered the objections. Few may avail themselves of the law, he remarks, but all would be rendered more cautious by the fear of infringing it; while the difficulties of tracing and proving infection are not greater, he points out, than those of tracing and proving paternity in the case of illegitimate children. Després would punish with imprisonment for not more than two years any person, knowing himself to be diseased, who transmitted a venereal disease, and would

[1] Thus in Munich, in 1908, a man who had given gonorrhœa to a servant-girl was sent to prison for ten months on this ground. The state of German opinion to-day on this subject is summarized by Bloch, *Sexualleben unserer Zeit*, p. 424.

merely fine those who communicated the contagion by imprudence, not realizing that they were diseased.[1] The question has more recently been discussed by Aurientis in a Paris thesis. He states that the present French law as regards the transmission of sexual diseases is not clearly established and is difficult to act upon, but it is certainly just that those who have been contaminated and injured in this way should easily be able to obtain reparation. Although it is admitted in principle that the communication of syphilis is an offence even under common law he is in agreement with those who would treat it as a special offence, making a new and more practical law.[2] Heavy damages are even at the present time obtained in the French courts from men who have infected young women in sexual intercourse, and also from the doctors as well as the mothers of syphilitic infants who have infected the foster-mothers they were entrusted to. Although the French Penal Code forbids in general the disclosure of professional secrets, it is the duty of the medical practitioner to warn the foster-mother in such a case of the danger she is incurring, but without naming the disease; if he neglects to give this warning he may be held liable.

In England, as well as in the United States, the law is more unsatisfactory and more helpless, in relation to this class of offences, than it is in France. The mischievous and barbarous notion, already dealt with, according to which venereal disease is the result of illicit intercourse and should be tolerated as a just visitation of God, seems still to flourish in these countries with fatal persistency. In England the communication of venereal disease by illicit intercourse is not an actionable wrong if the act of intercourse has been voluntary, even although there has been wilful and intentional concealment of the disease. *Ex turpi causâ non oritur actio,* it is sententiously said; for there is much dormitative virtue in a Latin maxim. No legal offence has still been committed if a husband contaminates his wife, or a

[1] A. Desprês. *La Prostitution à Paris*, p. 191.

[2] F. Aurientis, *Etude Medico-légale sur la jurisprudence actuelle à propos de la Transmission des Maladies Vénériennes*, Thèse de Paris, 1906.

wife her husband.[1] The "freedom" enjoyed in this matter by England and the United States is well illustrated by an American case quoted by Dr. Isidore Dyer, of New Orleans, in his report to the Brussels Conference on the Prevention of Venereal Diseases, in 1899: "A patient with primary syphilis refused even charitable treatment and carried a book wherein she kept the number of men she had inoculated. When I first saw her she declared the number had reached two hundred and nineteen and that she would not be treated until she had had revenge on five hundred men." In a community where the most elementary rules of justice prevailed facilities would exist to enable this woman to obtain damages from the man who had injured her or even to secure his conviction to a term of imprisonment. In obtaining some indemnity for the wrong done her, and securing the "revenge" she craved, she would at the same time have conferred a benefit on society. She is shut out from any action against the one person who injured her; but as a sort of compensation she is allowed to become a radiating focus of disease, to shorten many lives, to cause many deaths, to pile up incalculable damages; and in so doing she is to-day perfectly within her legal rights. A community which encourages this state of things is not only immoral but stupid.

There seems, however, to be a growing body of influential opinion, both in England and in the United States, in favor of making the transmission of venereal disease an offence punishable by heavy fine or by imprisonment.[2] In any enactment no stress

[1] In England at present "a husband knowingly and wilfully infecting his wife with the venereal disease, cannot be convicted criminally, either under a charge of assault or of inflicting grievous bodily harm" (N. Geary, *The Law of Marriage*, p. 479). This was decided in 1888 in the case of *R.* v. *Clarence* by nine judges to four judges in the Court for the Consideration of Crown Cases Reserved.

[2] Modern democratic sentiment is opposed to the sequestration of a prostitute merely because she is diseased. But there can be no reasonable doubt whatever that if a diseased prostitute infects another person, and is unable to pay the very heavy damages which should be demanded in such a case, she ought to be secluded and subjected to treatment. That is necessary in the interests of the community. But it is also necessary, to avoid placing a premium on the commission of an offence which would ensure gratuitous treatment and provision for a prostitute without means, that she should be furnished with facilities for treatment in any case.

should be put on the infection being conveyed "knowingly." Any formal limitation of this kind is unnecessary, as in such a case the Court always takes into account the offender's ignorance or mere negligence, and it is mischievous because it tends to render an enactment ineffective and to put a premium on ignorance; the husbands who infect their wives with gonorrhœa immediately after marriage have usually done so from ignorance, and it should be at least necessary for them to prove that they have been fortified in their ignorance by medical advice. It is sometimes said that the existing law could be utilized for bringing actions of this kind, and that no greater facilities should be offered for fear of increasing attempts at blackmail. The inutility of the law at present for this purpose is shown by the fact that it seldom or never happens that any attempt is made to utilize it, while not only are there a number of existing punishable offences which form the subject of attempts at blackmail, but blackmail can still be demanded even in regard to disreputable actions that are not legally punishable at all. Moreover, the attempt to levy blackmail is itself an offence always sternly dealt with in the courts.

It is possible to trace the beginning of a recognition that the transmission of a venereal disease is a matter of which legal cognizance may be taken in the English law courts. It is now well settled that the infection of a wife by her husband may be held to constitute the legal cruelty which, according to the present law, must be proved, in addition to adultery, before a wife can obtain divorce from her husband. In 1777 Restif de la Bretonne proposed in his *Gynographes* that the communication of a venereal disease should itself be an adequate ground for divorce; this, however, is not at present generally accepted.[1]

It is sometimes said that it is very well to make the individual legally responsible for the venereal disease he communicates, but that the difficulties of bringing that responsibility

[1] It has, however, been decided by the Paris Court of Appeal that for a husband to marry when knowingly suffering from a venereal disease and to communicate that disease to his wife is a sufficient cause for divorce (*Semaine Médicale*, May, 1896).

home would still remain. And those who admit these difficulties frequently reply that at the worst we should have in our hands a means of educating responsibility; the man who deliberately ran the risk of transmitting such infection would be made to feel that he was no longer fairly within his legal rights but had done a bad action. We are thus led on finally to what is now becoming generally recognized as the chief and central method of combating venereal disease, if we are to accept the principle of individual responsibility as ruling in this sphere of life. Organized sanitary and medical precautions, and proper legal protection for those who have been injured, are inoperative without the educative influence of elementary hygienic instruction placed in the possession of every young man and woman. In a sphere that is necessarily so intimate medical organization and legal resort can never be all-sufficing; knowledge is needed at every step in every individual to guide and even to awaken that sense of personal moral responsibility which must here always rule. Wherever the importance of these questions is becoming acutely realized—and notably at the Congresses of the German Society for Combating Venereal Disease—the problem is resolving itself mainly into one of education.[1] And although opinion and practice in this matter are to-day more advanced in Germany than elsewhere the conviction of this necessity is becoming scarcely less pronounced in all other civilized countries, in England and America as much as in France and the Scandinavian lands.

A knowledge of the risks of disease by sexual intercourse, both in and out of marriage,—and indeed, apart from sexual intercourse altogether,—is a further stage of that sexual education which, as we have already seen, must begin, so far as the elements are concerned, at a very early age. Youths and girls should be taught, as the distinguished Austrian economist, Anton von Menger wrote, shortly before his death, in his excellent little book, *Neue Sittenlehre*, that the production of children is a crime when

[1] The large volume, entitled *Sexualpädagogik*, containing the Proceedings of the Third of these Congresses, almost ignores the special subject of venereal disease, and is devoted to the questions involved by the general sexual education of the young, which, as many of the speakers maintained, must begin with the child at his mother's knee

the parents are syphilitic or otherwise incompetent through transmissible chronic diseases. Information about venereal disease should not indeed be given until after puberty is well established. It is unnecessary and undesirable to impart medical knowledge to young boys and girls and to warn them against risks they are yet little liable to be exposed to. It is when the age of strong sexual instinct, actual or potential, begins that the risks, under some circumstances, of yielding to it, need to be clearly present to the mind. No one who reflects on the actual facts of life ought to doubt that it is in the highest degree desirable that every adolescent youth and girl ought to receive some elementary instruction in the general facts of venereal disease, tuberculosis, and alcoholism. These three "plagues of civilization" are so wide-spread, so subtle and manifold in their operation, that everyone comes in contact with them during life, and that everyone is liable to suffer, even before he is aware, perhaps hopelessly and forever, from the results of that contact. Vague declamation about immorality and vaguer warnings against it have no effect and possess no meaning, while rhetorical exaggeration is unnecessary. A very simple and concise statement of the actual facts concerning the evils that beset life is quite sufficient and adequate, and quite essential. To ignore this need is only possible to those who take a dangerously frivolous view of life.

It is the young woman as much as the youth who needs this enlightenment. There are still some persons so ill-informed as to believe that though it may be necessary to instruct the youth it is best to leave his sister unsullied, as they consider it, by a knowledge of the facts of life. This is the very reverse of the truth. It is desirable indeed that all should be acquainted with facts so vital to humanity, even although not themselves personally concerned. But the girl is even more concerned than the youth. A man has the matter more within his own grasp, and if he so chooses he may avoid all the grosser risks of contact with venereal disease. But it is not so with the woman. Whatever her own purity, she cannot be sure that she may not have to guard against the possibility of disease in her future husband as well as in those to whom she may entrust her child. It is a

possibility which the educated woman, so far from being dispensed from, is more liable to encounter than is the working-class woman, for venereal disease is less prevalent among the poor than the rich.[1] The careful physician, even when his patient is a minister of religion, considers it his duty to inquire if he has had syphilis, and the clergyman of most severely correct life recognizes the need of such inquiry and may perhaps smile, but seldom feels himself insulted. The relationship between husband and wife is even much more intimate and important than that between doctor and patient, and a woman is not dispensed from the necessity of such inquiry concerning her future husband by the conviction that the reply must surely be satisfactory. Moreover, it may well be in some cases that, if she is adequately enlightened, she may be the means of saving him, before it is too late, from the guilt of premature marriage and its fateful consequences, so deserving to earn his everlasting gratitude. Even if she fails in winning that, she still has her duty to herself and to the future race which her children will help to form.

In most countries there is a growing feeling in favor of the enlightenment of young women equally with young men as regards venereal diseases. Thus in Germany Max Flesch, in his *Prostitution und Frauenkrankheiten*, considers that at the end of their school days all girls should receive instruction concerning the grave physical and social dangers to which women are exposed in life. In France Duclaux (in his *L'Hygiène Sociale*) is emphatic that women must be taught. "Already," he states, "doctors who by custom have been made, in spite of themselves, the husband's accomplices, will tell you of the ironical gaze they sometimes encounter when they seek to lead a wife astray concerning the causes of her ills. The day is approaching of a revolt against the social lie which has made so many victims, and you will be obliged to teach women what they need to know in order to guard themselves against you." It is the same in America. Reform in this field, Isidore

[1] "Workmen, soldiers, and so on," Neisser remarks (Senator and Kaminer, *Health and Disease in Relation to Marriage*, vol. ii, p. 485), "can more easily find non-prostitute girls of their own class willing to enter into amorous relations with them which result in sexual intercourse, and they are therefore less exposed to the danger of infection than those men who have recourse almost exclusively to prostitutes" (see also Bloch, *Sexualleben unserer Zeit*, p. 437).

Dyer declares, must emblazon on its flag the motto, "Knowledge is Health," as well of mind as of body, for women as well as for men. In a discussion introduced by Denslow Lewis at the annual meeting of the American Medical Association in 1901 on the limitation of venereal diseases (*Medico-Legal Journal*, June and September, 1903), there was a fairly general agreement among all the speakers that almost or quite the chief method of prevention lay in education, the education of women as much as of men. "Education lies at the bottom of the whole thing," declared one speaker (Seneca Egbert, of Philadelphia), "and we will never gain much headway until every young man, and every young woman, even before she falls in love and becomes engaged, knows what these diseases are, and what it will mean if she marries a man who has contracted them." "Educate father and mother, and they will educate their sons and daughters," exclaims Egbert Grandin, more especially in regard to gonorrhœa (*Medical Record*, May 26, 1906); "I lay stress on the daughter because she becomes the chief sufferer from inoculation, and it is her right to know that she should protect herself against the gonorrhœic as well as against the alcoholic."

We must fully face the fact that it is the woman herself who must be accounted responsible, as much as a man, for securing the right conditions of a marriage she proposes to enter into. In practice, at the outset, that responsibility may no doubt be in part delegated to parents or guardians. It is unreasonable that any false delicacy should be felt about this matter on either side. Questions of money and of income are discussed before marriage, and as public opinion grows sounder none will question the necessity of discussing the still more serious question of health, alike that of the prospective bridegroom and of the bride. An incalculable amount of disease and marital unhappiness would be prevented if before an engagement was finally concluded each party placed himself or herself in the hands of a physician and authorized him to report to the other party. Such a report would extend far beyond venereal disease. If its necessity became generally recognized it would put an end to much fraud which now takes place when entering the marriage bond. It constantly happens at present that one party or the other conceals the existence of some serious disease or disability which is speedily discovered after marriage, sometimes with a painful and alarming shock—as when a man discovers his wife in an epileptic fit on

the wedding night—and always with the bitter and abiding sense of having been duped. There can be no reasonable doubt that such concealment is an adequate cause of divorce. Sir Thomas More doubtless sought to guard against such frauds when he ordained in his *Utopia* that each party should before marriage be shown naked to the other. The quaint ceremony he describes was based on a reasonable idea, for it is ludicrous, if it were not often tragic in its results, that any person should be asked to undertake to embrace for life a person whom he or she has not so much as seen.

It may be necessary to point out that every movement in this direction must be the spontaneous action of individuals directing their own lives according to the rules of an enlightened conscience, and cannot be initiated by the dictation of the community as a whole enforcing its commands by law. In these matters law can only come in at the end, not at the beginning. In the essential matters of marriage and procreation laws are primarily made in the brains and consciences of individuals for their own guidance. Unless such laws are already embodied in the actual practice of the great majority of the community it is useless for parliaments to enact them by statute. They will be ineffective or else they will be worse than ineffective by producing undesigned mischiefs. We can only go to the root of the matter by insisting on education in moral responsibility and instruction in matters of fact.

The question arises as to the best person to impart this instruction. As we have seen there can be little doubt that before puberty the parents, and especially the mother, are the proper instructors of their children in esoteric knowledge. But after puberty the case is altered. The boy and the girl are becoming less amenable to parental influence, there is greater shyness on both sides, and the parents rarely possess the more technical knowledge that is now required. At this stage it seems that the assistance of the physician, of the family doctor if he has the proper qualities for the task, should be called in. The plan usually adopted, and now widely carried out, is that of lectures setting forth the main facts concerning venereal diseases, their

dangers, and allied topics.[1] This method is quite excellent. Such lectures should be delivered at intervals by medical lecturers at all urban, educational, manufacturing, military, and naval centres, wherever indeed a large number of young persons ar gathered together. It should be the business of the central educational authority either to carry them out or to enforce on those controlling or employing young persons the duty of providing such lectures. The lectures should be free to all who have attained the age of sixteen.

In Germany the principle of instruction by lectures concerning venereal diseases seems to have become established, at all events so far as young men are concerned, and such lectures are constantly becoming more usual. In 1907 the Minister of Education established courses of lectures by doctors on sexual hygiene and venereal diseases for higher schools and educational institutions, though attendance was not made compulsory. The courses now frequently given by medical men to the higher classes in German secondary schools on the general principles of sexual anatomy and physiology nearly always include sexual hygiene with special reference to venereal diseases (see, *e.g.*, *Sexualpädagogik*, pp. 131-153). In Austria, also, lectures on personal hygiene and the dangers of venereal disease are delivered to students about to leave the gymnasium for the university; and the working men's clubs have instituted regular courses of lectures on the same subjects delivered by physicians. In France many distinguished men, both inside and outside the medical profession, are working for the cause of the instruction of the young in sexual hygiene, though they have to contend against a more obstinate degree of prejudice and prudery on the part of the middle class than is to be found in the Germanic lands. The Commission Extraparlementaire du Régime des Mœurs, with the conjunction of Augagneur, Alfred Fournier, Yves Guyot, Gide, and other distinguished professors, teachers, etc., has lately pronounced in favor of the official establishment of instruction in sexual hygiene, to be given in the highest classes at the lycées, or in the earliest class at higher educational colleges; such instruction, it is argued, would not only furnish needed enlightenment, but also educate the sense of moral responsibility. There is in France, also, an active and distinguished though unofficial Société Française de Prophylaxie Sanitaire et Morale, which delivers public lectures on sexual hygiene. Fournier, Pinárd, Burlureaux and other

[1] The character and extent of such lectures are fully discussed in the Proceedings of the Third Congress of the German Society for Combating Venereal Diseases, *Sexualpädagogik*, 1907.

eminent physicians have written pamphlets on this subject for popular distribution (see, *e.g.*, *Le Progrès Médical* of September, 1907). In England and the United States very little has yet been done in this direction, but in the United States, at all events, opinion in favor of action is rapidly growing (see, *e.g.*, W. A. Funk, "The Venereal Peril," *Medical Record*, April 13, 1907). The American Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis (based on the parent society founded in Paris in 1900 by Fournier) was established in New York in 1905. There are similar societies in Chicago and Philadelphia. The main object is to study venereal diseases and to work toward their social control. Doctors, laymen, and women are members. Lectures and short talks are now given under the auspices of these societies to small groups of young women in social settlements, and in other ways, with encouraging success; it is found to be an excellent method of reaching the young women of the working classes. Both men and women physicians take part in the lectures (Clement Cleveland, Presidential Address on "Prophylaxis of Venereal Diseases," *Transactions American Gynæcological Society*, Philadelphia, vol. xxxii, 1907).

An important auxiliary method of carrying out the task of sexual hygiene, and at the same time of spreading useful enlightenment, is furnished by the method of giving to every syphilitic patient in clinics where such cases are treated a card of instruction for his guidance in hygienic matters, together with a warning of the risks of marriage within four or five years after infection, and in no case without medical advice. Such printed instruction, in clear, simple, and incisive language, should be put into the hands of every syphilitic patient as a matter of routine, and it might be as well to have a corresponding card for gonorrhœal patients. This plan has already been introduced at some hospitals, and it is so simple and unobjectionable a precaution that it will, no doubt, be generally adopted. In some countries this measure is carried out on a wider scale. Thus in Austria, as the result of a movement in which several university professors have taken an active part, leaflets and circulars, explaining briefly the chief symptoms of venereal diseases and warning against quacks and secret remedies, are circulated among young laborers and factory hands, matriculating students, and scholars who are leaving trade schools.

In France, where great social questions are sometimes faced with a more chivalrous daring than elsewhere, the dangers of syphilis, and the social position of the prostitute, have alike been dealt with by distinguished novelists and dramatists. Huysmans inaugurated this movement with his first novel, *Marthe*, which was immediately suppressed by the police. Shortly afterwards Edmond de Goncourt published *La Fille Elisa*, the first notable novel of the kind by a distinguished author. It was written with much reticence, and was not indeed a work of high

artistic value, but it boldly faced a great social problem and clearly set forth the evils of the common attitude towards prostitution. It was dramatized and played by Antoine at the Théâtre Libre, but when, in 1891, Antoine wished to produce it at the Porte-Saint-Martin Theatre, the censor interfered and prohibited the play on account of its "contexture générale." The Minister of Education defended this decision on the ground that there was much in the play that might arouse repugnance and disgust. "Repugnance here is more moral than attraction," exclaimed M. Paul Déroulède, and the newspapers criticized a censure which permitted on the stage all the trivial indecencies which favor prostitution, but cannot tolerate any attack on prostitution. In more recent years the brothers Margueritte, both in novels and in journalism, have largely devoted their distinguished abilities and high literary skill to the courageous and enlightened advocacy of many social reforms. Victor Margueritte, in his *Prostituée* (1907)—a novel which has attracted wide attention and been translated into various languages—has sought to represent the condition of women in our actual society, and more especially the condition of the prostitute under what he regards as the odious and iniquitous system still prevailing. The book is a faithful picture of the real facts, thanks to the assistance the author received from the Paris Préfecture of Police, and largely for that reason is not altogether a satisfactory work of art, but it vividly and poignantly represents the cruelty, indifference, and hypocrisy so often shown by men towards women, and is a book which, on that account, cannot be too widely read. One of the most notable of modern plays is Brieux's *Les Avariés* (1902). This distinguished dramatist, himself a medical man, dedicates his play to Fournier, the greatest of syphilographers. "I think with you," he writes here, "that syphilis will lose much of its danger when it is possible to speak openly of an evil which is neither a shame nor a punishment, and when those who suffer from it, knowing what evils they may propagate, will better understand their duties towards others and towards themselves." The story developed in the drama is the old and typical story of the young man who has spent his bachelor days in what he considers a discrete and regular manner, having only had two mistresses, neither of them prostitutes, but at the end of this period, at a gay supper at which he bids farewell to his bachelor life, he commits a fatal indiscretion and becomes infected by syphilis; his marriage is approaching and he goes to a distinguished specialist who warns him that treatment takes time, and that marriage is impossible for several years; he finds a quack, however, who undertakes to cure him in six months; at the end of the time he marries; a syphilitic child is born; the wife discovers the state of things and forsakes her home to return to her parents; her indignant father, a deputy in Parliament, arrives in Paris; the last word is with the great specialist who

brings finally some degree of peace and hope into the family. The chief morals Brieux points out are that it is the duty of the bride's parents before marriage to ascertain the bridegroom's health; that the bridegroom should have a doctor's certificate; that at every marriage the part of the doctors is at least as important as that of the lawyers. Even if it were a less accomplished work of art than it is, *Les Avariés* is a play which, from the social and educative point of view alone, all who have reached the age of adolescence should be compelled to see.

Another aspect of the same problem has been presented in *Plus Fort que le Mal*, a book written in dramatic form (though not as a properly constituted play intended for the stage) by a distinguished French medical author who here adopts the name of Espy de Metz. The author (who is not, however, pleading *pro domo*) calls for a more sympathetic attitude towards those who suffer from syphilis, and though he writes with much less dramatic skill than Brieux, and scarcely presents his moral in so unequivocal a form, his work is a notable contribution to the dramatic literature of syphilis.

It will probably be some time before these questions, poignant as they are from the dramatic point of view, and vitally important from the social point of view, are introduced on the English or the American stage. It is a remarkable fact that, notwithstanding the Puritanic elements which still exist in Anglo-Saxon thought and feeling generally, the Puritanic aspect of life has never received embodiment in the English or American drama. On the English stage it is never permitted to hint at the tragic side of wantonness; vice must always be made seductive, even though a *deus ex machina* causes it to collapse at the end of the performance. As Mr. Bernard Shaw has said, the English theatrical method by no means banishes vice; it merely consents that it shall be made attractive; its charms are advertised and its penalties suppressed. "Now, it is futile to plead that the stage is not the proper place for the representation and discussion of illegal operations, incest, and venereal disease. If the stage is the proper place for the exhibition and discussion of seduction, adultery, promiscuity, and prostitution, it must be thrown open to all the consequences of these things, or it will demoralize the nation."

The impulse to insist that vice shall always be made attractive is not really, notwithstanding appearances, a vicious impulse. It arises from a mental confusion, a common psychic tendency, which is by no means confined to Anglo-Saxon lands, and is even more well marked among the better educated in the merely literary sense, than among the worse educated people. The æsthetic is confused with the moral, and what arouses disgust is thus regarded as immoral. In France the novels of Zola, the most pedestrianally moralistic of writers, were for a long time supposed to be immoral because they were often disgusting. The

same feeling is still more widespread in England. If a prostitute is brought on the stage, and she is pretty, well-dressed, seductive, she may gaily sail through the play and every one is satisfied. But if she were not particularly pretty, well-dressed, or seductive, if it were made plain that she was diseased and was reckless in infecting others with that disease, if it were hinted that she could on occasion be foul-mouthed, if, in short, a picture were shown from life—then we should hear that the unfortunate dramatist had committed something that was "disgusting" and "immoral." Disgusting it might be, but, on that very account, it would be moral. There is a distinction here that the psychologist cannot too often point out or the moralist too often emphasize.

It is not for the physician to complicate and confuse his own task as teacher by mixing it up with considerations which belong to the spiritual sphere. But in carrying out impartially his own special work of enlightenment he will always do well to remember that there is in the adolescent mind, as it has been necessary to point out in a previous chapter, a spontaneous force working on the side of sexual hygiene. Those who believe that the adolescent mind is merely bent on sensual indulgence are not less false and mischievous in their influence than are those who think it possible and desirable for adolescents to be preserved in sheer sexual ignorance. However concealed, suppressed, or deformed—usually by the misplaced and premature zeal of foolish parents and teachers—there arise at puberty ideal impulses which, even though they may be rooted in sex, yet in their scope transcend sex. These are capable of becoming far more potent guides of the physical sex impulse than are merely material or even hygienic considerations.

It is time to summarize and conclude this discussion of the prevention of venereal disease, which, though it may seem to the superficial observer to be merely a medical and sanitary question outside the psychologist's sphere, is yet seen on closer view to be intimately related even to the most spiritual conception of the sexual relationships. Not only are venereal diseases the foes to the finer development of the race, but we cannot attain to any wholesome and beautiful vision of the relationships of sex so long as such relationships are liable at every moment to be corrupted and undermined at their source. We cannot yet precisely

measure the interval which must elapse before, so far as Europe at least is concerned, syphilis and gonorrhœa are sent to that limbo of monstrous old dead diseases to which plague and leprosy have gone and small-pox is already drawing near. But society is beginning to realize that into this field also must be brought the weapons of light and air, the sword and the breastplate with which all diseases can alone be attacked. As we have seen, there are four methods by which in the more enlightened countries venereal disease is now beginning to be combated.[1] (1) By proclaiming openly that the venereal diseases are diseases like any other disease, although more subtle and terrible than most, which may attack anyone from the unborn baby to its grandmother, and that they are not, more than other diseases, the shameful penalties of sin, from which relief is only to be sought, if at all, by stealth, but human calamities; (2) by adopting methods of securing official information concerning the extent, distribution, and variation of venereal disease, through the already recognized plan of notification and otherwise, and by providing such facilities for treatment, especially for free treatment, as may be found necessary; (3) by training the individual sense of moral responsibility, so that every member of the community may realize that to inflict a serious disease on another person, even only as a result of reckless negligence, is a more serious offence than if he or she had used the knife or the gun or poison as the method of attack, and that it is necessary to introduce special legal provision in every country to assist the recovery of damages for such injuries and to inflict penalties by loss of liberty or otherwise; (4) by the spread of hygienic knowledge, so that all adolescents, youths and girls alike, may be furnished at the outset of adult life with an equipment of information which will assist them to avoid the grosser risks of contamination and enable them to recognize and avoid danger at the earliest stages.

[1] I leave out of account, as beyond the scope of the present work, the auxiliary aids to the suppression of venereal diseases furnished by the promising new methods, only now beginning to be understood, of treating or even aborting such diseases (see, *e.g.*, Metchnikoff, *The New Hygiene*, 1906).

A few years ago, when no method of combating venereal disease was known except that system of police regulation which is now in its decadence, it would have been impossible to bring forward such considerations as these; they would have seemed Utopian. To-day they are not only recognizable as practical, but they are being actually put into practice, although, it is true, with very varying energy and insight in different countries. Yet it is certain that in the competition of nationalities, as Max von Niessen has well said, "that country will best take a leading place in the march of civilization which has the foresight and courage to introduce and carry through those practical movements of sexual hygiene which have so wide and significant a bearing on its own future, and that of the human race generally.[1]

[1] Max von Niessen, "Herr Doktor, darf ich heiraten?" *Mutterschutz* 1906, p. 352.

CHAPTER IX.

SEXUAL MORALITY.

Prostitution in Relation to Our Marriage System—Marriage and Morality—The Definition of the Term "Morality"—Theoretical Morality—Its Division Into Traditional Morality and Ideal Morality—Practical Morality—Practical Morality Based on Custom—The Only Subject of Scientific Ethics—The Reaction Between Theoretical and Practical Morality—Sexual Morality in the Past an Application of Economic Morality—The Combined Rigidity and Laxity of This Morality—The Growth of a Specific Sexual Morality and the Evolution of Moral Ideals—Manifestations of Sexual Morality—Disregard of the Forms of Marriage—Trial Marriage—Marriage After Conception of Child—Phenomena in Germany, Anglo-Saxon Countries, Russia, etc.—The Status of Woman—The Historical Tendency Favoring Moral Equality of Women with Men—The Theory of the Matriarchate—Mother-Descent—Women in Babylonia—Egypt—Rome—The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries—The Historical Tendency Favoring Moral Inequality of Woman—The Ambiguous Influence of Christianity—Influence of Teutonic Custom and Feudalism—Chivalry—Woman in England—The Sale of Wives—The Vanishing Subjection of Woman—Inaptitude of the Modern Man to Domineer—The Growth of Moral Responsibility in Women—The Concomitant Development of Economic Independence—The Increase of Women Who Work—Invasion of the Modern Industrial Field by Women—In How Far This Is Socially Justifiable—The Sexual Responsibility of Women and Its Consequences—The Alleged Moral Inferiority of Women—The "Self-Sacrifice" of Women—Society Not Concerned with Sexual Relationships—Procreation the Sole Sexual Concern of the State—The Supreme Importance of Maternity.

It has been necessary to deal fully with the phenomena of prostitution because, however aloof we may personally choose to hold ourselves from those phenomena, they really bring us to the heart of the sexual question in so far as it constitutes a social problem. If we look at prostitution from the outside, as an objective phenomenon, as a question of social dynamics, it is seen to be not a merely accidental and eliminable incident of our present marriage system but an integral part of it, without which it would fall to pieces. This will probably be fairly clear to all who have followed the preceding exposition of prostitutional

phenomena. There is, however, more than this to be said. Not only is prostitution to-day, as it has been for more than two thousand years, the buttress of our marriage system, but if we look at marriage, not from the outside as a formal institution, but from the inside with relation to the motives that constitute it, we find that marriage in a large proportion of cases is itself in certain respects a form of prostitution. This has been emphasized so often and from so many widely different standpoints that it may seem hardly necessary to labor the point here. But the point is one of extreme importance in relation to the question of sexual morality. Our social conditions are unfavorable to the development of a high moral feeling in woman. The difference between the woman who sells herself in prostitution and the woman who sells herself in marriage, according to the saying of Marro already quoted, "is only a difference in price and duration of the contract." Or, as Forel puts it, marriage is "a more fashionable form of prostitution," that is to say, a mode of obtaining, or disposing of, for monetary considerations, a sexual commodity. Marriage is, indeed, not merely a more fashionable form of prostitution, it is a form sanctified by law and religion, and the question of morality is not allowed to intrude. Morality may be outraged with impunity provided that law and religion have been invoked. The essential principle of prostitution is thus legalized and sanctified among us. That is why it is so difficult to arouse any serious indignation, or to maintain any reasoned objections, against our prostitution considered by itself. The most plausible ground is that of those[1] who, bringing marriage down to the level of prostitution, maintain that the prostitute is a "blackleg" who is accepting less than the "market rate of wages," *i.e.*, marriage, for the sexual services she renders. But even this low ground is quite unsafe. The prostitute is really paid extremely well considering how little she gives in return; the wife is really paid extremely badly considering how much she often gives, and how much she necessarily gives up. For the sake of the advantage of economic dependence on her

[1] *E.g.*, E. Belfort Bax. *Outspoken Essays*, p. 6.

husband, she must give up, as Ellen Key observes, those rights over her children, her property, her work, and her own person which she enjoys as an unmarried woman, even, it may be added, as a prostitute. The prostitute never signs away the right over her own person, as the wife is compelled to do; the prostitute, unlike the wife, retains her freedom and her personal rights, although these may not often be of much worth. It is the wife rather than the prostitute who is the "blackleg."

It is by no means only during recent years that our marriage system has been arraigned before the bar of morals. Forty years ago James Hinton exhausted the vocabulary of denunciation in describing the immorality and selfish licentiousness which our marriage system covers with the cloak of legality and sanctity. "There is an unsoundness in our marriage relations," Hinton wrote. "Not only practically are they dreadful, but they do not answer to feelings and convictions far too widespread to be wisely ignored. Take the case of women of marked eminence consenting to be a married man's mistress; of pure and simple girls saying they cannot see why they should have a marriage by law; of a lady saying that if she were in love she would not have any legal tie; of its being necessary—or thought so by good and wise men—to keep one sex in bitter and often fatal ignorance. These things (and how many more) show some deep unsoundness in the marriage relations. This must be probed and searched to the bottom."

At an earlier date, in 1847, Gross-Hoffinger, in his *Die Schicksale der Frauen und die Prostitution*—a remarkable book which Bloch, with little exaggeration, describes as possessing an epoch-marking significance—vigorously showed that the problem of prostitution is in reality the problem of marriage, and that we can only reform away prostitution by reforming marriage, regarded as a compulsory institution resting on an antiquated economic basis. Gross-Hoffinger was a pioneering precursor of Ellen Key.

More than a century and a half earlier a man of very different type scathingly analyzed the morality of his time, with a brutal frankness, indeed, that seemed to his contemporaries a revoltingly cynical attitude towards their sacred institutions, and they felt that nothing was left to them save to burn his books. Describing modern marriage in his *Fable of the Bees* (1714, p. 64), and what that marriage might legally cover, Mandeville wrote: "The fine gentleman I spoke of need not practice any greater self-denial than the savage, and the latter acted more according to the laws of nature and sincerity than the first. The man that gratifies his appetite after the manner the custom of the coun-

try allows of, has no censure to fear. If he is hotter than goats or bulls, as soon as the ceremony is over, let him sate and fatigue himself with joy and ecstasies of pleasure, raise and indulge his appetite by turns, as extravagantly as his strength and manhood will give him leave. He may, with safety, laugh at the wise men that should reprove him: all the women and above nine in ten of the men are of his side; nay, he has the liberty of valuing himself upon the fury of his unbridled passions, and the more he wallows in lust and strains every faculty to be abandonedly voluptuous, the sooner he shall have the good-will and gain the affection of the women, not the young, vain, and lascivious only, but the prudent, grave, and most sober matrons."

Thus the charge brought against our marriage system from the point of view of morality is that it subordinates the sexual relationship to considerations of money and of lust. That is precisely the essence of prostitution.

The only legitimately moral end of marriage—whether we regard it from the wider biological standpoint or from the narrower standpoint of human society—is as a sexual selection, effected in accordance with the laws of sexual selection, and having as its direct object a united life of complete mutual love and as its indirect object the procreation of the race. Unless procreation forms part of the object of marriage, society has nothing whatever to do with it and has no right to make its voice heard. But if procreation is one of the ends of marriage, then it is imperative from the biological and social points of view that no influences outside the proper natural influence of sexual selection should be permitted to affect the choice of conjugal partners, for in so far as wholesome sexual selection is interfered with the offspring is likely to be injured and the interests of the race affected.

It must, of course, be clearly understood that the idea of marriage as a form of sexual union based not on biological but on economic considerations, is very ancient, and is sometimes found in societies that are almost primitive. Whenever, however, marriage on a purely property basis, and without due regard to sexual selection, has occurred among comparatively primitive and vigorous peoples, it has been largely deprived of its evil results by the recognition of its merely economic character, and by the absence of any desire to suppress, even nominally, other sexual relationships on a more natural basis which were outside this artificial form of marriage. Polygamy especially tended to con-

ciliate unions on an economic basis with unions on a natural sexual basis. Our modern marriage system has, however, acquired an artificial rigidity which excludes the possibility of this natural safeguard and compensation. Whatever its real moral content may be, a modern marriage is always "legal" and "sacred." We are indeed so accustomed to economic forms of marriage that, as Sidgwick truly observed (*Method of Ethics*, Bk. ii, Ch. XI), when they are spoken of as "legalized prostitution" it constantly happens that "the phrase is felt to be extravagant and paradoxical."

A man who marries for money or for ambition is departing from the biological and moral ends of marriage. A woman who sells herself for life is morally on the same level as one who sells herself for a night. The fact that the payment seems larger, that in return for rendering certain domestic services and certain personal complacencies—services and complacencies in which she may be quite inexpert—she will secure an almshouse in which she will be fed and clothed and sheltered for life makes no difference in the moral aspect of her case. The moral responsibility is, it need scarcely be said, at least as much the man's as the woman's. It is largely due to the ignorance and even the indifference of men, who often know little or nothing of the nature of women and the art of love. The unintelligence with which even men who might, one thinks, be not without experience, select as a mate, a woman who, however fine and charming she may be, possesses none of the qualities which her wooer really craves, is a perpetual marvel. To refrain from testing and proving the temper and quality of the woman he desires for a mate is no doubt an amiable trait of humility on a man's part. But it is certain that a man should never be content with less than the best of what a woman's soul and body have to give, however unworthy he may feel himself of such a possession. This demand, it must be remarked, is in the highest interests of the woman herself. A woman can offer to a man what is a part at all events of the secret of the universe. The woman degrades herself who sinks to the level of a candidate for an asylum for the destitute.

Our discussion of the psychic facts of sex has thus, it will be seen, brought us up to the question of morality. Over and

over again, in setting forth the phenomena of prostitution, it has been necessary to use the word "moral." That word, however, is vague and even, it may be, misleading because it has several senses. So far, it has been left to the intelligent reader, as he will not fail to perceive, to decide from the context in what sense the word was used. But at the present point, before we proceed to discuss sexual psychology in relation to marriage, it is necessary, in order to avoid ambiguity, to remind the reader what precisely are the chief main senses in which the word "morality" is commonly used.

The morality with which ethical treatises are concerned is *theoretical morality*. It is concerned with what people "ought" —or what is "right" for them—to do. Socrates in the Platonic dialogues was concerned with such theoretical morality: what "ought" people to seek in their actions? The great bulk of ethical literature, until recent times one may say the whole of it is concerned with that question. Such theoretical morality is, as Sidgwick said, a study rather than a science, for science can only be based on what is, not on what ought to be.

Even within the sphere of theoretical morality there are two very different kinds of morality, so different indeed that sometimes each regards the other as even inimical or at best only by courtesy, with yet a shade of contempt, "moral." These two kinds of theoretical morality are *traditional morality* and *ideal morality*. Traditional morality is founded on the long established practices of a community and possesses the stability of all theoretical ideas based in the past social life and surrounding every individual born into the community from his earliest years. It becomes the voice of conscience which speaks automatically in favor of all the rules that are thus firmly fixed, even when the individual himself no longer accepts them. Many persons, for example, who were brought up in childhood to the Puritanical observance of Sunday, will recall how, long after they had ceased to believe that such observances were "right," they yet in the violation of them heard the protest of the automatically aroused voice of "conscience," that is to say the expression within the individual of customary rules which have indeed now

ceased to be his own but were those of the community in which he was brought up.

Ideal morality, on the other hand, refers not to the past of the community but to its future. It is based not on the old social actions that are becoming antiquated, and perhaps even anti-social in their tendency, but on new social actions that are as yet only practiced by a small though growing minority of the community. Nietzsche in modern times has been a conspicuous champion of ideal morality, the heroic morality of the pioneer, of the individual of the coming community, against traditional morality, or, as he called it, herd-morality, the morality of the crowd. These two moralities are necessarily opposed to each other, but, we have to remember, they are both equally sound and equally indispensable, not only to those who accept them but to the community which they both contribute to hold in vital theoretical balance. We have seen them both, for instance, applied to the question of prostitution; traditional morality defends prostitution, not for its own sake, but for the sake of the marriage system which it regards as sufficiently precious to be worth a sacrifice, while ideal morality refuses to accept the necessity of prostitution, and looks forward to progressive changes in the marriage system which will modify and diminish prostitution.

But altogether outside theoretical morality, or the question of what people "ought" to do, there remains *practical morality*, or the question of what, as a matter of fact, people actually do. This is the really fundamental and essential morality. Latin *mores* and Greek ἦθος both refer to *custom*, to the things that are, and not to the things that "ought to be, except in the indirect and secondary sense that whatever the members of the community, in the mass, actually do, is the thing that they feel they ought to do. In the first place, however, a moral act was not done because it was felt that it ought to be done, but for reasons of a much deeper and more instinctive character.[1] It

[1] Such reasons are connected with communal welfare. "All immoral acts result in communal unhappiness, all moral acts in communal happiness," as Prof. A. Mathews remarks, "Science and Morality," *Popular Science Monthly*, March, 1909.

was not first done because it was felt it ought to be done, but it was felt it "ought" to be done because it had actually become the custom to do it.

The actions of a community are determined by the vital needs of a community under the special circumstances of its culture, time, and land. When it is the general custom for children to kill their aged parents that custom is always found to be the best not only for the community but even for the old people themselves, who desire it; the action is both practically moral and theoretically moral.[1] And when, as among ourselves, the aged are kept alive, that action is also both practically and theoretically moral; it is in no wise dependent on any law or rule opposed to the taking of life, for we glory in the taking of life under the patriotic name of "war," and are fairly indifferent to it when involved by the demands of our industrial system; but the killing of the aged no longer subserves any social need and their preservation ministers to our civilized emotional needs. The killing of a man is indeed notoriously an act which differs widely in its moral value at different periods and in different countries. It was quite moral in England two centuries ago and less, to kill a man for trifling offences against property, for such punishment commended itself as desirable to the general sense of the educated community. To-day it would be regarded as highly immoral. We are even yet only beginning to doubt the morality of condemning to death and imprisoning for life an unmarried girl who destroyed her infant at birth, solely actuated, against all her natural impulses, by the primitive instinct of self-defense. It cannot be said that we have yet begun to doubt the morality of killing men in war, though we no longer approve of killing women and children, or even non-combatants generally. Every age or land has its own morality.

"Custom, in the strict sense of the word," well says Westermarck, "involves a moral rule. . . . . Society is the school in which men learn to distinguish between right and wrong.

[1] See Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, vol. i, pp. 386-390, 522.

The headmaster is custom."[1] Custom is not only the basis of morality but also of law. "Custom is law."[2] The field of theoretical morality has been found so fascinating a playground for clever philosophers that there has sometimes been a danger of forgetting that, after all, it is not theoretical morality but practical morality, the question of what men in the mass of a community actually do, which constitutes the real stuff of morals.[3] If we define more precisely what we mean by morals, on the practical side, we may say that it is constituted by those customs which the great majority of the members of a community regard as conducive to the welfare of the community at some particular time and place. It is for this reason—*i.e.*, because it is a question of what is and not of merely what some think ought to be—that practical morals form the proper subject of science. "If the word 'ethics' is to be used as the name for a science," Westermarck says, "the object of that science can only be to study the moral consciousness as a fact."[4]

Lecky's *History of European Morals* is a study in practical rather than in theoretical morals. Dr. Westermarck's great work, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, is a more modern example of the objectively scientific discussion of morals, although this is not perhaps clearly brought out by the title. It is essentially a description of the actual historical facts of what has been, and not of what "ought" to be. Mr. L. T. Hobhouse's *Morals in Evolution*, published almost at the same time, is similarly a work which, while professedly dealing with ideas,

[1] Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, pp, 9, 159; also the whole of Ch. VII. Actions that are in accordance with custom call forth public approval, actions that are opposed to custom call forth public resentment, and Westermarck powerfully argues that such approval and such resentment are the foundation of moral judgments.

[2] This is well recognized by legal writers (*e. g.*, E. A. Schroeder, *Das Recht in der Geschlechtlichen Ordnung*, p. 5).

[3] W. G. Sumner (*Folkways*, p. 418) even considers it desirable to change the form of the word in order to emphasize the real and fundamental meaning of morals, and proposes the word *mores* to indicate "popular usages and traditions conducive to societal reform." "'Immoral,'" he points out, "never means anything but contrary to the *mores* of the time and place." There is, however, no need whatever to abolish or to supplement the good old ancient word "morality," so long as we clearly realize that, on the practical side, it means essentially custom.

[4] Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 19.

i.e., with rules and regulations, and indeed disclaiming the task of being "the history of conduct," yet limits itself to those rules which are "in fact, the normal conduct of the average man" (vol. i, p. 26). In other words, it is essentially a history of practical morality, and not of theoretical morality. One of the most subtle and suggestive of living thinkers, M. Jules de Gaultier, in several of his books, and notably in *La Dépendance de la Morale et l'Indépendance des Mœurs* (1907), has analyzed the conception of morals in a somewhat similar sense. "Phenomena relative to conduct," as he puts it (*op. cit.*, p. 58), "are given in experience like other phenomena, so that morality, or the totality of the laws which at any given moment of historic evolution are applied to human practice, is dependent on customs." I may also refer to the masterly exposition of this aspect of morality in Lévy-Bruhl's *La Morale et la Science des Mœurs* (there is an English translation).

Practical morality is thus the solid natural fact which forms the biological basis of theoretical morality, whether traditional or ideal. The excessive fear, so widespread among us, lest we should injure morality is misplaced. We cannot hurt morals though we can hurt ourselves. Morals is based on nature and can at the most only be modified. As Crawley rightly insists,[1] even the categorical imperatives of our moral traditions, so far from being, as is often popularly supposed, attempts to suppress Nature, arise in the desire to assist Nature; they are simply an attempt at the rigid formulation of natural impulses. The evil of them only lies in the fact that, like all things that become rigid and dead, they tend to persist beyond the period when they were a beneficial vital reaction to the environment. They thus provoke new forms of ideal morality; and practical morals develops new structures, in accordance with new vital relationships, to replace older and desiccated traditions.

There is clearly an intimate relationship between theoretical morals and practical morals or morality proper. For not only is theoretical morality the outcome in consciousness of realized

[1] See, *e.g.*, "Exogamy and the Mating of Cousins," in *Essays Presented to E. B. Tylor*, 1907, p. 53. "In many departments of primitive life we find a naïve desire to, as it were, assist Nature, to affirm what is normal, and later to confirm it by the categorical imperative of custom and law. This tendency still flourishes in our civilized communities, and, as the worship of the normal, is often a deadly foe to the abnormal and eccentric, and too often paralyzes originality."

practices embodied in the general life of the community, but, having thus become conscious, it reacts on those practices and tends to support them or, by its own spontaneous growth, to modify them. This action is diverse, according as we are dealing with one or the other of the strongly marked divisions of theoretical morality: traditional and posterior morality, retarding the vital growth of moral practice, or ideal and anterior morality, stimulating the vital growth of moral practice. Practical morality, or morals proper, may be said to stand between these two divisions of theoretical morality. Practice is perpetually following after anterior theoretical morality, in so far of course as ideal morality really is anterior and not, as so often happens, astray up a blind alley. Posterior or traditional morality always follows after practice. The result is that while the actual morality, in practice at any time or place, is always closely related to theoretical morality, it can never exactly correspond to either of its forms. It always fails to catch up with ideal morality; it is always outgrowing traditional morality.

It has been necessary at this point to formulate definitely the three chief forms in which the word "moral" is used, although under one shape or another they cannot but be familiar to the reader. In the discussion of prostitution it has indeed been easily possible to follow the usual custom of allowing the special sense in which the word was used to be determined by the context. But now, when we are, for the moment, directly concerned with the specific question of the evolution of sexual morality, it is necessary to be more precise in formulating the terms we use. In this chapter, except when it is otherwise stated, we are concerned primarily with morals proper, with actual conduct as it develops among the masses of a community, and only secondarily with anterior morality or with posterior morality.

Sexual morality, like all other kinds of morality, is necessarily constituted by inherited traditions modified by new adaptations to the changing social environment. If the influence of tradition becomes unduly pronounced the moral life tends to decay and lose its vital adaptability. If adaptability becomes too facile the moral life tends to become unstable and to lose

authority. It is only by a reasonable synthesis of structure and function—of what is called the traditional with what is called the ideal—that the moral life can retain its authority without losing its reality. Many, even among those who call themselves moralists, have found this hard to understand. In a vain desire for an impossible logicality they have over-emphasized either the ideal influence on practical morals or, still more frequently, the traditional influence, which has appealed to them because of the impressive authority its *dicta* seem to convey. The results in the sphere we are here concerned with have often been unfortunate, for no social impulse is so rebellious to decayed traditions, so volcanically eruptive, as that of sex.

We are accustomed to identify our present marriage system with "morality" in the abstract, and for many people, perhaps for most, it is difficult to realize that the slow and insensible movement which is always affecting social life at the present time, as at every other time, is profoundly affecting our sexual morality. A transference of values is constantly taking place; what was once the very standard of morality becomes immoral, what was once without question immoral becomes a new standard. Such a process is almost as bewildering as for the European world two thousand years ago was the great struggle between the Roman city and the Christian Church, when it became necessary to realize that what Marcus Aurelius, the great pattern of morality, had sought to crush as without question immoral,[1] was becoming regarded as the supreme standard of morality. The classic world considered love and pity and self-sacrifice as little better than weakness and sometimes worse; the Christian world not only regarded them as moralities but incarnated them in a god. Our sexual morality has likewise disregarded natural human emotions, and is incapable of understanding those who declare that to retain unduly traditional laws that are opposed to the vital needs of human societies is not a morality but an immorality.

[1] The spirit of Christianity, as illustrated by Paulinus, in his *Epistle XXV*, was from the Roman point of view, as Dill remarks (*Roman Society*, p. 11), "a renunciation, not only of citizenship, but of all the hard-won fruits of civilization and social life."

The reason why the gradual evolution of moral ideals, which is always taking place, tends in the sexual sphere, at all events among ourselves, to reach a stage in which there seems to be an opposition between different standards lies in the fact that as yet we really have no specific sexual morality at all.[1] That may seem surprising at first to one who reflects on the immense weight which is usually attached to "sexual morality." And it is undoubtedly true that we have a morality which we apply to the sphere of sex. But that morality is one which belongs mainly to the sphere of property and was very largely developed on a property basis. All the historians of morals in general, and of marriage in particular, have set forth this fact, and illustrated it with a wealth of historical material. We have as yet no generally recognized sexual morality which has been based on the specific sexual facts of life. That becomes clear at once when we realize the central fact that the sexual relationship is based on love, at the very least on sexual desire, and that that basis is so deep as to be even physiological, for in the absence of such sexual desire it is physiologically impossible for a man to effect intercourse with a woman. Any specific sexual morality must be based on that fact. But our so-called "sexual morality," so far from being based on that fact, attempts to ignore it altogether. It makes contracts, it arranges sexual relationships beforehand, it offers to guarantee permanency of sexual inclinations. It introduces, that is, considerations of a kind that is perfectly sound in the economic sphere to which such considerations rightly belong, but ridiculously incongruous in the sphere of sex to which they have solemnly been applied. The economic relationships of life, in the large sense, are, as we shall see, extremely important in the evolution of any sound sexual morality, but they belong to the conditions of its development and do not constitute its basis.[2]

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[1] It thus happens that, as Lecky said in his *History of European Morals*, "of all the departments of ethics the questions concerning the relations of the sexes and the proper position of woman are those upon the future of which there rests the greatest uncertainty." Some progress has perhaps been made since these words were written, but they still hold true for the majority of people.

[2] Concerning economic marriage as a vestigial survival, see, *e.g.*, Bloch, *The Sexual Life of Our Time*, p. 212.

The fact that, from the legal point of view, marriage is primarily an arrangement for securing the rights of property and inheritance is well illustrated by the English divorce law to-day. According to this law, if a woman has sexual intercourse with any man beside her husband, he is entitled to divorce her; if, however, the husband has intercourse with another woman beside his wife, she is not entitled to a divorce: that is only accorded if, in addition, he has also been cruel to her, or deserted her, and from any standpoint of ideal morality such a law is obviously unjust, and it has now been discarded in nearly all civilized lands except England.

But from the standpoint of property and inheritance it is quite intelligible, and on that ground it is still supported by the majority of Englishmen. If the wife has intercourse with other men there is a risk that the husband's property will be inherited by a child who is not his own. But the sexual intercourse of the husband with other women is followed by no such risk. The infidelity of the wife is a serious offence against property; the infidelity of the husband is no offence against property, and cannot, possibly, therefore, be regarded as a ground for divorce from our legal point of view. The fact that his adultery complicated by cruelty is such a ground, is simply a concession to modern feeling. Yet, as Helene Stöcker truly points out ("Verschiedenheit im Liebesleben des Weibes und des Mannes." *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, Dec., 1908), a married man who has an unacknowledged child with a woman outside of marriage, has committed an act as seriously anti-social as a married woman who has a child without acknowledging that the father is not her husband. In the first case, the husband, and in the second case, the wife, have placed an undue amount of responsibility on another person. (The same point is brought forward by the author of *The Question of English Divorce*, p. 56.)

I insist here on the economic element in our sexual morality because that is the element which has given it a kind of stability and become established in law. But if we take a wider view of our sexual morality, we cannot ignore the ancient element of asceticism, which has given religious passion and sanction to it. Our sexual morality is thus, in reality, a bastard born of the union of property-morality with primitive ascetic morality, neither in true relationship to the vital facts of the sexual life. It is, indeed, the property element which, with a few inconsistencies, has become finally the main concern of our law, but the ascetic element (with, in the past, a wavering relationship to law) has had an important part in moulding popular sentiment and in creating an attitude of reprobation towards sexual intercourse *per se*, although such intercourse is regarded as an essential part of the property-based and religiously sanctified institution of legal marriage.

The glorification of virginity led by imperceptible stages to the

formulation of "fornication" as a deadly sin, and finally as an actual secular "crime." It is sometimes stated that it was not until the Council of Trent that the Church formally anathematized those who held that the state of marriage was higher than that of virginity, but the opinion had been more or less formally held from almost the earliest ages of Christianity, and is clear in the epistles of Paul. All the theologians agree that fornication is a mortal sin. Caramuel, indeed, the distinguished Spanish theologian, who made unusual concessions to the demands of reason and nature, held that fornication is only evil because it is forbidden, but Innocent XI formally condemned that proposition. Fornication as a mortal sin became gradually secularized into fornication as a crime. Fornication was a crime in France even as late as the eighteenth century, as Tarde found in his historical investigations of criminal procedure in Perigord; adultery was also a crime and severely punished quite independently of any complaint from either of the parties (Tarde, "Archéologie Criminelle en Périgord," *Archives de l'Anthropologie Criminelle*, Nov. 15, 1898).

The Puritans of the Commonwealth days in England (like the Puritans of Geneva) followed the Catholic example and adopted ecclesiastical offences against chastity into the secular law. By an Act passed in 1653 fornication became punishable by three months' imprisonment inflicted on both parties. By the same Act the adultery of a wife (nothing is said of a husband) was made felony, both for her and her partner in guilt, and therefore punishable by death (Scobell, *Acts and Ordinances*, p. 121).

The action of a pseudo-morality, such as our sexual morality has been, is double-edged. On the one side it induces a secret and shame-faced laxity, on the other it upholds a rigid and uninspiring theoretical code which so few can consistently follow that theoretical morality is thereby degraded into a more or less empty form. "The human race would gain much," said the wise Senancourt, "if virtue were made less laborious. The merit would not be so great, but what is the use of an elevation which can rarely be sustained?"[1] At present, as a more recent moralist, Ellen Key, puts it, we only have an immorality which favors vice and makes virtue irrealizable, and, as she exclaims with pardonable extravagance, to preach a sounder morality to the young,

[1] Senancourt, *De l'Amour*, vol. ii, p. 233. The author of *The Question of English Divorce* attributes the absence of any widespread feeling against sexual license to the absurd rigidity of the law.

without at the same time condemning the society which encourages the prevailing immorality, is "worse than folly, it is crime."

It is on the lines along which Senancourt a century ago and Ellen Key to-day are great pioneers that the new forms of anterior or ideal theoretical morality are now moving, in advance, according to the general tendency in morals, of traditional morality and even of practice.

There is one great modern movement of a definite kind which will serve to show how clearly sexual morality is to-day moving towards a new standpoint. This is the changing attitude of the bulk of the community towards both State marriage and religious marriage, and the growing tendency to disallow State interference with sexual relationships, apart from the production of children.

There has no doubt always been a tendency among the masses of the population in Europe to dispense with the official sanction of sexual relationships until such relationships have been well established and the hope of offspring has become justifiable. This tendency has been crystallized into recognized customs among numberless rural communities little touched either by the disturbing influences of the outside world or the controlling influences of theological Christian conceptions. But at the present day this tendency is not confined to the more primitive and isolated communities of Europe among whom, on the contrary, it has tended to die out. It is an unquestionable fact, says Professor Bruno Meyer, that far more than the half of sexual intercourse now takes place outside legal marriage.[1] It is among the intelligent classes and in prosperous and progressive communities that this movement is chiefly marked. We see throughout the world the practical common sense of the people shaping itself in the direction which has been pioneered by the ideal moralists who invariably precede the new growth of practical morality.

The voluntary childless marriages of to-day have served to show the possibility of such unions outside legal marriage, and

[1] Bruno Meyer, "Etwas von Positiver Sexualreform," *Sexual-Probleme*, Nov., 1908.

such free unions are becoming, as Mrs. Parsons points out, "a progressive substitute for marriage."[1] The gradual but steady rise in the age for entering on legal marriage also points in the same direction, though it indicates not merely an increase of free unions but an increase of all forms of normal and abnormal sexuality outside marriage. Thus in England and Wales, in 1906, only 43 per 1,000 husbands and 146 per 1,000 wives were under age, while the average age for husbands was 28.6 years and for wives 26.4 years. For men the age has gone up some eight months during the past forty years, for women more than this. In the large cities, like London, where the possibilities of extra-matrimonial relationships are greater, the age for legal marriage is higher than in the country.

If we are to regard the age of legal marriage as, on the whole, the age at which the population enters into sexual unions, it is undoubtedly too late. Beyer, a leading German neurologist, finds that there are evils alike in early and in late marriage, and comes to the conclusion that in temperate zones the best age for women to marry is the twenty-first year, and for men the twenty-fifth year.

Yet, under bad economic conditions and with a rigid marriage law, early marriages are in every respect disastrous. They are among the poor a sign of destitution. The very poorest marry first, and they do so through the feeling that their condition cannot be worse. (Dr. Michael Ryan brought together much interesting evidence concerning the causes of early marriage in Ireland in his *Philosophy of Marriage*, 1837, pp. 58-72). Among the poor, therefore, early marriage is always a misfortune. "Many good people," says Mr. Thomas Holmes, Secretary of the Howard Association and missionary at police courts (in an interview, *Daily Chronicle*, Sept. 8, 1906), "advise boys and girls to get married in order to prevent what they call a 'disgrace' This I consider to be absolutely wicked, and it leads to far greater evils than it can possibly avert."

Early marriages are one of the commonest causes both of prostitution and divorce. They lead to prostitution in innumerable cases, even when no outward separation takes place. The fact that they lead to divorce is shown by the significant circumstance that in England, although only 146 per 1,000 women are under twenty-one at marriage,

[1] Elsie Clews Parsons, *The Family*, p. 351. Dr. Parsons rightly thinks such unions a social evil when they check the development of personality.

of the wives concerned in divorce cases, 280 per 1,000 were under twenty-one at marriage, and this discrepancy is even greater than it appears, for in the well-to-do class, which can alone afford the luxury of divorce, the normal age at marriage is much higher than for the population generally. Inexperience, as was long ago pointed out by Milton (who had learnt this lesson to his cost), leads to shipwreck in marriage. "They who have lived most loosely," he wrote, "prove most successful in their matches, because their wild affections, unsettling at will, have been so many divorces to teach them experience."

Miss Clapperton, referring to the educated classes, advocates very early marriage, even during student life, which might then be to some extent carried on side by side (*Scientific Meliorism*, Ch. XVII). Ellen Key, also, advocates early marriage. But she wisely adds that it involves the necessity for easy divorce. That, indeed, is the only condition which can render early marriage generally desirable. Young people —unless they possess very simple and inert natures—can neither foretell the course of their own development and their own strongest needs, nor estimate accurately the nature and quality of another personality. A marriage formed at an early age very speedily ceases to be a marriage in anything but name. Sometimes a young girl applies for a separation from her husband even on the very day after marriage.

The more or less permanent free unions formed among us in Europe are usually to be regarded merely as trial-marriages. That is to say they are a precaution rendered desirable both by uncertainty as to either the harmony or the fruitfulness of union until actual experiment has been made, and by the practical impossibility of otherwise rectifying any mistake in consequence of the antiquated rigidity of most European divorce laws. Such trial marriages are therefore demanded by prudence and caution, and as foresight increases with the development of civilization, and constantly grows among us, we may expect that there will be a parallel development in the frequency of trial marriage and in the social attitude towards such unions. The only alternative—that a radical reform in European marriage laws should render the divorce of a legal marriage as economical and as convenient as the divorce of a free marriage—cannot yet be expected, for law always lags behind public opinion and public practice.

If, however, we take a wider historical view, we find that we are in presence of a phenomenon which, though favored by

modern conditions, is very ancient and widespread, dating, so far as Europe is concerned, from the time when the Church first sought to impose ecclesiastical marriage, so that it is practically a continuation of the ancient European custom of private marriage.

Trial-marriages pass by imperceptible gradations into the group of courtship customs which, while allowing the young couple to spend the night together, in a position of more or less intimacy, exclude, as a rule, actual sexual intercourse. Night-courtship flourishes in stable and well-knit European communities not liable to disorganization by contact with strangers. It seems to be specially common in Teutonic and Celtic lands, and is known by various names, as *Probenächte, fensterln, Kiltgang, hand-fasting, bundling, sitting-up, courting on the bed, etc.* It is well known in Wales; it is found in various English counties as in Cheshire; it existed in eighteenth century Ireland (according to Richard Twiss's *Travels*); in New England it was known as *tarrying;* in Holland it is called *questing.* In Norway, where it is called *night-running*, on account of the long distance between the homesteads, I am told that it is generally practiced, though the clergy preach against it; the young girl puts on several extra skirts and goes to bed, and the young man enters by door or window and goes to bed with her; they talk all night, and are not bound to marry unless it should happen that the girl becomes pregnant.

Rhys and Brynmor-Jones (*Welsh People*, pp. 582-4) have an interesting passage on this night-courtship with numerous references. As regards Germany see, *e. g.*, Rudeck, *Geschichte der öffentlichen Sittlichkeit*, pp. 146-154. With reference to trial-marriage generally many facts and references are given by M. A. Potter (*Sohrab and Rustem*, pp. 129-137).

The custom of free marriage unions, usually rendered legal before or after the birth of children, seems to be fairly common in many, or perhaps all, rural parts of England. The union is made legal, if found satisfactory, even when there is no prospect of children. In some counties it is said to be almost a universal practice for the women to have sexual relationships before legal marriage; sometimes she marries the first man whom she tries; sometimes she tries several before finding the man who suits her. Such marriages necessarily, on the whole, turn out better than marriages in which the woman, knowing nothing of what awaits her and having no other experiences for comparison, is liable to be disillusioned or to feel that she "might have done better." Even when legal recognition is not sought until after the birth of children, it by no means follows that any moral deterioration is involved. Thus in

some parts of Staffordshire where it is the custom of the women to have a child before marriage, notwithstanding this "corruption," we are told (Burton, *City of the Saints*, Appendix IV), the women are "very good neighbors, excellent, hard-working, and affectionate wives and mothers."

"The lower social classes, especially peasants," remarks Dr. Ehrhard ("Auch Ein Wort zur Ehereform," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, Jahrgang I, Heft 10), "know better than we that the marriage bed is the foundation of marriage. On that account they have retained the primitive custom of trial-marriage which, in the Middle Ages, was still practiced even in the best circles. It has the further advantage that the marriage is not concluded until it has shown itself to be fruitful. Trial-marriage assumes, of course, that virginity is not valued beyond its true worth." With regard to this point it may be mentioned that in many parts of the world a woman is more highly esteemed if she has had intercourse before marriage (see, *e.g.*, Potter, *op. cit.*, pp. 163 *et seq.*). While virginity is one of the sexual attractions a woman may possess, an attraction that is based on a natural instinct (see "The Evolution of Modesty," in vol. i of these *Studies*), yet an exaggerated attention to virginity can only be regarded as a sexual perversion, allied to *paidophilia*, the sexual attraction to children.

In very small coördinated communities the primitive custom of trial-marriage tends to decay when there is a great invasion of strangers who have not been brought up to the custom (which seems to them indistinguishable from the license of prostitution), and who fail to undertake the obligations which trial-marriage involves. This is what happened in the case of the so-called "island custom" of Portland, which lasted well on into the nineteenth century; according to this custom a woman before marriage lived with her lover until pregnant and then married him; she was always strictly faithful to him while living with him, but if no pregnancy occurred the couple might decide that they were not meant for each other, and break off relations. The result was that for a long period of years no illegitimate children were born, and few marriages were childless. But when the Portland stone trade was developed, the workmen imported from London took advantage of the "island custom," but refused to fulfil the obligation of marriage when pregnancy occurred. The custom consequently fell into disuse (see, *e.g.*, translator's note to Bloch's *Sexual Life of Our Time*, p. 237, and the quotation there given from Hutchins, *History and Antiquities of Dorset*, vol. ii. p. 820).

It is, however, by no means only in rural districts, but in great cities also that marriages are at the outset free unions. Thus in Paris Desprès stated more than thirty years ago (*La Prostitution à Paris*, p. 137) that in an average arrondissement nine out of ten legal marriages are the consolidation of a free union; though, while that was an aver-

age, in a few arrondissements it was only three out of ten. Much the same conditions prevail in Paris to-day; at least half the marriages, it is stated, are of this kind.

In Teutonic lands the custom of free unions is very ancient and well-established. Thus in Sweden, Ellen Key states (*Liebe und Ehe*, p. 123), the majority of the population begin married life in this way. The arrangement is found to be beneficial, and "marital fidelity is as great as pre-marital freedom is unbounded." In Denmark, also, a large number of children are conceived before the unions of the parents are legalized (Rubin and Westergaard, quoted by Gaedeken, *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, Feb. 15, 1909).

In Germany not only is the proportion of illegitimate births very high, since in Berlin it is 17 per cent., and in some towns very much higher, but ante-nuptial conceptions take place in nearly half the marriages, and sometimes in the majority. Thus in Berlin more than 40 per cent. of all legitimate first-born children are conceived before marriage, while in some rural provinces (where the proportion of illegitimate births is lower) the percentage of marriages following ante-nuptial conceptions is much higher than in Berlin. The conditions in rural Germany have been especially investigated by a committee of Lutheran pastors, and were set forth a few years ago in two volumes, *Die Geschlecht-sittlich Verhältnisse im Deutschen Reiche*, which are full of instruction concerning German sexual morality. In Hanover, it is said in this work, the majority of authorities state that intercourse before marriage is the rule. At the very least, a *probe*, or trial, is regarded as a matter-of-course preliminary to a marriage, since no one wishes "to buy a pig in a poke." In Saxony, likewise, we are told, it is seldom that a girl fails to have intercourse before marriage, or that her first child is not born, or at all events conceived, outside marriage. This is justified as a proper proving of a bride before taking her for good. "One does not buy even a penny pipe without trying it," a German pastor was informed. Around Stettin, in twelve districts (nearly half the whole), sexual intercourse before marriage is a recognized custom, and in the remainder, if not exactly a custom, it is very common, and is not severely or even at all condemned by public opinion. In some districts marriage immediately follows pregnancy. In the Dantzig neighborhood, again, according to the Lutheran Committee, intercourse before marriage occurs in more than half the cases, but marriage by no means always follows pregnancy. Nearly all the girls who go as servants have lovers, and country people in engaging servants sometimes tell them that at evening and night they may do as they like. This state of things is found to be favorable to conjugal fidelity The German peasant girl, as another authority remarks (E. H. Meyer, *Deutsche Volkskunde*, 1898, pp. 154, 164), has her own room; she may receive her lover: it is no great

shame if she gives herself to him. The number of women who enter legal marriage still virgins is not large (this refers more especially to Baden), but public opinion protects them, and such opinion is unfavorable to the disregard of the responsibilities involved by sexual relationships. The German woman is less chaste before marriage than her French or Italian sister. But, Meyer adds, she is probably more faithful after marriage than they are.

It is assumed by many that this state of German morality as it exists to-day is a new phenomenon, and the sign of a rapid national degeneration. That is by no means the case. In this connection we may accept the evidence of Catholic priests, who, by the experience of the confessional, are enabled to speak with authority. An old Bavarian priest thus writes (*Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, 1907, Bd. ii, Heft 1): "At Moral Congresses we hear laudation of 'the good old times' when faith and morality prevailed among the people. Whether that is correct is another question. As a young priest I heard of as many and as serious sins as I now hear of as an old man. The morality of the people is not greater nor is it less. The error is the belief that immorality goes out of the towns and poisons the country. People talk as though the country were a pure Paradise of innocence. I will by no means call our country people immoral, but from an experience of many years I can say that in sexual respects there is no difference between town and country. I have learnt to know more than a hundred different parishes, and in the most various localities, in the mountain and in the plain, on poor land and on rich land. But everywhere I find the same morals and lack of morals. There are everywhere the same men, though in the country there are often better Christians than in the towns."

If, however, we go much farther back than the memories of a living man it seems highly probable that the sexual customs of the German people of the present day are not substantially different—though it may well be that at different periods different circumstances have accentuated them—from what they were in the dawn of Teutonic history. This is the opinion of one of the profoundest students of Indo-Germanic origins. In his *Reallexicon* (art. "Keuschheit") O. Schrader points out that the oft-quoted Tacitus, strictly considered, can only be taken to prove that women were chaste after marriage, and that no prostitution existed. There can be no doubt, he adds, and the earliest historical evidence shows, that women in ancient Germany were not chaste before marriage. This fact has been disguised by the tendency of the old classic writers to idealize the Northern peoples.

Thus we have to realize that the conception of "German virtue," which has been rendered so familiar to the world by a long succession of German writers, by no means involves any special devotion to the virtue of chastity. Tacitus, indeed, in the passage more often quoted in

Germany than any other passage in classic literature, while correctly emphasizing the late puberty of the Germans and their brutal punishment of conjugal infidelity on the part of the wife, seemed to imply that they were also chaste. But we have always to remark that Tacitus wrote as a satirizing moralist as well as a historian, and that, as he declaimed concerning the virtues of the German barbarians, he had one eye on the Roman gallery whose vices he desired to lash. Much the same perplexing confusion has been created by Gildas, who, in describing the results of the Saxon Conquest of Britain, wrote as a preacher as well as a historian, and the same moral purpose (as Dill has pointed out) distorts Salvian's picture of the vices of fifth century Gaul. (I may add that some of the evidence in favor of the sexual freedom involved by early Teutonic faiths and customs is brought together in the study of "Sexual Periodicity" in the first volume of these *Studies; cf.* also, Rudeck, *Geschichte der offentlichen Sittlichkeit in Deutschland*, 1897, pp. 146 *et seq.*).

The freedom and tolerance of Russian sexual customs is fairly well-known. As a Russian correspondent writes to me, "the liberalism of Russian manners enables youths and girls to enjoy complete independence. They visit each other alone, they walk out alone, and they return home at any hour they please. They have a liberty of movement as complete as that of grown-up persons; some avail themselves of it to discuss politics and others to make love. They are able also to procure any books they please; thus on the table of a college girl I knew I saw the *Elements of Social Science*, then prohibited in Russia; this girl lived with her aunt, but she had her own room, which only her friends were allowed to enter; her aunt or other relations never entered it. Naturally, she went out and came back at what hours she pleased. Many other college girls enjoy the same freedom in their families. It is very different in Italy, where girls have no freedom of movement, and can neither go out alone nor receive gentlemen alone, and where, unlike Russia, a girl who has sexual intercourse outside marriage is really 'lost' and 'dishonored'" (*cf. Sexual-Probleme*, Aug., 1908, p. 506).

It would appear that freedom of sexual relationships in Russia—apart from the influence of ancient custom—has largely been rendered necessary by the difficulty of divorce. Married couples, who were unable to secure divorce, separated and found new partners without legal marriage. In 1907, however, an attempt was made to remedy this defect in the law; a liberal divorce law has been introduced, mutual consent with separation for a period of over a year being recognized as adequate ground for divorce (Beiblatt to *Geschlecht und Gesellschoft*, Bd. ii, Heft 5, p. 145).

During recent years there has developed among educated young men and women in Russia a movement of sexual license, which, though it

is doubtless supported by the old traditions of sexual freedom, must by no means be confused with that freedom, since it is directly due to causes of an entirely different order. The strenuous revolutionary efforts made during the last years of the past century to attain political freedom absorbed the younger and more energetic section of the educated classes, involved a high degree of mental tension, and were accompanied by a tendency to asceticism. The prospect of death was constantly before their eyes, and any preoccupation with sexual matters would have been felt as out of harmony with the spirit of revolution. But during the present century revolutionary activity has largely ceased. It has been, to a considerable extent, replaced by a movement of interest in sexual problems and of indulgence in sexual unrestraint, often taking on a somewhat licentious and sensual character. "Free love" unions have been formed by the students of both sexes for the cultivation of these tendencies. A novel, Artzibascheff's *Ssanin*, has had great influence in promoting these tendencies. It is not likely that this movement, in its more extravagant forms, will be of long duration. (For some account of this movement, see, *e g.*, Werner Daya, "Die Sexuelle Bewegung in Russland," *Zeitschrift fur Sexualwissenschaft*, Aug, 1908; also, "Les Associations Erotiques en Russe." *Journal du Droit International Privé*, Jan., 1909, fully summarized in *Revue des Idées*, Feb., 1909.)

The movement of sexual freedom in Russia lies much deeper, however, than this fashion of sensual license; it is found in remote and uncontaminated parts of the country, and is connected with very ancient customs.

There is considerable interest in realizing the existence of long-continued sexual freedom—by some incorrectly termed "immorality," for what is in accordance with the customs or *mores* of a people cannot be immoral—among peoples so virile and robust, so eminently capable of splendid achievements, as the Germans and the Russians. There is, however, a perhaps even greater interest in tracing the development of the same tendency among new prosperous and highly progressive communities who have either not inherited the custom of sexual freedom or are now only reviving it. We may, for instance take the case of Australia and New Zealand. This development may not, indeed, be altogether recent. The frankness of sexual freedom in Australia and the tolerance in regard to it were conspicuous thirty years ago to those who came from England to live in the Southern continent, and were doubtless equally visible at an earlier date. It seems, however, to have developed with the increase of self-conscious civilization. "After careful inquiry," says the Rev. H. Northcote, who has lived for many years in the Southern hemisphere (*Christianity and Sex Problems*, Ch. VIII), "the writer finds sufficient evidence that of recent years intercourse out of wedlock has tended towards an actual increase in parts of Australia." Coghlan, the

chief authority on Australian statistics, states more precisely in his *Childbirth in New South Wales*, published a few years ago: "The prevalence of births of ante-nuptial conception—a matter hitherto little understood—has now been completely investigated. In New South Wales, during six years, there were 13,366 marriages, in respect of which there was ante-nuptial conception, and, as the total number of marriages was 49,641, at least twenty-seven marriages in a hundred followed conception. During the same period the illegitimate births numbered 14,779; there were, therefore, 28,145 cases of conception amongst unmarried women; in 13,366 instances marriage preceded the birth of the child, so that the children were legitimatized in rather more than forty-seven cases out of one hundred. A study of the figures of births of ante-nuptial conception makes it obvious that in a very large number of instances pre-marital intercourse is not an anticipation of marriage already arranged, but that the marriages are forced upon the parties, and would not be entered into were it not for the condition of the woman" (*cf.* Powys, *Biometrika*, vol. i, 1901-2, p. 30). That marriage should be, as Coghlan puts it, "forced upon the parties," is not, of course, desirable in the general moral interests, and it is also a sign of imperfect moral responsibility in the parties themselves.

The existence of such a state of things, in a young country belonging to a part of the world where the general level of prosperity, intelligence, morality and social responsibility may perhaps be said to be higher than in any other region inhabited by people of white race, is a fact of the very first significance when we are attempting to forecast the direction in which civilized morality is moving.

It is sometimes said, or at least implied, that in this movement women are taking only a passive part, and that the initiative lies with men who are probably animated by a desire to escape the responsibilities of marriage. This is very far from being the case.

The active part taken by German girls in sexual matters is referred to again and again by the Lutheran pastors in their elaborate and detailed report. Of the Dantzig district it is said "the young girls give themselves to the youths, or even seduce them." The military manœuvres are frequently a source of unchastity in rural districts. "The fault is not merely with the soldiers, but chiefly with the girls, who become half mad as soon as they see a soldier," it is reported from the Dresden district. And in summarizing conditions in East Germany the report states: "In sexual wantonness girls are not behind the young men; they allow themselves to be seduced only too willingly; even grown-up girls

often go with half-grown youths, and girls frequently give themselves to several men, one after the other. It is by no means always the youth who effects the seduction, it is very frequently the girls who entice the youth to sexual intercourse; they do not always wait till the men come to their rooms, but will go to the men's rooms and await them in their beds. With this inclination to sexual intercourse, it is not surprising that many believe that after sixteen no girl is a virgin. Unchastity among the rural laboring classes is universal, and equally pronounced in both sexes" (*op. cit.*, vol. i, 218).

(Among women of the educated classes the conditions are somewhat different. Restraints, both internal and external, are very much greater. Virginity, at all events in its physical fact, is retained, for the most part, till long past girlhood, and when it is lost that loss is concealed with a scrupulous care and prudence unknown to the working-classes. Yet the fundamental tendencies remain the same. So far as England is concerned, Geoffrey Mortimer quite truly writes (*Chapters on Human Love*, 1898, p. 117) that the two groups of (1) women who live in constant secret association with a single lover, and (2) women who give themselves to men, without fear, from the force of their passions, are "much larger than is generally supposed. In all classes of society there are women who are only virgins by repute. Many have borne children without being even suspected of cohabitation; but the majority adopt methods of preventing conception. A doctor in a small provincial town declared to me that such irregular intimacies were the rule, and not by any means the exception in his district." As regards Germany, a lady doctor, Frau Adams-Lehmann, states in a volume of the Transactions of the German Society for Combating Venereal Disease (*Sexualpadagogik*, p 271): "I can say that during consultation hours I see very few virgins over thirty. These women," she adds, "are sensible, courageous and natural, often the best of their sex; and we ought to give them our moral support. They are working towards a new age.")

It is frequently stated that the pronounced tendency witnessed at the present time to dispense as long as possible with the formal ceremony of binding marriage is unfortunate because it places women in a disadvantageous position. In so far as the social environment in which she lives views with disapproval sexual relationship without formal marriage, the statement is obviously to that extent true, though it must be remarked, on the other hand, that when social opinion strongly favors legal marriage it acts as a compelling force in the direction of legitimating free unions. But if the absence of the formal marriage

bond constituted a real and intrinsic disadvantage to women in sexual relations they would not show themselves so increasingly ready to dispense with it. And, as a matter of fact, those who are intimately acquainted with the facts declare that the absence of formal marriage tends to give increased consideration to women and is even favorable to fidelity and to the prolongation of the union. This seems to be true as regards people of the most different social classes and even of different races. It is probably based on fundamental psychological facts, for the sense of compulsion always tends to produce a movement of exasperation and revolt. We are not here concerned with the question as to how far formal marriage also is based on natural facts; that is a question which will come up for discussion at a later stage.

The advantage for women of free sexual unions over compulsory marriage is well recognized in the case of the working classes of London, among whom sexual relationships before marriage are not unusual, and are indulgently regarded. It is, for instance, clearly asserted in the monumental work of C. Booth, *Life and Labour of the People*. "It is even said of rough laborers," we read, for instance, in the final volume of this work (p. 41), "that they behave best if not married to the woman with whom they live." The evidence on this point is often the more impressive because brought forward by people who are very far indeed from being anxious to base any general conclusions on it. Thus in the same volume a clergyman is quoted as saying: "These people manage to live together fairly peaceably so long as they are not married, but if they marry it always seems to lead to blows and rows."

It may be said that in such a case we witness not so much the operation of a natural law as the influences of a great centre of civilization exerting its moralizing effects even on those who stand outside the legally recognized institution of marriage. That contention may, however, be thrust aside. We find exactly the same tendency in Jamaica where the population is largely colored, and the stress of a high civilization can scarcely be said to exist. Legal marriage is here discarded to an even greater extent than in London, for little care is taken to legitimate children by marriage. It was found by a committee appointed to inquire into the marriage laws of Jamaica, that three out of every five births are illegitimate, that is to say that legal illegitimacy has ceased to be immoral, having become the recognized custom of the majority of the inhabitants. There is no social feeling against illegitimacy. The men approve of the decay of legal marriage, because they

say the women work better in the house when they are not married; the women approve of it, because they say that men are more faithful when not bound by legal marriage. This has been well brought out by W. P. Livingstone in his interesting book, *Black Jamaica* (1899). The people recognize, he tells us (p. 210), that "faithful living together constitutes marriage;" they say that they are "married but not parsoned." One reason against legal marriage is that they are disinclined to incur the expense of the official sanction. (In Venezuela, it may be added, where also the majority of births take place outside official marriage, the chief reason is stated to be, not moral laxity, but the same disinclination to pay the expenses of legal weddings.) Frequently in later life, sometimes when they have grown up sons and daughters, couples go through the official ceremony. (In Abyssinia, also, it is stated by Hugues Le Roux, where the people are Christian and marriage is indissoluble and the ceremony expensive, it is not usual for married couples to make their unions legal until old age is coming on, *Sexual-Probleme*, April, 1908, p. 217.) It is significant that this condition of things in Jamaica, as elsewhere, is associated with the superiority of women. "The women of the peasant class," remarks Livingstone (p 212), "are still practically independent of the men, and are frequently their superiors, both in physical and mental capacity." They refuse to bind themselves to a man who may turn out to be good for nothing, a burden instead of a help and protection. So long as the unions are free they are likely to be permanent. If made legal, the risk is that they will become intolerable, and cease by one of the parties leaving the other. "The necessity for mutual kindness and forbearance establishes a condition that is the best guarantee of permanency" (p. 214). It is said, however, that under the influence of religious and social pressure the people are becoming more anxious to adopt "respectable" ideas of sexual relationships, though it seems evident, in view of Livingstone's statement, that such respectability is likely to involve a decrease of real morality. Livingstone points out, however, one serious defect in the present conditions which makes it easy for immoral men to escape paternal responsibilities, and this is the absence of legal provision for the registration of the father's name on birth certificates (p. 256). In every country where the majority of births are illegitimate it is an obvious social necessity that the names of both parents should be duly registered on all birth certificates. It has been an unpardonable failure on the part of the Jamaican Government to neglect the simple measure needed to give "each child born in the country a legal father" (p. 258).

We thus see that we have to-day reached a position in which —partly owing to economic causes and partly to causes which are

more deeply rooted in the tendencies involved by civilization—women are more often detached than of old from legal sexual relationship with men and both sexes are less inclined than in earlier stages of civilization to sacrifice their own independence even when they form such relationships. "I never heard of a woman over sixteen years of age who, prior to the breakdown of aboriginal customs after the coming of the whites, had not a husband," wrote Curr of the Australian Blacks.[1] Even as regards some parts of Europe, it is still possible to-day to make almost the same statement. But in all the richer, more energetic, and progressive countries very different conditions prevail. Marriage is late and a certain proportion of men, and a still larger proportion of women (who exceed the men in the general population) never marry at all.[2]

Before we consider the fateful significance of this fact of the growing proportion of adult unmarried women whose sexual relationships are unrecognized by the state and largely unrecognized altogether, it may be well to glance summarily at the two historical streams of tendency, both still in action among us, which affect the status of women, the one favoring the social equality of the sexes, the other favoring the social subjection of women. It is not difficult to trace these two streams both in conduct and opinion, in practical morality and in theoretical morality.

At one time it was widely held that in early states of society, before the establishment of the patriarchal stage which places women under the protection of men, a matriarchal stage prevailed in which women possessed supreme power.[3] Bachofen, half a

[1] For evidence regarding the general absence of celibacy among both savage and barbarous peoples, see, *e.g.*, Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, Ch. VII.

[2] There are, for instance, two millions of unmarried women in France, while in Belgium 30 per cent. of the women, and in Germany sometimes even 50 per cent. are unmarried.

[3] Such a position would not be biologically unreasonable, in view of the greatly preponderant part played by the female in the sexual process which insures the conservation of the race. "If the sexual instinct is regarded solely from the physical side," says D. W. H. Busch (*Das Geschlechtsleben des Weibes*, 1839, vol. i, p. 201), "the woman cannot be regarded as the property of the man, but with equal and greater reason the man may be regarded as the property of the woman."

century ago, was the great champion of this view. He found a typical example of a matriarchal state among the ancient Lycians of Asia Minor with whom, Herodotus stated, the child takes the name of the mother, and follows her status, not that of the father.[1] Such peoples, Bachofen believed, were gynæcocratic; power was in the hands of women. It can no longer be said that this opinion, in the form held by Bachofen, meets with any considerable support. As to the wide-spread prevalence of descent through the mother, there is no doubt whatever that it has prevailed very widely. But such descent through the mother, it has become recognized, by no means necessarily involves the power of the mother, and mother-descent may even be combined with a patriarchal system.[2] There has even been a tendency to run to the opposite extreme from Bachofen and to deny that mother-descent conferred any special claim for consideration on women. That, however, seems scarcely in accordance with the evidence and even in the absence of evidence could scarcely be regarded as probable. It would seem that we may fairly take as a type of the matriarchal family that based on the *ambil anak* marriage of Sumatra, in which the husband lives in the wife's family, paying nothing and occupying a subordinate position. The example of the Lycians is here in point, for although, as reported by Herodotus, there is nothing to show that there was anything of the nature of a gynæcocracy in Lycia, we know that women in all these regions of Asia Minor enjoyed high consideration and influence, traces of which may be detected in the early literature and history of Christianity. A decisive and better known example of the favorable influence of mother-descent on the status of woman is afforded by the *beena* marriage of early Arabia. Under such a system the wife is not only pre-

[1] Herodotus, Bk. i, Ch. CLXXIII.

[2] That power and relationship are entirely distinct was pointed out many years ago by L. von Dargun, *Mutterrecht und Vaterrecht*, 1892. Westermarck (*Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, vol. i, p. 655), who is inclined to think that Steinmetz has not proved conclusively that mother-descent involves less authority of husband over wife, makes the important qualification that the husband's authority is impaired when he lives among his wife's kinsfolk.

served from the subjection involved by purchase, which always casts upon her some shadow of the inferiority belonging to property, but she herself is the owner of the tent and the household property, and enjoys the dignity always involved by the possession of property and the ability to free herself from her husband.[1]

It is also impossible to avoid connecting the primitive tendency to mother-descent, and the emphasis it involved on maternal rather than paternal generative energy, with the tendency to place the goddess rather than the god in the forefront of primitive pantheons, a tendency which cannot possibly fail to reflect honor on the sex to which the supreme deity belongs, and which may be connected with the large part which primitive women often play in the functions of religion. Thus, according to traditions common to all the central tribes of Australia, the woman formerly took a much greater share in the performance of sacred ceremonies which are now regarded as coming almost exclusively within the masculine province, and in at least one tribe which seems to retain ancient practices the women still actually take part in these ceremonies.[2] It seems to have been much the same in Europe. We observe, too, both in the Celtic pantheon and among Mediterranean peoples, that while all the ancient divinities have receded into the dim background yet the goddesses loom larger than the gods.[3] In Ireland, where ancient custom and tradition have always been very tenaciously preserved, women retained a very high position, and much freedom both before and after marriage. "Every woman," it was said, "is to go the way she willeth freely," and after marriage she enjoyed a better position and greater freedom of divorce than was afforded

[1] Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia;* J. G. Frazer has pointed out (*Academy*, March 27, 1886) that the partially Semitic peoples on the North frontier of Abyssinia, not subjected to the revolutionary processes of Islam, preserve a system closely resembling *beena* marriage, as well as some traces of the opposite system, by Robertson Smith called *ba'al* marriage, in which the wife is acquired by purchase and becomes a piece of property.

[2] Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 358.

[3] Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, *The Welsh People*, pp. 55-6: *cf.* Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom*, p. 93.

either by the Christian Church or the English common law.[1] There is less difficulty in recognizing that mother-descent was peculiarly favorable to the high status of women when we realize that even under very unfavorable conditions women have been able to exert great pressure on the men and to resist successfully the attempts to tyrannize over them.[2]

If we consider the status of woman in the great empires of antiquity we find on the whole that in their early stage, the stage of growth, as well as in their final stage, the stage of fruition, women tend to occupy a favorable position, while in their middle stage, usually the stage of predominating military organization on a patriarchal basis, women occupy a less favorable position. This cyclic movement seems to be almost a natural law of the development of great social groups. It was apparently well marked in the very stable and orderly growth of Babylonia. In the earliest times a Babylonian woman had complete independence and equal rights with her brothers and her husband; later (as shown by the code of Hamurabi) a woman's rights, though not her duties, were more circumscribed; in the still later Neo-Babylonian periods, she again acquired equal rights with her husband.[3]

In Egypt the position of women stood highest at the end, but it seems to have been high throughout the whole of the long course of Egyptian history, and continuously improving, while the fact that little regard was paid to prenuptial chastity and that marriage contracts placed no stress on virginity indicate the absence of the conception of women as property. More than three thousand five hundred years ago men and women were recognized as equal in Egypt. The high position of the Egyptian woman is significantly indicated by the fact that her child was never illegitimate; illegitimacy was not recognized even in the

[1] Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

[2] Crawley (*The Mystic Rose*, p. 41 *et seq.*) gives numerous instances.

[3] Revillout, "La Femme dans l'Antiquité," *Journal Asiatique*, 1906, vol. vii, p. 57. See, also, Victor Marx, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 1899, Bd. iv, Heft 1.

case of a slave woman's child.[1] "It is the glory of Egyptian morality," says Amélineau, "to have been the first to express the Dignity of Woman."[2] The idea of marital authority was altogether unknown in Egypt. There can be no doubt that the high status of woman in two civilizations so stable, so vital, so long-lived, and so influential on human culture as Babylonia and Egypt, is a fact of much significance.

Among the Jews there seems to have been no intermediate stage of subordination of women, but instead a gradual progress throughout from complete subjection of the woman as wife to ever greater freedom. At first the husband could repudiate his wife at will without cause. (This was not an extension of patriarchal authority, but a purely marital authority.) The restrictions on this authority gradually increased, and begin to be observable already in the Book of Deuteronomy. The *Mishnah went further and forbade divorce whenever the wife's condition* inspired pity (as in insanity, captivity, etc.). By A. D. 1025, divorce was no longer possible except for legitimate reasons or by the wife's consent. At the same time, the wife also began to acquire the right of divorce in the form of compelling the husband to repudiate her on penalty of punishment in case of refusal. On divorce the wife became an independent woman in her own right, and was permitted to carry off the dowry which her husband gave her on marriage. Thus, notwithstanding Jewish respect for the letter of the law, the flexible jurisprudence of the Rabbis, in harmony with the growth of culture, accorded an ever-growing measure of sexual justice and equality to women (D. W. Amram, *The Jewish Law of Divorce*).

Among the Arabs the tendency of progress has also been favorable to women in many respects, especially as regards inheritance. Before Mahommed, in accordance with the system prevailing at Medina, women had little or no right of inheritance. The legislation of the Koran modified this rule, without entirely abolishing it, and placed women in a much better position. This is attributed largely to the fact that Mahommed belonged not to Medina, but to Mecca, where traces of matriarchal custom still survived (W. Marçais, *Des Parents et des Alliés Successibles en Droit Musulman*).

[1] Donaldson, *Woman*, pp. 196, 241 *et seq.* Nietzold, (*Die Ehe in "Agypten,"* p. 17), thinks the statement of Diodorus that no children were illegitimate, needs qualification, but that certainly the illegitimate child in Egypt was at no social disadvantage.

[2] Amélineau, *La Morale Egyptienne*, p. 104; Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, vol. i, p. 187; Flinders Petrie, *Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 131 *et seq.*

It may be pointed out—for it is not always realized—that even that stage of civilization—when it occurs—which involves the subordination and subjection of woman and her rights really has its origin in the need for the protection of women, and is sometimes even a sign of the acquirement of new privileges by women. They are, as it were, locked up, not in order to deprive them of their rights, but in order to guard those rights. In the later more stable phase of civilization, when women are no longer exposed to the same dangers, this motive is forgotten and the guardianship of woman and her rights seems, and indeed has really become, a hardship rather than an advantage.

Of the status of women at Rome in the earliest periods we know little or nothing; the patriarchal system was already firmly established when Roman history begins to become clear and it involved unusually strict subordination of the woman to her father first and then to her husband. But nothing is more certain than that the status of women in Rome rose with the rise of civilization, exactly in the same way as in Babylonia and in Egypt. In the case of Rome, however, the growing refinement of civilization, and the expansion of the Empire, were associated with the magnificent development of the system of Roman law, which in its final forms consecrated the position of women. In the last days of the Republic women already began to attain the same legal level as men, and later the great Antonine jurisconsults, guided by their theory of natural law, reached the conception of the equality of the sexes as a principle of the code of equity. The patriarchal subordination of women fell into complete discredit, and this continued until, in the days of Justinian, under the influence of Christianity, the position of women began to suffer.[1] In the best days the older forms of Roman marriage gave place to a form (apparently old but not hitherto considered reputable) which amounted in law to a temporary deposit of the woman by her family. She was independent of her husband (more especially as she came to him with her own dowry) and only nominally dependent on her family. Marriage was a private contract, accompanied by a religious ceremony if desired, and being a contract it could be

[1] Maine, *Ancient Law*, Ch. V.

dissolved, for any reason, in the presence of competent witnesses and with due legal forms, after the advice of the family council had been taken. Consent was the essence of this marriage and no shame, therefore, attached to its dissolution. Nor had it any evil effect either on the happiness or the morals of Roman women.[1] Such a system is obviously more in harmony with modern civilized feeling than any system that has ever been set up in Christendom.

In Rome, also, it is clear that this system was not a mere legal invention but the natural outgrowth of an enlightened public feeling in favor of the equality of men and women, often even in the field of sexual morality. Plautus, who makes the old slave Syra ask why there is not the same law in this respect for the husband as for the wife,[2] had preceded the legist Ulpian who wrote: "It seems to be very unjust that a man demands chastity of his wife while he himself shows no example of it."[3] Such demands lie deeper than social legislation, but the fact that these questions presented themselves to typical Roman men indicates the general attitude towards women. In the final stage of Roman society the bond of the patriarchal system so far as women were concerned dwindled to a mere thread binding them to their fathers and leaving them quite free face to face with their husbands. "The Roman matron of the Empire," says Hobhouse, "was more fully her own mistress than the married woman of any earlier civilization, with the possible exception of a certain period of Egyptian history, and, it must be added, than the wife of any later civilization down to our own generation.[4]

On the strength of the statements of two satirical writers, Juvenal and Tacitus, it has been supposed by many that Roman women of the late period were given up to license. It is, however, idle to seek in satirists any balanced picture of a great civilization. Hobhouse (*loc. cit.*, p. 216) concludes that on the whole, Roman women worthily retained the position of their husbands' companions, counsellors and

[1] Donaldson, *Woman*, pp. 109, 120.
[2] *Mercator*, iv, 5.
[3] Digest XLVIII, 13, 5.
[4] Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, vol. i, p. 213.

friends which they had held when an austere system placed them legally in his power. Most authorities seem now to be of this opinion, though at an earlier period Friedländer expressed himself more dubiously. Thus Dill, in his judicious *Roman Society* (p. 163), states that the Roman woman's position, both in law and in fact, rose during the Empire; without being less virtuous or respected, she became far more accomplished and attractive; with fewer restraints she had greater charm and influence, even in public affairs, and was more and more the equal of her husband. "In the last age of the Western Empire there is no deterioration in the position and influence of women." Principal Donaldson, also, in his valuable historical sketch, *Woman*, considers (p. 113) that there was no degradation of morals in the Roman Empire; "the licentiousness of Pagan Rome is nothing to the licentiousness of Christian Africa, Rome, and Gaul, if we can put any reliance on the description of Salvian." Salvian's description of Christendom is probably exaggerated and one-sided, but exactly the same may be said in an even greater degree of the descriptions of ancient Rome left by clever Pagan satirists and ascetic Christian preachers.

It thus becomes necessary to leap over considerably more than a thousand years before we reach a stage of civilization in any degree approaching in height the final stage of Roman society. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, at first in France, then in England, we find once more the moral and legal movement tending towards the equalization of women with men. We find also a long series of pioneers of that movement foreshadowing its developments: Mary Astor, "Sophia, a Lady of Quality," Ségur, Mrs. Wheeler, and very notably Mary Wollstonecraft in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, and John Stuart Mill in *The Subjection of Women*.[1]

The main European stream of influences in this matter within historical times has involved, we can scarcely doubt when we take into consideration its complex phenomena as a whole, the maintenance of an inequality to the disadvantage of women. The fine legacy of Roman law to Europe was indeed favorable to women, but that legacy was dispersed and for the most part lost in the more predominating influence of tenacious Teutonic

[1] For an account of the work of some of the less known of these pioneers, see a series of articles by Harriet McIlquham in the *Westminster Review*, especially Nov., 1898, and Nov., 1903.

custom associated with the vigorously organized Christian Church. Notwithstanding that the facts do not all point in the same direction, and that there is consequently some difference of opinion, it seems evident that on the whole both Teutonic custom and Christian religion were unfavorable to the equality of women with men. Teutonic custom in this matter was determined by two decisive factors: (1) the existence of marriage by purchase which although, as Crawley has pointed out, it by no means necessarily involves the degradation of women, certainly tends to place them in an inferior position, and (2) pre-occupation with war which is always accompanied by a depreciation of peaceful and feminine occupations and an indifference to love. Christianity was at its origin favorable to women because it liberated and glorified the most essentially feminine emotions, but when it became an established and organized religion with definitely ascetic ideals, its whole emotional tone grew unfavorable to women. It had from the first excluded them from any priestly function. It now regarded them as the special representatives of the despised element of sex in life.[1] The eccentric Tertullian had once declared that woman was *janua Diaboli;* nearly seven hundred years later, even the gentle and philosophic Anselm wrote: *Femina fax est Satanæ.*[2]

Thus among the Franks, with whom the practice of monogamy prevailed, a woman was never free; she could not buy or sell or inherit without the permission of those to whom she belonged. She passed into the possession of her husband by acquisition, and when he fixed the wedding day he gave her parents coins of small money as *arrha*, and the day after the wedding she received from him a present, the *morgengabe*. A widow belonged to her parents again (Bedollierre, *Histoire de Mœurs des Français*, vol. i, p. 180). It is true that the Salic law ordained a pecuniary fine for touching a woman, even for squeezing her finger, but it is clear that the offence thus committed was an offence against property, and by no means against the sanctity of a woman's personality. The primitive German husband could sell his children, and

[1] The influence of Christianity on the position of women has been well discussed by Lecky *History of European Morals*, vol. ii, pp. 316 *et seq.*, and more recently by Donaldson, *Woman*, Bk. iii.

[2] Migne, *Patrologia*, vol. clviii, p. 686.

sometimes his wife, even into slavery. In the eleventh century cases of wife-selling are still heard of, though no longer recognized by law.

The traditions of Christianity were more favorable to sexual equality than were Teutonic customs, but in becoming amalgamated with those customs they added their own special contribution as to woman's impurity. This spiritual inferiority of woman was significantly shown by the restrictions sometimes placed on women in church, and even in the right to enter a church; in some places they were compelled to remain in the narthex, even in non-monastic churches (see for these rules, Smith and Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, art. "Sexes, Separation of").

By attempting to desexualize the idea of man and to oversexualize the idea of woman, Christianity necessarily degraded the position of woman and the conception of womanhood. As Donaldson well remarks, in pointing this out (*op. cit.*, p. 182), "I may define man as a male human being and woman as a female human being. . . . . What the early Christians did was to strike the 'male' out of the definition of man, and 'human being' out of the definition of woman." Religion generally appears to be a powerfully depressing influence on the position of woman notwithstanding the appeal which it makes to woman. Westermarck considers, indeed (*Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, vol. i, p. 669), that religion "has probably been the most persistent cause of the wife's subjection to her husband's rule."

It is sometimes said that the Christian tendency to place women in an inferior spiritual position went so far that a church council formally denied that women have souls. This foolish story has indeed been repeated in a parrot-like fashion by a number of writers. The source of the story is probably to be found in the fact, recorded by Gregory of Tours, in his history (lib. viii, cap. XX), that at the Council of Mâcon, in 585, a bishop was in doubt as to whether the term "man" included woman, but was convinced by the other members of the Council that it did. The same difficulty has presented itself to lawyers in more modern times, and has not always been resolved so favorably to woman as by the Christian Council of Mâcon.

The low estimate of women that prevailed even in the early Church is admitted by Christian scholars "We cannot but notice," writes Meyrick (art. "Marriage," Smith and Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*), "even in the greatest of the Christian fathers a lamentably low estimate of woman, and consequently of the marriage relationship Even St. Augustine can see no justification for marriage, except in a grave desire deliberately adopted of having children; and in accordance with this view, all married intercourse, except for this single purpose, is harshly condemned. If marriage is sought after for the sake of children, it is justifiable; if entered into as a *remedium* to avoid worse evils, it

is pardonable; the idea of the mutual society, help, and comfort that the one ought to have of the other, both in prosperity and adversity, hardly existed, and could hardly yet exist."

From the woman's point of view, Lily Braun, in her important work on the woman question (*Die Frauenfrage*, 1901, pp. 28 *et seq.*) concludes that, in so far as Christianity was favorable to women, we must see that favorable influence in the placing of women on the same moral level as men, as illustrated in the saying of Jesus, "Let him who is without sin amongst you cast the first stone," implying that each sex owes the same fidelity. It reached, she adds, no further than this. "Christianity, which women accepted as a deliverance with so much enthusiasm, and died for as martyrs, has not fulfilled their hopes."

Even as regards the moral equality of the sexes in marriage, the position of Christian authorities was sometimes equivocal. One of the greatest of the Fathers, St. Basil, in the latter half of the fourth century, distinguished between adultery and fornication as committed by a married man; if with a married woman, it was adultery; if with an unmarried woman, it was merely fornication. In the former case, a wife should not receive her husband back; in the latter case, she should (art. "Adultery," Smith and Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*). Such a decision, by attaching supreme importance to a distinction which could make no difference to the wife, involved a failure to recognize her moral personality. Many of the Fathers in the Western Church, however, like Jerome, Augustine, and Ambrose, could see no reason why the moral law should not be the same for the husband as for the wife, but as late Roman feeling both on the legal and popular side was already approximating to that view, the influence of Christianity was scarcely required to attain it. It ultimately received formal sanction in the Roman Canon Law, which decreed that adultery is equally committed by either conjugal party in two degrees: (1) *simplex*, of the married with the unmarried, and (2) *duplex*, of the married with the married.

It can scarcely be said, however, that Christianity succeeded in attaining the inclusion of this view of the moral equality of the sexes into actual practical morality. It was accepted in theory; it was not followed in practice. W. G. Sumner, discussing this question (*Folkways*, pp. 359-361), concludes: "Why are these views not in the *mores*? Undoubtedly it is because they are dogmatic in form, invented or imposed by theological authority or philosophical speculation. They do not grow out of the experience of life, and cannot be verified by it. The reasons are in ultimate physiological facts, by virtue of which one is a woman and the other is a man." There is, however, more to be said on this point later.

It was probably, however, not so much the Church as Teutonic customs and the development of the feudal system, with the masculine and military ideals it fostered, that was chiefly decisive in fixing the inferior position of women in the mediæval world. Even the ideas of chivalry, which have often been supposed to be peculiarly favorable to women, so far as they affected women seem to have been of little practical significance.

In his great work on chivalry Gautier brings forward much evidence to show that the feudal spirit, like the military spirit always and everywhere, on the whole involved at bottom a disdain for women, even though it occasionally idealized them. "Go into your painted and gilded rooms," we read in *Renaus de Montauban*, "sit in the shade, make yourselves comfortable, drink, eat, work tapestry, dye silk, but remember that you must not occupy yourselves with our affairs. Our business is to strike with the steel sword. Silence!" And if the woman insists she is struck on the face till the blood comes. The husband had a legal right to beat his wife, not only for adultery, but even for contradicting him. Women were not, however, entirely without power, and in a thirteenth century collection of *Coutumes*, it is set down that a husband must only beat his wife reasonably, *resnablement*. (As regards the husband's right to chastise his wife, see also Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, vol. i, p. 234. In England it was not until the reign of Charles II, from which so many modern movements date, that the husband was deprived of this legal right.)

In the eyes of a feudal knight, it may be added, the beauty of a horse competed, often successfully, with the beauty of a woman. In *Girbers de Metz*, two knights, Garin and his cousin Girbert, ride by a window at which sits a beautiful girl with the face of a rose and the white flesh of a lily. "Look, cousin Girbert, look! By Saint Mary, a beautiful woman!" "Ah," Girbert replies, "a beautiful beast is my horse!" "I have never seen anything so charming as that young girl with her fresh color and her dark eyes," says Garin. "I know no steed to compare with mine," retorts Girbert. When the men were thus absorbed in the things that pertain to war, it is not surprising that amorous advances were left to young girls to make. "In all the *chansons de geste*," Gautier remarks, "it is the young girls who make the advances, often with effrontery." though, he adds, wives are represented as more virtuous (L. Gautier. *La Chevalerie*, pp. 236-8, 348-50).

In England Pollock and Maitland (*History of English Law*, vol. ii, p. 437) do not believe that a life-long tutela of women ever existed as among other Teutonic peoples. "From the Conquest onwards," Hobhouse states (*op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 224), "the unmarried English woman, on attain-

ing her majority, becomes fully equipped with all legal and civil rights, as much a legal personality as the Babylonian woman had been three thousand years before." But the developed English law more than made up for any privileges thus accorded to the unmarried by the inconsistent manner in which it swathed up the wife in endless folds of irresponsibility, except when she committed the supreme offence of injuring her lord and master. The English wife, as Hobhouse continues (*loc. cit.*) was, if not her husband's slave, at any rate his liege subject; if she killed him it was "petty treason," the revolt of a subject against a sovereign in a miniature kingdom, and a more serious offence than murder. Murder she could not commit in his presence, for her personality was merged in him; he was responsible for most of her crimes and offences (it was that fact which gave him the right to chastise her), and he could not even enter into a contract with her, for that would be entering into a contract with himself. "The very being and legal existence of a woman is suspended during marriage," said Blackstone, "or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of her husband, under whose wing, protection and cover she performs everything. So great a favorite," he added, "is the female sex of the laws of England." "The strength of woman," says Hobhouse, interpreting the sense of the English law, "was her weakness. She conquered by yielding. Her gentleness had to be guarded from the turmoil of the world, her fragrance to be kept sweet and fresh, away from the dust and the smoke of battle. Hence her need of a champion and guardian."

In France the wife of the mediæval and Renaissance periods occupied much the same position in her husband's house. He was her absolute master and lord, the head and soul of "the feminine and feeble creature" who owed to him "perfect love and obedience." She was his chief servant, the eldest of his children, his wife and subject; she signed herself "your humble obedient daughter and friend," when she wrote to him. The historian, De Maulde la Clavière, who has brought together evidence on this point in his *Femmes de la Renaissance*, remarks that even though the husband enjoyed this lofty and superior position in marriage, it was still generally he, and not the wife, who complained of the hardships of marriage

Law and custom assumed that a woman should be more or less under the protection of a man, and even the ideals of fine womanhood which arose in this society, during feudal and later times, were necessarily tinged by the same conception. It involved the inequality of women as compared with men, but under the social conditions of a feudal society such inequality was to woman's advantage. Masculine force was the determin-

ing factor in life and it was necessary that every woman should have a portion of this force on her side. This sound and reasonable idea naturally tended to persist even after the growth of civilization rendered force a much less decisive factor in social life. In England in Queen Elizabeth's time no woman must be masterless, although the feminine subjects of Queen Elizabeth had in their sovereign the object lesson of a woman who could play a very brilliant and effective part in life and yet remain absolutely masterless. Still later, in the eighteenth century, even so fine a moralist as Shaftesbury, in his *Characteristics*, refers to lovers of married women as invaders of property. If such conceptions still ruled even in the best minds, it is not surprising that in the same century, even in the following century, they were carried out into practice by less educated people who frankly bought and sold women.

Schrader, in his *Reallexicon* (art. "Brautkauf"), points out that, originally, the purchase of a wife was the purchase of her person, and not merely of the right of protecting her. The original conception probably persisted long in Great Britain on account of its remoteness from the centres of civilization. In the eleventh century Gregory VII desired Lanfranc to stop the sale of wives in Scotland and elsewhere in the island of the English (Pike, *History of Crime in England*, vol. i, p. 99). The practice never quite died out, however, in remote country districts.

Such transactions have taken place even in London. Thus in the *Annual Register* for 1767 (p. 99) we read: "About three weeks ago a bricklayer's laborer at Marylebone sold a woman, whom he had cohabited with for several years, to a fellow-workman for a quarter guinea and a gallon of beer. The workman went off with the purchase, and she has since had the good fortune to have a legacy of £200, and some plate, left her by a deceased uncle in Devonshire. The parties were married last Friday."

The Rev. J. Edward Vaux (*Church Folk-lore*, second edition, p. 146) narrates two authentic cases in which women had been bought by their husbands in open market in the nineteenth century. In one case the wife, with her own full consent, was brought to market with a halter round her neck, sold for half a crown, and led to her new home, twelve miles off by the new husband who had purchased her; in the other case a publican bought another man's wife for a two-gallon jar of gin.

It is the same conception of woman as property which, even to the present, has caused the retention in many legal codes of clauses render-

ing a man liable to pay pecuniary damages to a woman, previously a virgin, whom he has intercourse with and subsequently forsakes (Natalie Fuchs, "Die Jungfernschaft im Recht und Sitte," *Sexual-Probleme*, Feb., 1908). The woman is "dishonored" by sexual intercourse, depreciated in her market value, exactly as a new garment becomes "second-hand," even if it has but once been worn. A man, on the other hand, would disdain the idea that his personal value could be diminished by any number of acts of sexual intercourse.

This fact has even led some to advocate the "abolition of physical virginity." Thus the German authoress of *Una Poenitentium* (1907), considering that the protection of a woman is by no means so well secured by a little piece of membrane as by the presence of a true and watchful soul inside, advocates the operation of removal of the hymen in childhood. It is undoubtedly true that the undue importance attached to the hymen has led to a false conception of feminine "honor," and to an unwholesome conception of feminine purity.

Custom and law are slowly changing in harmony with changed social conditions which no longer demand the subjection of women either in their own interests or in the interests of the community. Concomitantly with these changes a different ideal of womanly personality is developing. It is true that the ancient ideal of the lordship of the husband over the wife is still more or less consciously affirmed around us. The husband frequently dictates to the wife what avocations she may not pursue, what places she may not visit, what people she may not know, what books she may not read. He assumes to control her, even in personal matters having no direct concern with himself, by virtue of the old masculine prerogative of force which placed a woman under the hand, as the ancient patriarchal legists termed it, of a man. It is, however, becoming more and more widely recognized that such a part is not suited to the modern man. The modern man, as Rosa Mayreder has pointed out in a thoughtful essay,[1] is no longer equipped to play this domineering part in relation to his wife. The "noble savage," leading a wild life on mountain and in forest, hunting dangerous beasts and scalping enemies when necessary, may occasionally bring his club gently and effectively on to the head of his wife, even, it may be, with

[1] Rosa Mayreder, "Einiges über die Starke Faust," *Zur Kritik der Weiblichkeit*, 1905.

grateful appreciation on her part.[1] But the modern man, who for the most part spends his days tamely at a desk, who has been trained to endure silently the insults and humiliations which superior officials or patronizing clients may inflict upon him, this typical modern man is no longer able to assume effectually the part of the "noble savage" when he returns to his home. He is indeed so unfitted for the part that his wife resents his attempts to play it. He is gradually recognizing this, even apart from any consciousness of the general trend of civilization. The modern man of ideas recognizes that, as a matter of principle, his wife is entitled to equality with himself; the modern man of the world feels that it would be both ridiculous and inconvenient not to accord his wife much the same kind of freedom which he himself possesses. And, moreover, while the modern man has to some extent acquired feminine qualities, the modern woman has to a corresponding extent acquired masculine qualities.

Brief and summary as the preceding discussion has necessarily been, it will have served to bring us face to face with the central fact in the sexual morality which the growth of civilization has at the present day rendered inevitable: personal responsibility. "The responsible human being, man or woman, is the centre of modern ethics as of modern law;" that is the conclusion reached by Hobhouse in his discussion of the evolution of human morality.[2] The movement which is taking place among us to liberate sexual relationships from an excessive bondage to fixed and arbitrary regulations would have been impossible and mischievous but for the concomitant growth of a sense of personal responsibility in the members of the community. It could not indeed have subsisted for a single year without degenerating into license and disorder. Freedom in sexual relations involves

[1] Rasmussen (*People of the Polar North*, p. 56), describes a ferocious quarrel between husband and wife, who each in turn knocked the other down. "Somewhat later, when I peeped in, they were lying affectionately asleep, with their arms around each other."

[2] Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, vol. ii, p. 367. Dr. Stöcker, in *Die Liebe und die Frauen*, also insists on the significance of this factor of personal responsibility.

mutual trust and that can only rest on a basis of personal responsibility. Where there can be no reliance on personal responsibility there can be no freedom. In most fields of moral action this sense of personal responsibility is acquired at a fairly early stage of social progress. Sexual morality is the last field of morality to be brought within the sphere of personal responsibility. The community imposes the most varied, complicated, and artificial codes of sexual morality on its members, especially its feminine members, and, naturally enough, it is always very suspicious of their ability to observe these codes, and is careful to allow them, so far as possible, no personal responsibility in the matter. But a training in restraint, when carried through a long series of generations, is the best preparation for freedom. The law laid on the earlier generations, as old theology stated the matter, has been the schoolmaster to bring the later generations to Christ; or, as new science expresses exactly the same idea, the later generations have become immunized and have finally acquired a certain degree of protection against the virus which would have destroyed the earlier generations.

The process by which a people acquires the sense of personal responsibility is slow, and perhaps it cannot be adequately acquired at all by races lacking a high grade of nervous organization. This is especially the case as regards sexual morality, and has often been illustrated on the contact of a higher with a lower civilization. It has constantly happened that missionaries—entirely against their own wishes, it need not be said—by overthrowing the strict moral system they have found established, and by substituting the freedom of European customs among people entirely unprepared for such freedom, have exerted the most disastrous effects on morality. This has been the case among the formerly well-organized and highly moral Baganda of Central Africa, as recorded in an official report by Colonel Lambkin (*British Medical Journal*, Oct. 3, 1908).

As regards Polynesia, also, R. L. Stevenson, in his interesting book, *In the South Seas* (Ch. V), pointed out that, while before the coming of the whites the Polynesians were, on the whole, chaste, and the young carefully watched, now it is far otherwise.

Even in Fiji, where according to Lord Stanmore—who was High Commissioner of the Pacific, and an independent critic—missionary effort has been "wonderfully successful," where all own at least nominal allegiance to Christianity, which has much modified life and character,

yet chastity has suffered. This was shown by a Royal Commission on the condition of the native races in Fiji. Mr. Fitchett, commenting on this report (Australasian *Review of Reviews*, Oct., 1897) remarks: "Not a few witnesses examined by the commission declare that the moral advance in Fiji is of a curiously patchy type. The abolition of polygamy, for example, they say, has not told at every point in favor of women. The woman is the toiler in Fiji; and when the support of the husband was distributed over four wives, the burden on each wife was less than it is now, when it has to be carried by one. In heathen times female chastity was guarded by the club; a faithless wife, an unmarried mother, was summarily put to death. Christianity has abolished club-law, and purely moral restraints, or the terror of the penalties of the next world, do not, to the limited imagination of the Fijian, quite take its place. So the standard of Fijian chastity is distressingly low."

It must always be remembered that when the highly organized primitive system of mixed spiritual and physical restraints is removed, chastity becomes more delicately and unstably poised. The controlling power of personal responsibility, valuable and essential as it is, cannot permanently and unremittingly restrain the volcanic forces of the passion of love even in high civilizations. "No perfection of moral constitution in a woman," Hinlon has well said, "no power of will, no wish and resolution to be 'good,' no force of religion or control of custom, can secure what is called the virtue of woman. The emotion of absolute devotion with which some man may inspire her will sweep them all away. Society, in choosing to erect itself on that basis, chooses inevitable disorder, and so long as it continues to choose it will continue to have that result."

It is necessary to insist for a while on this personal responsibility in matters of sexual morality, in the form in which it is making itself felt among us, and to search out its implications. The most important of these is undoubtedly economic independence. That is indeed so important that moral responsibility in any fine sense can scarcely be said to have any existence in its absence. Moral responsibility and economic independence are indeed really identical; they are but two sides of the same social fact. The responsible person is the person who is able to answer for his actions and, if need be, to pay for them. The economically dependent person can accept a criminal responsibility; he can, with an empty purse, go to prison or to death. But in the ordinary sphere of everyday morality that large penalty is not required of him; if he goes against the wishes of his family or

his friends or his parish, they may turn their backs on him but they cannot usually demand against him the last penalties of the law. He can exert his own personal responsibility, he can freely choose to go his own way and to maintain himself in it before his fellowmen on one condition, that he is able to pay for it. His personal responsibility has little or no meaning except in so far as it is also economic independence.

In civilized societies as they attain maturity, the women tend to acquire a greater and greater degree alike of moral responsibility and economic independence. Any freedom and seeming equality of women, even when it actually assumes the air of superiority, which is not so based, is unreal. It is only on sufferance; it is the freedom accorded to the child, because it asks for it so prettily or may scream if it is refused. This is merely parasitism.[1] The basis of economic independence ensures a more real freedom. Even in societies which by law and custom hold women in strict subordination, the woman who happens to be placed in possession of property enjoys a high degree alike of independence and of responsibility.[2] The growth of a high civilization seems indeed to be so closely identified with the economic freedom and independence of women that it is difficult to say which is cause and which effect. Herodotus, in his fascinating account of Egypt, a land which he regarded as admirable beyond all other lands, noted with surprise that, totally unlike the fashion of Greece, women left the men at home to the management of the loom and went to market to transact the

[1] Olive Schreiner has especially emphasized the evils of parasitism for women. "The increased wealth of the male," she remarks ("The Woman's Movement of Our Day," *Harper's Bazaar*, Jan., 1902), "no more of necessity benefits and raises the female upon whom he expends it, than the increased wealth of his mistress necessarily benefits, mentally or physically, a poodle, because she can then give him a down cushion in place of one of feathers, and chicken in place of beef." Olive Schreiner believes that feminine parasitism is a danger which really threatens society at the present time, and that if not averted "the whole body of females in civilized societies must sink into a state of more or less absolute dependence."

[2] In Rome and in Japan, Hobhouse notes (*op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 169, 176), the patriarchal system reached its fullest extension, yet the laws of both these countries placed the husband in a position of practical subjugation to a rich wife.

business of commerce.[1] It is the economic factor in social life which secures the moral responsibility of women and which chiefly determines the position of the wife in relation to her husband.[2] In this respect in its late stages civilization returns to the same point it had occupied at the beginning, when, as has already been noted, we find greater equality with men and at the same time greater economic independence.[3]

In all the leading modern civilized countries, for a century past, custom and law have combined to give an ever greater economic independence to women. In some respects England took the lead by inaugurating the great industrial movement which slowly swept women into its ranks,[4] and made inevitable the legal changes which, by 1882, insured to a married woman the possession of her own earnings. The same movement, with its same consequences, is going on elsewhere. In the United States, just as in England, there is a vast army of five million women, rapidly increasing, who earn their own living, and their position in relation to men workers is even better than in England. In France from twenty-five to seventy-five per cent. of the workers in most of the chief industries—the liberal professions,

[1] Herodotus, Bk. ii, Ch. XXXV. Herodotus noted that it was the woman and not the man on whom the responsibility for supporting aged parents rested. That alone involved a very high economic position of women. It is not surprising that to some observers, as to Diodorus Siculus, it seemed that the Egyptian woman was mistress over her husband.

[2] Hobhouse (*loc. cit.*), Hale, and also Grosse, believe that good economic position of a people involves high position of women. Westermarck (*Moral Ideas*, vol. i, p. 661), here in agreement with Olive Schreiner, thinks this statement cannot be accepted without modification, though agreeing that agricultural life has a good effect on woman's position, because they themselves become actively engaged in it. A good economic position has no real effect in raising woman's position, unless women themselves take a real and not merely parasitic part in it.

[3] Westermarck (*Moral Ideas*, vol. i, Ch. XXVI, vol. ii, p 29) gives numerous references with regard to the considerable proprietary and other privileges of women among savages which tend to be lost at a somewhat higher stage of culture.

[4] The steady rise in the proportion of women among English workers in machine industries began in 1851. There are now, it is estimated, three and a half million women employed in industrial occupations, beside a million and a half domestic servants. (See for details, James Haslam, in a series of papers in the *Englishwoman*, 1909.)

commerce, agriculture, factory industries—are women, and in some of the very largest, such as home industries and textile industries, more women are employed than men. In Japan, it is said, three-fifths of the factory workers are women, and all the textile industries are in the hands of women.[1] This movement is the outward expression of the modern conception of personal rights, personal moral worth, and personal responsibility, which, as Hobhouse has remarked, has compelled women to take their lives into their own hands, and has at the same time rendered the ancient marriage laws an anachronism, and the ancient ideals of feminine innocence shrouded from the world a mere piece of false sentiment.[2]

There can be no doubt that the entrance of women into the field of industrial work, in rivalry with men and under somewhat the same conditions as men, raises serious questions of another order. The general tendency of civilization towards the economic independence and the moral responsibility of women is unquestionable. But it is by no means absolutely clear that it is best for women, and, therefore, for the community, that women should exercise all the ordinary avocations and professions of men on the same level as men. Not only have the conditions of the avocations and professions developed in accordance with the special aptitudes of men, but the fact that the sexual processes by which the race is propagated demand an incomparably greater expenditure of time and energy on the part of women than of men, precludes women in the mass from devoting themselves so exclusively as men to industrial work. For some biologists, indeed, it seems clear that outside the home and the school women should not work at all. "Any nation that works its women is damned," says Woods Hutchinson (*The Gospel According to Darwin*, p. 199). That view is extreme. Yet from the economic side, also, Hobson, in summing up this question, regards the tendency of machine-industry to drive women away from the home as "a tendency antagonistic to civilization." The neglect of the home, he states, is, "on the whole, the worst injury modern industry has inflicted on our lives, and it is difficult to see how it can be compensated by any increase of material products. Factory life for women, save in extremely rare cases, saps the physical and moral health of the family. The exigencies of factory life are inconsistent with the position of a good mother, a good

[1] See, *e.g.*, J. A Hobson, *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, second edition, 1907, Ch XII. "Women in Modern Industry."

[2] Hobhouse, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 228.

wife, or the maker of a home. Save in extreme circumstances, no increase of the family wage can balance these losses, whose values stand upon a higher qualitative level" (J. A. Hobson, *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, Ch. XII; *cf.* what has been said in Ch. I of the present volume). It is now beginning to be recognized that the early pioneers of the "woman's movement" in working to remove the "subjection of woman" were still dominated by the old ideals of that subjection, according to which the masculine is in all main respects the superior sex. Whatever was good for man, they thought, must be equally good for woman. That has been the source of all that was unbalanced and unstable, sometimes both a little pathetic and a little absurd, in the old "woman's movement." There was a failure to perceive that, first of all, women must claim their right to their own womanhood as mothers of the race, and thereby the supreme lawgivers in the sphere of sex and the large part of life dependent on sex. This special position of woman seems likely to require a readjustment of economic conditions to their needs, though it is not likely that such readjustment would be permitted to affect their independence or their responsibility. We have had, as Madame Juliette Adam has put it, the rights of men sacrificing women, followed by the rights of women sacrificing the child; that must be followed by the rights of the child reconstituting the family. It has already been necessary to touch on this point in the first chapter of this volume, and it will again be necessary in the last chapter.

The question as to the method by which the economic independence of women will be completely insured, and the part which the community may be expected to take in insuring it, on the ground of woman's special child-bearing functions, is from the present point of view subsidiary. There can be no doubt, however, as to the reality of the movement in that direction, whatever doubt there may be as to the final adjustment of the details. It is only necessary in this place to touch on some of the general and more obvious respects in which the growth of woman's responsibility is affecting sexual morality.

The first and most obvious way in which the sense of moral responsibility works is in an insistence on reality in the relationships of sex. Moral irresponsibility has too often combined with economic dependence to induce a woman to treat the sexual event in her life which is biologically of most fateful gravity as a merely gay and trivial event, at the most an event which has given her a triumph over her rivals and over the

superior male, who, on his part, willingly condescends, for the moment, to assume the part of the vanquished. "Gallantry to the ladies," we are told of the hero of the greatest and most typical of English novels, "was among his principles of honor, and he held it as much incumbent on him to accept a challenge to love as if it had been a challenge to fight;" he heroically goes home for the night with a lady of title he meets at a masquerade, though at the time very much in love with the girl whom he eventually marries.[1] The woman whose power lies only in her charms, and who is free to allow the burden of responsibility to fall on a man's shoulder,[2] could lightly play the seducing part, and thereby exert independence and authority in the only shapes open to her. The man on his part, introducing the misplaced idea of "honor" into the field from which the natural idea of responsibility has been banished, is prepared to descend at the lady's bidding into the arena, according to the old legend, and rescue the glove, even though he afterwards flings it contemptuously in her face. The ancient conception of gallantry, which Tom Jones so well embodies, is the direct outcome of a system involving the moral irresponsibility and economic dependence of women, and is as opposed to the conceptions, prevailing in the earlier and later civilized stages, of approximate sexual equality as it is to the biological traditions of natural courtship in the world generally.

In controlling her own sexual life, and in realizing that her responsibility for such control can no longer be shifted on to the shoulders of the other sex, women will also indirectly affect the sexual lives of men, much as men already affect the sexual lives of women. In what ways that influence will in the main be exerted it is still premature to say. According to some, just as formerly men bought their wives and demanded prenuptial virginity in the article thus purchased, so nowadays, among the better classes, women are able to buy their husbands,

[1] Fielding, *Tom Jones*, Bk. iii, Ch. VII.

[2] Even the Church to some extent adopted this allotment of the responsibility, and "solicitation," *i.e.*, the sin of a confessor in seducing his female penitent, is constantly treated as exclusively the confessor's

and in their turn are disposed to demand continence.[1] That, however, is too simple-minded a way of viewing the question. It is enough to refer to the fact that women are not attracted to virginal innocence in men and that they frequently have good ground for viewing such innocence with suspicion.[2] Yet it may well be believed that women will more and more prefer to exert a certain discrimination in the approval of their husbands' past lives. However instinctively a woman may desire that her husband shall be initiated in the art of making love to her, she may often well doubt whether the finest initiation is to be secured from the average prostitute. Prostitution, as we have seen, is ultimately as incompatible with complete sexual responsibility as is the patriarchal marriage system with which it has been so closely associated. It is an arrangement mainly determined by the demands of men, to whatever extent it may have incidentally subserved various needs of women. Men arranged that one group of women should be set apart to minister exclusively to their sexual necessities, while another group should be brought up in asceticism as candidates for the privilege of ministering to their household and family necessities. That this has been in many respects a most excellent arrangement is sufficiently proved by the fact that it has flourished for so long a period, notwithstanding the influences that are antagonistic to it. But it is obviously only possible during a certain stage of civilization and in association with a certain social organization. It is not completely congruous with a democratic stage of civilization involving the economic independence and the sexual responsibility of both sexes alike in all social classes. It is possible that women may begin to realize this fact earlier than men.

It is also believed by many that women will realize that a high degree of moral responsibility is not easily compatible with the practice of dissimulation and that economic independence will deprive deceit—which is always the resort of the weak—of

[1] Adolf Gerson, *Sexual-Probleme*, Sept., 1908, p. 547.

[2] It has already been necessary to refer to the unfortunate results which may follow the ignorance of husbands (see, *e.g.*, "The Sexual Impulse in Women," vol. iii of these *Studies*), and will be necessary again in Ch. XI of the present volume.

whatever moral justification it may possess. Here, however, it is necessary to speak with caution or we may be unjust to women. It must be remarked that in the sphere of sex men also are often the weak, and are therefore apt to resort to the refuge of the weak. With the recognition of that fact we may also recognize that deception in women has been the cause of much of the age-long blunders of the masculine mind in the contemplation of feminine ways. Men have constantly committed the double error of overlooking the dissimulation of women and of over-estimating it. This fact has always served to render more difficult still the inevitably difficult course of women through the devious path of sexual behavior. Pepys, who represents so vividly and so frankly the vices and virtues of the ordinary masculine mind, tells how one day when he called to see Mrs. Martin her sister Doll went out for a bottle of wine and came back indignant because a Dutchman had pulled her into a stable and tumbled and tossed her. Pepys having been himself often permitted to take liberties with her, it seemed to him that her indignation with the Dutchman was "the best instance of woman's falseness in the world."[1] He assumes without question that a woman who has accorded the privilege of familiarity to a man she knows and, one hopes, respects, would be prepared to accept complacently the brutal attentions of the first drunken stranger she meets in the street.

It was the assumption of woman's falseness which led the ultra-masculine Pepys into a sufficiently absurd error. At this point, indeed, we encounter what has seemed to some a serious obstacle to the full moral responsibility of women. Dissimulation, Lombroso and Ferrero argue, is in woman "almost physiological," and they give various grounds for this conclusion.[2] The theologians, on their side, have reached a similar conclusion. "A confessor must not immediately believe a woman's words," says Father Gury, "for women are habitually *inclined* to lie."[3]

[1] Pepys, *Diary*, ed Wheatley, vol. vii, p. 10.

[2] Lombroso and Ferrero. *La Donna Delinquente; cf.* Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman*, fourth edition, p. 196.

[3] Gury, *Théologie Morale*, art. 381.

This tendency, which seems to be commonly believed to affect women as a sex, however free from it a vast number of individual women are, may be said, and with truth, to be largely the result of the subjection of women and therefore likely to disappear as that subjection disappears. In so far, however, as it is "almost physiological," and based on radical feminine characters, such as modesty, affectability, and sympathy, which have an organic basis in the feminine constitution and can therefore never altogether be changed, feminine dissimulation seems scarcely likely to disappear. The utmost that can be expected is that it should be held in check by the developed sense of moral responsibility, and, being reduced to its simply natural proportions, become recognizably intelligible.

It is unnecessary to remark that there can be no question here as to any inherent moral superiority of one sex over the other. The answer to that question was well stated many years ago by one of the most subtle moralists of love. "Taken altogether," concluded Senancour (*De l'Amour*, vol. ii, p. 85), "we have no reason to assert the moral superiority of either sex. Both sexes, with their errors and their good intentions, very equally fulfil the ends of nature. We may well believe that in either of the two divisions of the human species the sum of evil and that of good are about equal. If, for instance, as regards love, we oppose the visibly licentious conduct of men to the apparent reserve of women, it would be a vain valuation, for the number of faults committed by women with men is necessarily the same as that of men with women. There exist among us fewer scrupulous men than perfectly honest women, but it is easy to see how the balance is restored. If this question of the moral preëminence of one sex over the other were not insoluble it would still remain very complicated with reference to the whole of the species, or even the whole of a nation, and any dispute here seems idle."

This conclusion is in accordance with the general compensatory and complementary relationship of women to men (see, *e.g.*, Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman*, fourth edition, especially pp. 448 *et seq.*).

In a recent symposium on the question whether women are morally inferior to men, with special reference to aptitude for loyalty (*La Revue*, Jan. 1, 1909), to which various distinguished French men and women contributed their opinions, some declared that women are usually superior: others regarded it as a question of difference rather than of superiority or inferiority; all were agreed that when they enjoy the same independence as men, women are quite as loyal as men.

It is undoubtedly true that—partly as a result of ancient traditions and education, partly of genuine feminine characteristics—many women are diffident as to their right to moral responsibility and unwilling to assume it. And an attempt is made to justify their attitude by asserting that woman's part in life is naturally that of self-sacrifice, or, to put the statement in a somewhat more technical form, that women are naturally masochistic; and that there is, as Krafft-Ebing argues, a natural "sexual subjection" of woman. It is by no means clear that this statement is absolutely true, and if it were true it would not serve to abolish the moral responsibility of women.

Bloch (*Beiträge zur Aetiologie der Psychopathia Sexualis*, Part II, p. 178), in agreement with Eulenburg, energetically denies that there is any such natural "sexual subjection" of women, regarding it as artificially produced, the result of the socially inferior position of women, and arguing that such subjection is in much higher degree a physiological characteristic of men than of women. (It has been necessary to discuss this question in dealing with "Love and Pain" in the third volume of these *Studies*.) It seems certainly clear that the notion that women are especially prone to self-sacrifice has little biological validity. Self-sacrifice by compulsion, whether physical or moral compulsion, is not worthy of the name; when it is deliberate it is simply the sacrifice of a lesser good for the sake of a greater good. Doubtless a man who eats a good dinner may be said to "sacrifice" his hunger. Even within the sphere of traditional morality a woman who sacrifices her "honor" for the sake of her love to a man has, by her "sacrifice," gained something that she values more. "What a triumph it is to a woman," a woman has said, "to give pleasure to a man she loves!" And in a morality on a sound biological basis no "sacrifice" is here called for. It may rather be said that the biological laws of courtship fundamentally demand self-sacrifice of the male rather than of the female. Thus the lioness, according to Gérard the lion-hunter, gives herself to the most vigorous of her lion wooers; she encourages them to fight among themselves for superiority, lying on her belly to gaze at the combat and lashing her tail with delight. Every female is wooed by many males, but she only accepts one; it is not the female who is called upon for erotic self-sacrifice, but the male. That is indeed part of the divine compensation of Nature, for since the heavier part of the burden of sex rests on the female, it is fitting that she should be less called upon for renunciation.

It thus seems probable that the increase of moral responsibility may tend to make a woman's conduct more intelligible to others;[1] it will in any case certainly tend to make it less the concern of others. This is emphatically the case as regards the relations of sex. In the past men have been invited to excel in many forms of virtue; only one virtue has been open to women. That is no longer possible. To place upon a woman the main responsibility for her own sexual conduct is to deprive that conduct of its conspicuously public character as a virtue or a vice. Sexual union, for a woman as much as for a man, is a physiological fact; it may also be a spiritual fact; but it is not a social act. It is, on the contrary, an act which, beyond all other acts, demands retirement and mystery for its accomplishment. That indeed is a general human, almost zoological, fact. Moreover, this demand of mystery is more especially made by woman in virtue of her greater modesty which, we have found reason to believe, has a biological basis. It is not until a child is born or conceived that the community has any right to interest itself in the sexual acts of its members. The sexual act is of no more concern to the community than any other private physiological act. It is an impertinence, if not an outrage, to seek to inquire into it. But the birth of a child is a social act. Not what goes into the womb but what comes out of it concerns society. The community is invited to receive a new citizen. It is entitled to demand that that citizen shall be worthy of a place in its midst and that he shall be properly introduced by a responsible father and a responsible mother. The whole of sexual morality, as Ellen Key has said, revolves round the child.

At this final point in our discussion of sexual morality we may perhaps be able to realize the immensity of the change which has been involved by the development in women of moral responsibility. So long as responsibility was denied to women, so long as a father or a husband, backed up by the community, held him

[1] "Men will not learn what women are," remarks Rosa Mayreder (*Zur Kritik der Weiblichkeit*, p 199), "until they have left off prescribing what they ought to be."

self responsible for a woman's sexual behavior, for her "virtue," it was necessary that the whole of sexual morality should revolve around the entrance to the vagina. It became absolutely essential to the maintenance of morality that all eyes in the community should be constantly directed on to that point, and the whole marriage law had to be adjusted accordingly. That is no longer possible. When a woman assumes her own moral responsibility, in sexual as in other matters, it becomes not only intolerable but meaningless for the community to pry into her most intimate physiological or spiritual acts. She is herself directly responsible to society as soon as she performs a social act, and not before.

In relation to the fact of maternity the realization of all that is involved in the new moral responsibility of women is especially significant. Under a system of morality by which a man is left free to accept the responsibility for his sexual acts while a woman is not equally free to do the like, a premium is placed on sexual acts which have no end in procreation, and a penalty is placed on the acts which lead to procreation. The reason is that it is the former class of acts in which men find chief gratification; it is the latter class in which women find chief gratification. For the tragic part of the old sexual morality in its bearing on women was that while it made men alone morally responsible for sexual acts in which both a man and a woman took part, women were rendered both socially and legally incapable of availing themselves of the fact of masculine responsibility unless they had fulfilled conditions which men had laid down for them, and yet refrained from imposing upon themselves. The act of sexual intercourse, being the sexual act in which men found chief pleasure, was under all circumstances an act of little social gravity; the act of bringing a child into the world, which is for women the most massively gratifying of all sexual acts, was counted a crime unless the mother had before fulfilled the conditions demanded by man. That was perhaps the most unfortunate and certainly the most unnatural of the results of the patriarchal regulation of society. It has never existed in any great State where women have possessed some degree of regulative power.

It has, of course, been said by abstract theorists that women have the matter in their own hands. They must never love a man until they have safely locked him up in the legal bonds of matrimony. Such an argument is absolutely futile, for it ignores the fact that, while love and even monogamy are natural, legal marriage is merely an external form, with a very feeble power of subjugating natural impulses, except when those impulses are weak, and no power at all of subjugating them permanently. Civilization involves the growth of foresight, and of self-control in both sexes; but it is foolish to attempt to place on these fine and ultimate outgrowths of civilization a strain which they could never bear. How foolish it is has been shown, once and for all, by Lea in his admirable *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy.*

Moreover, when we compare the respective aptitudes of men and women in this particular region, it must be remembered that men possess a greater power of forethought and self-control than women, notwithstanding the modesty and reserve of women. The sexual sphere is immensely larger in women, so that when its activity is once aroused it is much more difficult to master or control. (The reasons were set out in detail in the discussion of "The Sexual Impulse in Women" in volume iii of these *Studies.*) It is, therefore, unfair to women, and unduly favors men, when too heavy a premium is placed on forethought and self-restraint in sexual matters. Since women play the predominant part in the sexual field their natural demands, rather than those of men, must furnish the standard.

With the realization of the moral responsibility of women the natural relations of life spring back to their due biological adjustment. Motherhood is restored to its natural sacredness. It becomes the concern of the woman herself, and not of society nor of any individual, to determine the conditions under which the child shall be conceived. Society is entitled to require that the father shall in every case acknowledge the fact of his paternity, but it must leave the chief responsibility for all the circumstances of child-production to the mother. That is the point of view which is now gaining ground in all civilized lands both in theory and in practice.[1]

[1] It has been set out, for instance, by Professor Wahrmund in *Ehe und Eherecht*, 1908. I need scarcely refer again to the writings of Ellen Key, which may be said to be almost epoch-making in their significance, especially (in German translation) *Ueber Liebe und Ehe* (also French translation), and (in English translation, Putnam, 1909), the valuable though less important work, *The Century of the Child.* See also Edward Carpenter, *Love's Coming of Age;* Forel, *Die Sexuelle Frage* (English translation, abridged, *The Sexual Question*, Rebman, 1908); Bloch *Sexualleben unsere Zeit* (English translation, *The Sexual Life of Our Time*, Rebman, 1908); Helene Stöcker, *Die Liebe und die Frauen*, 1906; and Paul Lapie, *La Femme dans la Famille*, 1908.

CHAPTER X.

MARRIAGE.

The Definition of Marriage—Marriage Among Animals—The Predominance of Monogamy—The Question of Group Marriage—Monogamy a Natural Fact, Not Based on Human Law—The Tendency to Place the Form of Marriage Above the Fact of Marriage—The History of Marriage—Marriage in Ancient Rome—Germanic Influence on Marriage—Bride-Sale—The Ring—The Influence of Christianity on Marriage—The Great Extent of This Influence—The Sacrament of Matrimony—Origin and Growth of the Sacramental Conception—The Church Made Marriage a Public Act—Canon Law—Its Sound Core—Its Development—Its Confusions and Absurdities—Peculiarities of English Marriage Law—Influence of the Reformation on Marriage—The Protestant Conception of Marriage as a Secular Contract—The Puritan Reform of Marriage—Milton as the Pioneer of Marriage Reform—His Views on Divorce—The Backward Position of England in Marriage Reform—Criticism of the English Divorce Law—Traditions of the Canon Law Still Persistent—The Question of Damages for Adultery—Collusion as a Bar to Divorce—Divorce in France, Germany, Austria, Russia, etc.—The United States—Impossibility of Deciding by Statute the Causes for Divorce—Divorce by Mutual Consent—Its Origin and Development—Impeded by the Traditions of Canon Law—Wilhelm von Humboldt—Modern Pioneer Advocates of Divorce by Mutual Consent—The Arguments Against Facility of Divorce—The Interests of the Children—The Protection of Women—The Present Tendency of the Divorce Movement—Marriage Not a Contract—The Proposal of Marriage for a Term of Years—Legal Disabilities and Disadvantages in the Position of the Husband and the Wife—Marriage Not a Contract But a Fact—Only the Non-Essentials of Marriage, Not the Essentials, a Proper Matter for Contract—The Legal Recognition of Marriage as a Fact Without Any Ceremony—Contracts of the Person Opposed to Modern Tendencies—The Factor of Moral Responsibility—Marriage as an Ethical Sacrament—Personal Responsibility Involves Freedom—Freedom the Best Guarantee of Stability—False Ideas of Individualism—Modern Tendency of Marriage—With the Birth of a Child Marriage Ceases to be a Private Concern—Every Child Must Have a Legal Father and Mother—How This Can be Effected—The Firm Basis of Monogamy—The Question of Marriage Variations—Such Variations

Not Inimical to Monogamy—The Most Common Variations—The Flexibility of Marriage Holds Variations in Check—Marriage Variations *versus* Prostitution—Marriage on a Reasonable and Humane Basis—Summary and Conclusion.

THE discussion in the previous chapter of the nature of sexual morality, with the brief sketch it involved of the direction in which that morality is moving, has necessarily left many points vague. It may still be asked what definite and precise forms sexual unions are tending to take among us, and what relation these unions bear to the religious, social, and legal traditions we have inherited. These are matters about which a very considerable amount of uncertainty seems to prevail, for it is not unusual to hear revolutionary or eccentric opinions concerning them.

Sexual union, involving the cohabitation, temporary or permanent, of two or more persons, and having for one of its chief ends the production and care of offspring, is commonly termed marriage. The group so constituted forms a family. This is the sense in which the words "marriage" and the "family" are most properly used, whether we speak of animals or of Man. There is thus seen to be room for variation as regards both the time during which the union lasts, and the number of individuals who form it, the chief factor in the determination of these points being the interests of the offspring. In actual practice, however, sexual unions, not only in Man but among the higher animals, tend to last beyond the needs of the offspring of a single season, while the fact that in most species the numbers of males and females are approximately equal makes it inevitable that both among animals and in Man the family is produced by a single sexual couple, that is to say that monogamy is, with however many exceptions, necessarily the fundamental rule.

It will thus be seen that marriage centres in the child, and has at the outset no reason for existence apart from the welfare of the offspring. Among those animals of lowly organization which are able to provide for themselves from the beginning of existence there is no family and no need for marriage. Among human races, when sexual unions are not followed by offspring,

there may be other reasons for the continuance of the union but they are not reasons in which either Nature or society is in the slightest degree directly concerned. The marriage which grew up among animals by heredity on the basis of natural selection, and which has been continued by the lower human races through custom and tradition, by the more civilized races through the superimposed regulative influence of legal institutions, has been marriage for the sake of the offspring.[1] Even in civilized races among whom the proportion of sterile marriages is large, marriage tends to be so constituted as always to assume the procreation of children and to involve the permanence required by such procreation.

Among birds, which from the point of view of erotic development stand at the head of the animal world, monogamy frequently prevails (according to some estimates among 90 per cent.), and unions tend to be permanent; there is an approximation to the same condition among some of the higher mammals, especially the anthropoid apes; thus among gorillas and oran-utans permanent monogamic marriages take place, the young sometimes remaining with the parents to the age of six, while any approach to loose behavior on the part of the wife is severely punished by the husband. The variations that occur are often simply matters of adaptation to circumstances; thus, according to J. G. Millais (*Natural History of British Ducks*, pp. 8, 63), the Shoveler duck, though normally monogamic, will become polyandric when males are in excess, the two males being in constant and amicable attendance on the female without signs of jealousy; among the monogamic mallards, similarly, polygyny and polyandry may also occur. See also R. W. Shufeldt. "Mating Among Birds." *American Naturalist*, March, 1907; for mammal marriages, a valuable paper by Robert Müller, "Säugethierehen," *Sexual-Probleme*, Jan., 1909, and as regards the general prevalence of monogamy, Woods Hutchinson, "Animal Marriage," *Contemporary Review*, Oct., 1904, and Sept., 1905.

There has long been a dispute among the historians of marriage as to the first form of human marriage. Some assume a primitive promiscuity gradually modified in the direction of monogamy; others argue that man began where the anthropoid apes left off, and that monogamy has prevailed, on the whole, throughout. Both these opposed views, in

[1] Rosenthal, of Breslau, from the legal side, goes so far as to argue ("Grundfragen des Eheproblems," *Die Neue Generation*, Dec., 1908), that the intention of procreation is essential to the conception of legal marriage.

an extreme form, seem untenable, and the truth appears to lie midway. It has been shown by various writers, and notably Westermarck (*History of Human Marriage*, Chs. IV-VI), that there is no sound evidence in favor of primitive promiscuity, and that at the present day there are few, if any, savage peoples living in genuine unrestricted sexual promiscuity. This theory of a primitive promiscuity seems to have been suggested, as J. A. Godfrey has pointed out (*Science of Sex*, p. 112), by the existence in civilized societies of promiscuous prostitution, though this kind of promiscuity was really the result, rather than the origin, of marriage. On the other hand, it can scarcely be said that there is any convincing evidence of primitive strict monogamy beyond the assumption that early man continued the sexual habits of the anthropoid apes. It would seem probable, however, that the great forward step involved in passing from ape to man was associated with a change in sexual habits involving the temporary adoption of a more complex system than monogamy. It is difficult to see in what other social field than that of sex primitive man could find exercise for the developing intellectual and moral aptitudes, the subtle distinctions and moral restraints, which the strict monogamy practiced by animals could afford no scope for. It is also equally difficult to see on what basis other than that of a more closely associated sexual system the combined and harmonious efforts needed for social progress could have developed. It is probable that at least one of the motives for exogamy, or marriage outside the group, is (as was probably first pointed out by St. Augustine in his *De Civitate Dei*) the need of creating a larger social circle, and so facilitating social activities and progress. Exactly the same end is effected by a complex marriage system binding a large number of people together by common interests. The strictly small and confined monogamic family, however excellently it subserved the interests of the offspring, contained no promise of a wider social progress. We see this among both ants and bees, who of all animals, have attained the highest social organization; their progress was only possible through a profound modification of the systems of sexual relationship. As Espinas said many years ago (in his suggestive work, *Des Sociétés Animales*): "The cohesion of the family and the probabilities for the birth of societies are inverse." Or, as Schurtz more recently pointed out, although individual marriage has prevailed more or less from the first, early social institutions, early ideas and early religion involved sexual customs which modified a strict monogamy.

The most primitive form of complex human marriage which has yet been demonstrated as still in existence is what is called group-marriage, in which all the women of one class are regarded as the actual, or at all events potential, wives of all the men in another class. This has been observed among some central Australian tribes, a people as primitive and

as secluded from external influence as could well be found, and there is evidence to show that it was formerly more widespread among them. "In the Urabunna tribe, for example," say Spencer and Gillen, "a group of men actually do have, continually and as a normal condition, marital relations with a group of women. This state of affairs has nothing whatever to do with polygamy any more than it has with polyandry. It is simply a question of a group of men and a group of women who may lawfully have what we call marital relations. There is nothing whatever abnormal about it, and, in all probability, this system of what has been called group marriage, serving as it does to bind more or less closely together groups of individuals who are mutually interested in one another's welfare, has been one of the most powerful agents in the early stages of the upward development of the human race" (Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 74; *cf.* A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*). Group-marriage, with female descent, as found in Australia, tends to become transformed by various stages of progress into individual marriage with descent in the male line, a survival of group-marriage perhaps persisting in the much-discussed *jus primæ noctis*. (It should be added that Mr. N. W. Thomas, in his book on *Kinship and Marriage in Australia*, 1908, concludes that group-marriage in Australia has not been demonstrated, and that Professor Westermarck, in his *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, as in his previous *History of Human Marriage*, maintains a skeptical opinion in regard to group-marriage generally; he thinks the Urabunna custom may have developed out of ordinary individual marriage, and regards the group-marriage theory as "the residuary legatee of the old theory of promiscuity." Durkheim also believes that the Australian marriage system is not primitive, "Organisation Matrimoniale Australienne," *L'Année Sociologique*, eighth year, 1905). With the attainment of a certain level of social progress it is easy to see that a wide and complicated system of sexual relationships ceases to have its value, and a more or less qualified monogamy tends to prevail as more in harmony with the claims of social stability and executive masculine energy.

The best historical discussion of marriage is still probably Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage*, though at some points it now needs to be corrected or supplemented; among more recent books dealing with primitive sexual conceptions may be specially mentioned Crawley's *Mystic Rose*, while the facts concerning the transformation of marriage among the higher human races are set forth in G. E. Howard's *History of Matrimonial Institutions* (3 vols.), which contains copious bibliographical references. There is an admirably compact, but clear and comprehensive, sketch of the development of modern marriage in Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, vol. ii.

It is necessary to make allowance for variations, thereby shunning the extreme theorists who insist on moulding all facts to their theories, but we may conclude that—as the approximately equal number of the sexes indicates—in the human species, as among many of the higher animals, a more or less permanent monogamy has on the whole tended to prevail. That is a fact of great significance in its implications. For we have to realize that we are here in the presence of a natural fact. Sexual relationships, in human as in animal societies, follow a natural law, oscillating on each side of the norm, and there is no place for the theory that that law was imposed artificially. If all artificial "laws" could be abolished the natural order of the sexual relationships would continue to subsist substantially as at present. Virtue, said Cicero, is but Nature carried out to the utmost. Or, as Holbach put it, arguing that our institutions tend whither Nature tends, "art is only Nature acting by the help of the instruments she has herself made." Shakespeare had already seen much the same truth when he said that the art which adds to Nature "is an art that Nature makes." Law and religion have buttressed monogamy; it is not based on them but on the needs and customs of mankind, and these constitute its completely adequate sanctions.[1] Or, as Cope put it, marriage is not the creation of law but the law is its creation.[2] Crawley, again, throughout his study of primitive sex relationships, emphasizes the fact that our formal marriage system is not, as so many religious and moral writers once supposed, a forcible repression of natural impulses, but merely the rigid crystallization of those natural impulses, which in a more fluid form have been in human nature from the first. Our conventional forms, we must believe, have not introduced any elements of value, while in some respects they have been mischievous.

It is necessary to bear in mind that the conclusion that monogamic marriage is natural, and represents an order which is in harmony with the instincts of the majority of people, by no means involves agreement with the details of any particular legal system of monogamy. Mono-

[1] J. A. Godfrey, *Science of Sex*, p. 119.

[2] E. D. Cope, "The Marriage Problem," *Open Court*, Nov., 1888.

gamic marriage is a natural biological fact, alike in many animals and in man. But no system of legal regulation is a natural biological fact. When a highly esteemed alienist, Dr. Clouston, writes (*The Hygiene of Mind*, p. 245) "there is only one natural mode of gratifying sexual *nisus* and reproductive instinct, that of marriage," the statement requires considerable exegesis before it can be accepted, or even receive an intelligible meaning, and if we are to understand by "marriage" the particular form and implications of the English marriage law, or even of the somewhat more enlightened Scotch law, the statement is absolutely false. There is a world of difference, as J. A. Godfrey remarks (*The Science of Sex*, 1901, p. 278), between natural monogamous marriage and our legal system; "the former is the outward expression of the best that lies in the sexuality of man; the latter is a creation in which religious and moral superstitions have played a most important part, not always to the benefit of individual and social health."

We must, therefore, guard against the tendency to think that there is anything rigid or formal in the natural order of monogamy. Some sociologists would even limit the naturalness of monogamy still further. Thus Tarde ("La Morale Sexuelle," *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, Jan., 1907), while accepting as natural under present conditions the tendency for monogamy, mitigated by more or less clandestine concubinage, to prevail over all other forms of marriage, considers that this is not due to any irresistible influence, but merely to the fact that this kind of marriage is practiced by the majority of people, including the most civilized.

With the acceptance of the tendency to monogamy we are not at the end of sexual morality, but only at the beginning. It is not monogamy that is the main thing, but the kind of lives that people lead in monogamy. The mere acceptance of a monogamic rule carries us but a little way. That is a fact which cannot fail to impress itself on those who approach the questions of sex from the psychological side.

If monogamy is thus firmly based it is unreasonable to fear, or to hope for, any radical modification in the institution of marriage, regarded, not under its temporary religious and legal aspects but as an order which appeared on the earth even earlier than man. Monogamy is the most natural expression of an impulse which cannot, as a rule, be so adequately realized in full fruition under conditions involving a less prolonged period of mutual communion and intimacy. Variations, regarded as inevitable oscillations around the norm, are also natural, but union in couples must always be the rule because the numbers of

the sexes are always approximately equal, while the needs of the emotional life, even apart from the needs of offspring, demand that such unions based on mutual attraction should be so far as possible permanent.

It must here again be repeated that it is the reality, and not the form or the permanence of the marriage union, which is its essential and valuable part. It is not the legal or religious formality which sanctifies marriage, it is the reality of the marriage which sanctifies the form. Fielding has satirized in Nightingale, Tom Jones's friend, the shallow-brained view of connubial society which degrades the reality of marriage to exalt the form. Nightingale has the greatest difficulty in marrying a girl with whom he has already had sexual relations, although he is the only man who has had relations with her. To Jones's arguments he replies: "Common-sense warrants all you say, but yet you well know that the opinion of the world is so contrary to it, that were I to marry a whore, though my own, I should be ashamed of ever showing my face again." It cannot be said that Fielding's satire is even yet out of date. Thus in Prussia, according to Adele Schreiber ("Heirathsbeschränkungen," *Die Neue Generation*, Feb., 1909), it seems to be still practically impossible for a military officer to marry the mother of his own illegitimate child.

The glorification of the form at the expense of the reality of marriage has even been attempted in poetry by Tennyson in the least inspired of his works, *The Idylls of the King*. In "Lancelot and Elaine" and "Guinevere" (as Julia Magruder points out. *North American Review*, April, 1905) Guinevere is married to King Arthur, whom she has never seen, when already in love with Lancelot, so that the "marriage" was merely a ceremony, and not a real marriage (*cf.*, May Child, "The Weird of Sir Lancelot," *North American Review*, Dec., 1908).

It may seem to some that so conservative an estimate of the tendencies of civilization in matters of sexual love is due to a timid adherence to mere tradition. That is not the case. We have to recognize that marriage is firmly held in position by the pressure of two opposing forces. There are two currents in the stream of our civilization: one that moves towards an ever greater social order and cohesion, the other that moves towards an ever greater individual freedom. There is real harmony underlying the apparent opposition of these two tendencies, and each is indeed the indispensable complement of the other. There

can be no real freedom for the individual in the things that concern that individual alone unless there is a coherent order in the things that concern him as a social unit. Marriage in one of its aspects only concerns the two individuals involved; in another of its aspects it chiefly concerns society. The two forces cannot combine to act destructively on marriage, for the one counteracts the other. They combine to support monogamy, in all essentials, on its immemorial basis.

It must be added that in the circumstances of monogamy that are not essential there always has been, and always must be, perpetual transformation. All traditional institutions, however firmly founded on natural impulses, are always growing dead and rigid at some points and putting forth vitally new growths at other points. It is the effort to maintain their vitality, and to preserve their elastic adjustment to the environment, which involves this process of transformation in non-essentials.

The only way in which we can fruitfully approach the question of the value of the transformations now taking place in our marriage-system is by considering the history of that system in the past. In that way we learn the real significance of the marriage-system, and we understand what transformations are, or are not, associated with a fine civilization. When we are acquainted with the changes of the past we are enabled to face more confidently the changes of the present.

The history of the marriage-system of modern civilized peoples begins in the later days of the Roman Empire at the time when the foundations were being laid of that Roman law which has exerted so large an influence in Christendom. Reference has already been made[1] to the significant fact that in late Rome women had acquired a position of nearly complete independence in relation to their husbands, while the patriarchal authority still exerted over them by their fathers had become, for the most part, almost nominal. This high status of women was associated, as it naturally tends to be, with a high degree of freedom in the marriage system. Roman law had no power of

[1] See *ante*, p. 395.

intervening in the formation of marriages and there were no legal forms of marriage. The Romans recognized that marriage is a fact and not a mere legal form; in marriage by *usus* there was no ceremony at all; it was constituted by the mere fact of living together for a whole year; yet such marriage was regarded as just as legal and complete as if it had been inaugurated by the sacred rite of *confarreatio*. Marriage was a matter of simple private agreement in which the man and the woman approached each other on a footing of equality. The wife retained full control of her own property; the barbarity of admitting an action for restitution of conjugal rights was impossible, divorce was a private transaction to which the wife was as fully entitled as the husband, and it required no inquisitorial intervention of magistrate or court; Augustus ordained, indeed, that a public declaration was necessary, but the divorce itself was a private legal act of the two persons concerned.[1] It is interesting to note this enlightened conception of marriage prevailing in the greatest and most masterful Empire which has ever dominated the world, at the period not indeed of its greatest force,—for the maximum of force and the maximum of expansion, the bud and the full flower, are necessarily incompatible,—but at the period of its fullest development. In the chaos that followed the dissolution of the Empire Roman law remained as a precious legacy to the new developing nations, but its influence was inextricably mingled with that of Christianity, which, though not at the first anxious to set up marriage laws of its own, gradually revealed a growing ascetic feeling hostile alike to the dignity of the married woman and the freedom of marriage and divorce.[2] 'With that influence was combined the influence, introduced through the

[1] Wächter, *Eheschiedungen*, pp. 95 *et seq.*; Esmein, *Marriage en Droit Canonique*, vol. i, p. 6; Howard, *History of Matrimonial Institutions*, vol. ii, p. 15. Howard (in agreement with Lecky) considers that the freedom of divorce was only abused by a small section of the Roman population, and that such abuse, so far as it existed, was not the cause of any decline of Roman morals.

[2] The opinions of the Christian Fathers were very varied, and they were sometimes doubtful about them; see, *e.g.*, the opinions collected by Cranmer and enumerated by Burnet, *History of Reformation* (ed. Nares), vol. ii, p. 91.

Bible, of the barbaric Jewish marriage-system conferring on the husband rights in marriage and divorce which were totally denied to the wife; this was an influence which gained still greater force at the Reformation when the authority once accorded to the Church was largely transformed to the Bible. Finally, there was in a great part of Europe, including the most energetic and expansive parts, the influence of the Germans, an influence still more primitive than that of the Jews, involving the conception of the wife as almost her husband's chattel, and marriage as a purchase. All these influences clashed and often appeared side by side, though they could not be harmonized. The result was that the fifteen hundred years that followed the complete conquest of Christianity represent on the whole the most degraded condition to which the marriage system has ever been known to fall for so long a period during the whole course of human history.

At first indeed the beneficent influence of Rome continued in some degree to prevail and even exhibited new developments. In the time of the Christian Emperors freedom of divorce by mutual consent was alternately maintained, and abolished.[1] We even find the wise and far-seeing provision of the law enacting that a contract of the two parties never to separate could have no legal validity. Justinian's prohibition of divorce by consent led to much domestic unhappiness, and even crime, which appears to be the reason why it was immediately abrogated by his successor, Theodosius, still maintaining the late Roman tradition of the moral equality of the sexes, allowed the wife equally with the husband to obtain a divorce for adultery; that is a point we have not yet attained in England to-day.

[1] Constantine, the first Christian Emperor, enacted a strict and peculiar divorce law (allowing a wife to divorce her husband only when he was a homicide, a poisoner, or a violator of sepulchres), which could not be maintained. In 497, therefore, Anastasius decreed divorce by mutual consent. This was abolished by Justinian, who only allowed divorce for various specified causes, among them, however, including the husband's adultery. These restrictions proved unworkable, and Justinian's successor and nephew, Justin, restored divorce by mutual consent. Finally, in 870, Leo the Philosopher returned to Justinian's enactment (see, *e.g.*, Smith and Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, arts. "Adultery" and "Marriage").

It seems to be admitted on all sides that it was largely the fatal influence of the irruption of the barbarous Germans which degraded, when it failed to sweep away, the noble conception of the equality of women with men, and the dignity and freedom of marriage, slowly moulded by the organizing genius of the Roman into a great tradition which still retains a supreme value. The influence of Christianity had at the first no degrading influence of this kind; for the ascetic ideal was not yet predominant, priests married as a matter of course, and there was no difficulty in accepting the marriage order established in the secular world; it was even possible to add to it a new vitality and freedom. But the Germans, with all the primitively acquisitive and combative instincts of untamed savages, went far beyond even the early Romans in the subjection of their wives; they allowed indeed to their unmarried girls a large measure of indulgence and even sexual freedom,—just as the Christians also reverenced their virgins,[1]—but the German marriage system placed the wife, as compared to the wife of the Roman Empire, in a condition little better than that of a domestic slave. In one form or another, under one disguise or another, the system of wife-purchase prevailed among the Germans, and, whenever that system is influential, even when the wife is honored her privileges are diminished.[2] Among the Teutonic peoples generally, as among the early English, marriage was indeed a private transaction but it took the form of a sale of the bride by the father, or other legal guardian, to the bridegroom. The *beweddung* was a

[1] The element of reverence in the early German attitude towards women and the privileges which even the married woman enjoyed, so far as Tacitus can be considered a reliable guide, seem to have been the surviving vestiges of an earlier social state on a more matriarchal basis. They are most distinct at the dawn of German history. From the first, however, though divorce by mutual consent seems to have been possible, German custom was pitiless to the married woman who was unfaithful, sterile, or otherwise offended, though for some time after the introduction of Christianity it was no offence for the German husband to commit adultery (Westermarck, *Origin of the Moral Ideas*, vol. ii, p. 453).

[2] "This form of marriage," says Hobhouse (*op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 156), "is intimately associated with the extension of marital power" *Cf.* Howard, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 231 The very subordinate position of the mediæval German woman is set forth by Hagelstange, *Süddeutsches Bauernleben im Mittelalter*, 1898, pp. 70 *et seq.*

real contract of sale.[1] "Sale-marriage" was the most usual form of marriage. The ring, indeed, probably was not in origin, as some have supposed, a mark of servitude, but rather a form of bride-price, or *arrha*, that is to say, earnest money on the contract of marriage and so the symbol of it.[2] At first a sign of the bride's purchase, it was not till later that the ring acquired the significance of subjection to the bridegroom, and that significance, later in the Middle Ages, was further emphasized by other ceremonies. Thus in England the York and Sarum manuals in some of their forms direct the bride, after the delivery of the ring, to fall at her husband's feet, and sometimes to kiss his right foot. In Russia, also, the bride kissed her husband's feet. At a later period, in France, this custom was attenuated, and it became customary for the bride to let the ring fall in front of the altar and then stoop at her husband's feet to pick it up.[3] Feudalism carried on, and by its military character exaggerated, these Teutonic influences. A fief was land held on condition of military service, and the nature of its influence on marriage is implied in that fact. The woman was given with the fief and her own will counted for nothing.[4]

The Christian Church in the beginning accepted the forms

[1] Howard, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 259; Smith and Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, art. *Arrhæ*. It would appear, however, that the "bride-sale," of which Tacitus speaks, was not strictly the sale of a chattel nor of a slave-girl, but the sale of the *mund* or protectorship over the girl. It is true the distinction may not always have been clear to those who took part in the transaction. Similarly the Anglo-Saxon betrothal was not so much a payment of the bride's price to her kinsmen, although as a matter of fact, they might make a profit out of the transaction, as a covenant stipulating for the bride's honorable treatment as wife and widow. Reminiscences of this, remark Pollock and Maitland (*op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 364), may be found in "that curious cabinet of antiquities, the marriage ritual of the English Church."

[2] Howard, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 278-281, 386. The *Arrha* crept into Roman and Byzantine law during the sixth century.

[3] J. Wickham Legg, *Ecclesiological Essays*, p. 189. It may be added that the idea of the subordination of the wife to the husband appeared in the Christian Church at a somewhat early period, and no doubt independently of Germanic influences; St. Augustine said (Sermo XXXVII, cap. vi) that a good *materfamilias* must not be ashamed to call herself her husband's servant (*ancilla*).

[4] See, *e.g.*, L. Gautier, *La Chevalerie*, Ch. IX.

of marriage already existing in those countries in which it found itself, the Roman forms in the lands of Latin tradition and the German forms in Teutonic lands. It merely demanded (as it also demanded for other civil contracts, such as an ordinary sale) that they should be hallowed by priestly benediction. But the marriage was recognized by the Church even in the absence of such benediction. There was no special religious marriage service, either in the East or the West, earlier than the sixth century. It was simply the custom for the married couple, after the secular ceremonies were completed, to attend the church, listen to the ordinary service and take the sacrament. A special marriage service was developed slowly, and it was no part of the real marriage. During the tenth century (at all events in Italy and France) it was beginning to become customary to celebrate the first part of the real nuptials, still a purely temporal act, outside the church door. Soon this was followed by the regular bride-mass, directly applicable to the occasion, inside the church. By the twelfth century the priest directed the ceremony, now involving an imposing ritual, which began outside the church and ended with the bridal mass inside. By the thirteenth century, the priest, superseding the guardians of the young couple, himself officiated through the whole ceremony. Up to that time marriage had been a purely private business transaction. Thus, after more than a millennium of Christianity, not by law but by the slow growth of custom, ecclesiastical marriage was established.[1]

It was undoubtedly an event of very great importance not merely for the Church but for the whole history of European marriage even down to to-day. The whole of our public method of celebrating marriage to-day is based on that of the Catholic Church as established in the twelfth century and formulated in the Canon law. Even the publication of banns has its origin here, and the fact that in our modern civil marriage the public ceremony takes place in an office and not in a Church may dis-

[1] Howard, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 293 *et seq.*; Esmein, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 25 *et seq.*; Smith and Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, art. "Contract of Marriage."

guise but cannot alter the fact that it is the direct and unquestionable descendant of the public ecclesiastical ceremony which embodied the slow and subtle triumph—so slow and subtle that its history is difficult to trace—of Christian priests over the private affairs of men and women. Before they set themselves to this task marriage everywhere was the private business of the persons concerned; when they had completed their task,—and it was not absolutely complete until the Council of Trent,—a private marriage had become a sin and almost a crime.[1]

It may seem a matter for surprise that the Church which, as we know, had shown an ever greater tendency to reverence virginity and to cast contumely on the sexual relationship, should yet, parallel with that movement and with the growing influence of asceticism, have shown so great an anxiety to capture marriage and to confer on it a public, dignified, and religious character. There was, however, no contradiction. The factors that were constituting European marriage, taken as a whole, were indeed of very diverse characters and often involved unreconciled contradictions. But so far as the central efforts of the ecclesiastical legislators were concerned, there was a definite and intelligible point of view. The very depreciation of the sexual instinct involved the necessity, since the instinct could not be uprooted, of constituting for it a legitimate channel, so that ecclesiastical matrimony was, it has been said, "analogous to a license to sell intoxicating liquors."[2] Moreover, matrimony exhibited the power of the Church to confer on the license a dignity and distinction which would clearly separate it from the general stream of lust. Sexual enjoyment is impure, the faithful cannot partake of it until it has been purified by the ministrations of the Church. The solemnization of marriage was the necessary result of the sanctification of virginity. It became necessary

1 Any later changes in Catholic Canon law have merely been in the direction of making matrimony still narrower and still more remote from the practice of the world. By a papal decree of 1907, civil marriages and marriages in non-Catholic places of worship are declared to be not only sinful and unlawful (which they were before), but actually null and void.

2 E. S. P. Haynes, *Our Divorce Law*, p. 3.

to sanctify marriage also, and hence was developed the indissoluble sacrament of matrimony. The conception of marriage as a religious sacrament, a conception of far-reaching influence, is the great contribution of the Catholic Church to the history of marriage.

It is important to remember that, while Christianity brought the idea of marriage as a sacrament into the main stream of the institutional history of Europe, that idea was merely developed, not invented, by the Church. It is an ancient and even primitive idea The Jews believed that marriage is a magico-religious bond, having in it something mystical resembling a sacrament, and that idea, says Durkheim (*L'Année Sociologique*, eighth year, 1905, p. 419), is perhaps very archaic, and hangs on to the generally magic character of sex relations. "The mere act of union, Crawley remarks (*The Mystic Rose*, p. 318) concerning savages, "is potentially a marriage ceremony of the sacramental kind. . . . . One may even credit the earliest animistic men with some such vague conception before any ceremony became crystallized." The essence of a marriage ceremony, the same writer continues, "is the 'joining together' of a man and a woman; in the words of our English service. 'for this cause shall a man leave his father and mother and shall be joined unto his wife; and they two shall be one flesh' At the other side of the world, amongst the Orang Benuas, these words are pronounced by an elder, when a marriage is solemnized: 'Listen all ye that are present; those that were distant are now brought together; those that were separated are now united.' Marriage ceremonies in all stages of culture may be called religious with as much propriety as any ceremony whatever. Those who were separated are now joined together, those who were mutually taboo now break the taboo." Thus marriage ceremonies prevent sin and neutralize danger.

The Catholic conception of marriage was, it is clear, in essentials precisely the primitive conception. Christianity drew the sacramental idea from the archaic traditions in popular consciousness, and its own ecclesiastical contribution lay in slowly giving that idea a formal and rigid shape, and in declaring it indissoluble. As among savages, it was in the act of consent that the essence of the sacrament lay; the intervention of the priest was not, in principle, necessary to give marriage its religiously binding character. The essence of the sacrament was mutual acceptance of each other by the man and the woman, as husband and wife, and technically the priest who presided at the ceremony was simply a witness of the sacrament. The essential fact being thus the mental act of consent, the sacrament of matrimony had the peculiar character of being without any outward and visible sign. Perhaps it

was this fact, instinctively felt as a weakness, which led to the immense emphasis on the indissolubility of the sacrament of matrimony, already established by St. Augustine. The Canonists brought forward various arguments to account for that indissolubility, and a frequent argument has always been the Scriptural application of the term "one flesh" to married couples; but the favorite argument of the Canonists was that matrimony represents the union of Christ with the Church; that is indissoluble, and therefore its image must be indissoluble (Esmein, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 64). In part, also, one may well believe, the idea of the indissolubility of marriage suggested itself to the ecclesiastical mind by a natural association of ideas: the vow of virginity in monasticism was indissoluble; ought not the vow of sexual relationship in matrimony to be similarly indissoluble? It appears that it was not until 1164, in Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, that clear and formal recognition is found of matrimony as one of the seven sacraments (Howard, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 333).

The Church, however, had not only made marriage a religious act; it had also made it a public act. The officiating priest, who had now become the arbiter of marriage, was bound by all the injunctions and prohibitions of the Church, and he could not allow himself to bend to the inclinations and interests of individual couples or their guardians. It was inevitable that in this matter, as in other similar matters, a code of ecclesiastical regulations should be gradually developed for his guidance. This need of the Church, due to its growing control of the world's affairs, was the origin of Canon law. With the development of Canon law the whole field of the regulation of the sexual relationships, and the control of its aberrations, became an exclusively ecclesiastical matter. The secular law could take no more direct cognizance of adultery than of fornication or masturbation; bigamy, incest, and sodomy were not temporal crimes; the Church was supreme in the whole sphere of sex.

It was during the twelfth century that Canon law developed, and Gratian was the master mind who first moulded it. He belonged to the Bolognese school of jurisprudence which had inherited the sane traditions of Roman law. The Canons which Gratian compiled were, however, no more the mere result of legal traditions than they were the outcome of cloistered theological speculation. They were the result of a response to the

practical needs of the day before those needs had had time to form a foundation for fine-spun subtleties. At a somewhat later period, before the close of the century, the Italian jurists were vanquished by the Gallic theologians of Paris as represented by Peter Lombard. The result was the introduction of mischievous complexities which went far to rob Canon law alike of its certainty and its adaptation to human necessities.

Notwithstanding, however, all the parasitic accretions which swiftly began to form around the Canon law and to entangle its practical activity, that legislation embodied—predominantly at the outset and more obscurely throughout its whole period of vital activity—a sound core of real value. The Canon law recognized at the outset that the essential fact of marriage is the actual sexual union, accomplished with the intention of inaugurating a permanent relationship. The *copula carnalis*, the making of two "one flesh," according to the Scriptural phrase, a mystic symbol of the union of the Church to Christ, was the essence of marriage, and the mutual consent of the couple alone sufficed to constitute marriage, even without any religious benediction, or without any ceremony at all. The formless and unblessed union was still a real and binding marriage if the two parties had willed it so to be.[1]

Whatever hard things may be said about the Canon law, it must never be forgotten that it carried through the Middle Ages until the middle of the sixteenth century the great truth that the essence of marriage lies not in rites and forms, but in the mutual consent of the two persons who marry each other. When the Catholic Church, in its growing rigidity, lost that conception, it was taken up by the Protestants and Puritans in their first stage of ardent vital activity, though it was more or less dropped as they fell back into a state of subservience to forms. It continued to be maintained by moralists and poets. Thus George Chapman, the dramatist, who was both moralist and poet, in *The Gentleman Usher* (1606), represents the riteless marriage of his hero and heroine, which the latter thus introduces:—

[1] It was the Council of Trent, in the sixteenth century, which made ecclesiastical rites essential to binding marriage; but even then fifty six prelates voted against that decision.

"May not we now
Our contract make and marry before Heaven?
Are not the laws of God and Nature more
Than formal laws of men? Are outward rites
More virtuous than the very substance is
Of holy nuptials solemnzied within?
. . . . The eternal acts of our pure souls
Knit us with God, the soul of all the world,
He shall be priest to us; and with such rites
As we can here devise we will express
And strongly ratify our hearts' true vows,
Which no external violence shall dissolve."

And to-day, Ellen Key, the distinguished prophet of marriage reform, declares at the end of her *Liebe und Ehe* that the true marriage law contains only the paragraph: "They who love each other are husband and wife."

The establishment of marriage on this sound and naturalistic basis had the further excellent result that it placed the man and the woman, who could thus constitute marriage by their consent in entire disregard of the wishes of their parents or families, on the same moral level. Here the Church was following alike the later Romans and the early Christians like Lactantius and Jerome who had declared that what was licit for a man was licit for a woman. The Penitentials also attempted to set up this same moral law for both sexes. The Canonists finally allowed a certain supremacy to the husband, though, on the other hand, they sometimes seemed to assign even the chief part in marriage to the wife,[1] and the attempt was made to derive the word *matrimonium* from *matris munium,* thereby declaring the maternal function to be the essential fact of marriage.[1]

The sound elements in the Canon law conception of marriage were, however, from a very early period largely if not altogether neutralized by the verbal subtleties by which they were overlaid, and even by its own fundamental original defects. Even in the thirteenth century it began to be possible to attach a superior force to marriage verbally formed *per verba de præsenti* than to

[1] Esmein, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 91.

one constituted by sexual union, while so many impediments to marriage were set up that it became difficult to know what marriages were valid, an important point since a marriage even innocently contracted within the prohibited degrees was only a putative marriage. The most serious and the most profoundly unnatural feature of this ecclesiastical conception of marriage was the flagrant contradiction between the extreme facility with which the gate of marriage was flung open to the young couple, even if they were little more than children, and the extreme rigor with which it was locked and bolted when they were inside. That is still the defect of the marriage system we have inherited from the Church, but in the hands of the Canonists it was emphasized both on the side of its facility for entrance and of its difficulty for exit.[1] Alike from the standpoint of reason and of humanity the gate that is easy of ingress must be easy of egress; or if the exit is necessarily difficult then extreme care must be taken in admission. But neither of these necessary precautions was possible to the Canonists. Matrimony was a sacrament and all must be welcome to a sacrament, the more so since otherwise they may be thrust into the mortal sin of fornication. On the other side, since matrimony was a sacrament, when once truly formed, beyond the permissible power of verbal quibbles to invalidate, it could never be abrogated. The very institution that, in the view of the Church, had been set up as a bulwark against license became itself an instrument for artificially creating license. So that the net result of the Canon law in the long run was the production of a state of things which—in the

[1] It is sometimes said that the Catholic Church is able to diminish the evils of its doctrine of the indissolubility of marriage by the number of impediments to marriage it admits, thus affording free scope for dispensations from marriage. This scarcely seems to be the case. Dr. P. J. Hayes, who speaks with authority as Chancellor of the Catholic Archdiocese of New York, states ("Impediments to Marriage in the Catholic Church," *North American Review*, May, 1905) that even in so modern and so mixed a community as this there are few applications for dispensations on account of impediments; there are 15,000 Catholic marriages per annum in New York City, but scarcely five per annum are questioned as to validity, and these chiefly on the ground of bigamy.

eyes of a large part of Christendom—more than neutralized the soundness of its original conception.[1]

In England, where from the ninth century, marriage was generally accepted by the ecclesiastical and temporal powers as indissoluble, Canon law was, in the main, established as in the rest of Christendom. There were, however, certain points in which Canon law was not accepted by the law of England. By English law a ceremony before a priest was necessary to the validity of a marriage, though in Scotland the Canon law doctrine was accepted that simple consent of the parties, even exchanged secretly, sufficed to constitute marriage. Again, the issue of a void marriage contracted in innocence, and the issue of persons who subsequently marry each other, are legitimate by Canon law, but not by the common law of England (Geary, *Marriage and Family Relations*, p. 3; Pollock and Maitland, *loc. cit.*). The Canonists regarded the disabilities attaching to bastardy as a punishment inflicted on the offending parents, and considered, therefore, that no burden should fall on the children when there had been a ceremony in good faith on the part of one at least of the parents. In this respect the English law is less reasonable and humane. It was at the Council of Merton, in 1236, that the barons of England rejected the proposal to make the laws of England harmonize with the Canon law, that is, with the ecclesiastical law of Christendom generally, in allowing children born before wedlock to be legitimated by subsequent marriage. Grosseteste poured forth his eloquence and his arguments in favor of the change, but in vain, and the law of England has ever since stood alone in this respect (Freeman, "Merton Priory," *English Towns and Districts*). The proposal was rejected in the famous formula, "Nolumus leges Angliæ mutare," a formula which merely stood for an unreasonable and inhumane obstinacy.

In the United States, while by common law subsequent marriage fails to legitimate children born before marriage, in many of the States the subsequent marriage of the parents effects by statute the legitimacy of the child, sometimes (as in Maine) automatically, more usually (as in Massachusetts) through special acknowledgment by the father.

The appearance of Luther and the Reformation involved the decay of the Canon law system so far as Europe as a whole was concerned. It was for many reasons impossible for the

[1] The Canonists, say Pollock and Maitland (*loc. cit.*), "made a capricious mess of the marriage law." "Seldom," says Howard (*op. cit.*, vol i, p. 340), "have mere theory and subtle quibbling had more disastrous consequences in practical life than in the case of the distinction between *sponsalia de præsenti* and *de futuro*."

Protestant reformers to retain formally either the Catholic conception of matrimony or the precariously elaborate legal structure which the Church had built up on that conception. It can scarcely be said, indeed, that the Protestant attitude towards the Catholic idea of matrimony was altogether a clear, logical, or consistent attitude. It was a revolt, an emotional impulse, rather than a matter of reasoned principle. In its inevitable necessity, under the circumstances of the rise of Protestantism, lies its justification, and, on the whole, its wholesome soundness. It took the form, which may seem strange in a religious movement, of proclaiming that marriage is not a religious but a secular matter. Marriage is, said Luther, "a worldly thing," and Calvin put it on the same level as house-building, farming, or shoemaking. But while this secularization of marriage represents the general and final drift of Protestantism, the leaders of Protestantism were themselves not altogether confident and clear-sighted in the matter. Even Luther was a little confused on this point; sometimes he seems to call marriage "a sacrament," sometimes "a temporal business," to be left to the state.[1] It was the latter view which tended to prevail. But at first there was a period of confusion, if not of chaos, in the minds of the Reformers; not only were they not always convinced in their own minds; they were at variance with each other, especially on the very practical question of divorce. Luther on the whole belonged to the more rigid party, including Calvin and Beza, which would grant divorce only for adultery and malicious desertion; some, including many of the early English Protestants, were in favor of allowing the husband to divorce for adultery but not the wife. Another party, including Zwingli, were influenced by Erasmus in a more liberal direction, and—moving towards the standpoint of Roman Imperial legislation—admitted various causes of divorce. Some, like Bucer, anticipating Milton, would even allow divorce when the husband was unable to love his wife.

[1] Howard, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 386 *et seq.* On the whole, however, Luther's opinion was that marriage, though a sacred and mysterious thing, is not a sacrament; his various statements on the matter are brought together by Strampff, *Luther über die Ehe*, pp. 204-214.

At the beginning some of the Reformers adopted the principle of self-divorce, as it prevailed among the Jews and was accepted by some early Church Councils. In this way Luther held that the cause for the divorce itself effected the divorce without any judicial decree, though a magisterial permission was needed for remarriage. This question of remarriage, and the treatment of the adulterer, were also matters of dispute. The remarriage of the innocent party was generally accepted; in England it began in the middle of the sixteenth century, was pronounced valid by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and confirmed by Parliament. Many Reformers were opposed, however, to the remarriage of the adulterous party. Beust, Beza, and Melanchthon would have him hanged and so settle the question of remarriage; Luther and Calvin would like to kill him, but since the civil rulers were slack in adopting that measure they allowed him to remarry, if possible in some other part of the country.[1]

The final outcome was that Protestantism framed a conception of marriage mainly on the legal and economic factor—a factor not ignored but strictly subordinated by the Canonists—and regarded it as essentially a contract. In so doing they were on the negative side effecting a real progress, for they broke the power of an antiquated and artificial system, but on the positive side they were merely returning to a conception which prevails in barbarous societies, and is most pronounced when marriage is most assimilable to purchase. The steps taken by Protestantism involved a considerable change in the nature of marriage, but not necessarily any great changes in its form. Marriage was no longer a sacrament, but it was still a public and not a private function and was still, however inconsistently, solemnized in Church. And as Protestantism had no rival code to set up, both in Germany and England it fell back on the general principles of Canon law, modifying them to suit its own special attitude and needs.[2] It was the later Puritanic movement, first in the

[1] Howard, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 61 *et seq.*

[2] Probably as a result of the somewhat confused and incoherent attitude of the Reformers, the Canon law of marriage, in a modified form, really persisted in Protestant countries to a greater extent than in Catholic countries; in France, especially, it has been much more profoundly modified (Esmein, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 33).

Netherlands (1580), then in England (1653), and afterwards in New England, which introduced a serious and coherent conception of Protestant marriage, and began to establish it on a civil base.

The English Reformers under Edward VI and his enlightened advisers, including Archbishop Cranmer, took liberal views of marriage, and were prepared to carry through many admirable reforms. The early death of that King exerted a profound influence on the legal history of English marriage. The Catholic reaction under Queen Mary killed off the more radical Reformers, while the subsequent accession of Queen Elizabeth, whose attitude towards marriage was grudging, illiberal, and old-fashioned, approximating to that of her father, Henry VIII (as witnessed, for instance, in her decided opposition to the marriage of the clergy), permanently affected English marriage law. It became less liberal than that of other Protestant countries, and closer to that of Catholic countries.

The reform of marriage attempted by the Puritans began in England in 1644, when an Act was passed asserting "marriage to be no sacrament, nor peculiar to the Church of God, but common to mankind and of public interest to every Commonwealth." The Act added, notwithstanding, that it was expedient marriage should be solemnized by "a lawful minister of the Word." The more radical Act of 1653 swept away this provision, and made marriage purely secular. The banns were to be published (by registrars specially appointed) in the Church, or (if the parties desired) the market-place. The marriage was to be performed by a Justice of the Peace; the age of consent to marriage for a man was made sixteen, for a woman fourteen (Scobell's *Acts and Ordinances*, pp 86, 236). The Restoration abolished this sensible Act, and reintroduced Canon-law traditions, but the Puritan conception of marriage was carried over to America, where it took root and flourished.

It was out of Puritanism, moreover, as represented by Milton, that the first genuinely modern though as yet still imperfect conception of the marriage relationship was destined to emerge. The early Reformers in this matter acted mainly from an obscure instinct of natural revolt in an environment of plebeian materialism. The Puritans were moved by their feeling for simplicity and civil order as the conditions for religious freedom. Milton, in his *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, published in 1643, when he was thirty-five years of age, proclaimed the supremacy of the substance of marriage over the form of it,

and the spiritual autonomy of the individual in the regulation of that form. He had grasped the meaning of that conception of personal responsibility which is the foundation of sexual relationships as they are beginning to appear to men to-day. If Milton had left behind him only his writings on marriage and divorce they would have sufficed to stamp him with the seal of genius. Christendom had to wait a century and a half before another man of genius of the first rank, Wilhelm von Humboldt, spoke out with equal authority and clearness in favor of free marriage and free divorce.

It is to the honor of Milton, and one of his chief claims on our gratitude, that he is the first great protagonist in Christendom of the doctrine that marriage is a private matter, and that, therefore, it should be freely dissoluble by mutual consent, or even at the desire of one of the parties. We owe to him, says Howard, "the boldest defence of the liberty of divorce which had yet appeared. If taken in the abstract, and applied to both sexes alike, it is perhaps the strongest defence which can be made through an appeal to mere authority;" though his arguments, being based on reason and experience, are often ill sustained by his authority; he is really speaking the language of the modern social reformer, and Milton's writings on this subject are now sometimes ranked in importance above all his other work (Masson, *Life of Milton*, vol. iii, Howard, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 86, vol. iii, p. 251; C. B. Wheeler, "Milton's Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce," *Nineteenth Century*, Jan., 1907).

Marriage, said Milton, "is not a mere carnal coition, but a human society; where that cannot be had there can be no true marriage" (*Doctrine of Divorce*, Bk. i, Ch. XIII); it is "a covenant, the very being whereof consists not in a forced cohabitation, and counterfeit performance of duties, but in unfeigned love and peace" (*Ib.*, Ch. VI). Any marriage that is less than this is "an idol, nothing in the world." The weak point in Milton's presentation of the matter is that he never explicitly accords to the wife the same power of initiative in marriage and divorce as to the husband. There is, however, nothing in his argument to prevent its equal application to the wife, an application which, while never asserting he never denies; and it has been pointed out that he assumes that women are the equals of men and demands from them intellectual and spiritual companionship; however ready Milton may have been to grant complete equality of divorce to the wife, it would have been impossible for a seventeenth century Puritan to have obtained any hearing for such a doctrine; his arguments would have been received with, if that were possible, even more neglect than they actually met.

(Milton's scornful sonnet concerning the reception of his book is well known.)

Milton insists that in the conventional Christian marriage exclusive importance is attached to carnal connection. So long as that connection is possible, no matter what antipathy may exist between the couple, no matter how mistaken they may have been "through any error, concealment, or misadventure," no matter if it is impossible for them to "live in any union or contentment all their days," yet the marriage still holds good, the two must "fadge together" (*op. cit.*, Bk. i). It is the Canon law, he says, which is at fault, "doubtless by the policy of the devil," for the Canon law leads to licentiousness (*op. cit.*). It is, he argues, the absence of reasonable liberty which causes license, and it is the men who desire to retain the privileges of license who oppose the introduction of reasonable liberty.

The just ground for divorce is "indisposition, unfitness, or contrariety of mind, arising from a cause in nature unchangeable, hindering, and ever likely to hinder, the main benefits of conjugal society, which are solace and peace." Without the "deep and serious verity" of mutual love, wedlock is "nothing but the empty husks of a mere outside matrimony," a mere hypocrisy, and must be dissolved (*op. cit.*).

Milton goes beyond the usual Puritan standpoint, and not only rejects courts and magistrates, but approves of self-divorce; for divorce cannot rightly belong to any civil or earthly power, since "ofttimes the causes of seeking divorce reside so deeply in the radical and innocent affections of nature, as is not within the diocese of law to tamper with." He adds that, for the prevention of injustice, special points may be referred to the magistrate, who should not, however, in any case, be able to forbid divorce (*op. cit.*, Bk. ii, Ch. XXI). Speaking from a standpoint which we have not even yet attained, he protests against the absurdity of "authorizing a judicial court to toss about and divulge the unaccountable and secret reason of disaffection between man and wife."

In modern times Hinton was accustomed to compare the marriage law to the law of the Sabbath as broken by Jesus. We find exactly the same comparison in Milton. The Sabbath, he believes, was made for God. "Yet when the good of man comes into the scales, we have that voice of infinite goodness and benignity, that 'Sabbath was made for man and not man for Sabbath.' What thing ever was made more for man alone, and less for God, than marriage?" (*op cit.*, Bk. i, Ch. XI). "If man be lord of the Sabbath, can he be less than lord of marriage?"

Milton, in this matter as in others, stood outside the currents of his age. His conception of marriage made no more impression on contemporary life than his *Paradise Lost*. Even his

own Puritan party who had passed the Act of 1653 had strangely failed to transfer divorce and nullity cases to the temporal courts, which would at least have been a step on the right road. The Puritan influence was transferred to America and constituted the leaven which still works in producing the liberal though too minutely detailed divorce laws of many States. The American secular marriage procedure followed that set up by the English Commonwealth, and the dictum of the great Quaker, George Fox, "We marry none, but are witnesses of it,"[1] (which was really the sound kernel in the Canon law) is regarded as the spirit of the marriage law of the conservative but liberal State of Pennsylvania, where, as recently as 1885, a statute was passed expressly authorizing a man and woman to solemnize their own marriage.[2]

In England itself the reforms in marriage law effected by the Puritans were at the Restoration largely submerged. For two and a half centuries longer the English spiritual courts administered what was substantially the old Canon law. Divorce had, indeed, become more difficult than before the Reformation, and the married woman's lot was in consequence harder. From the sixteenth century to the second half of the nineteenth, English marriage law was peculiarly harsh and rigid, much less liberal than that of any other Protestant country. Divorce was unknown to the ordinary English law, and a special act of Parliament, at enormous expense, was necessary to procure it in individual cases.[3] There was even an attitude of self-righteousness in the maintenance of this system. It was regarded as moral. There was complete failure to realize that nothing is more immoral than the existence of unreal sexual unions, not

[1] The Quaker conception of marriage is still vitally influential. "Why," says Mrs. Besant (*Marriage*, p. 19), "should not we take a leaf out of the Quaker's book, and substitute for the present legal forms of marriage a simple declaration publicly made?"

[2] Howard, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 456. The actual practice in Pennsylvania appears, however, to differ little from that usual in the other States.

[3] Howard, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 109. "It is, indeed, wonderful," Howard remarks, "that a great nation, priding herself on a love of equity and social liberty, should thus for five generations tolerate an invidious indulgence, rather than frankly and courageously to free herself from the shackles of an ecclesiastical tradition."

only from the point of view of theoretical but also of practical morality, for no community could tolerate a majority of such unions.[1] In 1857 an act for reforming the system was at last passed with great difficulty. It was a somewhat incoherent and make-shift measure, and was avowedly put forward only as a step towards further reform; but it still substantially governs English procedure, and in the eyes of many has set a permanent standard of morality. The spirit of blind conservatism,—*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutare*,—which in this sphere had reasserted itself after the vital movement of Reform and Puritanism, still persists. In questions of marriage and divorce English legislation and English public feeling are behind alike both the Latin land of France and the Puritanically moulded land of the United States.

The author of an able and temperate essay on *The Question of English Divorce*, summing up the characteristics of the English divorce law, concludes that it is: (1) unequal, (2) immoral, (3) contradictory, (4) illogical, (5) uncertain, and (6) unsuited to present requirements. It was only grudgingly introduced in a bill, presented to Parliament in 1857, which was stubbornly resisted during a whole session, not only on religious grounds by the opponents of divorce, but also by the friends of divorce, who desired a more liberal measure. It dealt with the sexes unequally, granting the husband but not the wife divorce for adultery alone. In introducing the bill the Attorney-General apologized for this defect, stating that the measure was not intended to be final, but merely as a step towards further legislation. That was more than half a century ago, but the further step has not yet been taken. Incomplete and unsatisfactory as the measure was, it seems to have been regarded by many as revolutionary and dangerous in the highest degree. The author of an article on "Modern Divorce" in the *Universal Review* for July, 1859, while approving in principle of the establishment of a special Divorce Court, yet declared that the new court was "tending to destroy marriage as a social institution and to sap female chastity," and that "everyone now is a husband and wife at will." "No one," he adds, "can now justly quibble at a deficiency of matrimonial vomitories."

[1] "The enforced continuance of an unsuccessful union is perhaps the most immoral thing which a civilized society ever countenanced, far less encouraged," says Godfrey (*Science of Sex*, p 123). "The morality of a union is dependent upon mutual desire, and a union dictated by any other cause is outside the moral pale, however custom may sanction it, or religion and law condone it."

Yet, according to this law, it is not even possible for a wife to obtain a divorce for her husband's adultery, unless he is also cruel or deserts her. At first "cruelty" meant physical cruelty and of a serious kind. But in course of time the meaning of the word was extended to pain inflicted on the mind, and now coldness and neglect may almost of themselves constitute cruelty, though the English court has sometimes had the greatest hesitation in accepting the most atrocious forms of refined cruelty, because it involved no "physical" element. "The time may very reasonably be looked forward to, however," a legal writer has stated (Montmorency, "The Changing Status of a Married Woman," *Law Quarterly Review*, April, 1897), "when almost any act of misconduct will, in itself, be considered to convey such mental agony to the innocent party as to constitute the cruelty requisite under the Act of 1857." (The question of cruelty is fully discussed in J. R. Bishop's *Commentaries on Marriage, Divorce and Separation*, 1891, vol. i, Ch. XLIX; *cf.* Howard. *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 111).

There can be little doubt, however, that cruelty alone is a reasonable cause for divorce. In many American States, where the facilities for divorce are much greater than in England, cruelty is recognized as itself sufficient cause, whether the wife or the husband is the complainant. The acts of cruelty alleged have sometimes been seemingly very trivial. Thus divorces have been pronounced in America on the ground of the "cruel and inhuman conduct" of a wife who failed to sew her husband's buttons on, or because a wife "struck plaintiff a violent blow with her bustle," or because a husband does not cut his toe-nails, or because "during our whole married life my husband has never offered to take me out riding. This has been a source of great mental suffering and injury." In many other cases, it must be added, the cruelty inflicted by the husband, even by the wife—for though usually, it is not always, the husband who is the brute—is of an atrocious and heart-rending character (*Report on Marriage and Divorce in the United States*, issued by Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor, 1889). But even in many of the apparently trivial cases—as of a husband who will not wash, and a wife who is constantly evincing a hasty temper—it must be admitted that circumstances which, in the more ordinary relationships of life may be tolerated, become intolerable in the intimate relationship of sexual union. As a matter of fact, it has been found by careful investigation that the American courts weigh well the cases that come before them, and are not careless in the granting of decrees of divorce.

In 1859 an exaggerated importance was attached to the gross reasons for divorce, to the neglect of subtle but equally fatal impediments to the continuance of marriage. This was pointed out by Gladstone, who was opposed to making adultery a cause of divorce at all. "We have many causes," he said, "more fatal to the great obligation of marriage,

as disease, idiocy, crime involving punishment for life." Nowadays we are beginning to recognize not only such causes as these, but others of a far more intimate character which, as Milton long ago realized, cannot be embodied in statutes, or pleaded in law courts. The matrimonial bond is not merely a physical union, and we have to learn that, as the author of *The Question of English Divorce* (p. 49) remarks, "other than physical divergencies are, in fact, by far the most important of the originating causes of matrimonial disaster."

In England and Wales more husbands than wives petition for divorce, the wives who petition being about 40 per cent. of the whole. Divorces are increasing, though the number is not large, in 1907 about 1,300, of whom less than half remarried. The inadequacy of the divorce law is shown by the fact that during the same year about 7,000 orders for judicial separation were issued by magistrates. These separation orders not only do not give the right to remarry, but they make it impossible to obtain divorce. They are, in effect, an official permission to form relationships outside State marriage.

In the United States during the years 1887-1906 nearly 40 per cent. of the divorces granted were for "desertion," which is variously interpreted in different States, and must often mean a separation by mutual consent. Of the remainder, 19 per cent. were for unfaithfulness, and the same proportion for cruelty; but while the divorces granted to husbands for the infidelity of their wives are nearly three times as great proportionately as those granted to wives for their husband's adultery, with regard to cruelty it is the reverse, wives obtaining 27 per cent. of their divorces on that ground and husbands only 10 per cent.

In Prussia divorce is increasing. In 1907 there were eight thousand divorces, the cause in half the cases being adultery, and in about a thousand cases malicious desertion. In cases of desertion the husbands were the guilty parties nearly twice as often as the wives, in cases of adultery only a fifth to an eighth part.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that the difficulty, the confusion, the inconsistency, and the flagrant indecency which surround divorce and the methods of securing it are due solely and entirely to the subtle persistence of traditions based, on the one hand, on the Canon law doctrines of the indissolubility of marriage and the sin of sexual intercourse outside marriage, and, on the other hand, on the primitive idea of marriage as a contract which economically subordinates the wife to the husband and renders her person, or at all events her guardianship, his property. It is only when we realize how deeply these traditions have

become embedded in the religious, legal, social and sentimental life of Europe that we can understand how it is that barbaric notions of marriage and divorce can to-day subsist in a stage of civilization which has, in many respects, advanced beyond such notions.

The Canon law conception of the abstract religious sanctity of matrimony, when transferred to the moral sphere, makes a breach of the marriage relationship seem a public wrong; the conception of the contractive subordination of the wife makes such a breach on her part, and even, by transference of ideas, on his part, seem a private wrong. These two ideas of wrong incoherently flourish side by side in the vulgar mind, even to-day.

The economic subordination of the wife as a species of property significantly comes into view when we find that a husband can claim, and often secure, large sums of money from the man who sexually approaches his property, by such trespass damaging it in its master's eyes.[1] To a psychologist it would be obvious that a husband who has lacked the skill so to gain and to hold his wife's love and respect that it is not perfectly easy and natural to her to reject the advances of any other man owes at least as much damages to her as she or her partner owes to him; while if the failure is really on her side, if she is so incapable of responding to love and trust and so easy a prey to an outsider, then surely the husband, far from wishing for any money compensation, should consider himself more than fully compensated by being delivered from the necessity of supporting such a woman. In the absence of any false traditions that would be obvious. It might not, indeed, be unreasonable that a husband should pay heavily in order to free himself from a wife whom, evidently, he has made a serious mistake in choosing. But to ordain that a man should actually be indemnified because he has

[1] Adultery in most savage and barbarous societies is regarded, in the words of Westermarck, as "an illegitimate appropriation of the exclusive claims which the husband has acquired by the purchase of his wife, as an offence against property;" the seducer is, therefore, punished as a thief, by fine, mutilation, even death (*Origin of the Moral Ideas*, vol. ii, pp. 447 *et seq.*; *id.*, *History of Human Marriage*, p. 121). Among some peoples it is the seducer who alone suffers, and not the wife.

shown himself incapable of winning a woman's love is an idea that could not occur in a civilized society that was not twisted by inherited prejudice.[1] Yet as matters are to-day there are civilized countries in which it is legally possible for a husband to enter a prayer for damages against his wife's paramour in combination with either a petition for judicial separation or for dissolution of wedlock. In this way adultery is not a crime but a private injury.[2]

At the same time, however, the influence of Canon law comes inconsistently to the surface and asserts that a breach of matrimony is a public wrong, a sin transformed by the State into something almost or quite like a crime. This is clearly indicated by the fact that in some countries the adulterer is liable to imprisonment, a liability scarcely nowadays carried into practice. But exactly the same idea is beautifully illustrated by the doctrine of "collusion," which, in theory, is still strictly observed in many countries. According to the doctrine of "collusion" the conditions necessary to make the divorce possible must on no account be secured by mutual agreement. In practice it is impossible to prevent more or less collusion, but if proved in court it constitutes an absolute impediment to the granting of a divorce, however just and imperative the demand for divorce may be.

The English Divorce Act of 1857 refused divorce when there was collusion, as well as when there was any countercharge against the petitioner, and the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1860 provided the machinery for guaranteeing these bars to divorce. This question of collusion is

[1] It is sometimes said in defence of the claim for damages for seducing a wife that women are often weak and unable to resist masculine advances, so that the law ought to press heavily on the man who takes advantage of that weakness. This argument seems a little antiquated. The law is beginning to accept the responsibility even of married women in other respects, and can scarcely refuse to accept it for the control of her own person. Moreover, if it is so natural for the woman to yield, it is scarcely legitimate to punish the man with whom she has performed that natural act. It must further be said that if a wife's adultery is only an irresponsible feminine weakness, a most undue brutality is inflicted on her by publicly demanding her pecuniary price from her lover. If, indeed, we accept this argument, we ought to reintroduce the mediæval girdle of chastity.

[2] Howard, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 114.

discussed by G. P. Bishop (*op. cit.*, vol. ii, Ch. IX). "However just a cause may be," Bishop remarks, "if parties collude in its management, so that in real fact both parties are plaintiffs, while by the record the one appears as plaintiff and the other as defendant, it cannot go forward. All conduct of this sort, disturbing to the course of justice, falls within the general idea of fraud on the court. Such is the doctrine in principle everywhere."

It is quite evident that from the social or the moral point of view, it is best that when a husband and wife can no longer live together, they should part amicably, and in harmonious agreement effect all the arrangements rendered necessary by their separation. The law ridiculously forbids them to do so, and declares that they must not part at all unless they are willing to part as enemies. In order to reach a still lower depth of absurdity and immorality the law goes on to say that if as a matter of fact they have succeeded in becoming enemies to each other to such an extent that each has wrongs to plead against the other party they cannot be divorced at all![1] That is to say that when a married couple have reached a degree of separation which makes it imperatively necessary, not merely in their own interests but in the moral interests of society, that they should be separated and their relations to other parties concerned regularized, then they must on no account be separated.

It is clear how these provisions of the law are totally opposed to the demands of reason and morality. Yet at the same time it is equally clear how no efforts of the lawyers, however skilful or humane those efforts may be, can bring the present law into harmony with the demands of modern civilization. It is not

1 This rule is, in England, by no means a dead letter. Thus, in 1907, a wife who had left her home, leaving a letter stating that her husband was not the father of her child, subsequently brought an action for divorce, which, as the husband made no defence, she obtained. But, the King's Proctor having learnt the facts, the decree was rescinded. Then the husband brought an action for divorce; but could not obtain it, having already admitted his own adultery by leaving the previous case undefended. He took the matter up to the Court of Appeal, but his petition was dismissed, the Court being of opinion that "to grant relief in such a case was not in the interest of public morality." The safest way in England to render what is legally termed marriage absolutely indissoluble is for both parties to commit adultery.

the lawyers who are at fault; they have done their best, and in England, it is entirely owing to the skilful and cautious way in which the judges have so far as possible pressed the law into harmony with modern needs, that our antiquated divorce laws have survived at all. It is the system which is wrong. That system is the illegitimate outgrowth of the Canon law which grew up around conceptions long since dead. It involves the placing of the person who imperils the theoretical indissolubility of the matrimonial bond in the position of a criminal, now that he can no longer be publicly condemned as a sinner. To aid and abet that criminal is itself an offence, and the aider and abettor of the criminal must, therefore, be inconsequently punished by the curious method of refraining from punishing the criminal. We do not openly assert that the defendant in a divorce case is a criminal; that would be to render the absurdity of it too obvious, and, moreover, would be hardly consistent with the permission to claim damages which is based on a different idea. We hover uncertainly between two conceptions of divorce, both of them bad, each inconsistent with the other, and neither of them capable of being pushed to its logical conclusions.

The result is that if a perfectly virtuous married couple comes forward to claim divorce, they are told that it is out of the question, for in such a case there must be a "defendant." They are to be punished for their virtue. If each commits adultery and they again come forward to claim divorce, they are told that it is still out of the question, for there must be a "plaintiff." Before they were punished for their virtue; now they are to be punished in exactly the same way for their lack of it. The couple must humor the law by adopting a course of action which may be utterly repugnant to both. If only the wife alone will commit adultery, if only the husband will commit adultery and also inflict some act of cruelty upon his wife, if the innocent party will descend to the degradation of employing detectives and hunting up witnesses, the law is at their feet and hastens to accord to both parties the permission to remarry. Provided, of course, that the parties have arranged this without "collusion." That is to say that our law, with its ecclesiastical

traditions behind it, says to the wife: Be a sinner, or to the husband: Be a sinner and a criminal—then we will do all you wish. The law puts a premium on sin and on crime. In order to pile absurdity on absurdity it claims that this is done in the cause of "public morality." To those who accept this point of view it seems that the sweeping away of divorce laws would undermine the bases of morality. Yet there can be little doubt that the sooner such "morality" is undermined, and indeed utterly destroyed, the better it will be for true morality.

There is an influential movement in England for the reform of divorce, on the grounds that the present law is unjust, illogical, and immoral, represented by the Divorce Law Reform Union. Even the former president of the Divorce Court, Lord Gorell, declared from the bench in 1906 that the English law produces deplorable results, and is "full of inconsistencies, anomalies and inequalities, amounting almost to absurdities." The points in the law which have aroused most protest, as being most behind the law of other nations, are the great expense of divorce, the inequality of the sexes, the failure to grant divorces for desertion and in cases of hopeless insanity, and the failure of separation orders to enable the separated parties to marry again. Separation orders are granted by magistrates for cruelty, adultery, and desertion. This "separation" is really the direct descendant of the Canon law divorce *a mensa et thoro*, and the inability to marry which it involves is merely a survival of the Canon law tradition. At the present time magistrates—exercising their discretion, it is admitted, in a careful and prudent manner—issue some 7,000 separation orders annually, so that every year the population is increased by 14,000 individuals mostly in the age of sexual vigor, and some little more than children, who are forbidden by law to form legal marriages. They contribute powerfully to the great forward movement which, as was shown in the previous chapter, marks the morality of our age. But it is highly undesirable that free marriages should be formed, helplessly, by couples who have no choice in the matter, for it is unlikely that under such circumstances any high level of personal responsibility can be reached. The matter could be easily remedied by dropping altogether a Canon law tradition which no longer has any vitality or meaning, and giving to the magistrate's separation order the force of a decree of divorce.

New Zealand and the Australian colonies, led by Victoria in 1889, have passed divorce laws which, while more or less framed on the English model, represent a distinct advance. Thus in New Zealand the grounds for divorce are adultery on either side, wilful desertion, habitual drunkenness, and conviction to imprisonment for a term of years.

It is natural that an Englishman should feel acutely sensitive to this blot in the law of England and desire the speedy disappearance of a system so open to scathing sarcasm. It is natural that every humane person should grow impatient of the spectacle of so many blighted lives, of so much misery inflicted on innocent persons—and on persons who even when technically guilty are often the victims of unnatural circumstances—by the persistence of a mediæval system of ecclesiastical tyranny and inquisitorial insolence into an age when sexual relationships are becoming regarded as the sacred secret of the persons intimately concerned, and when more and more we rely on the responsibility of the individual in making and maintaining such relationships.

When, however, we refrain from concentrating our attention on particular countries and embrace the general movement of civilization in the matter of divorce during recent times, there cannot be the slightest doubt as to the direction of that movement. England was a pioneer in the movement half a century ago, and to-day every civilized country is moving in the same direction. France broke with the old ecclesiastical tradition of the indissolubility of matrimony in 1885 by a divorce law in some respects very reasonable. The wife may obtain a divorce on an equality with the husband (though she is liable to imprisonment for adultery), the co-respondent occupies a very subordinate position in adultery charges, and facility is offered for divorce on the ground of simple *injures graves* (excluding as far as possible mere incompatibility of temper), while the judge has the power, which he often successfully exerts, to effect a reconciliation in private or to grant a decree without public trial. The influence of France has doubtless been influential in moulding the divorce laws of the other Latin countries.

In Prussia an enlightened divorce law formerly prevailed by which it was possible for a couple to separate without scandal when it was clearly shown that they could not live together in agreement. But the German Code of 1900 introduced provisions as regards divorce which—while in some respects more liberal than those of the English law, especially by permitting

divorce for desertion and insanity—are, on the whole, retrograde as compared with the earlier Prussian law and place the matter on a cruder and more brutal basis. For two years after the Code came into operations the number of divorces sank; after that the public and the courts adapted themselves to the new provisions (more especially one which allowed divorce for serious neglect of conjugal duties) and the number of divorces began to increase with great rapidity. "But," remarks Hirschfeld, "how painful it has now become to read divorce cases! One side abuses the other, makes accusations of the grossest character, employs detectives to obtain the necessary proofs of 'dishonorable and immoral conduct,' whereas, before, both parties realized that they had been deceived in each other, that they failed to suit each other, and that they could no longer live together. Thus we see that the narrowing of individual responsibility in sexual matters has not only had no practical effect, but leads to injurious results of a serious kind."[1] In England a similar state of things has prevailed ever since divorce was established, but it seems to have become too familiar to excite either pain or disgust. Yet, as Adner has pointed out,[2] it has moved in a direction contrary to the general tendency of civilization, not only by increasing the inquisitorial authority of public courts but by emphasizing merely external causes of divorce and abolishing the more subtle internal causes which constantly grow in importance with the refinement of civilization.

In Austria until recent years, Canon law ruled absolutely, and matrimony was indissoluble, as it still remains for the Catholic population. The results as regards matrimonial happiness were in the highest degree deplorable. Half a century ago Gross-Hoffinger investigated the marital happiness of 100 Viennese couples of all social classes, without choice of cases, and presented the results in detail. He found that 48 couples were positively unhappy, only 16 were undoubtedly happy, and even among these there was only one case in which happiness resulted

[1] Magnus Hirschfeld, *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, Oct., 1908.
[2] H. Adner, "Die Richterliche Beurteilung der 'Zerrütteten' Ehe," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, Bd. ii, Teil 8.

from mutual faithfulness, happiness in the other cases being only attained by setting aside the question of fidelity.[1] This picture, it is to be hoped, no longer remains true. There is an influential Austrian Marriage Reform Association, publishing a journal called *Die Fessel,* or The Fetter. "One was chained to another," we are told. "In certain circumstances this must have been the worst and most torturing penalty of all. The most bizarre and repulsive couplings took place. There were, it is true, many affectionate companionships of the chain. But there were many more which inflicted an eternity of suffering upon one of the pair." This quotation, it must be added, has nothing to do with what the Canonists, borrowing the technical term for a prisoner's shackles, suggestively termed the *vinculum matrimonii;* it was written many years ago concerning the galleys of the old French convict system. It is, however, recalled to one's mind by the title which the Austrian Marriage Reform Association has given to its official organ.

Russia, where the marriage laws are arranged by the Holy Synod aided by jurists, stands almost alone among the great countries in the reasonable simplicity of its divorce provisions. Before 1907 divorce was very difficult to obtain in Russia, but in that year it became possible for a married couple to separate by mutual consent and after living apart for a year to become thereby entitled to a divorce enabling them to remarry. This provision is in accordance with the humane conception of the sexual relationship which has always tended to prevail in Russia, whither, it must be remembered, the stern and unnatural ideals of compulsory celibacy cherished by the Western Church never completely penetrated; the clergy of the Eastern Church are married, though the marriage must take place before they enter the priesthood, and they could not sympathize with the anti-sexual tone of the marriage regulations laid down by the celibate clergy of the west.

Switzerland, again, which has been regarded as the political

[1] Gross-Hoffinger, *Die Schichsale der Frauen und die Prostitution,* 1847; Bloch presents a full summary of the results of this inquiry in an *Appendix* to Ch. X of his *Sexual Life of Our Times.*

laboratory of Europe, also stands apart in the liberality of its divorce legislation. A renewable divorce for two years may be obtained in Switzerland when there are "circumstances which seriously affect the maintenance of the conjugal tie." To the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, finally, belongs the honor of having firmly maintained throughout the great principle of divorce by mutual consent under legal conditions, as established by Napoleon in his Code of 1803. The smaller countries generally are in advance of the large in matters of divorce law. The Norwegian law is liberal. The new Roumanian Code permits divorce by mutual consent, provided both parents grant equal shares of their property to the children. The little principality of Monaco has recently introduced the reasonable provision of granting divorce for, among other causes, alcoholism, syphilis, and epilepsy, so protecting the future race.

Outside Europe the most instructive example of the tendency of divorce is undoubtedly furnished by the United States of America. The divorce laws of the States are mainly on a Puritanic basis, and they retain not only the Puritanic love of individual freedom but the Puritanic precisianism.[1] In some States, notably Iowa, the statute-makers have been constantly engaged in adopting, changing, abrogating and re-enacting the provisions of their divorce laws, and Howard has shown how much confusion and awkwardness arise by such perpetual legislative fiddling over small details.

This restless precisianism has somewhat disguised the generally broad and liberal tendency of marriage law in America, and has encouraged foreign criticism of American social institutions. As a matter of fact the prevalence of divorce in America is enormously exaggerated. The proportion of divorced persons in the population appears to be less than one per cent., and, contrary to a frequent assertion, it is by no means the rule for divorced persons to remarry immediately. Taking into account the special conditions of life in the United States the prevalence of divorce is small and its character by no means reveals a low

[1] Divorce in the United States is fully discussed by Howard, *op. cit.*, vol. iii.

grade morality. An impartial and competent critic of the American people, Professor Münsterberg, remarks that the real ground which mainly leads to divorce in the United States—not the mere legal pretexts made compulsory by the precisianism of the law—is the highly ethical objection to continuing externally in a marriage which has ceased to be spiritually congenial. "It is the women especially," he says, "and generally the very best women, who prefer to take the step, with all the hardships which it involves, to prolonging a marriage which is spiritually hypocritical and immoral."[1]

The people of the United States, above all others, cherish ideals of individualism; they are also the people among whom, above all others, there is the greatest amount of what Reibmayr calls "blood-chaos." Under such circumstances the difficulties of conjugal life are necessarily at a maximum, and marriage union is liable to subtle impediments which must forever elude the statute-book.[2] There can be little doubt that the practical sagacity of the American people will enable them sooner or later to recognize this fact, and that finally fulfilling the Puritanic drift of their divorce legislation—as foreshadowed in its outcome by Milton—they will agree to trust their own citizens with the responsibility of deciding so private a matter as their conjugal

[1] H. Münsterberg, *The Americans*, p. 575. Similarly, Dr. Felix Adler, in a study of "The Ethics of Divorce" (*The Ethical Record*, 1890, p. 200), although not himself an admirer of divorce, believes that the first cause of the frequency of divorce in the United States is the high position of women.

[2] In an important article, with illustrative cases, on "The Neuro-psychical Element in Conjugal Aversion" (*Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases*, Sept., 1892) Smith Baker refers to the cases in which "a man may find himself progressively becoming antipathetic, through recognition of the comparatively less developed personality of the one to whom he happens to be married Marrying, perhaps, before he has learned to accurately judge of character and its tendencies, he awakens to the fact that he is honorably bound to live all his physiological life with, not a real companion, but a mere counterfeit." The cases are still more numerous, the same writer observes. in which the sexual appetite of the wife fails to reveal itself except as the result of education and practice. "This sort of natural-unnatural condition is the source of much disappointment, and of intense suffering on the part of the woman as well as of family dissatisfaction." Yet such causes for divorce are far too complex to be stated in statute-books, and far too intimate to be pleaded in courts of justice.

relationships, with, of course, authority in the courts to see that no injustice is committed. It is, indeed, surprising that the American people, usually intolerant of State interference, should in this matter so long have tolerated such interference in so private a matter.

The movement of divorce is not confined to Christendom; it is a mark of modern civilization. In Japan the proportion of divorces is higher than in any other country, not excluding the United States.[1] The most vigorous and progressive countries are those that insist most firmly on the purity of sexual unions. In the United States it was pointed out many years ago that divorce is most prevalent where the standard of education and morality is highest. It was the New England States, with strong Puritanic traditions of moral freedom, which took the lead in granting facility to divorce. The divorce movement is not, as some have foolishly supposed, a movement making for immorality.[2] Immorality is the inevitable accompaniment of indissoluble marriage; the emphasis on the sanctity of a merely formal union discourages the growth of moral responsibility as regards the hypothetically unholy unions which grow up beneath its shadow. To insist, on the other hand, by establishing facility of divorce, that sexual unions shall be real, is to work in the cause of morality. The lands in which divorce by mutual consent has prevailed longest are probably among the most, and not the least, moral of lands.

Surprise has been expressed that although divorce by mutual consent commended itself as an obviously just and reasonable measure two thousand years ago to the legally-minded Romans that solution has even yet been so rarely attained by modern states.[3] Wherever society is established on a solidly organized basis and the claims of reason and humanity receive due consideration—even when the general level of civilization is not

[1] Ten years ago, if not still, the United States came fourth in order of frequency of divorce, after Japan, Denmark, and Switzerland.

[2] Lecky, the historian of European morals, has pointed out (*Democracy and Liberty*, vol. ii, p. 172) the close connection generally between facility of divorce and a high standard of sexual morality.

[3] So, *e.g.*, Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, vol. i, p. 237.

in every respect high—there we find a tendency to divorce by mutual consent.

In Japan, according to the new Civil Code, much as in ancient Rome, marriage is effected by giving notice of the fact to the registrar in the presence of two witnesses, and with the consent (in the case of young couples) of the heads of their families. There may be a ceremony, but it is not demanded by the law. Divorce is effected in exactly the same way, by simply having the registration cancelled, provided both husband and wife are over twenty-five years of age. For younger couples unhappily married, and for cases in which mutual consent cannot be obtained, judicial divorce exists. This is granted for various specific causes, of which the most important is "grave insult, such as to render living together unbearable" (Ernest W. Clement, "The New Woman in Japan," *American Journal Sociology*, March, 1903). Such a system, like so much else achieved by Japanese organization, seems reasonable, guarded, and effective.

In the very different and far more ancient marriage system of China, divorce by mutual consent is equally well-established. Such divorce by mutual consent takes place for incompatibility of temperament, or when both husband and wife desire it. There are, however, various antiquated and peculiar provisions in the Chinese marriage laws, and divorce is compulsory for the wife's adultery or serious physical injuries inflicted by either party on the other. (The marriage laws of China are fully set forth by Paul d'Enjoy, *La Revue*, Sept. 1, 1905.)

Among the Eskimo (who, as readers of Nansen's fascinating books on their morals will know, are in some respects a highly socialized people) the sexes are absolutely equal, marriages are perfectly free, and separation is equally free. The result is that there are no uncongenial unions, and that no unpleasant word is heard between man and wife (Stefánsson, *Harper's Magazine*, Nov., 1908).

Among the ancient Welsh, women, both before and after marriage, enjoyed great freedom, far more than was afforded either by Christianity or the English Common law. "Practically either husband or wife could separate when either one or both chose" (Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, *The Welsh People*, p. 214). It was so also in ancient Ireland. Women held a very high position, and the marriage tie was very free, so as to be practically, it would appear, dissoluble by mutual consent. So far as the Brehon laws show, says Ginnell (*The Brehon Laws*, p. 212), "the marriage relation was extremely loose, and divorce was as easy, and could be obtained on as slight ground, as is now the case in some of the States of the American Union. It appears to have been obtained more easily by the wife than by the husband. When obtained on her petition, she took away with her all the property she had brought her husband, all

her husband had settled upon her on their marriage, and in addition so much of her husband's property as her industry appeared to have entitled her to."

Even in early French history we find that divorce by mutual consent was very common. It was sufficient to prepare in duplicate a formal document to this effect: "Since between N. and his wife there is discord instead of charity according to God, and that in consequence it is impossible for them to live together, it has pleased both to separate, and they have accordingly done so." Each of the parties was thus free either to retire into a cloister or to contract another union (E. de la Bedollière, *Histoire des Mœurs des Français*, vol. i, p. 317). Such a practice, however it might accord with the germinal principle of consent embodied in the Canon law, was far too opposed to the ecclesiastical doctrine of the sacramental indissolubility of matrimony to be permanently allowed, and it was completely crushed out.

The fact that we so rarely find divorce by mutual consent in Christendom until the beginning of the nineteenth century, that then it required a man of stupendous and revolutionary genius like Napoleon to re-introduce it, and that even he was unable to do so effectually, is clearly due to the immense victory which the ascetic spirit of Christianity, as firmly embodied in the Canon law, had gained over the souls and bodies of men. So subjugated were European traditions and institutions by this spirit that even the volcanic emotional uprising of the Reformation, as we have seen, could not shake it off. When Protestant States naturally resumed the control of secular affairs which had been absorbed by the Church, and rescued from ecclesiastical hands those things which belonged to the sphere of the individual conscience, it might have seemed that marriage and divorce would have been among the first concerns to be thus transferred. Yet, as we know, England was about as much enslaved to the spirit and even the letter of Canon law in the nineteenth as in the fourteenth century, and even to-day English law, though no longer supported by the feeling of the masses, clings to the same traditions.

There seems to be little doubt, however, that the modern movement for divorce must inevitably tend to reach the goal of separation by the will of both parties, or, under proper con-

ditions and restrictions, by the will of one party. It now requires the will of two persons to form a marriage; law insists on that condition.[1] It is logical as well as just that law should take the next step involved by the historical evolution of marriage, and equally insist that it requires the will of two persons to maintain a marriage. This solution is, without doubt, the only way of deliverance from the crudities, the indecencies, the inextricable complexities which are introduced into law by the vain attempt to foresee in detail all the possibilities of conjugal disharmony which may arise under the conditions of modern civilization. It is, moreover, we may rest assured, the only solution which the growing modern sense of personal responsibility in sexual matters traced in the previous chapter—the responsibility of women as well as of men—will be content to accept.

The subtle and complex character of the sexual relationships in a high civilization and the unhappy results of their State regulation were well expressed by Wilhelm von Humboldt in his *Ideen zu einen Versuch die Grenzen der Wirksamkeit des Staates zu bestimmen*, so long ago as 1792. "A union so closely allied with the very nature of the respective individuals must be attended with the most hurtful consequences when the State attempts to regulate it by law, or, through the force of its institutions, to make it repose on anything save simple inclination. When we remember, moreover, that the State can only contemplate the final results of such regulations on the race, we shall be still more ready to admit the justice of this conclusion. It may reasonably be argued that a solicitude for the race only conducts to the same results as the highest solicitude for the most beautiful development of the inner man. For, after careful observation, it has been found that the uninterrupted union of one man with one woman is most beneficial to the race, and it is likewise undeniable that no other union springs from true, natural, harmonious love. And further, it may be observed, that such love leads to the same results as those very relations which law and custom tend to establish. The radical error seems to be that the law commands; whereas such a relation cannot mould itself according to external arrangements, but depends wholly on inclination; and wherever coercion

[1] In England this step was taken in the reign of Henry VII. when the forcible marriage of women against their will was forbidden by statute (3 Henry VII, c. 2). Even in the middle of the seventeenth century, however, the question of forcible marriage had again to be dealt with (*Inderwick*, Interregnum, pp. 40 *et seq.*).

or guidance comes into collision with inclination, they divert it still farther from the proper path. Wherefore it appears to me that the State should not only loosen the bonds in this instance and leave ampler freedom to the citizen, but that it should entirely withdraw its active solicitude from the institution of marriage, and, both generally and in its particular modifications, should rather leave it wholly to the free choice of the individuals, and the various contracts they may enter into with respect to it. I should not be deterred from the adoption of this principle by the fear that all family relations might be disturbed, for, although such a fear might be justified by considerations of particular circumstances and localities, it could not fairly be entertained in an inquiry into the nature of men and States in general. For experience frequently convinces us that just where law has imposed no fetters, morality most surely binds; the idea of external coercion is one entirely foreign to an institution which, like marriage, reposes only on inclination and an inward sense of duty; and the results of such coercive institutions do not at all correspond to the intentions in which they originate."

A long succession of distinguished thinkers—moralists, sociologists, political reformers—have maintained the social advantages of divorce by mutual consent, or, under guarded circumstances, at the wish of one party. Mutual consent was the corner-stone of Milton's conception of marriage. Montesquieu said that true divorce must be the result of mutual consent and based on the impossibility of living together. Senancour seems to agree with Montesquieu. Lord Morley (*Diderot*, vol. ii, Ch. I), echoing and approving the conclusions of Diderot's *Supplément au Voyage de Bougainville* (1772), adds that the separation of husband and wife is "a transaction in itself perfectly natural and blameless, and often not only laudable, but a duty." Bloch (*Sexual Life of Our Time*, p. 240), with many other writers, emphasizes the truth of Shelley's saying, that the freedom of marriage is the guarantee of its durability. (That the facts of life point in the same direction has been shown in the previous chapter.) The learned Caspari (*Die Soziale Frage über die Freiheit der Ehe*), while disclaiming any prevision of the future, declares that if sexual relationships are to remain or to become moral, there must be an easier dissolution of marriage. Howard, at the conclusion of his exhaustive history of matrimonial institutions (vol. iii, p 220), though he himself believes that marriage is peculiarly in need of regulation by law, is yet constrained to admit that it is perfectly clear to the student of history that the modern divorce movement is "but a part of the mighty movement for social liberation which has been gaining in volume and strength since the Reformation." Similarly the cautious and judicial Westermarck concludes the chapter on marriage of his *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* (vol. ii, p. 398) with the

statement that "when both husband and wife desire to separate, it seems to many enlightened minds that the State has no right to prevent them from dissolving the marriage contract, provided the children are properly cared for; and that, for the children, also, it is better to have the supervision of one parent only than of two who cannot agree."

In France the leaders of the movement of social reform seem to be almost, or quite, unanimous in believing that the next step in regard to divorce is the establishment of divorce by mutual consent. This was, for instance, the result reached in a symposium to which thirty-one distinguished men and women contributed. All were in favor of divorce by mutual consent; the only exception was Madame Adam, who said she had reached a state of skepticism with regard to political and social forms, but admitted that for nearly half a century she had been a strong advocate of divorce. A large number of the contributors were in favor of divorce at the desire of one party only (*La Revue*, March 1, 1901). In other countries, also, there is a growing recognition that this solution of the question, with due precautions to avoid any abuses to which it might otherwise be liable, is the proper and inevitable solution.

As to the exact method by which divorce by mutual consent should be effected, opinions differ, and the matter is likely to be differently arranged in different countries. The Japanese plan seems simple and judicious (see *ante*, p. 461). Paul and Victor Margueritte (*Quelques Idées*, pp. 3 *et seq.*), while realizing that the conflict of feeling in the matter of personal associations involves decisions which are entirely outside the competence of legal tribunals, recognize that such tribunals are necessary in order to deal with the property of divorced persons, and also, in the last resort, with the question of the care of the children. They should not act in public. These writers propose that each party should choose a representative, and that these two should choose a third; and that this tribunal should privately investigate, and if they agreed should register the divorce, which should take place six or twelve months later, or three years later, if only desired by one of the parties. Dr. Shufeldt ("Psychopathia Sexualis and Divorce") proposes that a divorce-court judge should conduct, alone, the hearing of any cases of marital discord, the husband and wife appearing directly before him, without counsel, though with their witnesses, if necessary; should medical experts be required the judge alone would be empowered to call them.

When we realize that the long delay in the acceptance of so just and natural a basis of divorce is due to an artificial tension created by the pressure of the dead hand of Canon law—a tension confined exclusively to Christendom—we may also realize that with the final disappearance of that tension the just and natural

order in this relationship will spring back the more swiftly because that relief has been so long delayed. "Nature abhors a vacuum nowhere more than in a marriage," Ellen Key remarks in the language of antiquated physical metaphor; the vacuum will somehow be filled, and if it cannot be filled in a natural and orderly manner it will be filled in an unnatural and disorderly manner. It is the business of society to see that no laws stand in the way of the establishment of natural order.

Reform upon a reasonable basis has been made difficult by the unfortunate retention of the idea of delinquency. With the traditions of the Canonists at the back of our heads we have somehow persuaded ourselves that there cannot be a divorce unless there is a delinquent, a real serious delinquent who, if he had his deserts, would be imprisoned and consigned to infamy. But in the marriage relationship, as in all other relationships, it is only in a very small number of cases that one party stands towards the other as a criminal, even a defendant. This is often obvious in the early stages of conjugal alienation. But it remains true in the end. The wife commits adultery and the husband as a matter of course assumes the position of plaintiff. But we do not inquire how it is that he has not so won her love that her adultery is out of the question; such inquiry might lead to the conclusion that the real defendant is the husband. And similarly when the husband is accused of brutal cruelty the law takes no heed to inquire whether in the infliction of less brutal but not less poignant wounds, the wife also should not be made defendant. There are a few cases, but only a few, in which the relationship of plaintiff and defendant is not a totally false and artificial relationship, an immoral legal fiction. In most cases, if the truth were fully known, husband and wife should come side by side to the divorce court and declare: "We are both in the wrong: we have not been able to fulfil our engagements to each other; we have erred in choosing each other." The long reports of the case in open court, the mutual recriminations, the detectives, the servant girls and other witnesses, the infamous inquisition into intimate secrets—all these things, which no necessity could ever justify, are altogether unnecessary.

It is said by some that if there were no impediments to divorce a man might be married in succession to half a dozen women. These simple-minded or ignorant persons do not seem to be aware that even when marriage is absolutely indissoluble a man can, and frequently does, carry on sexual relationships not merely successively, but, if he chooses, even simultaneously, with half a dozen women. There is, however, this important difference that, in the one case, the man is encouraged by the law to believe that he need only treat at most one of the six women with anything approaching to justice and humanity; in the other case the law insists that he shall fairly and openly fulfil his obligations towards all the six women. It is a very important difference, and there ought to be no question as to which state of things is moral and which immoral. It is no concern of the State to inquire into the number of persons with whom a man or a woman chooses to have sexual relationships; it is a private matter which may indeed affect their own finer spiritual development but which it is impertinent for the State to pry into. It is, however, the concern of the State, in its own collective interest and that of its members, to see that no injustice is done.

But what about the children? That is necessarily a very important question. The question of the arrangements made for the children in cases of divorce is always one to which the State must give its regulative attention, for it is only when there are children that the State has any real concern in the matter.

At one time it was even supposed by some that the existence of children was a serious argument against facility of divorce. A more reasonable view is now generally taken. It is, in the first place, recognized that a very large proportion of couples seeking divorce have no children. In England the proportion is about forty per cent.; in some other countries it is doubtless larger still. But even when there are children no one who realizes what the conditions are in families where the parents ought to be but are not divorced can have any doubt that usually those conditions are extremely bad for the children. The tension between the parents absorbs energy which should be devoted to the children. The spectacle of the grievances or quarrels

of their parents is demoralizing for the children, and usually fatal to any respect towards them. At the best it is injuriously distressing to the children. One effective parent, there cannot be the slightest doubt, is far better for a child than two ineffective parents. There is a further point, often overlooked, for consideration here. Two people when living together at variance —one of them perhaps, it is not rarely the case, nervously abnormal or diseased—are not fitted to become parents, nor in the best condition for procreation. It is, therefore, not merely an act of justice to the individual, but a measure called for in the interests of the State, that new citizens should not be brought into the community through such defective channels.[1] From this point of view all the interests of the State are on the side of facility of divorce.

There is a final argument which is often brought forward against facility of divorce. Marriage, it is said, is for the protection of women; facilitate divorce and women are robbed of that protection. It is obvious that this argument has little application as against divorce by mutual consent. Certainly it is necessary that divorce should only be arranged under conditions which in each individual case have received the approval of the law as just. But it must always be remembered that the essential fact of marriage is not naturally, and should never artificially be made, an economic question. It is possible—that is a question which society will have to consider—that a woman should be paid for being a mother on the ground that she is rearing new citizens for the State. But neither the State nor her husband nor anyone else ought to pay her for exercising conjugal rights. The fact that such an argument can be brought forward shows how far we are from the sound biological attitude towards sexual relationships. Equally unsound is the notion that the virgin bride brings her husband at marriage an important capital which is consumed in the first act of intercourse and can never be

[1] Woods Hutchinson (*Contemporary Review*, Sept., 1905) argues that when there is epilepsy, insanity, moral perversion, habitual drunkenness, or criminal conduct of any kind divorce, for the sake of the next generation, should be not permissive but compulsory. Mere divorce, however, would not suffice to attain the ends desired.

recovered. That is a notion which has survived into civilization, but it belongs to barbarism and not to civilization. So far as it has any validity it lies within a sphere of erotic perversity which cannot be taken into consideration in an estimation of moral values. For most men, however, in any case, whether they realize it or not, the woman who has been initiated into the mysteries of love has a higher erotic value than the virgin, and there need be no anxiety on this ground concerning the wife who has lost her virginity. It is probably a significant fact that this anxiety for the protection of women by the limitation of divorce is chiefly brought forward by men and not by women themselves. A woman at marriage is deprived by society and the law of her own name. She has been deprived until recently of the right to her own earnings. She is deprived of the most intimate rights in her own person. She is deprived under some circumstances of her own child, against whom she may have committed no offence whatever. It is perhaps scarcely surprising that she is not greatly appreciative of the protection afforded her by the withholding of the right to divorce her husband. "Ah, no, no protection!" a brilliant French woman has written. "We have been protected long enough. The only protection to grant women is to cease protecting them."[1] As a matter of fact the divorce movement appears to develop, on the whole, with that development of woman's moral responsibility traced in the previous chapter, and where divorce is freest women occupy the highest position.

We cannot fail to realize as we grasp the nature and direction of the modern movement of divorce that the final tendency of that movement is to efface itself. Necessary as the Divorce

[1] Similarly in Germany, Wanda von Sacher-Masoch, who had suffered much from marriage, whatever her own defects of character may have been, writes at the end of *Meine Lebensbeichte* that "as long as women have not the courage to regulate, without State-interference or Church-interference, relationships which concern themselves alone, they will not be free." In place of this old decayed system of marriage so opposed to our modern thoughts and feelings, she would have private contracts made by a lawyer. In England, at a much earlier period, Charles Kingsley, who was an ardent friend to women's movements, and whose feeling for womanhood amounted almost to worship, wrote to J. S. Mill: "There will never be a good world for women until the last remnant of the Canon law is civilized off the earth."

Court has been as the inevitable corollary of an impossible ecclesiastical conception of marriage, no institution is now more hideous, more alien to the instinctive feelings generated by a fine civilization, and more opposed to the dignity of womanhood.[1] Its disappearance and its substitution by private arrangements, effected on their contractive sides, especially if there are children to provide for, under legal and if necessary judicial supervision, is, and always has been, the natural result of the attainment of a reasonably high stage of civilization. The Divorce Court has merely been a phase in the history of modern marriage, and a phase that has really been repugnant to all concerned in it. There is no need to view the project of its ultimate disappearance with anything but satisfaction. It was merely the outcome of an artificial conception of marriage. It is time to return to the consideration of that conception.

We have seen that when the Catholic development of the archaic conception of marriage as a sacrament, slowly elaborated and fossilized by the ingenuity of the Canonists, was at last nominally dethroned, though not destroyed, by the movement associated with the Reformation, it was replaced by the conception of marriage as a contract. This conception of marriage as a contract still enjoys a considerable amount of credit amongst us.

There must always be contractive elements, implicit or explicit, in a marriage; that was well recognized even by the Canonists. But when we treat marriage as all contract, and nothing but contract, we have to realize that we have set up a very peculiar form of contract, not voidable, like other contracts, by the agreement of the parties to it, but dissoluble as a sort of punishment of delinquency rather than by the voluntary annulment of a bond.[2] When the Protestant Reformers seized on the

[1] "No fouler institution was ever invented," declared Auberon Herbert many years ago, expressing, before its time, a feeling which has since become more common; "and its existence drags on, to our deep shame, because we have not the courage frankly to say that the sexual relations of husband and wife, or those who live together, concern their own selves, and do not concern the prying, gloating, self-righteous, and intensely untruthful world outside."

[2] Hobhouse, *op cit.*, vol. i, p. 237.

idea of marriage as a contract they were not influenced by any reasoned analysis of the special characteristics of a contract; they were merely anxious to secure a plausible ground, already admitted even by the Canonists to cover certain aspects of the matrimonial union, on which they could declare that marriage is a secular and not an ecclesiastical matter, a civil bond and not a sacramental process.[1]

Like so much else in the Protestant revolt, the strength of this attitude lay in the fact that it was a protest, based on its negative side on reasonable and natural grounds. But while Protestantism was right in its attempt—for it was only an attempt—to deny the authority of Canon law, that attempt was altogether unsatisfactory on the positive side. As a matter of fact marriage is not a true contract and no attempt has ever been made to convert it into a true contract.

Various writers have treated marriage as an actual contract or argued that it ought to be converted into a true contract. Mrs. Mona Caird, for instance ("The Morality of Marriage," *Fortnightly Review* 1890), believes that when marriage becomes really a contract "a couple would draw up their agreement, or depute the task to their friends, as is now generally done as regards marriage settlements. They agree to live together on such and such terms, making certain stipulations within the limits of the code." The State, she holds, should, however, demand an interval of time between notice of divorce and the divorce itself, if still desired when that interval has passed. Similarly, in the United States Dr. Shufeldt ("Needed Revision of the Laws of Marriage and Divorce," *Medico-Legal Journal*, Dec., 1897) insists that marriage must be entirely put into the hands of the legal profession and "made a civil contract, explicit in detail, and defining terms of divorce, in the event that a dissolution of the contract is subsequently desired." He adds that medical certificates of freedom from hereditary and acquired disease should be required, and properly regulated probationary marriages also be instituted.

[1] The same conception of marriage as a contract still persists to some extent also in the United States, whither it was carried by the early Protestants and Puritans. No definition of marriage is indeed usually laid down by the States, but, Howard says (*op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 395), "in effect matrimony is treated as a relation partaking of the nature of both status and contract."

In France, a deputy of the Chamber was, in 1891, so convinced that marriage is a contract, like any other contract, that he declared that "to perform music at the celebration of a marriage is as ridiculous as it would be to send for a tenor to a notary's to celebrate a sale of timber." He was of quite different mind from Pepys, who, a couple of centuries earlier, had been equally indignant at the absence of music from a wedding, which, he said, made it like a coupling of dog and bitch.

A frequent demand of those who insist that marriage must be regarded as a contract is marriage contracted for a term of years. Marriages could be contracted for a term of five years or less in old Japan, and it is said that they were rarely or never dissolved at the end of the term. Goethe, in his *Wahlverwandtschaften* (Part I. Ch. X) incidentally introduced a proposal for marriages for a term of five years and attached much moral significance to the prolongation of the marriage beyond that term without external compulsion. (Bloch considers that Goethe had probably heard of the Japanese custom, *Sexual Life of Our Time*, p. 241.) Professor E. D. Cope ("The Marriage Problem," *Open Court*, Nov. 15 and 22, 1888), likewise, in order to remove matrimony from the domain of caprice and to permit full and fair trial, advocated "a system of civil marriage contracts which shall run for a definite time. These contracts should be of the same value and effect as the existing marriage contract. The time limits should be increased rapidly, so as to prevent women of mature years being deprived of support. The first contract ought not to run for less than five years, so as to give ample opportunity for acquaintance, and for the recovery from temporary disagreements." This first contract, Cope held, should be terminable at the wish of either party; the second contract, for ten or fifteen years, should only be terminable at the wish of both parties, and the third should be permanent and indissoluble. George Meredith, the distinguished novelist, also, more recently, threw out the suggestion that marriages should be contracted for a term of years.

It can scarcely be said that marriages for a term of years constitute a very satisfactory solution of the difficulties at present encountered. They would not commend themselves to young lovers, who believe that their love is eternal, nor, so long as the union proves satisfactory, is there any need to introduce the disturbing idea of a legal termination of the contract. On the other hand, if the union proves unhappy, it is not reasonable to insist on the continuation for ten or even five years of an empty form which corresponds to no real marriage union. Even if marriage is placed on the most prosaic contractive basis it is a mistake, and indeed an impossibility, to pre-ordain the length of its duration. The system of fixing the duration of marriage beforehand for a term of years involves exactly the same principle as the system of fixing it beforehand for life. It is open to the same objection that it is incom-

patible with any vital relationship. As the demand for vital reality and effectiveness in social relationships grows, this fact is increasingly felt. We see exactly the same change among us in regard to the system of inflicting fixed sentences of imprisonment on criminals. To send a man to prison for five years or for life, without any regard to the unknown problem of the vital reaction of imprisonment on the man—a reaction which will be different in every individual case—is slowly coming to be regarded as an absurdity.

If marriage were really placed on the basis of a contract, not only would that contract be voidable at the will of the two parties concerned, without any question of delinquency coming into the question, but those parties would at the outset themselves determine the conditions regulating the contract. But nothing could be more unlike our actual marriage. The two parties are bidden to accept each other as husband and wife; they are not invited to make a contract; they are not even told that, little as they may know it, they have in fact made a very complicated and elaborate contract that was framed on lines laid down, for a large part, thousands of years before they were born. Unless they have studied law they are totally ignorant, also, that this contract contains clauses which under some circumstances may be fatal to either of them. All that happens is that a young couple, perhaps little more than children, momentarily dazed by emotion, are hurried before the clergyman or the civil registrar of marriages, to bind themselves together for life, knowing nothing of the world and scarcely more of each other, knowing nothing also of the marriage laws, not even perhaps so much as that there are any marriage laws, never realizing that—as has been truly said—from the place they are entering beneath a garland of flowers there is, on this side of death, no exit except through the trapdoor of a sewer.[1]

When a woman marries she gives up the right to her own person. Thus, according to the law of England, a man "cannot be guilty of a rape upon his lawful wife." Stephen, who, in the first edition of his

[1] This point of view has been vigorously set forth by Paul and Victor Margueritte, *Quelques Idées*.

Digest of Criminal Law, thought that under some circumstances a man might be indicted for rape upon his wife, in the last edition withdrew that opinion. A man may rape a prostitute, but he cannot rape his wife. Having once given her consent to sexual intercourse by the act of marrying a man, she has given it forever, whatever new circumstances may arise, and he has no need to ask her consent to sexual intercourse, not even if he is knowingly suffering at the time from a venereal disease (see, *e.g.*, an article on "Sex Bias," *Westminster Review*, March, 1888).

The duty of the wife to allow "conjugal rights" to her husband is another aspect of her legal subjection to him. Even in the nineteenth century a Suffolk lady of good family was imprisoned in Ipswich Goal for many years and fed on bread and water, though suffering from various diseases, till she died, simply because she continued to disregard the decree requiring her to render conjugal rights to her husband. This state of things was partly reformed by the Matrimonial Causes Bill of 1884, and that bill was passed, not to protect women, but men, against punishment for refusal to restore conjugal rights. Undoubtedly, the modern tendency, although it has progressed very slowly, is against applying compulsion to either husband or wife to yield "conjugal rights;" and since the Jackson case it is not possible in England for a husband to use force in attempting to compel his wife to live with him. This tendency is still more marked in the United States; thus the Iowa Supreme Court, a few years ago, decided that excessive demands for coitus constituted cruelty of a degree justifying divorce (J. G. Kiernan, *Alienist and Neurologist*, Nov. 1906, p. 466).

The slender tenure of the wife over her person is not confined to the sexual sphere, but even extends to her right to life. In England, if a wife kills her husband, it was formerly the very serious offence of "petit treason," and it is still murder. But, if a husband kills his wife and is able to plead her adultery and his jealousy, it is only manslaughter. (In France, where jealousy is regarded with extreme indulgence, even a wife who kills her husband is often acquitted.)

It must not, however, be supposed that all the legal inequalities involved by marriage are in favor of the husband. A large number of injustices are also inflicted on the husband. The husband, for instance, is legally responsible for the libels uttered by his wife, and he is equally responsible civilly for the frauds she commits, even if she is living apart from him. (This was, for instance, held by an English judge in 1908; "he could only say he regretted it, for it seems a hard case. But it was the law.") Belfort Bax has, in recent years, especially insisted on the hardships inflicted by English law in such ways as these. There can be no doubt that marriage, as at present constituted, inflicts serious wrongs on the husband as well as on the wife.

Marriage is, therefore, not only not a contract in the true sense,[1] but in the only sense in which it is a contract it is a contract of an exceedingly bad kind. When the Canonists superseded the old conception of marriage as a contract of purchase by their sacramental marriage, they were in many respects effecting a real progress, and the return to the idea of a contract, as soon as its temporary value as a protest has ceased, proves altogether out of harmony with any advanced stage of civilization. It was revived in days before the revolt against slavery had been inaugurated. Personal contracts are out of harmony with our modern civilization and our ideas of individual liberty. A man can no longer contract himself as a slave nor sell his wife. Yet marriage, regarded as a contract, is of precisely the same class as those transactions.[2] In every high stage of civilization this fact is clearly recognized, and young couples are not even allowed to contract themselves out in marriage unconditionally. We see this, for instance, in the wise legislation of the Romans. Even under the Christian Emperors that sound principle was maintained and the lawyer Paulus wrote:[3] "Marriage was so free, according to ancient opinion, that even agreements between the parties not to separate from one another could have no validity." In so far as the essence and not any accidental circumstance of the marital relationships is made a contract, it is a contract of a nature which the two parties concerned are not competent to make. Biologically and psychologically it cannot be valid, and with the growth of a humane civilization it is explicitly declared to be legally invalid.

For, there can be no doubt about it, the intimate and essential fact of marriage—the relationship of sexual intercourse—is

[1] I may remark that this was pointed out, and its consequences vigorously argued, many years ago by C. G. Garrison, "Limits of Divorce," *Contemporary Review*, Feb., 1894. "It may safely be asserted," he concludes, "that marriage presents not one attribute or incident of anything remotely resembling a contract, either in form, remedy, procedure, or result; but that in all these aspects, on the contrary, it is fatally hostile to the principles and practices of that division of the rights of persons." Marriage is not contract, but conduct.

[2] See, *e.g.*, P. and V. Margueritte, *op. cit.*

[3] As quoted by Howard, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 29.

not and cannot be a contract. It is not a contract but a fact; it cannot be effected by any mere act of will on the part of the parties concerned; it cannot be maintained by any mere act of will. To will such a contract is merely to perform a worse than indecorous farce. Certainly many of the circumstances of marriage are properly the subject of contract, to be voluntarily and deliberately made by the parties to the contract. But the essential fact of marriage—a love strong enough to render the most intimate of relationships possible and desirable through an indefinite number of years—cannot be made a matter for contract. Alike from the physical point of view, and the psychical point of view, no binding contract—and a contract is worthless if it is not binding—can possibly be made. And the making of such pseudo-contracts concerning the future of a marriage, before it has even been ascertained that the marriage can ever become a fact at all, is not only impossible but absurd.

It is of course true that this impossibility, this absurdity, are never visible to the contracting parties. They have applied to the question all the very restricted tests that are conventionally permitted to them, and the satisfactory results of these tests, together with the consciousness of possessing an immense and apparently inexhaustible fund of loving emotion, seem to them adequate to the fulfilment of the contract throughout life, if not indeed eternity.

As a child of seven I chanced to be in a semi-tropical island of the Pacific supplied with fruit, especially grapes, from the mainland, and a dusky market woman always presented a large bunch of grapes to the little English stranger. But a day came when the proffered bunch was firmly refused; the superabundance of grapes had produced a reaction of disgust. A space of nearly forty years was needed to overcome the repugnance to grapes thus acquired. Yet there can be no doubt that if at the age of six that little boy had been asked to sign a contract binding him to accept grapes every day, to keep them always near him, to eat them and to enjoy them every day, he would have signed that contract as joyously as any radiant bridegroom or demure bride signs the register in the vestry. But is a complex

man or woman, with unknown capacities for changing or deteriorating, and with incalculable aptitudes for inflicting torture and arousing loathing, is such a creature more easy to be bound to than an exquisite fruit? All the countries of the world in which the subtle influence of the Canon law of Christendom still makes itself felt, have not yet grasped a general truth which is well within the practical experience of a child of seven.[1]

The notion that such a relationship as that of marriage can rest on so fragile a basis as a pre-ordained contract has naturally never prevailed widely in its extreme form, and has been unknown altogether in many parts of the world. The Romans, as we know, explicitly rejected it, and even at a comparatively early period recognized the legality of marriage by *usus*, thus declaring in effect that marriage must be a fact, and not a mere undertaking. There has been a widespread legal tendency, especially where the traditions of Roman law have retained any influence, to regard the cohabitation of marriage as the essential fact of the relationship. *It was an old rule even under the Catholic Church* that marriage may be presumed from cohabitation (see, *e.g.*, Zacchia, *Questionum Medico-legalium Opus*, edition of 1688, vol. iii, p. 234). Even in England cohabitation is already one of the presumptions in favor of the existence of marriage (though not necessarily by itself regarded as sufficient), provided the woman is of unblemished character, and does not appear to be a common prostitute (Nevill Geary, *The Law of Marriage*, Ch. III). If, however, according to Lord Watson's judicial statement in the Dysart Peerage case, a man takes his mistress to a hotel or goes with her to a baby-linen shop and speaks of her as his wife, it is to be presumed that he is acting for the sake of decency, and this furnishes no evidence of marriage. In Scotland the presumption of marriage arises on much slighter grounds than in England. This may be connected with the ancient and deep-rooted custom in Scotland of marriage by exchange of consent (Geary, *op. cit.*, Ch. XVIII; *cf.*, Howard, *Matrimonial Institutions*, vol. i, p. 316).

In the Bredalbane case (Campbell *v.* Campbell, 1867), which was of great importance because it involved the succession to the vast estates of the Marquis of Bredalbane, the House of Lords decided than even an adulterous connection may, on ceasing to be adulterous, become matri-

[1] Ellen Key similarly (*Ueber Liebe und Ehe*, p. 343) remarks that to talk of "the duty of life-long fidelity" is much the same as to talk of "the duty of life-long health." A man may promise, she adds, to do his best to preserve his life, or his love; he cannot unconditionally undertake to preserve them.

monial by the simple consent of the parties, as evidenced by habit and repute, without any need for the matrimonial character of the connection to be indicated by any public act, nor any necessity to prove the specific period when the consent was interchanged. This decision has been confirmed in the Dysart case (Geary, *loc. cit.*; *cf.* C. G. Garrison, "Limits of Divorce," *Contemporary Review*, Feb., 1894). Similarly, as decided by Justice Kekewich in the Wagstaff case in 1907, if a man leaves money to his "widow," on condition that she never marries again, although he has never been married to her, and though she has been legally married to another man, the testator's intentions must be upheld. Garrison, in his valuable discussion of this aspect of legal marriage (*loc. cit.*), forcibly insists that by English law marriage is a fact and not a contract, and that where "conduct characterized by connubial purpose and constancy" exists, there marriage legally exists, marriage being simply "a name for an existing fact."

In the United States, marriage "by habit and repute" similarly exists, and in some States has even been confirmed and extended by statute (J. P. Bishop, *Commentaries*, vol. I, Ch. XV). "Whatever the form of the ceremony, and even if all ceremony was dispensed with," said Judge Cooley, of Michigan, in 1875 (in an opinion accepted as authoritative by the Federal courts), "if the parties agreed presently to take each other for husband and wife, and from that time lived together professedly in that relation, proof of these facts would be sufficient. . . . . This has been the settled doctrine of the American courts." (Howard, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 177 *et seq.* Twenty-three States sanction common-law marriage, while eighteen repudiate, or are inclined to repudiate, any informal agreement.)

This legal recognition by the highest judicial authorities, alike in Great Britain and the United States, that marriage is essentially a fact and that no evidence of any form or ceremony of marriage is required for the most complete legal recognition of marriage, undoubtedly carries with it highly important implications. It became clear that the reform of marriage is possible even without change in the law, and that honorable sexual relationships, even when entered into without any legal forms, are already entitled to full legal recognition and protection. There are, however, it need scarcely be added here, other considerations which render reform along these lines incomplete.

It thus tends to come about that with the growth of civilization the conception of marriage as a contract falls more and more into discredit. It is realized, on the one hand, that personal contracts are out of harmony with our general and social attitude, for if we reject the idea of a human being contracting himself

as a slave, how much more we should reject the idea of entering by contract into the still more intimate relationship of a husband or a wife; on the other hand it is felt that the idea of pre-ordained contracts on a matter over which the individual himself has no control is quite unreal and when any strict rules of equity prevail, necessarily invalid. It is true that we still constantly find writers sententiously asserting their notions of the duties or the privileges involved by the "contract" of marriage, with no more attempt to analyze the meaning of the term "contract" in this connection than the Protestant Reformers made, but it can scarcely be said that these writers have yet reached the alphabet of the subject they dogmatize about.

The transference of marriage from the Church to the State which, in the lands where it first occurred, we owe to Protestantism and, in the English-speaking lands, especially to Puritanism, while a necessary stage, had the unfortunate result of secularizing the sexual relationships. That is to say, it ignored the transcendent element in love which is really the essential part of such relationships, and it concentrated attention on those formal and accidental parts of marriage which can alone be dealt with in a rigid and precise manner, and can alone properly form the subject of contracts. The Canon law, fantastic and impossible as it became in many of its developments, at least insisted on the natural and actual fact of marriage as, above all, a bodily union, while, at the same time, it regarded that union as no mere secular business contract but a sacred and exalted function, a divine fact, and the symbol of the most divine fact in the world. We are returning to-day to the Canonist's conception of marriage on a higher and freer plane, bringing back the exalted conception of the Canon law, yet retaining the individualism which the Puritan wrongly thought he could secure on the basis of mere secularization, while, further, we recognize that the whole process belongs to the private sphere of moral responsibility. As Hobhouse has well said, in tracing the evolutionary history of the modern conception of marriage, the sacramental idea of marriage has again emerged but on a higher plane; "from being a sacrament in the magical, it has become one in the ethical, sense." We are thus

tending towards, though we have not yet legally achieved, marriage made and maintained by consent, "a union between two free and responsible persons in which the equal rights of both are maintained."[1]

It is supposed by some that to look upon sexual union as a sacrament is necessarily to accept the ancient Catholic view, embodied in the Canon law, that matrimony is indissoluble. That is, however, a mistake. Even the Canonists themselves were never able to put forward any coherent and consistent ground for the indissolubility of matrimony which could commend itself rationally, while Luther and Milton and Wilhelm von Humboldt, who maintained the religious and sacred nature of sexual union—though they were cautious about using the term sacrament on account of its ecclesiastical implications—so far from believing that its sanctity involved indissolubility, argued in the reverse sense. This point of view may be defended even from a strictly Protestant standpoint. "I take it," Mr. G. C. Maberly says, "that the Prayer Book definition of a sacrament, 'the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace,' is generally accepted. In marriage the legal and physical unions are the outward and visible signs, while the inward and spiritual grace is the God-given love that makes the union of heart and soul: and it is precisely because I take this view of marriage that I consider the legal and physical union should be dissolved whenever the spiritual union of unselfish, divine love and affection has ceased. It seems to me that the sacramental view of marriage compels us to say that those who continue the legal or physical union when the spiritual union has ceased, are—to quote again from the Prayer Book words applied to those who take the outward sign of another sacrament when the inward and spiritual grace is not present—'eating and drinking their own damnation.'"

If from the point we have now reached we look back at the question of divorce we see that, as the modern aspects of the marriage relationship becomes more clearly realized by the community, that question will be immensely simplified. Since marriage is not a mere contract but a fact of conduct, and even a sacred fact, the free participation of both parties is needed to maintain it. To introduce the idea of delinquency and punishment into divorce, to foster mutual recrimination, to publish to

[1] Hobhouse, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 159, 237-9; *cf.* P. and V. Margueritte, *Quelques Idées.*

the world the secrets of the heart or the senses, is not only immoral, it is altogether out of place. In the question as to when a marriage has ceased to be a marriage the two parties concerned can alone be the supreme judges; the State, if the State is called in, can but register the sentence they pronounce, merely seeing to it that no injustice is involved in the carrying out of that sentence.[1]

In discussing in the previous chapter the direction in which sexual morality tends to develop with the development of civilization we came to the conclusion that in its main lines it involved, above all, personal responsibility. A relationship fixed among savage peoples by social custom which none dare break, and in a higher stage of culture by formal laws which must be observed in the letter even if broken in the spirit, becomes gradually transferred to the sphere of individual moral responsibility. Such a transference is necessarily meaningless, and indeed impossible, unless the increasing stringency of the moral bond is accompanied by the decreasing stringency of the formal bond. It is only by the process of loosening the artificial restraints that the natural restraints can exert their full control. That process takes place in two ways, in part on the basis of the indifference to formal marriage which has marked the masses of the population everywhere and doubtless stretches back to the tenth century before the domination of ecclesiastical matrimony began, and partly by the progressive modification of marriage laws which were made necessary by the needs of the propertied classes anxious to secure the State recognition of their unions. The whole process is necessarily a gradual and indeed imperceptible process. It is impossible to fix definitely the dates of the stages by which the Church effected the immense revolution by which it grasped, and eventually transferred to the State, the complete control of marriage, for that revolution was effected without the intervention of any law. It will be equally difficult to perceive the transference

[1] "Divorce," as Garrison puts it ("Limits of Divorce," *Contemporary Review*, Feb., 1894), "is the judicial announcement that conduct once connubial in character and purpose, has lost these qualities. . . . . Divorce is a question of fact, and not a license to break a promise."

of the control of marriage from the State to the individuals concerned, and the more difficult because, as we shall see, although the essential and intimately personal fact of marriage is not a proper matter for State control, there are certain aspects of marriage which touch the interests of the community so closely that the State is bound to insist on their registration and to take an interest in their settlement.

The result of dissolving the formal stringency of the marriage relationship, it is sometimes said, would be a tendency to an immoral laxity. Those who make this statement overlook the fact that laxity tends to reach a maximum as a result of stringency, and that where the merely external authority of a rigid marriage law prevails, there the extreme excesses of license most flourish. It is also undoubtedly true, and for the same reason, that any sudden removal of restraints necessarily involves a reaction to the opposite extreme of license; a slave is not changed at a stroke into an autonomous freeman. Yet we have to remember that the marriage order existed for millenniums before any attempt was made to mould it into arbitrary shapes by human legislation. Such legislation, we have seen, was indeed the effort of the human spirit to affirm more emphatically the demands of its own instincts.[1] But its final result is to choke and impede rather than to further the instincts which inspired it. Its gradual disappearance allows the natural order free and proper scope.

The great truth that compulsion is not really a force on the side of virtue, but on the side of vice, had been clearly realized by the genius of Rabelais, when he said of his ideal social state, the Abbey of Thelema, that there was but one clause in its rule: Fay ce que vouldras. "Because," said Rabelais (Bk. i, Ch. VII), "men that are free, well-born, well-bred, and conversant in honest companies, have naturally an instinct and spur that prompts them unto virtuous actions and withdraws them from vice. These same men, when by base subjection and constraint they are brought under and kept down, turn aside from that noble disposition by which they freely were inclined to virtue, to shake off and break that bond of servitude." So that when a man and a woman who had lived under the rule of Thelema married each other,

[1] See, *ante*, p. 425.

Rabelais tells us, their mutual love lasted undiminished to the day of their death.

When the loss of autonomous freedom fails to lead to licentious rebellion it incurs the opposite risk and tends to become a flabby reliance on an external support. The artificial support of marriage by State regulation then resembles the artificial support of the body furnished by corset-wearing. The reasons for and against adopting artificial support are the same in one case as the other. Corsets really give a feeling of support; they really furnish without trouble a fairly satisfactory appearance of decorum; they are a real protection against various accidents. But the price at which they furnish these advantages is serious, and the advantages themselves only exist under unnatural conditions. The corset cramps the form and the healthy development of the organs; it enfeebles the voluntary muscular system; it is incompatible with perfect grace and beauty; it diminishes the sum of active energy. It exerts, in short, the same kind of influence on physical responsibility as formal marriage on moral responsibility.

It is too often forgotten, and must therefore be repeated, that married people do not remain together because of any religious or legal tie; that tie is merely the historical outcome of their natural tendency to remain together, a tendency which is itself far older than history "Love would exist in the world to-day, just as pure and just as enduring," says Shufeldt (*Medico-Legal Journal*, Dec., 1897), "had man never invented 'marriage.' Truly affined mates would have remained faithful to each other as long as life lasted. It is only when men attempt to improve upon nature that crime, disease, and unhappiness step in." "The abolition of marriage in the form now practiced," wrote Godwin more than a century ago (*Political Justice*, second edition, 1796, vol i, p. 248), "will be attended with no evils. We are apt to represent it to ourselves as the harbinger of brutal lust and depravity. But it really happens in this, as in other cases, that the positive laws which are made to restrain our vices irritate and multiply them." And Professor Lester Ward, in insisting on the strength of the monogamic sentiment in modern society, truly remarks (*International Journal of Ethics*, Oct., 1896) that the rebellion against rigid marriage bonds "is, in reality, due to the very strengthening of the true bonds of conjugal affection, coupled with a rational and altogether proper determination on the part of individuals to accept, in so important a matter, nothing less than the genuine article." "If by a single stroke," says Professor Woods Hutchinson (*Contemporary Review*, Sept., 1905), "all marriage ties now in existence were struck off or declared illegal, eight-tenths of all couples would be remarried within forty eight hours, and seven-tenths could not be kept asunder with bayonets" An experiment of this kind on a small scale was witnessed in 1909 in an English village

in Buckinghamshire. It was found that the parish church had never been licensed for marriages, and that in consequence all the people who had gone through the ceremony of marriage in that church during the previous half century had never been legally married. Yet, so far as could be ascertained, not a single couple thus released from the legal compulsion of marriage took advantage of the freedom bestowed. In the face of such a fact it is obviously impossible to attach any moral value to the form of marriage.

It is certainly inevitable that during a period of transition the natural order is to some extent disturbed by the persistence, even though in a weakened form, of external bonds which are beginning to be consciously realized as inimical to the authoritative control of individual moral responsibility. We can clearly trace this at the present time. A sensitive anxiety to escape from external constraint induces an under-valuation of the significance of personal constraint in the relationship of marriage. Everyone is probably familiar with cases in which a couple will live together through long years without entering the legal bond of marriage, notwithstanding difficulties in their mutual relationship which would have long since caused a separation or a divorce had they been legally married. When the inherent difficulties of the marital relationship are complicated by the difficulties due to external constraint, the development of individual moral responsibility cuts two ways, and leads to results that are not entirely satisfactory. This has been seen in the United States of America and attention has often been called to it by thoughtful American observers. It is, naturally, noted especially in women because it is in women that the new growth of personal freedom and moral responsibility has chiefly made itself felt. The first stirring of these new impulses, especially when associated, as it often is, with inexperience and ignorance, leads to impatience with the natural order, to a demand for impossible conditions of existence, and to an inaptitude not only for the arbitrary bondage of law but even for the wholesome and necessary bonds of human social life. It is always a hard lesson for the young and idealistic that in order to command Nature we must obey her; it can only be learnt through contact with life and by the attainment of full human growth.

Dr. Felix Adler (in an address before the Society of Ethical Culture of New York, Nov. 17, 1889) called attention to what he regarded as the most deep-rooted cause of an undue prevalence of divorce in America. "The false idea of individual liberty is largely held in America," and when applied to family life it often leads to an impatience with these duties which the individual is either born into or has voluntarily accepted. "I am constrained to think that the prevalence of divorce is to be ascribed in no small degree to the influence of democratic ideas—that is, of false democratic ideas—and our hope lies in advancing towards a higher and truer democracy." A more recent American writer, this time a woman, Anna A. Rogers ("Why American Marriages Fail," *Atlantic Monthly*, Sept., 1907) speaks in the same sense, though perhaps in too unqualified a manner. She states that the frequency of divorce in America is due to three causes: (1) woman's failure to realize that marriage is her work in the world; (2) her growing individualism; (3) her lost art of giving, replaced by a *highly developed receptive faculty*. The American woman, this writer states, in discovering her own individuality has not yet learnt how to manage it; it is still "largely a useless, uneasy factor, vouchsafing her very little more peace than it does those in her immediate surcharged vicinity." Her circumstances tend to make of her "a curious anomalous hybrid; a cross between a magnificent, rather unmannerly boy, and a spoiled, exacting *demi-mondaine*, who sincerely loves in this world herself alone." She has not yet learnt that woman's supreme work in the world can only be attained through the voluntary acceptance of the restraints of marriage. The same writer points out that the fault is not alone with American women, but also with American men. Their idolatry of their women is largely responsible for that intolerance and selfishness which causes so many divorces; "American women are, as a whole, pampered and worshipped out of all reason." But the men, who lend themselves to this, do not feel that they can treat their wives with the same comradeship as the French treat their wives, nor seek their advice with the same reliance; the American woman is placed on an unreal pedestal. Yet another American writer, Rafford Pyke ("Husbands and Wives," *Cosmopolitan*, 1902), points out that only a small proportion of American marriages are really unhappy, these being chiefly among the more cultured classes, in which the movement of expansion in women's interests and lives is taking place; it is more often the wife than the husband who is disappointed in marriage, and this is largely due to her inability to merge, not necessarily subordinate, her individuality in an equal union with his. "Marriage to-day is becoming more and more dependent for its success upon the adjustment of conditions that are psychical. Whereas in former generations it was sufficient that the union should involve physical reciprocity, in this age of ours

the union must involve a psychic reciprocity as well. And whereas, heretofore, the community of interest was attained with ease, it is now becoming far more difficult because of the tendency to discourage a woman who marries from merging her separate individuality in her husband's. Yet, unless she does this, how can she have a complete and perfect interest in the life together, and, for that matter, how can he have such an interest either?"

Professor Münsterberg, the distinguished psychologist, in his frank but appreciative study of American institutions, *The Americans*, taking a broader outlook, points out that the influence of women on morals in America has not been in every respect satisfactory, in so far as it has tended to encourage shallowness and superficiality. "The American woman who has scarcely a shred of education," he remarks (p. 587), "looks in vain for any subject on which she has not firm convictions already at hand. . . . The arrogance of this feminine lack of knowledge is the symptom of a profound trait in the feminine soul, and points to dangers springing from the domination of women in the intellectual life. . . . . And in no other civilized land are ethical conceptions so worm-eaten by superstitions."

We have seen that the modern tendency as regards marriage is towards its recognition as a voluntary union entered into by two free, equal, and morally responsible persons, and that that union is rather of the nature of an ethical sacrament than of a contract, so that in its essence as a physical and spiritual bond it is outside the sphere of the State's action. It has been necessary to labor that point before we approach what may seem to many not only a different but even a totally opposed aspect of marriage. If the marriage union itself cannot be a matter for contract, it naturally leads to a fact which must necessarily be a matter for implicit or explicit contract, a matter, moreover, in which the community at large has a real and proper interest: that is the fact of procreation.[1]

The ancient Egyptians—among whom matrimonial institutions were so elastic and the position of woman so high—recognized a provisional and slight marriage bond for the purpose of

[1] It has been necessary to discuss reproduction in the first chapter of the present volume, and it will again be necessary in the concluding chapter. Here we are only concerned with procreation as an element of marriage.

testing fecundity.[1] Among ourselves the law makes no such paternal provision, leaving to young couples themselves the responsibility of making any tests, a permission, we know, they largely avail themselves of, usually entering the legal bonds of marriage, however, before the birth of their child. That legal bond is a recognition that the introduction of a new individual into the community is not, like sexual union, a mere personal fact, but a social fact, a fact in which the State cannot fail to be concerned. And the more we investigate the tendency of the modern marriage movement the more we shall realize that its attitude of freedom, of individual moral responsibility, in the formation of sexual relationships, is compensated by an attitude of stringency, of strict social oversight, in the matter of procreation. Two people who form an erotic relationship are bound, when they reach the conviction that their relationship is a real marriage, having its natural end in procreation, to subscribe to a contract which, though it may leave themselves personally free, must yet bind them both to their duties towards their children.[2]

The necessity for such an undertaking is double, even apart from the fact that it is in the highest interests of the parents themselves. It is required in the interests of the child. It is required in the interests of the State. A child can be bred, and well-bred, by one effective parent. But to equip a child adequately for its entrance into life both parents are usually needed. The State on its side—that is to say, the community of which parents and child alike form part—is bound to know who these persons are who have become sponsors for a new individual

[1] Nietzold, *Die Ehe in Ægypten zur Ptolemaisch-römischen Zeit*, 1903, p. 3. This bond also accorded rights to any children that might be born during its existence.

[2] See, *e.g.*, Ellen Key, *Mutter und Kind*, p. 21. The necessity for the combination of greater freedom of sexual relationships with greater stringency of parental relationships was clearly realized at an earlier period by another able woman writer, Miss J. H. Clapperton, in her notable book, *Scientific Meliorism*, published in 1885. "Legal changes," she wrote (p. 320), "are required in two directions, viz., towards greater freedom as to marriage and greater strictness as to parentage. The marriage union is essentially a private matter with which society has no call and no right to interfere. Childbirth, on the contrary, is a public event. It touches the interests of the whole nation."

now introduced into its midst. The most Individualistic State, the most Socialistic State, are alike bound, if faithful to the interests, both biological and economic, of their constituent members generally, to insist on the full legal and recognized parentage of the father and mother of every child. That is clearly demanded in the interests of the child; it is clearly demanded also in the interests of the State.

The barrier which in Christendom has opposed itself to the natural recognition of this fact, so injuring alike the child and the State, has clearly been the rigidity of the marriage system, more especially as moulded by the Canon law. The Canonists attributed a truly immense importance to the *copula carnalis*, as they technically termed it. They centred marriage strictly in the vagina; they were not greatly concerned about either the presence or the absence of the child. The vagina, as we know, has not always proved a very firm centre for the support of marriage, and that centre is now being gradually transferred to the child. If we turn from the Canonists to the writings of a modern like Ellen Key, who so accurately represents much that is most characteristic and essential in the late tendencies of marriage development, we seem to have entered a new world, even a newly illuminated world. For "in the new sexual morality, as in Correggio's *Notte*, the light emanates from the child."[1]

No doubt this change is largely a matter of sentiment, of, as we sometimes say, mere sentiment, although there is nothing so powerful in human affairs as sentiment, and the revolution effected by Jesus, the later revolution effected by Rousseau, were mainly revolutions in sentiment. But the change is also a matter of the growing recognition of interests and rights, and as such it manifests itself in law. We can scarcely doubt that we are approaching a time when it will be generally understood that the entrance into the world of every child, without exception, should be preceded by the formation of a marriage contract which, while in no way binding the father and mother to any duties, or any privileges, towards each other, binds them both towards

[1] Ellen Key, *Liebe und Ehe*, p. 168; *cf.* the same author's *Century of the Child.*

their child and at the same time ensures their responsibility towards the State. It is impossible for the State to obtain more than this, but it should be impossible for it to demand less. A contract of such a kind "marries" the father and mother so far as the parentage of the individual child is concerned, and in no other respect; it is a contract which leaves entirely unaffected their past, present, or future relations towards other persons, otherwise it would be impossible to enforce it. In all parts of the world this elementary demand of social morality is slowly beginning to be recognized, and as it affects hundreds of thousands of infants[1] who are yearly branded as "illegitimate" through no act of their own, no one can say that the recognition has come too soon. As yet, indeed, it seems nowhere to be complete.

Most attempts or proposals for the avoidance of illegitimate births are concerned with the legalizing of unions of a less binding degree than the present legal marriage. Such unions would serve to counteract other evils. Thus an English writer, who has devoted much study to sex questions, writes in a private letter: "The best remedy for the licentiousness of celibate men and the mental and physical troubles of continence in woman would be found in a recognized honorable system of free unions and trial-marriages, in which preventive intercourse is practiced until the lovers were old enough to become parents, and possessed of sufficient means to support a family. The prospect of a loveless existence for young men and women of ardent natures is intolerable and as terrible as the prospect of painful illness and death. But I think the old order must change ere long."

In Teutonic countries there is a strongly marked current of feeling in the direction of establishing legal unions of a lower degree than marriage. They exist in Sweden, as also in Norway where by a recent law the illegitimate child is entitled to the same rights in relation to both parents as the legitimate child, bearing the father's name and inheriting his property (*Die Neue Generation*, July, 1909, p. 303). In France the well-known judge, Magnard, so honorably distinguished for his attitude towards cases of infanticide by young mothers, has said: "I heartily wish that alongside the institution of marriage as it now exists

[1] In Germany alone 180.000 "illegitimate" children are born every year, and the number is rapidly increasing; in England it is only 40,000 per annum, the strong feeling which often exists against such births in England (as also in France) leading to the wide adoption of methods for preventing conception.

we had a free union constituted by simple declaration before a magistrate and conferring almost the same family rights as ordinary marriage." This wish has been widely echoed.

In China, although polygamy in the strict sense cannot properly be said to exist, the interests of the child, the woman, and the State are alike safeguarded by enabling a man to enter into a kind of secondary marriage with the mother of his child. "Thanks to this system," Paul d'Enjoy states (*La Revue*, Sept., 1905), "which allows the husband to marry the woman he desires, without being prevented by previous and undissolved unions, it is only right to remark that there are no seduced and abandoned girls, except such as no law could save from what is really innate depravity; and that there are no illegitimate children except those whose mothers are unhappily nearer to animals by their senses than to human beings by their reason and dignity."

The new civil code of Japan, which is in many respects so advanced, allows an illegitimate child to be "recognized" by giving notice to the registrar; when a married man so recognizes a child, it appears, the child may be adopted by the wife as her own, though not actually rendered legitimate. This state of things represents a transition stage; it can scarcely be said to recognize the rights of the "recognized" child's mother. Japan, it may be added, has adopted the principle of the automatic legitimation by marriage of the children born to the couple before marriage.

In Australia, where women possess a larger share than elsewhere in making and administering the laws, some attention is beginning to be given to the rights of illegitimate children. Thus in South Australia, paternity may be proved before birth, and the father (by magistrate's order) provides lodging for one month before and after birth, as well as nurse, doctor, and clothing, furnishing security that he will do so; after birth, at the magistrate's decision, he pays a weekly sum for the child's maintenance. An "illegitimate" mother may also be kept in a public institution at the public expense for six months to enable her to become attached to her child.

Such provisions are developed from the widely recognized right of the unmarried woman to claim support for her child from its father. In France, indeed, and in the legal codes which follow the French example, it is not legally permitted to inquire into the paternity of an illegitimate child. Such a law is, needless to say, alike unjust to the mother, to the child, and to the State. In Austria, the law goes to the opposite, though certainly more reasonable, extreme, and permits even the mother who has had several lovers to select for herself which she chooses to make responsible for her child. The German code adopts an intermediate course, and comes only to the aid of the unmarried mother who has one lover. In all such cases, however, the aid given is

pecuniary only; it insures the mother no recognition or respect, and (as Wahrmund has truly said in his *Ehe und Eherecht*) it is still necessary to insist on "the unconditional sanctity of motherhood, which is entitled, under whatever circumstances it arises, to the respect and protection of society."

It must be added that, from the social point of view, it is not the sexual union which requires legal recognition, but the child which is the product of that union. It would, moreover, be hopeless to attempt to legalize all sexual connection, but it is comparatively easy to legalize all children.

There has been much discussion in the past concerning the particular form which marriage ought to take. Many theorists have exercised their ingenuity in inventing and preaching new and unusual marriage-arrangements as panaceas for social ills; while others have exerted even greater energy in denouncing all such proposals as subversive of the foundations of human society. We may regard all such discussions, on the one side or the other, as idle.

In the first place marriage customs are far too fundamental, far too intimately blended with the primary substance of human and indeed animal society, to be in the slightest degree shaken by the theories or the practices of mere individuals, or even groups of individuals. Monogamy—the more or less prolonged cohabitation of two individuals of opposite sex—has been the prevailing type of sexual relationship among the higher vertebrates and through the greater part of human history. This is admitted even by those who believe (without any sound evidence) that man has passed through a stage of sexual promiscuity. There have been tendencies to variation in one direction or another, but at the lowest stages and the highest stages, so far as can be seen, monogamy represents the prevailing rule.

It must be said also, in the second place, that the natural prevalence of monogamy as the normal type of sexual relationship by no means excludes variations. Indeed it assumes them. "There is nothing precise in Nature," according to Diderot's saying. The line of Nature is a curve that oscillates from side to side of the norm. Such oscillations inevitably occur in harmony with changes in environmental conditions, and, no

doubt, with peculiarities of personal disposition. So long as no arbitrary and merely external attempt is made to force Nature, the vital order is harmoniously maintained. Among certain species of ducks when males are in excess polyandric families are constituted, the two males attending their female partner without jealousy, but when the sexes again become equal in number the monogamic order is restored. The natural human deviations from the monogamic order seem to be generally of this character, and largely conditioned by the social and economic environment. The most common variation, and that which most clearly possesses a biological foundation, is the tendency to polygyny, which is found at all stages of culture, even, in an unrecognized and more or less promiscuous shape, in the highest civilization.[1] It must be remembered, however, that recognized polygyny is not the rule even where it prevails; it is merely permissive; there is never a sufficient excess of women to allow more than a few of the richer and more influential persons to have more than one wife.[2]

It has further to be borne in mind that a certain elasticity of the formal side of marriage while, on the one side, it permits variations from the general monogamic order, where such are healthful or needed to restore a balance in natural conditions, on the other hand restrains such variations in so far as they are due to the disturbing influence of artificial constraint. Much of the polygyny, and polyandry also, which prevails among us today is an altogether artificial and unnatural form of polygamy. Marriages which on a more natural basis would be dissolved cannot legally be dissolved, and consequently the parties to them,

1 "Where are real monogamists to be found?" asked Schopenhauer in his essay, "Ueber die Weibe." And James Hinton was wont to ask: "What is the meaning of maintaining monogamy? Is there any chance of getting it, I should like to know? Do you call English life monogamous?"

2 "Almost everywhere," says Westermarck of polygyny (which he discusses fully in Chs. XX-XXII of his *History of Human Marriage*) "it is confined to the smaller part of the people, the vast majority being monogamous." Maurice Gregory (*Contemporary Review*, Sept., 1906) gives statistics showing that nearly everywhere the tendency is towards equality in number of the sexes.

instead of changing their partners and so preserving the natural monogamic order, take on other additional partners and so introduce an unnatural polygamy. There will always be variations from the monogamic order and civilization is certainly not hostile to sexual variation. Whether we reckon these variations as legitimate or illegitimate, they will still take place; of that we may be certain. The path of social wisdom seems to lie on the one hand in making the marriage relationship flexible enough to reduce to a minimum these deviations—not because such deviations are intrinsically bad but because they ought not to be forced into existence—and on the other hand in according to these deviations when they occur such a measure of recognition as will deprive them of injurious influence and enable justice to be done to all the parties concerned. We too often forget that our failure to recognize such variations merely means that we accord in such cases an illegitimate permission to perpetrate injustice. In those parts of the world in which polygyny is recognized as a permissible variation a man is legally held to his natural obligations towards all his sexual mates and towards the children he has by those mates. In no part of the world is polygyny so prevalent as in Christendom; in no part of the world is it so easy for a man to escape the obligations incurred by polygyny. We imagine that if we refuse to recognize the fact of polygyny, we may refuse to recognize any obligations incurred by polygyny. By enabling a man to escape so easily from the obligations of his polygamous relationships we encourage him, if he is unscrupulous, to enter into them; we place a premium on the immorality we loftily condemn.[1] Our polygyny has no legal existence, and therefore its obligations can have no legal existence.

[1] In a polygamous land a man is of course as much bound by his obligations to his second wife as to his first. Among ourselves the man's "second wife" is degraded with the name of "mistress," and the worse he treats her and her children the more his "morality" is approved, just as the Catholic Church, when struggling to establish sacerdotal celibacy, approved more highly the priest who had illegitimate relations with women than the priest who decently and openly married. If his neglect induces a married man's mistress to make known her relationship to him the man is justified in prosecuting her, and his counsel, assured of general sympathy, will state in court that "this woman has even been so wicked as to write to the prosecutor's wife!"

The ostrich, it was once imagined, hides its head in the sand and attempts to annihilate facts by refusing to look at them; but there is only one known animal which adopts this course of action, and it is called Man.

Monogamy, in the fundamental biological sense, represents the natural order into which the majority of sexual facts will always naturally fall because it is the relationship which most adequately corresponds to all the physical and spiritual facts involved. But if we realize that sexual relationships primarily concern only the persons who enter into those relationships, and if we further realize that the interest of society in such relationships is confined to the children which they produce, we shall also realize that to fix by law the number of women with whom a man shall have sexual relationships, and the number of men with whom a woman shall unite herself, is more unreasonable than it would be to fix by law the number of children they shall produce. The State has a right to declare whether it needs few citizens or many; but in attempting to regulate the sexual relationships of its members the State attempts an impossible task and is at the same time guilty of an impertinence.

There is always a tendency, at certain stages of civilization, to insist on a merely formal and external uniformity, and a corresponding failure to see not only that such uniformity is unreal, but also that it has an injurious effect, in so far as it checks beneficial variations. The tendency is by no means confined to the sexual sphere. In England there is, for instance, a tendency to make building laws which enjoin, in regard to places of human habitation, all sorts of provisions that on the whole are fairly beneficial, but which in practice act injuriously, because they render many simple and excellent human habitations absolutely illegal, merely because such habitations fail to conform to regulations which, under some circumstances, are not only unnecessary, but mischievous.

Variation is a fact that will exist whether we will or no; it can only become healthful if we recognize and allow for it. We may even have to recognize that it is a more marked tendency in civilization than in more primitive social stages. Thus Gerson argues (*Sexual-Probleme*, Sept., 1908, p. 538) that just as the civilized man cannot be content with the coarse and monotonous food which satisfies the peasant, so it is in sexual matters; the peasant youth and girl in their sexual rela-

tionships are nearly always monogamous, but civilized people, with their more versatile and sensitive tastes, are apt to crave for variety. Senancour (*De l'Amour*, vol. ii, "Du Partage." p. 127) seems to admit the possibility of marriage variations, as of sharing a wife, provided nothing is done to cause rivalry, or to impair the soul's candor. Lecky, near the end of his *History of European Morals*, declared his belief that, while the permanent union of two persons is the normal and prevailing type of marriage, it by no means follows that, in the interests of society, it should be the only form. Remy de Gourmont similarly (*Physique de l'Amour*, p. 186), while stating that the couple is the natural form of marriage and its prolonged continuance a condition of human superiority, adds that the permanence of the union can only be achieved with difficulty. So, also, Professor W. Thomas (*Sex and Society*, 1907, p. 193), while regarding monogamy as subserving social needs, adds: "Speaking from the biological standpoint monogamy does not, as a rule, answer to the conditions of highest stimulation, since here the problematical and elusive elements disappear to some extent, and the object of attention has grown so familiar in consciousness that the emotional reactions are qualified. This is the fundamental explanation of the fact that married men and women frequently become interested in others than their partners in matrimony."

Pepys, whose unconscious self-dissection admirably illustrates so many psychological tendencies, clearly shows how—by a logic of feeling deeper than any intellectual logic—the devotion to monogamy subsists side by side with an irresistible passion for sexual variety. With his constantly recurring wayward attraction to a long series of women he retains throughout a deep and unchanging affection for his charming young wife. In the privacy of his *Diary* he frequently refers to her in terms of endearment which cannot be feigned; he enjoys her society; he is very particular about her dress; he delights in her progress in music, and spends much money on her training; he is absurdly jealous when he finds her in the society of a man. His subsidiary relationships with other women recur irresistibly, but he has no wish either to make them very permanent or to allow them to engross him unduly. Pepys represents a common type of civilized "monogamist" who is perfectly sincere and extremely convinced in his advocacy of monogamy, as he understands it, but at the same time believes and acts on the belief that monogamy by no means excludes the need for sexual variation. Lord Morley's statement (*Diderot*, vol. ii, p. 20) that "man is instinctively polygamous," can by no means be accepted, but if we interpret it as meaning that man is an instinctively monogamous animal with a concomitant desire for sexual variation, there is much evidence in its favor.

Women must be as free as men to mould their own amatory life. Many consider, however, that such freedom on the part of women will

be, and ought to be, exercised within narrower limits (see, *e.g.*, Bloch, *Sexual Life of Our Time*, Ch. X). In part this limitation is considered due to the greater absorption of a woman in the task of breeding and rearing her child, and in part to a less range of psychic activities. A man, as G. Hirth puts it, expressing this view of the matter (*Wege zur Liebe*, p. 342), "has not only room in his intellectual horizon for very various interests, but his power of erotic expansion is much greater and more differentiated than that of women, although he may lack the intimacy and depth of a woman's devotion."

It may be argued that, since variations in the sexual order will inevitably take place, whether or not they are recognized or authorized, no harm is likely to be done by using the weight of social and legal authority on the side of that form which is generally regarded as the best, and, so far as possible, covering the other forms with infamy. There are many obvious defects in such an attitude, apart from the supremely important fact that to cast infamy on sexual relationships is to exert a despicable cruelty on women, who are inevitably the chief sufferers. Not the least is the injustice and the hampering of vital energy which it inflicts on the better and more scrupulous people to the advantage of the worse and less scrupulous. This always happens when authority exerts its power in favor of a form. When, in the thirteenth century, Alexander III—one of the greatest and most effective potentates who ever ruled Christendom—was consulted by the Bishop of Exeter concerning subdeacons who persisted in marrying, the Pope directed him to inquire into the lives and characters of the offenders; if they were of regular habits and staid morality, they were to be forcibly separated and the wives driven out; if they were men of notoriously disorderly character, they were to be permitted to retain their wives, if they so desired (Lea, *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy*, third edition, vol. i. p. 396). It was an astute policy, and was carried out by the same Pope elsewhere, but it is easy to see that it was altogether opposed to morality in every sense of the term. It destroyed the happiness and the efficiency of the best men; it left the worst men absolutely free. To-day we are quite willing to recognize the evil result of this policy; it was dictated by a Pope and carried out seven hundred years ago. Yet in England we carry out exactly the same policy to-day by means of our separation orders, which are scattered broadcast among the popula tion. None of the couples thus separated—and never disciplined to celibacy as are the Catholic clergy of to-day—may marry again; we, in effect, bid the more scrupulous among them to become celibates, and to the less scrupulous we grant permission to do as they like. This process is carried on by virtue of the collective inertia of the community, and when it is supported by arguments, if that ever happens, they are of an antiquarian character which can only call forth a pitying smile.

It may be added that there is a further reason why the custom of branding sexual variations from the norm as "immoral" is not so harmless as some affect to believe: such variations appear to be not uncommon among men and women of superlative ability whose powers are needed unimpeded in the service of mankind. To attempt to fit such persons into the narrow moulds which suit the majority is not only an injustice to them as individuals, but it is an offence against society, which may fairly claim that its best members shall not be hampered in its service. The notion that the person whose sexual needs differ from those of the average is necessarily a socially bad person, is a notion unsupported by facts. Every case must be judged on its own merits.

Undoubtedly the most common variation from normal monogamy has in all stages of human culture been polygyny or the sexual union of one man with more than one woman. It has sometimes been socially and legally recognized, and sometimes unrecognized, but in either case it has not failed to occur. Polyandry, or the union of a woman with more than one man, has been comparatively rare and for intelligible reasons: men have most usually been in a better position, economically and legally, to organize a household with themselves as the centre; a woman is, unlike a man, by nature and often by custom unfitted for intercourse for considerable periods at a time; a woman, moreover, has her thoughts and affections more concentrated on her children. Apart from this the biological masculine traditions point to polygyny much more than the feminine traditions point to polyandry. Although it is true that a woman can undergo a much greater amount of sexual intercourse than a man, it also remains true that the phenomena of courtship in nature have made it the duty of the male to be alert in offering his sexual attention to the female, whose part it has been to suspend her choice coyly until she is sure of her preference. Polygynic conditions have also proved advantageous, as they have permitted the most vigorous and successful members of a community to have the largest number of mates and so to transmit their own superior qualities.

"Polygamy," writes Woods Hutchinson (*Contemporary Review*, Oct., 1904), though he recognizes the advantages of monogamy, "as a racial institution, among animals as among men, has many solid and

weighty considerations in its favor, and has resulted in both human and pre-human times, in the production of a very high type of both individual and social development." He points out that it promotes intelligence, coöperation, and division of labor, while the keen competition for women weeds out the weaker and less attractive males.

Among our European ancestors, alike among Germans and Celts, polygyny and other sexual forms existed as occasional variations. Tacitus noted polygyny in Germany, and Cæsar found in Britain that brothers would hold their wives in common, the children being reckoned to the man to whom the woman had been first given in marriage (see, *e.g.*, Traill's *Social England*, vol. i, p. 103, for a discussion of this point). The husband's assistant, also, who might be called in to impregnate the wife when the husband was impotent, existed in Germany, and was indeed a general Indo-Germanic institution (Schrader, *Reallexicon*, art. "Zeugungshelfer"). The corresponding institution of the concubine has been still more deeply rooted and widespread. Up to comparatively modern times, indeed, in accordance with the traditions of Roman law, the concubine held a recognized and honorable position, below that of a wife but with definite legal rights, though it was not always, or indeed usually, legal for a married man to have a concubine. In ancient Wales, as well as in Rome, the concubine was accepted and never despised (R. B. Holt, "Marriage Laws of the Cymri," *Journal Anthropological Institute*, Aug. and Nov., 1898, p. 155). The fact that when a concubine entered the house of a married man her dignity and legal position were less than those of the wife preserved domestic peace and safeguarded the wife's interests. (A Korean husband cannot take a concubine under his roof without his wife's permission, but she rarely objects, and seems to enjoy the companionship, says Louise Jordan Miln, *Quaint Korea*, 1895, p. 92.) In old Europe, we must remember, as Dufour points out in speaking of the time of Charlemagne (*Histoire de la Prostitution*, vol iii, p. 226), "concubine" was an honorable term; the concubine was by no means a mistress, and she could be accused of adultery just the same as a wife. In England, late in the thirteenth century, Bracton speaks of the *concubina legitima* as entitled to certain rights and considerations, and it was the same in other parts of Europe, sometimes for several centuries later (see Lea, *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy*, vol. i, p. 230). The early Christian Church was frequently inclined to recognize the concubine, at all events if attached to an unmarried man, for we may trace in the Church "the wish to look upon every permanent union of man or woman as possessing the character of a marriage in the eyes of God, and, therefore, in the judgment of the Church" (art. "Concubinage," Smith and Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*). This was the feeling of St. Augustine (who had himself, before his conversion, had a concubine who was apparently a Christian), and

the Council of Toledo admitted an unmarried man who was faithful to a concubine. As the law of the Catholic Church grew more and more rigid, it necessarily lost touch with human needs. It was not so in the early Church during the great ages of its vital growth. In those ages even the strenuous general rule of monogamy was relaxed when such relaxation seemed reasonable. This was so, for instance, in the case of sexual impotency. Thus early in the eighth century Gregory II, writing to Boniface, the apostle of Germany, in answer to a question by the latter, replies that when a wife is incapable from physical infirmity from fulfilling her marital duties it is permissible for the husband to take a second wife, though he must not withdraw maintenance from the first. A little later Archbishop Egbert of York, in his *Dialogus de Institutione Ecclesiastica*, though more cautiously, admits that when one of two married persons is infirm the other, with the permission of the infirm one, may marry again, but the infirm one is not allowed to marry again during the other's life. Impotency at the time of marriage, of course, made the marriage void without the intervention of any ecclesiastical law. But Aquinas, and later theologians, allow that an excessive disgust for a wife justifies a man in regarding himself as impotent in relation to her. These rules are, of course, quite distinct from the permissions to break the marriage laws granted to kings and princes; such permissions do not count as evidence of the Church's rules for, as the Council of Constantinople prudently decided in 809, "Divine law can do nothing against Kings" (art. "Bigamy," *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*). The law of monogamy was also relaxed in cases of enforced or voluntary desertion. Thus the Council of Vermerie (752) enacted that if a wife will not accompany her husband when he is compelled to follow his lord into another land, he may marry again, provided he sees no hope of returning. Theodore of Canterbury (688), again, pronounces that if a wife is carried away by the enemy and her husband cannot redeem her, he may marry again after an interval of a year, or, if there is a chance of redeeming her, after an interval of five years; the wife may do the same. Such rules, though not general, show, as Meyrick points out (art. "Marriage," *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*), a willingness "to meet particular cases as they arise."

As the Canon law grew rigid and the Catholic Church lost its vital adaptibility, sexual variations ceased to be recognized within its sphere. We have to wait for the Reformation for any further movement. Many of the early Protestant Reformers, especially in Germany, were prepared to admit a considerable degree of vital flexibility in sexual relationships. Thus Luther advised married women with impotent husbands, in cases where there was no wish or opportunity for divorce, to have sexual relations with another man, by preference the husband's brother; the children were to be reckoned to the husband ("Die Sexuelle Frage bei Luther," *Mutterschutz*, Sept., 1908).

In England the Puritan spirit, which so largely occupied itself with the reform of marriage, could not fail to be concerned with the question of sexual variations, and from time to time we find the proposal to legalize polygyny. Thus, in 1658, "A Person of Quality" published in London a small pamphlet dedicated to the Lord Protector, entitled *A Remedy for Uncleanness.* It was in the form of a number of queries, asking why we should not admit polygamy for the avoidance of adultery and infanticide. The writer inquires whether it may not "stand with a gracious spirit, and be every way consistent with the principles of a man fearing God and loving holiness, to have more women than one to his proper use. . . . . He that takes another man's ox or ass is doubtless a transgressor; but he that puts himself out of the occasion of that temptation by keeping of his own seems to be a right honest and well-meaning man."

More than a century later (1780), an able, learned, and distinguished London clergyman of high character (who had been a lawyer before entering the Church), the Rev. Martin Madan, also advocated polygamy in a book called *Thelyphthora; or, a Treatise on Female Ruin.* Madan had been brought into close contact with prostitution through a chaplaincy at the Lock Hospital, and, like the Puritan advocate of polygamy, he came to the conclusion that only by the reform of marriage is it possible to work against prostitution and the evils of sexual intercourse outside marriage. His remarkable book aroused much controversy and strong feeling against the author, so that he found it desirable to leave London and settle in the country. Projects of marriage reform have never since come from the Church, but from philosophers and moralists, though not rarely from writers of definitely religious character. Senancour, who was so delicate and sensitive a moralist in the sexual sphere, introduced a temperate discussion of polygamy into his *De l'Amour* (vol. ii, pp. 117-126). It seemed to him to be neither positively contrary nor positively conformed to the general tendency of our present conventions, and he concluded that "the method of conciliation, in part, would be no longer to require that the union of a man and a woman should only cease with the death of one of them." Cope, the biologist, expressed a somewhat more decided opinion. Under some circumstances, if all three parties agreed, he saw no objection to polygyny or polyandry. "There are some cases of hardship," he said, "which such permission would remedy. Such, for instance, would be the case where the man or woman had become the victim of a chronic disease; or, when either party should be childless, and in other contingencies that could be imagined." There would be no compulsion in any direction, and full responsibility as at present. Such cases could only arise exceptionally, and would not call for social antagonism. For the most part, Cope remarks, "the best way to deal with polygamy is to let it alone" (E. D.

Cope, "The Marriage Problem, *Open Court*, Nov. 15 and 22, 1888). In England, Dr. John Chapman, the editor of the *Westminster Review*, and a close associate of the leaders of the Radical movement in the Victorian period, was opposed to State dictation as regards the form of marriage, and believed that a certain amount of sexual variation would be socially beneficial. Thus he wrote in 1884 (in a private letter): "I think that as human beings become less selfish polygamy [*i.e.*, polygyny], and even polyandry, in an ennobled form, will become increasingly frequent."

James Hinton, who, a few years earlier, had devoted much thought and attention to the sexual question, and regarded it as indeed the greatest of moral problems, was strongly in favor of a more vital flexibility of marriage regulations, an adaptation to human needs such as the early Christian Church admitted Marriage, he declared, must be "subordinated to service," since marriage, like the Sabbath, is made for man and not man for marriage. Thus in case of one partner becoming insane he would permit the other partner to marry again, the claim of the insane partner, in case of recovery, still remaining valid. That would be a form of polygamy, but Hinton was careful to point out that by "polygamy" he meant "less a particular marriage-order than such an order as best serves good, and which therefore must be essentially variable. Monogamy may be good, even the only good order, if of free choice; but a *law* for it is another thing. The sexual relationship must be a *natural* thing The true social life will not be any fixed and definite relationship, as of monogamy, polygamy, or anything else, but a perfect subordination of every sexual relationship whatever to reason and human good."

Ellen Key, who is an enthusiastic advocate of monogamy, and who believes that the civilized development of personal love removes all danger of the growth of polygamy, still admits the existence of variations. She has in mind such solutions of difficult problems as Goethe had before him when he proposed at first in his *Stella* to represent the force of affection and tender memories as too strong to admit of the rupture of an old bond in the presence of a new bond. The problem of sexual variation, she remarks, however (*Liebe und Ethik*, p. 12), has changed its form under modern conditions: it is no longer a struggle between the demand of society for a rigid marriage-order and the demand of the individual for sexual satisfaction, but it has become the problem of harmonizing the ennoblement of the race with heightened requirements of erotic happiness. She also points out that the existence of a partner who requires the other partner's care as a nurse or as an intellectual companion by no means deprives that other partner of the right to fatherhood or motherhood, and that such rights must be safeguarded (Ellen Key, *Ueber Liebe und Ehe*, pp. 166-168).

A prominent and extreme advocate of polygyny, not as a simple

rare variation, but as a marriage order superior to monogamy, is to be found at the present day in Professor Christian von Ehrenfels of Prague (see, *e.g.*, his *Sexualethik*, 1908; "Die Postulate des Lebens," *Sexual-Probleme*, Oct., 1908; and letter to Ellen Key in her *Ueber Liebe und Ehe*, p. 466). Ehrenfels believes that the number of men inapt for satisfactory reproduction is much larger than that of women, and that therefore when these are left out of account, a polygynic marriage order becomes necessary. He calls this "reproduction-marriage" (Zeugungsehe), and considers that it will entirely replace the present marriage order, to which it is morally superior. It would be based on private contracts. Ehrenfels holds that women would offer no objection, as a woman, he believes, attaches less importance to a man as a wooer than as the father of her child. Ehrenfels's doctrine has been seriously attacked from many sides, and his proposals are not in the line of our progress. Any radical modification of the existing monogamic order is not to be expected, even if it were generally recognized, which cannot be said to be the case, that it is desirable. The question of sexual variations, it must be remembered, is not a question of introducing an entirely new form of marriage, but only of recognizing the rights of individuals, in exceptional cases, to adopt such aberrant forms, and of recognizing the corresponding duties of such individuals to accept the responsibilities of any aberrant marriage forms they may find it best to adopt. So far as the question of sexual variations is more than this, it is, as Hinton argued, a dynamical method of working towards the abolition of the perilous and dangerous promiscuity of prostitution. A rigid marriage order involves prostitution; a flexible marriage order largely—though not, it may be, entirely—renders prostitution unnecessary. The democratic morality of the present day, so far as the indications at present go, is opposed to the encouragement of a *quasi*-slave class, with diminished social rights, such as prostitutes always constitute in a more or less marked degree. It is fairly evident, also, that the rapidly growing influence of medical hygiene is on the same side. We may, therefore, reasonably expect in the future a slow though steady increase in the recognition, and even the extension, of those variations of the monogamic order which have, in reality, never ceased to exist.

It is lamentable that at this period of the world's history, nearly two thousand years after the wise legislators of Rome had completed their work, it should still be necessary to conclude that we are to-day only beginning to place marriage on a reasonable and humane basis. I have repeatedly pointed out how largely the Canon law has been responsible for this arrest of development. One may say, indeed, that the whole attitude of the Church, after

it had once acquired complete worldly dominance, must be held responsible. In the earlier centuries the attitude of Christianity was, on the whole, admirable. It held aloft great ideals but it refrained from enforcing those ideals at all costs; thus its ideals remained genuine and could not degenerate into mere hypocritical empty forms; much flexibility was allowed when it seemed to be for human good and made for the avoidance of evil and injustice. But when the Church attained temporal power, and when that power was concentrated in the hands of Popes who subordinated moral and religious interests to political interests, all the claims of reason and humanity were flung to the winds. The ideal was no more a fact than it was before, but it was now treated as a fact. Human relationships remained what they were before, as complicated and as various, but henceforth one rigid pattern, admirable as an ideal but worse than empty as a form, was arbitrarily set up, and all deviations from it treated either as non-existent or damnable. The vitality was crushed out of the most central human institutions, and they are only to-day beginning to lift their heads afresh.

If—to sum up—we consider the course which the regulation of marriage has run during the Christian era, the only period which immediately concerns us, it is not difficult to trace the main outlines. Marriage began as a private arrangement, which the Church, without being able to control, was willing to bless, as it also blessed many other secular affairs of men, making no undue attempt to limit its natural flexibility to human needs. Gradually and imperceptibly, however, without the medium of any law, Christianity gained the complete control of marriage, coördinated it with its already evolved conceptions of the evil of lust, of the virtue of chastity, of the mortal sin of fornication, and, having through the influence of these dominating conceptions limited the flexibility of marriage in every possible direction, it placed it on a lofty but narrow pedestal as the sacrament of matrimony. For reasons which by no means lay in the nature of the sexual relationships, but which probably seemed cogent to sacerdotal legislators who assimilated it to ordination, matrimony was declared indissoluble. Nothing was so easy to enter as the

gate of matrimony, but, after the manner of a mouse-trap, it opened inwards and not outwards; once in there was no way out alive. The Church's regulation of marriage while, like the celibacy of the clergy, it was a success from the point of view of ecclesiastical politics, and even at first from the point of view of civilization, for it at least introduced order into a chaotic society, was in the long run a failure from the point of view of society and morals. On the one hand it drifted into absurd subtleties and quibbles; on the other, not being based on either reason or humanity, it had none of that vital adaptability to the needs of life, which early Christianity, while holding aloft austere ideals, still largely retained. On the side of tradition this code of marriage law became awkward and impracticable; on the biological side it was hopelessly false. The way was thus prepared for the Protestant reintroduction of the conception of marriage as a contract, that conception being, however, brought forward less on its merits than as a protest against the difficulties and absurdities of the Catholic Canon law. The contractive view, which still largely persists even to-day, speedily took over much of the Canon law doctrines of marriage, becoming in practice a kind of reformed and secularized Canon law. It was somewhat more adapted to modern needs, but it retained much of the rigidity of the Catholic marriage without its sacramental character, and it never made any attempt to become more than nominally contractive. It has been of the nature of an incongruous compromise and has represented a transitional phase towards free private marriage. We can recognize that phase in the tendency, well marked in all civilized lands, to an ever increasing flexibility of marriage. The idea, and even the fact, of marriage by consent and divorce by failure of that consent, which we are now approaching, has never indeed been quite extinct. In the Latin countries it has survived with the tradition of Roman law; in the English-speaking countries it is bound up with the spirit of Puritanism which insists that in the things that concern the individual alone the individual himself shall be the supreme judge. That doctrine as applied to marriage was in England magnificently asserted by the genius of Milton, and in America

it has been a leaven which is still working in marriage legislation towards an inevitable goal which is scarcely yet in sight. The marriage system of the future, as it moves along its present course, will resemble the old Christian system in that it will recognize the sacred and sacramental character of the sexual relationship, and it will resemble the civil conception in that it will insist that marriage, so far as it involves procreation, shall be publicly registered by the State. But in opposition to the Church it will recognize that marriage, in so far as it is purely a sexual relationship, is a private matter the conditions of which must be left to the persons who alone are concerned in it; and in opposition to the civil theory it will recognize that marriage is in its essence a fact and not a contract, though it may give rise to contracts, so long as such contracts do not touch that essential fact. And in one respect it will go beyond either the ecclesiastical conception or the civil conception. Man has in recent times gained control of his own procreative powers, and that control involves a shifting of the centre of gravity of marriage, in so far as marriage is an affair of the State, from the vagina to the child which is the fruit of the womb. Marriage as a state institution will centre, not around the sexual relationship, but around the child which is the outcome of that relationship. In so far as marriage is an inviolable public contract it will be of such a nature that it will be capable of automatically covering with its protection every child that is born into the world, so that every child may possess a legal mother and a legal father. On the one side, therefore, marriage is tending to become less stringent; on the other side it is tending to become more stringent. On the personal side it is a sacred and intimate relationship with which the State has no concern; on the social side it is the assumption of the responsible public sponsorship of a new member of the State. Some among us are working to further one of these aspects of marriage, some to further the other aspect. Both are indispensable to establish a perfect harmony. It is necessary to hold the two aspects of marriage apart, in order to do equal justice to the individual and to society, but in so far as marriage approaches its ideal state those two aspects become one.

We have now completed the discussion of marriage as it presents itself to the modern man born in what in mediæval days was called Christendom. It is not an easy subject to discuss. It is indeed a very difficult subject, and only after many years is it possible to detect the main drift of its apparently opposing and confused currents when one is oneself in the midst of them. To an Englishman it is, perhaps, peculiarly difficult, for the Englishman is nothing if not insular; in that fact lie whatever virtues he possesses, as well as their reverse sides.[1]

Yet it is worth while to attempt to climb to a height from which we can view the stream of social tendency in its true proportions and estimate its direction. It is necessary to do so if we value our mental peace in an age when men's minds are agitated by many petty movements which have nothing to do with their great temporal interests, to say nothing of their eternal interests. When we have attained a wide vision of the solid biological facts of life, when we have grasped the great historical streams of tradition,—which together make up the map of human affairs,—we can face serenely the little social transitions which take place in our own age, as they have taken place in every age.

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[1] Howard, in his judicial *History of Matrimonial Institutions* (vol. ii. pp. 96 *et seq.*), cannot refrain from drawing attention to the almost insanely wild character of the language used in England not so many years ago by those who opposed marriage with a deceased wife's sister, and he contrasts it with the much more reasonable attitude of the Catholic Church. "Pictures have been drawn," he remarks, "of the moral anarchy such marriages must produce, which are read by American, Colonial, and Continental observers with a bewilderment that is not unmixed with disgust, and are, indeed, a curious illustration of the extreme insularity of the English mind." So recently as A. D. 1908 a bill was brought into the British House of Lords proposing that desertion without cause for two years shall be a ground for divorce, a reasonable and humane measure which is law in most parts of the civilized world. The Lord Chancellor (Lord Loreburn), a Liberal, and in the sphere of politics an enlightened and sagacious leader, declared that such a proposal was "absolutely impossible." The House rejected the proposal by 61 votes to 2. Even the marriage decrees of the Council of Trent were not affirmed by such an overwhelming majority. In matters of marriage legislation England has scarcely yet emerged from the Middle Ages.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ART OF LOVE.

Marriage Not Only for Procreation—Theologians on the *Sacramentum Solationis*—Importance of the *Art of Love*—The Basis of Stability in Marriage and the Condition for Right Procreation—The Art of Love the Bulwark Against Divorce—The Unity of Love and Marriage a Principle of Modern Morality—Christianity and the Art of Love—Ovid—The Art of Love Among Primitive Peoples—Sexual Initiation in Africa and Elsewhere—The Tendency to Spontaneous Development of the Art of Love in Early Life—Flirtation—Sexual Ignorance in Women—The Husband's Place in Sexual Initiation—Sexual Ignorance in Men—The Husband's Education for Marriage—The Injury Done by the Ignorance of Husbands—The Physical and Mental Results of Unskilful Coitus—Women Understand the Art of Love Better Than Men—Ancient and Modern Opinions Concerning Frequency of Coitus—Variation in Sexual Capacity—The Sexual Appetite—The Art of Love Based on the Biological Facts of Courtship—The Art of Pleasing Women—The Lover Compared to the Musician—The Proposal as a Part of Courtship—Divination in the Art of Love—The Importance of the Preliminaries in Courtship—The Unskilful Husband Frequently the Cause of the Frigid Wife—The Difficulty of Courtship—Simultaneous Orgasm—The Evils of Incomplete Gratification in Women—Coitus Interruptus—Coitus Reservatus—The Human Method of Coitus—Variations in Coitus—Posture in Coitus—The Best Time for Coitus—The Influence of Coitus in Marriage—The Advantages of Absence in Marriage—The Risks of Absence—Jealousy—The Primitive Function of Jealousy—Its Predominance Among Animals, Savages, etc., and in Pathological States—An Anti-Social Emotion—Jealousy Incompatible with the Progress of Civilization—The Possibility of Loving More Than One Person at a Time—Platonic Friendship—The Conditions Which Make It Possible—The Maternal Element in Woman's Love—The Final Development of Conjugal Love—The Problem of Love One of the Greatest of Social Questions.

It will be clear from the preceding discussion that there are two elements in every marriage so far as that marriage is complete. On the one hand marriage is a union prompted by mutual love and only sustainable as a reality, apart from its mere formal side, by the cultivation of such love. On the other

hand marriage is a method for propagating the race and having its end in offspring. In the first aspect its aim is erotic, in the second parental. Both these ends have long been generally recognized. We find them set forth, for instance, in the marriage service of the Church of England, where it is stated that marriage exists both for "the mutual society, help and comfort that the one ought to have of the other," and also for "the procreation of children." Without the factor of mutual love the proper conditions for procreation cannot exist; without the factor of procreation the sexual union, however beautiful and sacred a relationship it may in itself be, remains, in essence, a private relationship, incomplete as a marriage and without public significance. It becomes necessary, therefore, to supplement the preceding discussion of marriage in its general outlines by a final and more intimate consideration of marriage in its essence, as embracing the art of love and the science of procreation.

There has already been occasion from time to time to refer to those who, starting from various points of view, have sought to limit the scope of marriage and to suppress one or other of its elements. (See *e.g.*, *ante*, p. 135.)

In modern times the tendency has been to exclude the factor of procreation, and to regard the relationship of marriage as exclusively lying in the relationship of the two parties to each other. Apart from the fact, which it is unnecessary again to call attention to, that, from the public and social point of view, a marriage without children, however important to the two persons concerned, is a relationship without any public significance, it must further be said that, in the absence of children, even the personal erotic life itself is apt to suffer, for in the normal erotic life, especially in women, sexual love tends to grow into parental love. Moreover, the full development of mutual love and dependence is with difficulty attained, and there is absence of that closest of bonds, the mutual coöperation of two persons in producing a new person. The perfect and complete marriage in its full development is a trinity.

Those who seek to eliminate the erotic factor from marriage as unessential, or at all events as only permissible when strictly subordinated to the end of procreation, have made themselves heard from time to time at various periods. Even the ancients, Greeks and Romans alike, in their more severe moments advocated the elimination of the

erotic element from marriage, and its confinement to extra-marital relationships, that is so far as men were concerned; for the erotic needs of married women they had no provision to make. Montaigne, soaked in classic traditions, has admirably set forth the reasons for eliminating the erotic interest from marriage: "One does not marry for oneself, whatever may be said; a man marries as much, or more, for his posterity, for his family; the usage and interest of marriage touch our race beyond ourselves. . . . . Thus it is a kind of incest to employ, in this venerable and sacred parentage, the efforts and the extravagances of amorous license" (*Essais*, Bk. i, Ch. XXIX; Bk. iii, Ch. V). This point of view easily commended itself to the early Christians, who, however, deliberately overlooked its reverse side, the establishment of erotic interests outside marriage. "To have intercourse except for procreation," said Clement of Alexandria (*Pædagogus*, Bk. ii, Ch. X), "is to do injury to Nature." While, however, that statement is quite true of the lower animals, it is not true of man, and especially not true of civilized man, whose erotic needs are far more developed, and far more intimately associated with the finest and highest part of the organism, than is the case among animals generally. For the animal, sexual desire, except when called forth by the conditions involved by procreative necessities, has no existence. It is far otherwise in man, for whom, even when the question of procreation is altogether excluded, sexual love is still an insistent need, and even a condition of the finest spiritual development. The Catholic Church, therefore, while regarding with admiration a continence in marriage which excluded sexual relations except for the end of procreation, has followed St. Augustine in treating intercourse apart from procreation with considerable indulgence, as only a venial sin. Here, however, the Church was inclined to draw the line, and it appears that in 1679 Innocent XI condemned the proposition that "the conjugal act, practiced for pleasure alone, is exempt even from venial sin."

Protestant theologians have been inclined to go further, and therein they found some authority even in Catholic writers. John à Lasco, the Catholic Bishop who became a Protestant and settled in England during Edward VI's reign, was following many mediæval theologians when he recognized the *sacramentum solationis*, in addition to *proles*, as an element of marriage. Cranmer, in his marriage service of 1549, stated that "mutual help and comfort," as well as procreation, enter into the object of marriage (Wickham Legg, *Ecclesiological Essays*, p. 204; Howard, *Matrimonial Institutions*, vol. i, p. 398). Modern theologians speak still more distinctly. "The sexual act," says Northcote (*Christianity and Sex-Problems*, p. 55), "is a love act. Duly regulated, it conduces to the ethical welfare of the individual and promotes his efficiency as a social unit. The act itself and its surrounding emotions stimulate within the organism the powerful movements of a vast psychic

life." At an earlier period also, Schleiermacher, in his *Letters on Lucinde*, had pointed out the great significance of love for the spiritual development of the individual.

Edward Carpenter truly remarks, in *Love's Coming of Age*, that sexual love is not only needed for physical creation. but also for spiritual creation. Bloch, again, in discussing this question (*The Sexual Life of Our Time*, Ch. VI) concludes that "love and the sexual embrace have not only an end in procreation, they constitute an end in themselves, and are necessary for the life, development, and inner growth of the individual himself."

It is argued by some, who admit mutual love as a constituent part of marriage, that such love, once recognized at the outset, may be taken for granted, and requires no further discussion; there is, they believe, no art of love to be either learnt or taught; it comes by nature. Nothing could be further from the truth, most of all as regards civilized man. Even the elementary fact of coitus needs to be taught. No one could take a more austerely Puritanic view of sexual affairs than Sir James Paget, and yet Paget (in his lecture on "Sexual Hypochondriasis") declared that "Ignorance about sexual affairs seems to be a notable characteristic of the more civilized part of the human race. Among ourselves it is certain that the method of copulating needs to be taught, and that they to whom it is not taught remain quite ignorant about it." Gallard, again, remarks similarly (in his *Clinique des Maladies des Femmes*) that young people, like Daphnis in Longus's pastoral, need a beautiful Lycenion to give them a solid education, practical as well as theoretical, in these matters, and he considers that mothers should instruct their daughters at marriage, and fathers their sons. Philosophers have from time to time recognized the gravity of these questions and have discoursed concerning them; thus Epicurus, as Plutarch tells us.[1] would discuss with his disciples various sexual matters, such as the proper time for coitus; but then, as now. there were obscurantists who would leave even the central facts of life to the hazards of chance or ignorance, and these presumed to blame the philosopher.

[1] *Quæstionum Convivalium*, lib. iii, quæstio 6.

There is, however, much more to be learnt in these matters than the mere elementary facts of sexual intercourse. The art of love certainly includes such primary facts of sexual hygiene, but it involves also the whole erotic discipline of marriage, and that is why its significance is so great, for the welfare and happiness of the individual, for the stability of sexual unions, and indirectly for the race, since the art of love is ultimately the art of attaining the right conditions for procreation.

"It seems extremely probable," wrote Professor E. D. Cope,[1] "that if this subject could be properly understood, and become, in the details of its practical conduct, a part of a written social science, the monogamic marriage might attain a far more general success than is often found in actual life." There can be no doubt whatever that this is the case. In the great majority of marriages success depends exclusively upon the knowledge of the art of love possessed by the two persons who enter into it. A life-long monogamic union may, indeed, persist in the absence of the slightest inborn or acquired art of love, out of religious resignation or sheer stupidity. But that attitude is now becoming less common. As we have seen in the previous chapter, divorces are becoming more frequent and more easily obtainable in every civilized country. This is a tendency of civilization; it is the result of a demand that marriage should be a real relationship, and that when it ceases to be real as a relationship it should also cease as a form. That is an inevitable tendency, involved in our growing democratization, for the democracy seems to care more for realities than for forms, however venerable. We cannot fight against it; and we should be wrong to fight against it even if we could.

Yet while we are bound to aid the tendency to divorce, and to insist that a valid marriage needs the wills of two persons to maintain it, it is difficult for anyone to argue that divorce is in itself desirable. It is always a confession of failure. Two persons, who, if they have been moved in the slightest degree by the normal and regular impulse of sexual selection, at the outset

[1] E. D Cope, "The Marriage Problem," *Open Court*, Nov. 1888.

regarded each other as lovable, have, on one side or the other or on both, proved not lovable. There has been a failure in the fundamental art of love. If we are to counterbalance facility of divorce our only sound course is to increase the stability of marriage, and that is only possible by cultivating the art of love, the primal foundation of marriage.

It is by no means unnecessary to emphasize this point. There are still many persons who have failed to realize it. There are even people who seem to imagine that it is unimportant whether or not pleasure is present in the sexual act. "I do not believe mutual pleasure in the sexual act has any particular bearing on the happiness of life," once remarked Dr. Howard A. Kelly.[1] Such a statement means—if indeed it means anything—that the marriage tie has no "particular bearing" on human happiness; it means that the way must be freely opened to adultery and divorce. Even the most perverse ascetic of the Middle Ages scarcely ventured to make a statement so flagrantly opposed to the experiences of humanity, and the fact that a distinguished gynecologist of the twentieth century can make it, with almost the air of stating a truism, is ample justification for the emphasis which it has nowadays become necessary to place on the art of love. "Uxor enim dignitatis nomen est, non voluptatis," was indeed an ancient Pagan dictum. But it is not in harmony with modern ideas. It was not even altogether in harmony with Christianity. For our modern morality, as Ellen Key well says, the unity of love and marriage is a fundamental principle.[2]

The neglect of the art of love has not been a universal phenomenon; it is more especially characteristic of Christendom. The spirit of ancient Rome undoubtedly predisposed Europe to such a neglect, for with their rough cultivation of the military virtues and their inaptitude for the finer aspects of civilization the Romans were willing to regard love as a permissible indulgence, but they were not, as a people, prepared to cultivate it as an art. Their poets do not, in this matter, represent the

[1] Columbus meeting of the American Medical Association, 1900.
[2] Ellen Key, *Ueber Liebe und Ehe*, p. 24.

moral feeling of their best people. It is indeed a highly significant fact that Ovid, the most distinguished Latin poet who concerned himself much with the art of love, associated that art not so much with morality as with immorality. As he viewed it, the art of love was less the art of retaining a woman in her home than the art of winning her away from it; it was the adulterer's art rather than the husband's art. Such a conception would be impossible out of Europe, but it proved very favorable to the growth of the Christian attitude towards the art of love.

Love as an art, as well as a passion, seems to have received considerable study in antiquity, though the results of that study have perished. Cadmus Milesius, says Suidas, wrote fourteen great volumes on the passion of love, but they are not now to be found. Rohde (*Das Griechische Roman*, p. 55) has a brief section on the Greek philosophic writers on love. Bloch (*Beitrage zur Psychopathia Sexualis*, Teil I, p. 191) enumerates the ancient women writers who dealt with the art of love. Montaigne (*Essais*, liv ii, Ch. V) gives a list of ancient classical lost books on love. Burton (*Anatomy of Melancholy*, Bell's edition, vol. iii, p. 2) also gives a list of lost books on love. Burton himself dealt at length with the manifold signs of love and its grievous symptoms. Boissier de Sauvages, early in the eighteenth century, published a Latin thesis, *De Amore*, discussing love somewhat in the same spirit as Burton, as a psychic disease to be treated and cured.

The breath of Christian asceticism had passed over love; it was no longer, as in classic days, an art to be cultivated but only a malady to be cured. The true inheritor of the classic spirit in this, as in many other matters, was not the Christian world, but the world of Islam. *The Perfumed Garden* of the Sheik Nefzaoui was probably written in the city of Tunis early in the sixteenth century by an author who belonged to the south of Tunis. Its opening invocation clearly indicates that it departs widely from the conception of love as a disease: "Praise be to God who has placed man's greatest pleasures in the natural parts of woman, and has destined the natural parts of man to afford the greatest enjoyments to woman." The Arabic book, *El Ktab*, or "The Secret Laws of Love," is a modern work, by Omer Haleby Abu Othmân, who was born in Algiers of a Moorish mother and a Turkish father.

For Christianity the permission to yield to the sexual impulse at all was merely a concession to human weakness, an indulgence only possible when it was carefully hedged and guarded on every side. Almost from the first the Christians began to cultivate the art of virginity, and they could not so

dislocate their point of view as to approve of the art of love. All their passionate adoration in the sphere of sex went out towards chastity. Possessed by such ideals, they could only tolerate human love at all by giving to one special form of it a religious sacramental character, and even that sacramental halo imparted to love a quasi-ascetic character which precluded the idea of regarding love as an art.[1] Love gained a religious element but it lost a moral element, since, outside Christianity, the art of love is part of the foundation of sexual morality, wherever such morality in any degree exists. In Christendom love in marriage was left to shift for itself as best it might; the art of love was a dubious art which was held to indicate a certain commerce with immorality and even indeed to be itself immoral. That feeling was doubtless strengthened by the fact that Ovid was the most conspicuous master in literature of the art of love. His literary reputation—far greater than it now seems to us[2]—gave distinction to his position as the author of the chief extant text-book of the art of love. With Humanism and the Renaissance and the consequent realization that Christianity had overlooked one side of life, Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* was placed on a pedestal it had not occupied before or since. It represented a step forward in civilization; it revealed love not as a mere animal instinct or a mere pledged duty, but as a complex, humane, and refined relationship which demanded cultivation; *"arte regendus amor."* Boccaccio made a

1 In an admirable article on Friedrich Schlegel's *Lucinde* (*Mutterschutz*, 1906, Heft 5), Heinrich Meyer-Benfey, in pointing out that the Catholic sacramental conception of marriage licensed love, but failed to elevate it, regards *Lucinde*, with all its defects, as the first expression of the unity of the senses and the soul, and, as such, the basis of the new ethics of love. It must, however, be said that four hundred years earlier Pontano had expressed this same erotic unity far more robustly and wholesomely than Schlegel, though the Latin verse in which he wrote, fresh and vital as it is, remained without influence. Pontano's *Carmina*, including the "De Amore Conjugali," have at length been reprinted in a scholarly edition by Soldati.

2 From the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries Ovid was, in reality, the most popular and influential classic poet. His works played a large part in moulding Renaissance literature, not least in England, where Marlowe translated his *Amores*, and Shakespeare, during the early years of his literary activity, was greatly indebted to him (see, *e.g.*, Sidney Lee, "Ovid and Shakespeare's Sonnets," *Quarterly Review*, Ap., 1909).

wise teacher put Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* into the hands of the young. In an age still oppressed by the mediæval spirit, it was a much needed text-book, but it possessed the fatal defect, as a text-book, of presenting the erotic claims of the individual as divorced from the claims of good social order. It never succeeded in establishing itself as a generally accepted manual of love, and in the eyes of many it served to stamp the subject it dealt with as one that lies outside the limits of good morals.

When, however, we take a wider survey, and inquire into the discipline for life that is imparted to the young in many parts of the world, we shall frequently find that the art of love, understood in varying ways, is an essential part of that discipline. Summary, though generally adequate, as are the educational methods of primitive peoples, they not seldom include a training in those arts which render a woman agreeable to a man and a man agreeable to a woman in the relationship of marriage, and it is often more or less dimly realized that courtship is not a mere preliminary to marriage, but a biologically essential part of the marriage relationship throughout.

Sexual initiation is carried out very thoroughly in Azimba land, Central Africa. H. Crawford Angus, the first European to visit the Azimba people, lived among them for a year, and has described the Chensamwali, or initiation ceremony, of girls. "At the first sign of menstruation in a young girl, she is taught the mysteries of womanhood, and is shown the different positions for sexual intercourse. The vagina is handled freely, and if not previously enlarged (which may have taken place at the harvest festival when a boy and girl are allowed to 'keep house' during the day-time by themselves, and when quasi-intercourse takes place) it is now enlarged by means of a horn or corn-cob, which is inserted and secured in place by bands of bark cloth. When all signs [of menstruation] have passed, a public announcement of a dance is given to the women in the village. At this dance no men are allowed to be present, and it was only with a great deal of trouble that I managed to witness it. The girl to be 'danced' is led back from the bush to her mother's hut where she is kept in solitude to the morning of the dance. On that morning she is placed on the ground in a sitting position, while the dancers form a ring around her. Several songs are then sung with reference to the genital organs. The girl is then stripped and made to go through the mimic performance of sexual intercourse, and if the movements are not enacted properly, as is often the case when the girl is

timid and bashful, one of the older women will take her place and show her how she is to perform. Many songs about the relation between men and women are sung, and the girl is instructed as to all her duties when she becomes a wife. She is also instructed that during the time of her menstruation she is unclean, and that during her monthly period she must close her vulva with a pad of fibre used for the purpose. The object of the dance is to inculcate to the girl the knowledge of married life. The girl is taught to be faithful to her husband and to try to bear children, and she is also taught the various arts and methods of making herself seductive and pleasing to her husband, and of thus retaining him in her power." (H. Crawford Angus, "The Chensamwali," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1898, Heft 6, p. 479).

In Abyssinia, as well as on the Zanzibar coast, according to Stecker (quoted by Ploss-Bartels, *Das Weib*, Section 119) young girls are educated in buttock movements which increase their charm in coitus. These movements, of a rotatory character, are called Duk-Duk. To be ignorant of Duk-Duk is a great disgrace to a girl. Among the Swahili women of Zanzibar, indeed, a complete artistic system of hip-movements is cultivated, to be displayed in coitus. It prevails more especially on the coast, and a Swahili woman is not counted a "lady" (bibi) unless she is acquainted with this art. From sixty to eighty young women practice this buttock dance together for some eight hours a day, laying aside all clothing, and singing the while. The public are not admitted. The dance, which is a kind of imitation of coitus, has been described by Zache ("Sitten und Gebräuche der Suaheli," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1899, Heft 2-3, p. 72). The more accomplished dancers excite general admiration. During the latter part of this initiation various feats are imposed, to test the girl's skill and self-control. For instance, she must dance up to a fire and remove from the midst of the fire a vessel full of water to the brim, without spilling it. At the end of three months the training is over, and the girl goes home in festival attire. She is now eligible for marriage. Similar customs are said to prevail in the Dutch East Indies and elsewhere.

The Hebrews had erotic dances, which were doubtless related to the art of love in marriage, and among the Greeks, and their disciples the Romans, the conception of love as an art which needs training, skill, and cultivation, was still extant. That conception was crushed by Christianity which, although it sanctified the institution of matrimony, degraded that sexual love which is normally the content of marriage

In 1176 the question was brought before a Court of Love by a baron and lady of Champagne, whether love is compatible with marriage. "No," said the baron. "I admire and respect the sweet intimacy of married couples, but I cannot call it love. Love desires obstacles, mystery, stolen favors. Now husbands and wives boldly avow their relationship;

they possess each other without contradiction and without reserve. It cannot then be love that they experience." And after mature deliberation the ladies of the Court of Love adopted the baron's conclusions (E. de la Bedollière, *Histoire des Mœurs des Français*, vol. iii, p. 334). There was undoubtedly an element of truth in the baron's arguments. Yet it may well be doubted whether in any non-Christian country it would ever have been possible to obtain acceptance for the doctrine that love and marriage are incompatible. This doctrine was, however, as Ribot points out in his *Logique des Sentiments*, inevitable, when, as among the medieval nobility, marriage was merely a political or domestic treaty and could not, therefore, be a method of moral elevation.

"Why is it," asked Rétif de la Bretonne, towards the end of the eighteenth century, "that girls who have no morals are more seductive and more loveable than honest women? It is because, like the Greek courtesans to whom grace and voluptuousness were taught, they have studied the art of pleasing. Among the foolish detractors of my *Contemporaines*, not one guessed the philosophic aim of nearly everyone of these tales, which is to suggest to honest women the ways of making themselves loved. I should like to see the institution of initiations, such as those of the ancients. . . . . To-day the happiness of the human species is abandoned to chance; all the experience of women is individual, like that of animals; it is lost with those women who, being naturally amiable, might have taught others to become so. Prostitutes alone make a superficial study of it, and the lessons they receive are, for the most part, as harmful as those of respectable Greek and Roman matrons were holy and honorable, only tending to wantonness, to the exhaustion alike of the purse and of the physical faculties, while the aim of the ancient matrons was the union of husband and wife and their mutual attachment through pleasure. The Christian religion annihilated the Mysteries as infamous, but we may regard that annihilation as one of the wrongs done by Christianity to humanity, as the work of men with little enlightenment and bitter zeal, dangerous puritans who were the natural enemies of marriage" (Rétif de la Bretonne, *Monsieur Nicolas*, reprint of 1883, vol. x, pp. 160-3). It may be added that Dühren (Dr. Iwan Bloch) regards Rétif as "a master in the *Ars Amandi*," and discusses him from this point of view in his *Rétif de la Bretonne* (pp. 362-371).

Whether or not Christianity is to be held responsible, it cannot be doubted that throughout Christendom there has been a lamentable failure to recognize the supreme importance, not only erotically but morally, of the art of love. Even in the great revival of sexual enlightenment now taking place around us there

is rarely even the faintest recognition that in sexual enlightenment the one thing essentially necessary is a knowledge of the art of love. For the most part, sexual instruction as at present understood, is purely negative, a mere string of thou-shalt-nots. If that failure were due to the conscious and deliberate recognition that while the art of love must be based on physiological and psychological knowledge, it is far too subtle, too complex, too personal, to be formulated in lectures and manuals, it would be reasonable and sound. But it seems to rest entirely on ignorance, indifference, or worse.

Love-making is indeed, like other arts, an art that is partly natural—"an art that nature makes"—and therefore it is a natural subject for learning and exercising in play. Children left to themselves tend, both playfully and seriously, to practice love, alike on the physical and the psychic sides.[1] But this play is on its physical side sternly repressed by their elders, when discovered, and on its psychic side laughed at. Among the well-bred classes it is usually starved out at an early age.

After puberty, if not before, there is another form in which the art of love is largely experimented and practised, especially in England and America, the form of flirtation. In its elementary manifestations flirting is entirely natural and normal; we may trace it even in animals; it is simply the beginning of courtship, at the early stage when courtship may yet, if desired, be broken off. Under modern civilized conditions, however, flirtation is often more than this. These conditions make marriage difficult; they make love and its engagements too serious a matter to be entered on lightly; they make actual sexual intercourse dangerous as well as disreputable. Flirtation adapts itself to these conditions. Instead of being merely the preliminary stage of normal courtship, it is developed into a form of sexual gratification as complete as due observation of the conditions already mentioned will allow. In Germany, and especially in France where it is held in great abhorrence, this is the only form of flirtation known; it is regarded as an exportation from

[1] This has already been discussed in Chapter II.

the United States and is denominated "flirtage." Its practical outcome is held to be the "demi-vierge," who knows and has experienced the joys of sex while yet retaining her hymen intact.

This degenerate form of flirtation, cultivated not as a part of courtship, but for its own sake, has been well described by Forel (*Die Sexuelle Frage*, pp. 97-101). He defines it as including "all those expressions of the sexual instinct of one individual towards another individual which excite the other's sexual instinct, coitus being always excepted." In the beginning it may be merely a provocative look or a simple apparently unintentional touch or contact; and by slight gradations it may pass on to caresses, kisses, embraces, and even extend to pressure or friction of the sexual parts, sometimes leading to orgasm. Thus, Forel mentions, a sensuous woman by the pressure of her garments in dancing can produce ejaculation in her partner. Most usually the process is that voluptuous contact and revery which, in English slang, is called "spooning." From first to last there need not be any explicit explanations, proposals, or declarations on either side, and neither party is committed to any relationship with the other beyond the period devoted to flirtage. In one form, however, flirtage consists entirely in the excitement of a conversation devoted to erotic and indecorous topics. Either the man or the woman may take the active part in flirtage, but in a woman more refinement and skill is required to play the active part without repelling the man or injuring her reputation. Indeed, much the same is true of men also, for women, while they often like flirting, usually prefer its more refined forms. There are infinite forms of flirtage, and while as a preliminary part of courtship, it has its normal place and justification, Forel concludes that "as an end in itself, and never passing beyond itself, it is a phenomenon of degeneration."

From the French point of view, flirtage and flirtation generally have been discussed by Madame Bentzon ("Family Life in America," *Forum*, March, 1896) who, however, fails to realize the natural basis of flirtation in courtship. She regards it as a sin against the law "Thou shalt not play with love," for it ought to have the excuse of an irresistible passion, but she thinks it is comparatively inoffensive in America (though still a deteriorating influence on the women) on account of the temperament, education, and habits of the people. It must, however, be remembered that play has a proper relationship to all vital activities, and that a reasonable criticism of flirtation is concerned rather with its normal limitations than with its right to exist (see the observations on the natural basis of coquetry and the ends it subserves in "The Evolution of Modesty" in volume I of these *Studies*).

While flirtation in its natural form—though not in the perverted form of "flirtage"—has sound justification, alike as a method of testing a lover and of acquiring some small part of the art of love, it remains an altogether inadequate preparation for love. This is sufficiently shown by the frequent inaptitude for the art of love, and even for the mere physical act of love, so frequently manifested both by men and women in the very countries where flirtation most flourishes.

This ignorance, not merely of the art of love but even of the physical facts of sexual love, is marked not only in women, especially women of the middle class, but also in men, for the civilized man, as Fritsch long ago remarked, often knows less of the facts of the sexual life than a milkmaid. It shows itself differently, however, in the two sexes.

Among women sexual ignorance ranges from complete innocence of the fact that it involves any intimate bodily relationship at all to misapprehensions of the most various kind; some think that the relationship consists in lying side by side, many that intercourse takes place at the navel, not a few that the act occupies the whole night. It has been necessary in a previous chapter to discuss the general evils of sexual ignorance; it is here necessary to refer to its more special evils as regards the relationship of marriage. Girls are educated with the vague idea that they will marry,—quite correctly, for the majority of them do marry,—but the idea that they must be educated for the career that will naturally fall to their lot is an idea which as yet has never seemed to occur to the teachers of girls. Their heads are crammed to stupidity with the knowledge of facts which it is no one's concern to know, but the supremely important training for life they are totally unable to teach. Women are trained for nearly every avocation under the sun; for the supreme avocation of wifehood and motherhood they are never trained at all!

It may be said, and with truth, that the present incompetent training of girls is likely to continue so long as the mothers of girls are content to demand nothing better. It may also be said, with even greater truth, that there is much that concerns the

knowledge of sexual relationships which the mother herself may most properly impart to her daughter. It may further be asserted, most unanswerably, that the art of love, with which we are here more especially concerned, can only be learnt by actual experience, an experience which our social traditions make it difficult for a virtuous girl to acquire with credit. Without here attempting to apportion the share of blame which falls to each cause, it remains unfortunate that a woman should so often enter marriage with the worst possible equipment of prejudices and misapprehensions, even when she believes, as often happens, that she knows all about it. Even with the best equipment, a woman, under present conditions, enters marriage at a disadvantage. She awakes to the full realization of love more slowly than a man, and, on the average, at a later age, so that her experiences of the life of sex before marriage have usually been of a much more restricted kind than her husband's.[1] So that even with the best preparation, it often happens that it is not until several years after marriage that a woman clearly realizes her own sexual needs and adequately estimates her husband's ability to satisfy those needs. We cannot over-estimate the personal and social importance of a complete preparation for marriage, and the greater the difficulties placed in the way of divorce the more weight necessarily attaches to that preparation.[2]

Everyone is probably acquainted with many cases of the extreme ignorance of women on entering marriage. The following case concerning a woman of twenty-seven, who had been asked in marriage, is somewhat extreme, but not very exceptional. "She did not feel sure of her affection and she asked a woman cousin concerning the meaning of love. This cousin lent her Ellis Ethelmer's pamphlet. *The Human Flower*. She learnt from this that men desired the body of a woman, and this

[1] By the age of twenty-five, as G. Hirth remarks (*Wege zur Heimat*, p. 541), an energetic and sexually disposed man in a large city has, for the most part, already had relations with some twenty-five women, perhaps even as many as fifty, while a well-bred and cultivated woman at that age is still only beginning to realize the slowly summating excitations of sex.

[2] In his study of "Conjugal Aversion" (*Journal Nervous and Mental Disease*, Sept., 1892) Smith Baker points out the value of adequate sexual knowledge before marriage in lessening the risks of such aversion.

so appalled her that she was quite ill for several days. The next time her lover attempted a caress she told him that it was 'lust.' Since then she has read George Moore's *Sister Teresa*, and the knowledge that 'women can be as bad as men' has made her sad." The "Histories" contained in the Appendices to previous volumes of these *Studies* reveal numerous instances of the deplorable ignorance of young girls concerning the most central facts of the sexual life. It is not surprising, under such circumstances, that marriage leads to disillusionment or repulsion.

It is commonly said that the duty of initiating the wife into the privileges and obligations of marriage properly belongs to the husband. Apart, however, altogether from the fact that it is unjust to a woman to compel her to bind herself in marriage before she has fully realized what marriage means, it must also be said that there are many things necessary for women to know that it is unreasonable to expect a husband to explain. This is, for instance, notably the case as regards the more fatiguing and exhausting effects of coitus on a man as compared with a woman. The inexperienced bride cannot know beforehand that the frequently repeated orgasms which render her vigorous and radiant exert a depressing effect on her husband, and his masculine pride induces him to attempt to conceal that fact. The bride, in her innocence, is unconscious that her pleasure is bought at her husband's expense, and that what is not excess to her, may be a serious excess to him. The woman who knows (notably, for instance, a widow who remarries) is careful to guard her husband's health in this respect, by restraining her own ardor, for she realizes that a man is not willing to admit that he is incapable of satisfying his wife's desires. (G. Hirth has also pointed out how important it is that women should know before marriage the natural limits of masculine potency, *Wege zur Liebe*, p. 571.)

The ignorance of women of all that concerns the art of love, and their total lack of preparation for the natural facts of the sexual life, would perhaps be of less evil augury for marriage if it were always compensated by the knowledge, skill, and considerateness of the husband. But that is by no means always the case. Within the ordinary range we find, at all events in England, the large group of men whose knowledge of women before marriage has been mainly confined to prostitutes, and the important and not inconsiderable group of men who have had no intimate intercourse with women, their sexual experiences having been confined to masturbation or other auto-erotic manifestations, and to flirtation. Certainly the man of sensitive and intelligent temperament, whatever his training or lack of train-

ing, may succeed with patience and consideration in overcoming all the difficulties placed in the way of love by the mixture of ignorances and prejudices which so often in woman takes the place of an education for the erotic part of her life. But it cannot be said that either of these two groups of men has been well equipped for the task. The training and experience which a man receives from a prostitute, even under fairly favorable conditions, scarcely form the right preparation for approaching a woman of his own class who has no intimate erotic experiences.[1] The frequent result is that he is liable to waver between two opposite courses of action, both of them mistaken. On the one hand, he may treat his bride as a prostitute, or as a novice to be speedily moulded into the sexual shape he is most accustomed to, thus running the risk either of perverting or of disgusting her. On the other hand, realizing that the purity and dignity of his bride place her in an altogether different class from the women he has previously known, he may go to the opposite extreme of treating her with an exaggerated respect, and so fail either to arouse or to gratify her erotic needs. It is difficult to say which of these two courses of action is the more unfortunate; the result of both, however, is frequently found to be that a nominal marriage never becomes a real marriage.[2]

[1] "It may be said to the honor of men," Adler truly remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 182), "that it is perhaps not often their conscious brutality that is at fault in this matter, but merely lack of skill and lack of understanding. The husband who is not specially endowed by nature and experience for psychic intercourse with women, is not likely, through his earlier intercourse with Venus vulgivaga, to bring into marriage any useful knowledge, psychic or physical."

[2] "The first night," writes a correspondent concerning his marriage, "she found the act very painful and was frightened and surprised at the size of my penis, and at my suddenly getting on her. We had talked very openly about sex things before marriage, and it never occurred to me that she was ignorant of the details of the act. I imagined it would disgust her to talk about these things; but I now see I should have explained things to her. Before marrying I had come to the conclusion that the respect owed to one's wife was incompatible with any talk that might seem indecent, and also I had made a resolve not to subject her to what I thought then were dirty tricks, even to be naked and to have her naked. In fact, I was the victim of mock modesty; it was an artificial reaction from the life I had been living before marriage. Now it seems to me to be natural, if you love a woman to do whatever occurs to you and to her. If I had not felt it wrong to encourage such acts between us, there might have been established a sexual sympathy which would have bound me more closely to her."

Yet there can be no doubt whatever that the other group of men, the men who enter marriage without any erotic experiences, run even greater risks. These are often the best of men, both as regards personal character and mental power. It is indeed astonishing to find how ignorant, both practically and theoretically, very able and highly educated men may be concerning sexual matters.

"Complete abstinence during youth," says Freud (*Sexual-Probleme*, March, 1908), "is not the best preparation for marriage in a young man. Women divine this and prefer those of their wooers who have already proved themselves to be men with other women." Ellen Key, referring to the demand sometimes made by women for purity in men (*Ueber Liebe und Ehe*, p. 96), asks whether women realize the effect of their admiration of the experienced and confident man who knows women, on the shy and hesitating youth, "who perhaps has been struggling hard for his erotic purity, in the hope that a woman's happy smile will be the reward of his conquest, and who is condemned to see how that woman looks down on him with lofty compassion and gazes with admiration at the leopard's spots." When the lover, in Laura Marholm's *Was war es?* says to the heroine, "I have never yet touched a woman," the girl "turns from him with horror, and it seemed to her that a cold shudder went through her, a chilling deception." The same feeling is manifested in an exaggerated form in the passion often experienced by vigorous girls of eighteen to twenty-four for old roués. (This has been discussed by Forel, *Die Sexuelle Frage*, pp. 217 *et seq.*)

Other factors may enter in a woman's preference for the man who has conquered other women. Even the most religious and moral young woman, Valera remarks (*Doña Luz*, p. 205), likes to marry a man who has loved many women; it gives a greater value to his choice of her; it also offers her an opportunity of converting him to higher ideals. No doubt when the inexperienced man meets in marriage the equally inexperienced woman they often succeed in adapting themselves to each other and a permanent *modus vivendi* is constituted. But it is by no means so always. If the wife is taught by instinct or experience she is apt to resent the awkwardness and helplessness of her husband in the art of love. Even if she is ignorant she may be permanently alienated and become chronically frigid, through the brutal inconsiderateness of her ignorant husband in carrying out what he conceives to be his marital duties. (It has already been necessary to touch on this point in discussing "The Sexual Impulse in Women" in vol. iii of these *Studies*.) Sometimes, indeed, serious physical injury has been inflicted on the bride owing to this ignorance of the husband.

"I take it that most men have had pre-matrimonial sex-relationships," a correspondent writes. "But I have known one man at least who, up till the age of twenty, had not even a rudimentary idea of sex matters. At twenty-nine, a few months before marriage, he came to ask me how coitus was performed, and displayed an ignorance that I could not believe to exist in the mind of an otherwise intelligent man. He had evidently no instinct to guide him, as the brutes have and his reason was unable to supply the necessary knowledge. It is very curious that man should lose this instinctive knowledge. I have known another man almost equally ignorant. He also came to me for advice in marital duties. Both of these men masturbated, and they were normally passionate." Such cases are not so very rare. Usually, however, a certain amount of information has been acquired from some for the most part unsatisfactory source, and the ignorance is only partial, though not on that account less dangerous.

Balzac has compared the average husband to an orang-utan trying to play the violin. "Love, as we instinctively feel, is the most melodious of harmonies. Woman is a delicious instrument of pleasure, but it is necessary to know its quivering strings, study the pose of it, its timid keyboard, the changing and capricious fingering. How many orangs—men, I mean, marry without knowing what a woman is! . . . . Nearly all men marry in the most profound ignorance of women and of love" (Balzac, *Physiologie du Mariage*. Meditation VII).

Neugebauer (*Monatsschrift für Geburtshulfe*, 1889, Bk. ix, pp 221 *et seq.*) has collected over one hundred and fifty cases of injury to women in coitus inflicted by the penis. The causes were brutality, drunkenness of one or both parties, unusual position in coitus, disproportion of the organs, pathological conditions of the woman's organs (*Cf.* R. W. Taylor, *Practical Treatise on Sexual Disorders*, Ch. XXXV). Blumreich also discusses the injuries produced by violent coitus (Senator and Kaminer, *Health and Disease in Relation to Marriage*, vol. ii, pp. 770-779). C. M. Green (*Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, 13 Ap., 1893) records two cases of rupture of vagina by sexual intercourse in newly-married ladies, without evidence of any great violence. Mylott (*British Medical Journal*, Sept. 16, 1899) records a similar case occurring on the wedding night. The amount of force sometimes exerted in coitus is evidenced by the cases, occurring from time to time, in which intercourse takes place by the urethra.

Eulenburg finds (*Sexuale Neuropathie*, p. 69) that vaginismus, a condition of spasmodic contraction of the vulva and exaggerated sensibility on the attempt to effect coitus, is due to forcible and unskilful attempts at the first coitus. Adler (*Die Mangelhafte Geschlechtsempfindung des Weibes*, p. 160) also believes that the scarred remains of the hymen, together with painful memories of a violent first coitus, are the most frequent cause of vaginismus.

The occasional cases, however, of physical injury or of pathological condition produced by violent coitus at the beginning of marriage constitute but a very small portion of the evidence which witnesses to the evil results of the prevalent ignorance regarding the art of love. As regards Germany, Fürbringer writes (Senator and Kaminer, *Health and Disease in Relation to Marriage*, vol. i, p. 215): "I am perfectly satisfied that the number of young married women who have a lasting painful recollection of their first sexual intercourse exceeds by far the number of those who venture to consult a doctor." As regards England, the following experience is instructive: A lady asked six married women in succession, privately, on the same day concerning their bridal experiences. To all, sexual intercourse had come as a shock; two had been absolutely ignorant about sexual matters; the others had thought they knew what coitus was, but were none the less shocked. These women were of the middle class, perhaps above the average in intelligence; one was a doctor.

Breuer and Freud, in their *Studien über Hysterie* (p. 216), pointed out that the bridal night is practically often a rape, and that it sometimes leads to hysteria, which is not cured until satisfying sexual relationships are established. Even when there is no violence, Kisch (*Sexual Life of Woman*, Part II) regards awkward and inexperienced coitus, leading to incomplete excitement of the wife, as the chief cause of dyspareunia, or absence of sexual gratification, although gross disproportion in the size of the male and female organs, or disease in either party, may lead to the same result. Dyspareunia, Kisch adds, is astonishingly frequent, though sometimes women complain of it without justification in order to arouse sympathy for themselves as sacrifices on the altar of marriage; the constant sign is absence of ejaculation on the woman's part. Kisch also observes that wedding night deflorations are often really rapes. One young bride, known to him, was so ignorant of the physical side of love, and so overwhelmed by her husband's first attempt at intercourse, that she fled from the house in the night, and nothing would ever persuade her to return to her husband. (It is worth noting that by Canon law, under such circumstances, the Church might hold the marriage invalid. See Thomas Slater's *Moral Theology*, vol. ii, p. 318, and a case in point, both quoted by Rev. C. J. Shebbeare, "Marriage Law in the Church of England," *Nineteenth Century*, Aug., 1909, p. 263.) Kisch considers also, that wedding tours are a mistake; since the fatigue, the excitement, the long journeys, sight-seeing, false modesty, bad hotel arrangements, often combine to affect the bride unfavorably and produce the germs of serious illness. This is undoubtedly the case.

The extreme psychic importance of the manner in which the act of defloration is accomplished is strongly emphasized by Adler. He regards it as a frequent cause of permanent sexual anæsthesia. "This first

moment in which the man's individuality attains its full rights often decides the whole of life. The unskilled, over-excited husband can then implant the seed of feminine insensibility, and by continued awkwardness and coarseness develop it into permanent anæsthesia. The man who takes possession of his rights with reckless brutal masculine force merely causes his wife anxiety and pain, and with every repetition of the act increases her repulsion. . . . . A large proportion of cold-natured women represent a sacrifice by men, due either to unconscious awkwardness, or, occasionally, to conscious brutality towards the tender plant which should have been cherished with peculiar art and love, but has been robbed of the splendor of its development All her life long, a wistful and trembling woman will preserve the recollection of a brutal wedding night, and, often enough, it remains a perpetual source of inhibition every time that the husband seeks anew to gratify his desires without adapting himself to his wife's desires for love (O. Adler, *Die Mangelhafte Geschlechtsempfindung des Weibes*, pp. 159 *et seq*, 181 *et seq*). "I have seen an honest woman shudder with horror at her husband's approach," wrote Diderot long ago in his essay "Sur les Femmes"; "I have seen her plunge in the bath and feel herself never sufficiently washed from the stain of duty." The same may still be said of a vast army of women, victims of a pernicious system of morality which has taught them false ideas of "conjugal duty" and has failed to teach their husbands the art of love.

Women, when their fine natural instincts have not been hopelessly perverted by the pruderies and prejudices which are so diligently instilled into them, understand the art of love more readily than men. Even when little more than children they can often completely take the cue that is given to them. Much more than is the case with men, at all events under civilized conditions, the art of love is with them an art that Nature makes. They always know more of love, as Montaigne long since said, than men can teach them, for it is a discipline that is born in their blood.[1]

[1] Montaigne, *Essais*, Bk. iii, Ch. V. It is a significant fact that, even in the matter of information, women, notwithstanding much ignorance and inexperience, are often better equipped for marriage than men. As Fürbringer remarks (Senator and Kaminer, *Health and Disease in Relation to Marriage*, vol. i, p. 212), although the wife is usually more chaste at marriage than the husband, yet "she is generally the better informed partner in matters pertaining to the married state, in spite of occasional astonishing confessions."

The extensive inquiries of Sanford Bell (*loc. cit*) show that the emotions of sex-love may appear as early as the third year. It must also be remembered that, both physically and psychically, girls are more precocious, more mature, than boys (see, *e.g.*, Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman*, fourth edition, pp. 34 *et seq.*, 200, etc.). Thus, by the time she has reached the age of puberty a girl has had time to become an accomplished mistress of the minor arts of love. That the age of puberty is for girls the age of love seems to be widely recognized by the popular mind. Thus in a popular song of Bresse a girl sings:—

"J'ai calculé mon âge,
J'ai quatorze à quinze ans.
Ne suis-je pas dans l'âge
D'y avoir un amant?"

This matter of the sexual precocity of girls has an important bearing on the question of the "age of consent," or the age at which it should be legal for a girl to consent to sexual intercourse. Until within the last twenty-five years there has been a tendency to set a very low age (even as low as ten) as the age above which a man commits no offence in having sexual intercourse with a girl. In recent years there has been a tendency to run to the opposite and equally unfortunate extreme of raising it to a very late age. In England, by the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885, the age of consent was raised to sixteen (this clause of the bill being carried in the House of Commons by a majority of 108). This seems to be the reasonable age at which the limit should be set and its extreme high limit in temperate climates. It is the age recognized by the Italian Criminal Code, and in many other parts of the civilized world. Gladstone, however, was in favor of raising it to eighteen, and Howard, in discussing this question as regards the United States (*Matrimonial Institutions*, vol. iii, pp. 195-203), thinks it ought everywhere to be raised to twenty-one, so coinciding with the age of legal majority at which a woman can enter into business or political relations. There has been, during recent years, a wide limit of variation in the legislation of the different American States on this point, the differences of the two limits being as much as eight years, and in some important States the act of intercourse with a girl under eighteen is declared to be "rape," and punishable with imprisonment for life.

Such enactments as these, however, it must be recognized, are arbitrary, artificial, and unnatural. They do not rest on a sound biological basis, and cannot be enforced by the common sense of the community. There is no proper analogy between the age of legal majority which is fixed, approximately, with reference to the ability to comprehend abstract matters of intelligence, and the age of sexual maturity which occurs much earlier, both physically and psychically, and is determined in

women by a very precise biological event: the completion of puberty in the onset of menstruation. Among peoples living under natural conditions in all parts of the world it is recognized that a girl becomes sexually a woman at puberty; at that epoch she receives her initiation into adult life and becomes a wife and a mother. To declare that the act of intercourse with a woman who, by the natural instinct of mankind generally, is regarded as old enough for all the duties of womanhood, is a criminal act of rape, punishable by imprisonment for life, can only be considered an abuse of language, and, what is worse, an abuse of law, even if we leave all psychological and moral considerations out of the question, for it deprives the conception of rape of all that renders it naturally and properly revolting.

The sound view in this question is clearly the view that it is the girl's puberty which constitutes the criterion of the man's criminality in sexually approaching her. In the temperate regions of Europe and North America the average age of the appearance of menstruation, the critical moment in the establishment of complete puberty, is fifteen (see, *e.g.*, Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman*, Ch. XI; the facts are set forth at length in Kisch's *Sexual Life of Woman*, 1909). Therefore it is reasonable that the act of an adult man in having sexual connection with a girl under sixteen, with or without her consent, should properly be a criminal act, severely punishable. In those lands where the average age of puberty is higher or lower, the age of consent should be raised or lowered accordingly. (Bruno Meyer, arguing against any attempt to raise the age of consent above sixteen, considers that the proper age of consent is generally fourteen, for, as he rightly insists, the line of division is between the ripe and the unripe personality, and while the latter should be strictly preserved from the sphere of sexuality, only voluntary, not compulsory, influence should be brought to bear on the former. *Sexual-Probleme*, Ap., 1909.)

If we take into our view the wider considerations of psychology, morality, and law, we shall find ample justification for this point of view. We have to remember that a girl, during all the years of ordinary school life, is always more advanced, both physically and psychically, than a boy of the same age, and we have to recognize that this precocity covers her sexual development; for even though it is true, on the average, that active sexual desire is not usually aroused in women until a somewhat later age, there is also truth in the observation of Mr. Thomas Hardy (*New Review*, June, 1894): "It has never struck me that the spider is invariably male and the fly invariably female." Even, therefore, when sexual intercourse takes place between a girl and a youth somewhat older than herself, she is likely to be the more mature, the more self-possessed, and the more responsible of the two, and often the one who has taken the more active part in initiating the act. (This point has

been discussed in "The Sexual Impulse in Women" in vol. iii of these *Studies*.) It must also be remembered that when a girl has once reached the age of puberty, and put on all the manner and habits as well as the physical development of a woman, it is no longer possible for a man always to estimate her age. It is easy to see that a girl has not yet reached the age of puberty; it is impossible to tell whether a mature woman is under or over eighteen; it is therefore, to say the least, unjust to make her male partner's fate for life depend on the recognition of a distinction which has no basis in nature. Such considerations are, indeed, so obvious that there is no chance of carrying out thoroughly in practice the doctrine that a man should be imprisoned for life for having intercourse with a girl who is over the age of sixteen. It is better, from the legal point of view, to cast the net less widely and to be quite sure that it is adapted to catch the real and conscious offender, who may be punished without offending the common sense of the community. (*Cf.* Bloch, *The Sexual Life of Our Time*, Ch. XXIV; he considers that the "age of consent" should begin with the completion of the sixteenth year.)

It may be necessary to add that the establishment of the "age of consent" on this basis by no means implies that intercourse with girls but little over sixteen should be encouraged, or even socially and morally tolerated. Here, however, we are not in the sphere of law. It is the natural tendency of the well-born and well-nurtured girl under civilized conditions to hold herself in reserve, and the pressure whereby that tendency is maintained and furthered must be supplied by the whole of her environment, primarily by the intelligent reflection of the girl herself when she has reached the age of adolescence. To foster in a young woman who has long passed the epoch of puberty the notion that she has no responsibility in the guardianship of her own body and soul is out of harmony with modern feeling, as well as unfavorable to the training of women for the world. The States which have been induced to adopt the high limit of the age of consent have, indeed, thereby made an abject confession of their inability to maintain a decent moral level by more legitimate means; they may profitably serve as a warning rather than as an example.

The knowledge of women cannot, however, replace, the ignorance of men, but, on the contrary, merely serves to reveal it. For in the art of love the man must necessarily take the initiative. It is he who must first unseal the mystery of the intimacies and audacities which the woman's heart may hold. The risk of meeting with even the shadow of contempt or disgust is too serious to allow a woman, even a wife, to reveal the secrets of love to a

man who has not shown himself to be an initiate.[1] Numberless are the jovial and contented husbands who have never suspected, and will never know, that their wives carry about with them, sometimes with silent resentment, the ache of mysterious *tabus*. The feeling that there are delicious privacies and privileges which she has never been asked to take, or forced to accept, often erotically divorces a wife from a husband who never realizes what he has missed.[2] The case of such husbands is all the harder because, for the most part, all that they have done is the result of the morality that has been preached to them. They have been taught from boyhood to be strenuous and manly and clean-minded, to seek by all means to put out of their minds the thought of women or the longing for sensuous indulgence. They have been told on all sides that only in marriage is it right or even safe to approach women. They have acquired the notion that sexual indulgence and all that appertains to it is something low and degrading, at the worst a mere natural necessity, at the best a duty to be accomplished in a direct, honorable and straightforward manner. No one seems to have told them that love is an art, and that to gain real possession of a woman's soul and body is a task that requires the whole of a man's best skill and insight. It may well be that when a man learns his lesson too late he is inclined to turn ferociously on the society that by its conspiracy of pseudo-morality has done its best to ruin his life, and that of his wife. In some of these cases husband or wife or both are

[1] "She never loses her self-respect nor my respect for her," a man writes in a letter, "simply because we are desperately in love with one another, and everything we do—some of which the lowest prostitute might refuse to do—seems but one attempt after another to translate our passion into action. I never realized before, not that to the pure all things are pure, indeed, but that to the lover nothing is indecent. Yes, I have always felt it, to love her is a liberal education." It is obviously only the existence of such an attitude as this that can enable a pure woman to be passionate.

[2] "To be really understood," as Rafford Pyke well says, "to say what she likes, to utter her innermost thoughts in her own way, to cast aside the traditional conventions that gall her and repress her, to have someone near her with whom she can be quite frank, and yet to know that not a syllable of what she says will be misinterpreted or mistaken, but rather felt just as she feels it all—how wonderfully sweet is this to every woman, and how few men are there who can give it to her!"

finally attracted to a third person, and a divorce enables them to start afresh with better experience under happier auspices. But as things are at present that is a sad and serious process, for many impossible. They are happier, as Milton pointed out, whose trials of love before marriage "have been so many divorces to teach them experience."

The general ignorance concerning the art of love may be gauged by the fact that perhaps the question in this matter most frequently asked is the crude question how often sexual intercourse should take place. That is a question, indeed, which has occupied the founders of religion, the law-givers, and the philosophers of mankind, from the earliest times.[1] Zoroaster said it should be once in every nine days. The laws of Manes allowed intercourse during fourteen days of the month, but a famous ancient Hindu physician, Susruta, prescribed it six times a month, except during the heat of summer when it should be once a month, while other Hindu authorities say three or four times a month. Solon's requirement of the citizen that intercourse should take place three times a month fairly agrees with Zoroaster's. Mohammed, in the Koran, decrees intercourse once a week. The Jewish Talmud is more discriminating, and distinguishes between different classes of people; on the vigorous and healthy young man, not compelled to work hard, once a day is imposed, on the ordinary working man twice a week, on learned men once a week. Luther considered twice a week the proper frequency of intercourse.

It will be observed that, as we might expect, these estimates tend to allow a greater interval in the earlier ages when erotic stimulation was probably less and erotic erethism probably rare, and to involve an increased frequency as we approach modern civilization. It will also be observed that variation occurs within fairly narrow limits. This is probably due to the fact that these law-givers were in all cases men. Women law-givers would

[1] In more recent times it has been discussed in relation to the frequency of spontaneous nocturnal emissions. See "The Phenomena of Sexual Periodicity," Sect. II, in volume I of these *Studies*, and *cf.* Mr. Perry-Coste's remarks on "The Annual Rhythm," in Appendix B of the same volume.

certainly have shown a much greater tendency to variation, since the variations of the sexual impulse are greater in women.[1] Thus Zenobia required the approach of her husband once a month, provided that impregnation had not taken place the previous month, while another queen went very far to the other extreme, for we are told that the Queen of Aragon, after mature deliberation, ordained six times a day as the proper rule in a legitimate marriage.[2]

It may be remarked, in passing, that the estimates of the proper frequency of sexual intercourse may always be taken to assume that there is a cessation during the menstrual period. This is especially the case as regards early periods of culture when intercourse at this time is usually regarded as either dangerous or sinful, or both. (This point has been discussed in the "Phenomena of Periodicity" in volume I of these *Studies*.) Under civilized conditions the inhibition is due to æsthetic reasons, the wife, even if she desires intercourse, feeling a repugnance to be approached at a time when she regards herself as "disgusting," and the husband easily sharing this attitude. It may, however, be pointed out that the æsthetic objection is very largely the result of the superstitious horror of water which is still widely felt at this time, and would, to some extent, disappear if a more scrupulous cleanliness were observed. It remains a good general rule to abstain from sexual intercourse during the menstrual period, but in some cases there may be adequate reason for breaking it. This is so when desire is specially strong at this time, or when intercourse is physically difficult at other times but easier during the relaxation of the parts caused by menstruation. It must be remembered also that the time when the menstrual flow is beginning to cease is probably, more than any other period of the month, the biologically proper time for sexual intercourse, since not only is intercourse easiest then, and also most gratifying to the female, but it affords the most favorable opportunity for securing fertilization.

Schurig long since brought together evidence (*Parthenologia*, pp. 302 *et seq.*) showing that coitus is most easy during menstruation. Some of the Catholic theologians (like Sanchez, and later, Liguori), going against the popular opinion, have distinctly permitted intercourse during menstruation, though many earlier theologians regarded it as a mortal

[1] See "The Sexual Impulse in Women, vol. iii of these *Studies*.

[2] Zenobia's practice is referred to by Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ed. Bury, vol i, p. 302. The Queen of Aragon's decision is recorded by the Montpellier jurist, Nicolas Bohier (Boerius) in his *Decisiones*, etc., ed. of 1579, p. 563; it is referred to by Montaigne, *Essais*, Bk. iii, Ch. V.

sin. From the medical side, Kossmann (Senator and Kaminer, *Health and Disease in Relation to Marriage*, vol. i, p. 249) advocates coitus not only at the end of menstruation, but even during the latter part of the period, as being the time when women most usually need it, the marked disagreeableness of temper often shown by women at this time, he says, being connected with the suppression, demanded by custom, of a natural desire. "It is almost always during menstruation that the first clouds appear on the matrimonial horizon."

In modern times the physiologists and physicians who have expressed any opinion on this subject have usually come very near to Luther's dictum. Haller said that intercourse should not be much more frequent than twice a week.[1] Acton said once a week, and so also Hammond, even for healthy men between the ages of twenty-five and forty.[2] Fürbringer only slightly exceeds this estimate by advocating from fifty to one hundred single acts in the year.[3] Forel advises two or three times a week for a man in the prime of manhood, but he adds that for some healthy and vigorous men once a month appears to be excess.[4] Mantegazza, in his *Hygiene of Love*, also states that, for a man between twenty and thirty, two or three times a week represents the proper amount of intercourse, and between the ages of thirty and forty-five, twice a week. Guyot recommends every three days.[5]

It seems, however, quite unnecessary to lay down any general rules regarding the frequency of coitus. Individual desire and individual aptitude, even within the limits of health, vary enormously. Moreover, if we recognize that the restraint of desire is sometimes desirable, and often necessary for prolonged periods, it is as well to refrain from any appearance of asserting the necessity of sexual intercourse at frequent and regular intervals. The question is chiefly of importance in order to guard against excess, or even against the attempt to live habitually close to the threshold of excess. Many authorities are, therefore, careful to point out that it is inadvisable to be too definite.

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1 Haller, *Elementa Physiologiæ*, 1778, vol. vii, p. 57.

2 Hammond, *Sexual Impotence*, p. 129.

3 Fürbringer, Senator and Kaminer, *Health and Disease in Relation to Marriage*, vol. i, p. 221.

4 Forel, *Die Sexuelle Frage*, p. 80.

5 Guyot, *Bréviaire de l'Amour Expérimental*, p. 144.

Thus Erb, while remarking that, for some, Luther's dictum represents the extreme maximum, adds that others can go far beyond that amount with impunity, and he considers that such variations are congenital.[1] Ribbing, again, while expressing general agreement with Luther's rule, protests against any attempt to lay down laws for everyone, and is inclined to say that as often as one likes is a safe rule, so long as there are no bad after-effects.[2]

It seems to be generally agreed that bad effects from excess in coitus, when they do occur, are rare in women (see, *e.g.*, Hammond, *Sexual Impotence*, p. 127). Occasionally, however, evil effects occur in women. (The case, possibly to be mentioned in this connection, has been recorded of a man whose three wives all became insane after marriage, *Journal of Mental Science*, Jan., 1879, p. 611.) In cases of sexual excess great physical exhaustion, with suspicion and delusions, is often observed. Hutchinson has recorded three cases of temporary blindness, all in men, the result of sexual excess after marriage (*Archives of Surgery*, Jan., 1893). The old medical authors attributed many evil results to excess in coitus. Thus Schurig (*Spermatologia*, 1720, pp. 260 *et seq.*) brings together cases of insanity, apoplexy, syncope, epilepsy, loss of memory, blindness, baldness, unilateral perspiration, gout, and death attributed to this cause; of death many cases are given, some in women, but one may easily perceive that *post* was often mistaken for *propter*.

There is, however, another consideration which can scarcely escape the reader of the present work. Nearly all the estimates of the desirable frequence of coitus are framed to suit the supposed physiological needs of the husband,[3] and they appear

[1] Erb, Ziemssen's *Handbuch*, Bd. xi, ii, p. 148. Gutteit also considered that the very wide variations found are congenital and natural. It may be added that some believe that there are racial variations. Thus it has been stated that the genital force of the Englishman is low, and that of the Frenchman (especially Provençal, Languedocian, and Gascon) high, while Löwenfeld believes that the Germanic race excels the French in aptitude to repeat the sex act frequently. It is probable that little weight attaches to these opinions, and that the chief differences are individual rather than racial.

[2] Ribbing, *L'Hygiène Sexualle*, p. 75. Kisch, in his *Sexual Life of Woman*, expresses the same opinion.

[3] Mohammed, who often displayed a consideration for women very rare in the founders of religions, is an exception. His prescription of once a week represented the right of the wife, quite independently of the number of wives a man might possess.

usually to be framed in the same spirit of exclusive attention to those needs as though the physiological needs of the evacuation of the bowels or the bladder were in question. But sexual needs are the needs of two persons, of the husband and of the wife. It is not enough to ascertain the needs of the husband; it is also necessary to ascertain the needs of the wife. The resultant must be a harmonious adjustment of these two groups of needs. That consideration alone, in conjunction with the wide variations of individual needs, suffices to render any definite rules of very trifling value.

It is important to remember the wide limits of variation in sexual capacity, as well as the fact that such variations in either direction may be healthy and normal, though undoubtedly when they become extreme variations may have a pathological significance. In one case, for instance, a man has intercourse once a month and finds this sufficient; he has no nocturnal emissions nor any strong desires in the interval; yet he leads an idle and luxurious life and is not restrained by any moral or religious scruples; if he much exceeds the frequency which suits him he suffers from ill-health, though otherwise quite healthy except for a weak digestion. At the other extreme, a happily married couple, between forty-five and fifty, much attached to each other, had engaged in sexual intercourse every night for twenty years, except during the menstrual period and advanced pregnancy, which had only occurred once; they are hearty, full-blooded, intellectual people, fond of good living, and they attribute their affection and constancy to this frequent indulgence in coitus; the only child, a girl, is not strong, though fairly healthy.

The cases are numerous in which, on special occasions, it is possible for people who are passionately attached to each other to repeat the act of coitus, or at all events the orgasm, an inordinate number of times within a few hours. This usually occurs at the beginning of an intimacy or after a long separation. Thus in one case a newly-married woman experienced the orgasm fourteen times in one night, her husband in the same period experiencing it seven times. In another case a woman who had lived a chaste life, when sexual relationships finally began, once experienced orgasm fourteen or fifteen times to her partner's three times. In a case which, I have been assured may be accepted as authentic, a young wife of highly erotic, very erethic, slightly abnormal temperament, after a month's absence from her husband, was excited twenty-six times within an hour and a quarter; her husband, a much older man, having two orgasms during this period; the wife admitted that she felt a "complete wreck" after this, but it is evident that if this case may

be regarded as authentic the orgasms were of extremely slight intensity. A young woman, newly married to a physically robust man, once had intercourse with him eight times in two hours, orgasm occurring each time in both parties. Guttceit (*Dreissig Jahre Praxis*, vol. ii. p. 311), in Russia, knew many cases in which young men of twenty-two to twenty-eight had intercourse more than ten times in one night, though after the fourth time there is seldom any semen. He had known some men who had masturbated in early boyhood, and began to consort with women at fifteen, yet remained sexually vigorous in old age, while he knew others who began intercourse late and were losing force at forty. Mantegazza, who knew a man who had intercourse fourteen times in one day, remarks that the stories of the old Italian novelists show that twelve times was regarded as a rare exception. Burchard, Alexander VI's secretary, states that the Florentine Ambassador's son, in Rome in 1489, "knew a girl seven times in one hour" (J. Burchardi, *Diarium*, ed. Thuasne, vol. i, p. 329). Olivier, Charlemagne's knight, boasted, according to legend, that he could show his virile power one hundred times in one night, if allowed to sleep with the Emperor of Constantinople's daughter; he was allowed to try, it is said, and succeeded thirty times (Schultz, *Das Höfische Leben*, vol. i, p. 581).

It will be seen that whenever the sexual act is repeated frequently within a short time it is very rarely indeed that the husband can keep pace with the wife. It is true that the woman's sexual energy is aroused more slowly and with more difficulty than the man's, but as it becomes aroused its momentum increases. The man, whose energy is easily aroused, is easily exhausted; the woman has often scarcely attained her energy until after the first orgasm is over. It is sometimes a surprise to a young husband, happily married, to find that the act of sexual intercourse which completely satisfies him has only served to arouse his wife's ardor. Very many women feel that the repetition of the act several times in succession is needed to, as they may express it, "clear the system," and, far from producing sleepiness and fatigue, it renders them bright and lively.

The young and vigorous woman, who has lived a chaste life, sometimes feels when she commences sexual relationships as though she really required several husbands, and needed intercourse at least once a day, though later when she becomes adjusted to married life she reaches the conclusion that her desires are not abnormally excessive The husband has to adjust himself to his wife's needs, through his sexual force when he possesses it, and, if not, through his skill and consideration. The rare men who possess a genital potency which they can exert to the gratification of women without injury to themselves have been, by Professor Benedikt, termed "sexual athletes," and he remarks that such men easily dominate women. He rightly regards Casanova as the type of the

sexual athlete (*Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, Jan., 1896). Nicke reports the case of a man whom he regards as a sexual athlete, who throughout his life had intercourse once or twice daily with his wife, or if she was unwilling, with another woman, until he became insane at the age of seventy-five (*Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, Aug., 1908, p. 507). This should probably, however, be regarded rather as a case of morbid hyperæsthesia than of sexual athleticism.

At this stage we reach the fundamental elements of the art of love. We have seen that many moral practices and moral theories which have been widely current in Christendom have developed traditions, still by no means extinct among us, which were profoundly antagonistic to the art of love. The idea grew up of "marital duties," of "conjugal rights."[1] The husband had the right and the duty to perform sexual intercourse with his wife, whatever her wishes in the matter might be, while the wife had the duty and the right (the duty in her case being usually put first) to submit to such intercourse, which she was frequently taught to regard as something low and merely physical, an unpleasant and almost degrading necessity which she would do well to put out of her thoughts as speedily as possible. It is not surprising that such an attitude towards marriage has been highly favorable to conjugal unhappiness, more especially that of the wife,[2] and it has tended to promote adultery and divorce We might have been more surprised had it been otherwise.

The art of love is based on the fundamental natural fact of courtship; and courtship is the effort of the male to make himself acceptable to the female.[3] "The art of love," said Vatsyayana, one of the greatest of authorities, "is the art of pleasing

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[1] How fragile the claim of "conjugal rights" is, may be sufficiently proved by the fact that it is now considered by many that the very term "conjugal rights" arose merely by a mistake for "conjugal rites." Before 1733, when legal proceedings were in Latin, the term used was *obsequies*, and "rights," instead of "rites," seems to have been merely a typesetter's error (see *Notes and Queries*, May 16, 1891; May 6, 1899). This explanation, it should be added, only applies to the consecrated term, for there can be no doubt that the underlying idea has an existence quite independent of the term.

[2] "In most marriages that are not happy," it is said in Rafford Pyke's thoughtful paper on "Husbands and Wives" (*Cosmopolitan*, 1902), "it is the wife rather than the husband who is oftenest disappointed."

[3] See "Analysis of the Sexual Impulse," in vol. iii of these *Studies*.

women." "A man must never permit himself a pleasure with his wife," said Balzac in his *Physiologie du Mariage*, "which he has not the skill first to make her desire." The whole art of love is there. Women, naturally and instinctively, seek to make themselves desirable to men, even to men whom they are supremely indifferent to, and the woman who is in love with a man, by an equally natural instinct, seeks to shape herself to the measure which individually pleases him. This tendency is not really modified by the fundamental fact that in these matters it is only the arts that Nature makes which are truly effective. It is finally by what he is that a man arouses a woman's deepest emotions of sympathy or of antipathy, and he is often pleasing her more by displaying his fitness to play a great part in the world outside than by any acquired accomplishments in the arts of courtship. When, however, the serious and intimate play of physical love begins, the woman's part is, even biologically, on the surface the more passive part.[1] She is, on the physical side, inevitably the instrument in love; it must be his hand and his bow which evoke the music.

In speaking of the art of love, however, it is impossible to disentangle completely the spiritual from the physical. The very attempt to do so is, indeed, a fatal mistake. The man who can only perceive the physical side of the sexual relationship is, as Hinton was accustomed to say, on a level with the man who, in listening to a sonata of Beethoven on the violin, is only conscious of the physical fact that a horse's tail is being scraped against a sheep's entrails.

The image of the musical instrument constantly recurs to those who write of the art of love. Balzac's comparison of the unskilful husband to the orang-utan attempting to play the violin has already been quoted. Dr. Jules Guyot, in his serious and admirable little book, *Bréviaire de l'Amour Expérimental*, falls on to the same comparison: "There are an

[1] It is well recognized by erotic writers, however, that women may sometimes take a comparatively active part. Thus Vatsyayana says that sometimes the woman may take the man's position, and with flowers in her hair and smiles mixed with sighs and bent head, caressing him and pressing her breasts against him, say: "You have been my conqueror; it is my turn to make you cry for mercy."

immense number of ignorant, selfish, and brutal men who give themselves no trouble to study the instrument which God has confided to them, and do not so much as suspect that it is necessary to study it in order to draw out its slightest chords. . . . . Every direct contact, even with the clitoris, every attempt at coitus [when the feminine organism is not aroused], exercises a painful sensation, an instinctive repulsion, a feeling of disgust and aversion. Any man, any husband, who is ignorant of this fact, is ridiculous and contemptible. Any man, any husband, who, knowing it, dares to disregard it, has committed an outrage. . . . . In the final combination of man and woman, the positive element, the husband, has the initiative and the responsibility for the conjugal life. He is the minstrel who will produce harmony or cacophony by his hand and his bow. The wife, from this point of view, is really the many-stringed instrument who will give out harmonious or discordant sounds, according as she is well or ill handled" (Guyot, *Bréviaire*, pp. 99, 115, 138).

That such love corresponds to the woman's need there cannot be any doubt. All developed women desire to be loved, says Ellen Key, not "en male" but "en artiste" (*Liebe und Ehe*, p. 92). "Only a man of whom she feels that he has also the artist's joy in her, and who shows this joy through his timid and delicate touch on her soul as on her body, can keep the woman of to-day. She will only belong to a man who continues to long for her even when he holds her locked in his arms. And when such a woman breaks out: 'You want me, but you cannot caress me, you cannot tell what I want,' then that man is judged." Love is indeed, as Remy de Gourmont remarks, a delicate art, for which, as for painting or music, only some are apt.

It must not be supposed that the demand on the lover and husband to approach a woman in the same spirit, with the same consideration and skilful touch, as a musician takes up his instrument is merely a demand made by modern women who are probably neurotic or hysterical. No reader of these *Studies* who has followed the discussions of courtship and of sexual selection in previous volumes can fail to realize that—although we have sought to befool ourselves by giving an illegitimate connotation to the word "brutal"—consideration and respect for the female is all but universal in the sexual relationships of the animals below man; it is only at the furthest remove from the "brutes," among civilized men, that sexual "brutality" is at all common, and even there it is chiefly the result of ignorance. If we go

as low as the insects, who have been disciplined by no family life, and are generally counted as careless and wanton, we may sometimes find this attitude towards the female fully developed, and the extreme consideration of the male for the female whom yet he holds firmly beneath him, the tender preliminaries, the extremely gradual approach to the supreme sexual act, may well furnish an admirable lesson.

This greater difficulty and delay on the part of women in responding to the erotic excitation of courtship is really very fundamental and—as has so often been necessary to point out in previous volumes of these *Studies*—it covers the whole of woman's erotic life, from the earliest age when coyness and modesty develop. A woman's love develops much more slowly than a man's for a much longer period. There is real psychological significance in the fact that a man's desire for a woman tends to arise spontaneously, while a woman's desire for a man tends only to be aroused gradually, in the measure of her complexly developing relationship to him. Hence her sexual emotion is often less abstract, more intimately associated with the individual lover in whom it is centred. "The way to my senses is through my heart," wrote Mary Wollstonecraft to her lover Imlay, "but, forgive me! I think there is sometimes a shorter cut to yours." She spoke for the best, if not for the largest part, of her sex. A man often reaches the full limit of his physical capacity for love at a single step, and it would appear that his psychic limits are often not more difficult to reach. This is the solid fact underlying the more hazardous statement, so often made, that woman is monogamic and man polygamic.

On the more physical side, Guttceit states that a month after marriage not more than two women out of ten have experienced the full pleasure of sexual intercourse, and it may not be for six months, a year, or even till after the birth of several children, that a woman experiences the full enjoyment of the physical relationship, and even then only with a man she completely loves, so that the conditions of sexual gratification are much more complex in women than in men. Similarly, on the psychic side, Ellen Key remarks (*Ueber Liebe und Ehe*, p. 111): "It is certainly true that a woman desires sexual gratification from a man. But while in her this desire not seldom only appears after she has begun

to love a man enough to give her life for him, a man often desires to possess a woman physically before he loves her enough to give even his little finger for her. The fact that love in a woman mostly goes from the soul to the senses and often fails to reach them, and that in a man it mostly goes from the senses to the soul and frequently never reaches that goal—this is of all the existing differences between men and women that which causes most torture to both." It will, of course, be apparent to the reader of the fourth volume of these *Studies* on "Sexual Selection in Man" that the method of stating the difference which has commended itself to Mary Wollstonecraft, Ellen Key, and others, is not strictly correct, and the chastest woman, after, for example, taking too hot a bath, may find that her heart is not the only path through which her senses may be affected. The senses are the only channels to the external world which we possess, and love must come through these channels or not at all. The difference, however, seems to be a real one, if we translate it to mean that, as we have seen reason to believe in previous volumes of these *Studies*, there are in women (1) preferential sensory paths of sexual stimuli, such as, apparently, a predominence of tactile and auditory paths as compared with men; (2) a more massive, complex, and delicately poised sexual mechanism; and, as a result of this, (3) eventually a greater amount of nervous and cerebral sexual irradiation.

It must be remembered, at the same time, that while this distinction represents a real tendency in sexual differentiation, with an organic and not merely traditional basis, it has about it nothing whatever that is absolute. There are a vast number of women whose sexual facility, again by natural tendency and not merely by acquired habits, is as marked as that of any man, if not more so. In the sexual field, as we have seen in a previous volume (*Analysis of the Sexual Impulse*), the range of variability is greater in women than in men.

The fact that love is an art, a method of drawing music from an instrument, and not the mere commission of an act by mutual consent, makes any verbal agreement to love of little moment. If love were a matter of contract, of simple intellectual consent, of question and answer, it would never have come into the world at all. Love appeared as art from the first, and the subsequent developments of the summary methods of reason and speech cannot abolish that fundamental fact. This is scarcely realized by those ill-advised lovers who consider that the first step in courtship—and perhaps even the whole of courtship—is for a man to ask a woman to be his wife. That is so far from being the case that it constantly happens that the premature exhibition of so

large a demand at once and for ever damns all the wooer's chances. It is lamentable, no doubt, that so grave and fateful a matter as that of marriage should so often be decided without calm deliberation and reasonable forethought. But sexual relationships can never, and should never, be merely a matter of cold calculation. When a woman is suddenly confronted by the demand that she should yield herself up as a wife to a man who has not yet succeeded in gaining her affections she will not fail to find—provided she is lifted above the cold-hearted motives of self-interest—that there are many sound reasons why she should not do so. And having thus squarely faced the question in cool blood and decided it, she will henceforth, probably, meet that wooer with a tunic of steel enclosing her breast.

"Love must be *revealed* by acts and not *betrayed* by words. I regard as abnormal the extraordinary method of a hasty avowal beforehand; for that represents not the direct but the reflex path of transmission. However sweet and normal the avowal may be when once reciprocity has been realized, as a method of conquest I consider it dangerous and likely to produce the reverse of the result desired." I take these wise words from a thoughtful "Essai sur l'Amour" (*Archives de Psychologie*, 1904) by a non-psychological Swiss writer who is recording his own experiences, and who insists much on the predominance of the spiritual and mental element in love.

It is worthy of note that this recognition that direct speech is out of place in courtship must not be regarded as a refinement of civilization. Among primitive peoples everywhere it is perfectly well recognized that the offer of love, and its acceptance or its refusal, must be made by actions symbolically, and not by the crude method of question and answer. Among the Indians of Paraguay, who allow much sexual freedom to their women, but never buy or sell love, Mantegazza states (*Rio de la Plata e Tenerife*, 1867, p. 225) that a girl of the people will come to your door or window and timidly, with a confused air, ask you, in the Guarani tongue, for a drink of water. But she will smile if you innocently offer her water. Among the Tarahumari Indians of Mexico, with whom the initiative in courting belongs to the women, the girl takes the first step through her parents, then she throws small pebbles at the young man; if he throws them back the matter is concluded (Carl Lumholtz, *Scribner's Magazine*, Sept., 1894, p. 299). In many parts of the world it is the woman who chooses her husband (see, *e.g.*, M. A. Potter, *Sohrab und Rustem*, pp. 169 *et seq.*), and she very

frequently adopts a symbolical method of proposal. Except when the commercial element predominates in marriage, a similar method is frequently adopted by men also in making proposals of marriage.

It is not only at the beginning of courtship that the act of love has little room for formal declarations, for the demands and the avowals that can be clearly defined in speech. The same rule holds even in the most intimate relationships of old lovers, throughout the married life. The permanent element in modesty, which survives every sexual initiation to become intertwined with all the exquisite impudicities of love, combines with a true erotic instinct to rebel against formal demands, against verbal affirmations or denials. Love's requests cannot be made in words, nor truthfully answered in words: a fine divination is still needed as long as love lasts.

The fact that the needs of love cannot be expressed but must be divined has long been recognized by those who have written of the art of love, alike by writers within and without the European Christian traditions. Thus Zacchia, in his great medico-legal treatise, points out that a husband must be attentive to the signs of sexual desire in his wife. "Women," he says, "when sexual desire arises within them are accustomed to ask their husbands questions on matters of love; they flatter and caress them; they allow some part of their body to be uncovered as if by accident; their breasts appear to swell; they show unusual alacrity; they blush; their eyes are bright; and if they experience unusual ardor they stammer, talk beside the mark, and are scarcely mistress of themselves. At the same time their private parts become hot and swell. All these signs should convince a husband, however inattentive he may be, what his wife craves for satisfaction" (*Zacchiae Questionum Medico-legalium Opus*, lib. vii, tit. iii, quæst. I; vol. ii, p. 624 in ed. of 1688).

The old Hindu erotic writers attributed great importance alike to the man's attentiveness to the woman's erotic needs, and to his skill and consideration in all the preliminaries of the sexual act. He must do all that he can to procure her pleasure, says Vatsyayana. When she is on her bed and perhaps absorbed in conversation, he gently unfastens the knot of her lower garment. If she protests he closes her mouth with kisses. Some authors, Vatsyayana remarks, hold that the lover should begin by sucking the nipples of her breasts. When erection occurs he touches her with his hands, softly caressing the various parts of her body. He should always press those parts of her body towards which she turns her eyes. If she is shy, and it is the first time, he will place his

hands between her thighs which she will instinctively press together. If she is young he will put his hands on her breasts, and she will no doubt cover them with her own. If she is mature he will do all that may seem fitting and agreeable to both parties. Then he will take her hair and her chin between his fingers and kiss them. If she is very young she will blush and close her eyes. By the way in which she receives his caresses he will divine what pleases her most in union. The signs of her enjoyment are that her body becomes limp, her eyes close, she loses all timidity, and takes part in the movements which bring her most closely to him. If, on the other hand, she feels no pleasure, she strikes the bed with her hands, will not allow the man to continue, is sullen, even bites or kicks, and continues the movements of coitus when the man has finished. In such cases, Vatsyayana adds, it is his duty to rub the vulva with his hand before union until it is moist, and he should perform the same movements afterwards if his own orgasm has occurred first.

With regard to Indian erotic art generally, and more especially Vatsyayana, who appears to have lived some sixteen hundred years ago, information will be found in Valentino, "L'Hygiène conjugale chez les Hindous," *Archives Générales de Medecine*, Ap. 25, 1905; Iwan Bloch, "Indische Medizin," Puschmann's *Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin*, vol. i; Heimann and Stephan, "Beiträge zur Ehehygiene nach der Lehren des Kamasutram," *Zeitschaft fur Sexualwissenschaft*, Sept., 1908; also a review of Richard Schmidt's German translation of the *Kamashastra* of Vatsyayana in *Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie*, 1902, Heft 2. There has long existed an English translation of this work. In the lengthy preface to the French translation Lamairesse points out the superiority of Indian erotic art to that of the Latin poets by its loftier spirit, and greater purity and idealism. It is throughout marked by respect for women, and its spirit is expressed in the well-known proverb: "Thou shalt not strike a woman even with a flower." See also Margaret Noble's *Web of Indian Life*, especially Ch. III, "On the Hindu Woman as Wife," and Ch. IV, "Love Strong as Death."

The advice given to husbands by Guyot (*Bréviaire de l'Amour Expérimental*, p. 422) closely conforms to that given, under very different social conditions, by Zacchia and Vatsyayana. "In a state of sexual need and desire the woman's lips are firm and vibrant, the breasts are swollen, and the nipples erect The intelligent husband cannot be deceived by these signs. If they do not exist, it is his part to provoke them by his kisses and caresses, and if, in spite of his tender and delicate excitations, the lips show no heat and the breasts no swelling, and especially if the nipples are disagreeably irritated by slight suction, he must arrest his transports and abstain from all contact with the organs of generation, for he would certainly find them in a state of exhaustion and disposed to repulsion. If, on the contrary, the accessory organs are animated, or

become animated beneath his caresses, he must extend them to the generative organs, and especially to the clitoris, which beneath his touch will become full of appetite and ardor."

The importance of the preliminary titillation of the sexual organs has been emphasized by a long succession alike of erotic writers and physicians, from Ovid (*Ars Amatoria* end of Bk. II) onwards. Eulenburg (*Die Sexuale Neuropathie*, p. 79) considers that titillation is sometimes necessary, and Adler, likewise insisting on the preliminaries of psychic and physical courtship (*Die Mangelhafte Geschleschtsempfindung des Weibes*, p. 188), observes that the man who is gifted with insight and skill in these matters possesses a charm which will draw sparks of sensibility from the coldest feminine heart. The advice of the physician is at one in this matter with the maxims of the erotic artist and with the needs of the loving woman. In making love there must be no haste, wrote Ovid:—

> "Crede mihi, non est Veneris properanda voluptas,
> Sed sensim tarda prolicienda mora."

"Husbands, like spoiled children," a woman has written, "too often miss the pleasure which might otherwise be theirs, by clamoring for it at the wrong time. The man who thinks this prolonged courtship previous to the act of sex union wearisome, has never given it a trial. It is the approach to the marital embrace, as well as the embrace itself, which constitutes the charm of the relation between the sexes."

It not seldom happens, remarks Adler (*op. cit.*, p. 186), that the insensibility of the wife must be treated—in the husband. And Guyot, bringing forward the same point, writes (*op. cit.*, p. 130): "If by a delay of tender study the husband has understood his young bride, if he is able to realize for her the ineffable happiness and dreams of youth, he will be beloved forever; he will be her master and sovereign lord. If he has failed to understand her he will fatigue and exhaust himself in vain efforts, and finally class her among the indifferent and cold women. She will be his wife by duty, the mother of his children. He will take his pleasure elsewhere, for man is ever in pursuit of the woman who experiences the genesic spasm. Thus the vague and unintelligent search for a half who can unite in that delirious finale is the chief cause of all conjugal dissolutions. In such a case a man resembles a bad musician who changes his violin in the hope that a new instrument will bring the melody he is unable to play."

The fact that there is thus an art in love, and that sexual intercourse is not a mere physical act to be executed by force of muscles, may help to explain why it is that in so many parts of the

world defloration is not immediately effected on marriage.[1] No doubt religious or magic reasons may also intervene here, but, as so often happens, they harmonize with the biological process. This is the case even among uncivilized peoples who marry early. The need for delay and considerate skill is far greater when, as among ourselves, a woman's marriage is delayed long past the establishment of puberty to a period when it is more difficult to break down the psychic and perhaps even physical barriers of personality.

It has to be added that the art of love in the act of courtship is not confined to the preliminaries to the single act of coitus. In a sense the life of love is a continuous courtship with a constant progression. The establishment of physical intercourse is but the beginning of it. This is especially true of women. "The consummation of love," says Senancour,[2] "which is often the end of love with man is only the beginning of love with woman, a test of trust, a gage of future pleasure, a sort of engagement for an intimacy to come." "A woman's soul and body," says another writer,[3] "are not given at one stroke at a given moment; but only slowly, little by little, through many stages, are both delivered to the beloved. Instead of abandoning the young woman to the bridegroom on the wedding night, as an entrapped mouse is flung to the cat to be devoured, it would be better to let the young bridal couple live side by side, like two friends and comrades, until they gradually learn how to develop and use their sexual consciousness" The conventional wedding is out of place as a preliminary to the consummation of marriage, if only on the ground that it is impossible to say at what stage in the endless process of courtship it ought to take place.

A woman, unlike a man, is prepared by Nature, to play a skilful part in the art of love. The man's part in courtship, which is that of the male throughout the zoölogical series, may be

[1] Thus among the Swahili it is on the third day after marriage that the bridegroom is allowed, by custom, to complete defloration, according to Zache, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1899, II-III, p. 84.

[2] *De l'Amour*, vol. ii, p. 57.

[3] Robert Michels, "Brautstandsmoral," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, Jahrgang I, Heft 12.

difficult and hazardous, but it is in a straight line, fairly simple and direct. The woman's part, having to follow at the same moment two quite different impulses, is necessarily always in a zigzag or a curve. That is to say that at every erotic moment her action is the resultant of the combined force of her desire (conscious or unconscious) and her modesty. She must sail through a tortuous channel with Scylla on the one side and Charybdis on the other, and to avoid either danger too anxiously may mean risking shipwreck on the other side. She must be impenetrable to all the world, but it must be an impenetrability not too obscure for the divination of the right man. Her speech must be honest, but yet on no account tell everything; her actions must be the outcome of her impulses, and on that very account be capable of two interpretations. It is only in the last resort of complete intimacy that she can become the perfect woman,

> "Whose speech Truth knows not from her thought,
> Nor Love her body from her soul."

For many a woman the conditions for that final erotic avatar—"that splendid shamelessness which," as Rafford Pyke says, "is the finest thing in perfect love"—never present themselves at all. She is compelled to be to the end of her erotic life, what she must always be at the beginning, a complex and duplex personality, naturally artful. Therewith she is better prepared than man to play her part in the art of love.

The man's part in the art of love is, however, by no means easy. That is not always realized by the women who complain of his lack of skill in playing it. Although a man has not to cultivate the same natural duplicity as a woman, it is necessary that he should possess a considerable power of divination. He is not well prepared for that, because the traditional masculine virtue is force rather than insight. The male's work in the world, we are told, is domination, and it is by such domination that the female is attracted. There is an element of truth in that doctrine, an element of truth which may well lead astray the man who too exclusively relies upon it in the art of love. Violence is bad in every art, and in the erotic art the female desires to be

won to love and not to be ordered to love. That is fundamental. We sometimes see the matter so stated as if the objection to force and domination in love constituted some quite new and revolutionary demand of the "modern woman." That is, it need scarcely be said, the result of ignorance. The art of love, being an art that Nature makes, is the same now as in essentials it has always been,[1] and it was well established before woman came into existence. That it has not always been very skilfully played is another matter. And, so far as the man is concerned, it is this very tradition of masculine predominance which has contributed to the difficulty of playing it skilfully. The woman admires the male's force; she even wishes herself to be forced to the things that she altogether desires; and yet she revolts from any exertion of force outside that narrow circle, either before the boundary of it is reached or after the boundary is passed. Thus the man's position is really more difficult than the women who complain of his awkwardness in love are always ready to admit. He must cultivate force, not only in the world but even for display in the erotic field; he must be able to divine the moments when, in love, force is no longer force because his own will is his partner's will; he must, at the same time, hold himself in complete restraint lest he should fall into the fatal error of yielding to his own impulse of domination; and all this at the very moment when his emotions are least under control. We need scarcely be surprised that of the myriads who embark on the sea of love, so few women, so very few men, come safely into port.

It may still seem to some that in dwelling on the laws that guide the erotic life, if that life is to be healthy and complete, we have wandered away from the consideration of the sexual instinct in its relationship to society. It may therefore be desirable to return to first principles and to point out that we are still clinging to the fundamental facts of the personal and social life. Marriage, as we have seen reason to believe, is a great social institution; procreation, which is, on the public side, its supreme function, is a great social end. But marriage and procreation

[1] I may refer once more to the facts brought together in volume iii of these *Studies*, "The Analysis of the Sexual Impulse."

are both based on the erotic life. If the erotic life is not sound, then marriage is broken up, practically if not always formally, and the process of procreation is carried out under unfavorable conditions or not at all.

This social and personal importance of the erotic life, though, under the influence of a false morality and an equally false modesty, it has sometimes been allowed to fall into the background in stages of artificial civilization, has always been clearly realized by those peoples who have vitally grasped the relationships of life. Among most uncivilized races there appear to be few or no "sexually frigid" women. It is little to the credit of our own "civilization" that it should be possible for physicians to-day to assert, even with the faintest plausibility, that there are some 25 per cent. of women who may thus be described.

The whole sexual structure of the world is built up on the general fact that the intimate contact of the male and female who have chosen each other is mutually pleasurable. Below this general fact is the more specific fact that in the normal accomplishment of the act of sexual consummation the two partners experience the acute gratification of simultaneous orgasm. Herein, it has been said, lies the secret of love. It is the very basis of love, the condition of the healthy exercise of the sexual functions, and, in many cases, it seems probable, the condition also of fertilization.

Even savages in a very low degree of culture are sometimes patient and considerate in evoking and waiting for the signs of sexual desire in their females. (I may refer to the significant case of the Caroline Islanders, as described by Kubary in his ethnographic study of that people and quoted in volume iv of these *Studies*, "Sexual Selection in Man," Sect. III.) In Catholic days theological influence worked wholesomely in the same direction, although the theologians were so keen to detect the mortal sin of lust. It is true that the Catholic insistence on the desirability of simultaneous orgasm was largely due to the mistaken notion that to secure conception it was necessary that there should be "insemination" on the part of the wife as well as of the husband, but that was not the sole source of the theological view. Thus Zacchia discusses whether a man ought to continue with his wife until she has the orgasm and feels satisfied, and he decides that that is the husband's duty; other

wise the wife falls into danger either of experiencing the orgasm during sleep, or, more probably, by self-excitation, "for many women, when their desires have not been satisfied by coitus, place one thigh on the other, pressing and rubbing them together until the orgasm occurs, in the belief that if they abstain from using the hands they have committed no sin." Some theologians, he adds, favor that belief, notably Hurtado de Mendoza and Sanchez, and he further quotes the opinion of the latter that women who have not been satisfied in coitus are liable to become hysterical or melancholic (*Zacchiæ Quæstionum Medico-legalium Opus*, lib. vii, tit. iii, quæst. VI). In the same spirit some theologians seem to have permitted *irrumatio* (without ejaculation), so long as it is only the preliminary to the normal sexual act.

Nowadays physicians have fully confirmed the belief of Sanchez. It is well recognized that women in whom, from whatever cause, acute sexual excitement occurs with frequency without being followed by the due natural relief of orgasm are liable to various nervous and congestive symptoms which diminish their vital effectiveness, and very possibly lead to a breakdown in health. Kisch has described, as a cardiac neurosis of sexual origin, a pathological tachycardia which is an exaggeration of the physiological quick heart of sexual excitement. J. Inglis Parsons (*British Medical Journal*, Oct. 22, 1904, p. 1062) refers to the ovarian pain produced by strong unsatisfied sexual excitement, often in vigorous unmarried women, and sometimes a cause of great distress. An experienced Austrian gynæcologist told Hirth (*Wege zur Heimat*, p. 613) that of every hundred women who come to him with uterine troubles seventy suffered from congestion of the womb, which he regarded as due to incomplete coitus.

It is frequently stated that the evil of incomplete gratification and absence of orgasm in women is chiefly due to male withdrawal, that is to say *coitus interruptus*, in which the penis is hastily withdrawn as soon as involuntary ejaculation is impending, and it is sometimes said that the same widely prevalent practice is also productive of slight or serious results in the male (see, *e.g.*, L. B. Bangs, *Transactions New York Academy of Medicine*, vol. ix, 1893; D. S. Booth, "Coitus Interruptus and Coitus Reservatus as Causes of Profound Neurosis and Psychosis," *Alienist and Neurologist*, Nov., 1906; also, *Alienist and Neurologist*, Oct., 1897, p. 588).

It is undoubtedly true that coitus interruptus, since it involves sudden withdrawal on the part of the man without reference to the stage of sexual excitation which his partner may have reached, cannot fail to produce frequently an injurious nervous effect on the woman, though the injurious effect on the man, who obtains ejaculation, is little or none. But the practice is so widespread that it cannot be regarded as necessarily involving this evil result. There can, I am assured, be no doubt

whatever that Blumreich is justified in his statement (Senator and Kaminer, *Health and Disease in Relation to Marriage*, vol. ii, p. 783) that "interrupted coitus is injurious to the genital system of those women only who are disturbed in their sensation of delight by this form of cohabitation, in whom the orgasm is not produced, and who continue for hours subsequently to be tormented by feelings of an unsatisfied desire." Equally injurious effects follow in normal coitus when the man's orgasm occurs too soon. "These phenomena, therefore," he concludes, "are not characteristic of interrupted coitus, but consequences of an imperfectly concluded sexual cohabitation as such." Kisch, likewise, in his elaborate and authoritative work on *The Sexual Life of Woman*, also states that the question of the evil results of *coitus interruptus* in women is simply a question of whether or not they receive sexual satisfaction. (*Cf.* also Fürbringer, *Health and Disease in Relation to Marriage*, vol. i, pp. 232 *et seq.*) This is clearly the most reasonable view to take concerning what is the simplest, the most widespread, and certainly the most ancient of the methods of preventing conception. In the Book of Genesis we find it practiced by Onan, and to come down to modern times, in the sixteenth century it seems to have been familiar to French ladies, who, according to Brantôme, enjoined it on their lovers.

Coitus reservatus,—in which intercourse is maintained even for very long periods, during which the woman may have orgasm several times while the man succeeds in holding back orgasm,—so far from being injurious to the woman, is probably the form of coitus which gives her the maximum of gratification and relief. For most men, however, it seems probable that this self-control over the processes leading to the involuntary act of detumescence is difficult to acquire, while in weak, nervous, and erethic persons it is impossible. It is, however, a desirable condition for completely adequate coitus, and in the East this is fully recognized, and the aptitude carefully cultivated. Thus W. D. Sutherland states ("Einiges über das Alltagsleben und die Volksmedizin unter den Bauern Britischostindiens," *Münchener Medizinische Wochenschrift*, No. 12, 1906) that the Hindu smokes and talks during intercourse in order to delay orgasm, and sometimes applies an opium paste to the glans of the penis for the same purpose. (See also vol. iii of these *Studies*, "The Sexual Impulse in Women.") Some authorities have, indeed, stated that the prolongation of the act of coitus is injurious in its effect on the male. Thus R. W. Taylor (*Practical Treatise on Sexual Disorders*, third ed., p. 121) states that it tends to cause atonic impotence, and Löwenfeld (*Sexualleben und Nervenleiden*, p. 74) thinks that the swift and unimpeded culmination of the sexual act is necessary in order to preserve the vigor of the reflex reactions. This is probably true of extreme and often repeated cases of indefinite prolongation of pronounced erection without detumescence, but it is not true within fairly

wide limits in the case of healthy persons. Prolonged *coitus reservatus* was a practice of the complex marriage system of the Oneida community, and I was assured by the late Noyes Miller, who had spent the greater part of his life in the community, that the practice had no sort of evil result. *Coitus reservatus* was erected into a principle in the Oneida community. Every man in the community was theoretically the husband of every woman, but every man was not free to have children with every woman. Sexual initiation took place soon after puberty in the case of boys, some years later in the case of girls, by a much older person of the opposite sex. In intercourse the male inserted his penis into the vagina and retained it there for even an hour without emission, though orgasm took place in the woman. There was usually no emission in the case of the man, even after withdrawal, and he felt no need of emission. The social feeling of the community was a force on the side of this practice, the careless, unskilful men being avoided by women, while the general romantic sentiment of affection for all the women in the community was also a force. Masturbation was unknown, and no irregular relations took place with persons outside the community. The practice was maintained for thirty years, and was finally abandoned, not on its demerits, but in deference to the opinions of the outside world. Mr. Miller admitted that the practice became more difficult in ordinary marriage, which favors a more mechanical habit of intercourse. The information received from Mr. Miller is supplemented in a pamphlet entitled *Male Continence* (the name given to *coitus reservatus* in the community), written in 1872 by the founder, John Humphrey Noyes. The practice is based, he says, on the fact that sexual intercourse consists of two acts, a social and a propagative, and that if propagation is to be scientific there must be no confusion of these two acts, and procreation must never be involuntary. It was in 1844, he states, that this idea occurred to him as a result of a resolve to abstain from sexual intercourse in consequence of his wife's delicate health and inability to bear healthy children, and in his own case he found the practice "a great deliverance. It made a happy household." He points out that the chief members of the Oneida community "belonged to the most respectable families in Vermont, had been educated in the best schools of New England morality and refinement, and were, by the ordinary standards, irreproachable in their conduct so far as sexual matters are concerned, till they deliberately commenced, in 1846, the experiment of a new state of society, on principles which they had been long maturing and were prepared to defend before the world." In relation to male continence, therefore, Noyes thought the community might fairly be considered "the Committee of Providence to test its value in actual life." He states that a careful medical comparison of the statistics of the community had shown that the rate of nervous disease in the community was considerably below the

average outside, and that only two cases of nervous disorder had occurred which could be traced with any probability to a misuse of male continence. This has been confirmed by Van de Warker, who studied forty-two women of the community without finding any undue prevalence of reproductive diseases, nor could he find any diseased condition attributable to the sexual habits of the community (*cf.* C. Reed, *Text-Book of Gynecology*, 1901, p. 9).

Noyes believed that "male continence" had never previously been a definitely recognized practice based on theory, though there might have been occasional approximation to it. This is probably true if the coitus is *reservatus* in the full sense, with complete absence of emission. Prolonged coitus, however, permitting the woman to have orgasm more than once, while the man has none, has long been recognized. Thus in the seventeenth century Zacchia discussed whether such a practice is legitimate (*Zacchiæ Quæstionum Opus*, ed. of 1688, lib. vii, tit. iii, quæst. VI). In modern times it is occasionally practiced, without any theory, and is always appreciated by the woman, while it appears to have no bad effect on the man. In such a case it will happen that the act of coitus may last for an hour and a quarter or even longer, the maximum of the woman's pleasure not being reached until three-quarters of an hour have passed; during this period the woman will experience orgasm some four or five times, the man only at the end. It may occasionally happen that a little later the woman again experiences desire, and intercourse begins afresh in the same way. But after that she is satisfied, and there is no recurrence of desire.

It may be desirable at this point to refer briefly to the chief variations in the method of effecting coitus in their relationship to the art of love and the attainment of adequate and satisfying detumescence.

The primary and essential characteristic of the specifically human method of coitus is the fact that it takes place face to face. The fact that in what is usually considered the typically normal method of coitus the woman lies supine and the man above her is secondary. Psychically, this front-to-front attitude represents a great advance over the quadrupedal method. The two partners reveal to each other the most important, the most beautiful, the most expressive sides of themselves, and thus multiply the mutual pleasure and harmony of the intimate act of union. Moreover, this face-to-face attitude possesses a great significance, in the fact that it is the outward sign that the human couple has outgrown the animal sexual attitude of the hunter seizing his prey in the act of flight, and content to enjoy it in that attitude, from behind. The human male may be said to retain the same attitude, but the female has turned round; she has faced her partner and approached him, and so symbolizes her deliberate consent to the act of union.

The human variations in the exercise of coitus, both individual and

national, are, however, extremely numerous. "To be quite frank," says Fürbringer (Senator and Kaminer, *Health and Disease in Relation to Marriage*, vol. i, p. 213), "I can hardly think of any combination which does not figure among my case-notes as having been practiced by my patients." We must not too hastily conclude that such variations are due to vicious training. That is far from being the case. They often occur naturally and spontaneously. Freud has properly pointed out (in the second series of his *Beitrage zur Neurosenlehre*, "Bruchstück" etc.) that we must not be too shocked even when the idea of *fellatio* spontaneously presents itself to a woman, for that idea has a harmless origin in the resemblance between the penis and the nipple. Similarly, it may be added, the desire for *cunnilinctus*, which seems to be much more often latently present in women than is the desire for its performance in men, has a natural analogy in the pleasure of suckling, a pleasure which is itself indeed often erotically tinged (see vol. iv of these *Studies*, "Sexual Selection in Man," Touch, Sect. III).

Every variation in this matter, remarks Remy de Gourmont (*Physique de l'Amour*, p. 264) partakes of the sin of luxury, and some of the theologians have indeed considered any position in coitus but that which is usually called normal in Europe as a mortal sin. Other theologians, however, regarded such variations as only venial sins, provided ejaculation took place in the vagina, just as some theologians would permit *irrumatio* as a preliminary to coitus, provided there was no ejaculation. Aquinas took a serious view of the deviations from normal intercourse; Sanchez was more indulgent, especially in view of his doctrine, derived from the Greek and Arabic natural philosophers, that the womb can attract the sperm, so that the natural end may be attained even in unusual positions.

Whatever difference of opinion there may have been among ancient theologians, it is well recognized by modern physicians that variations from the ordinary method of coitus are desirable in special cases. Thus Kisch points out (*Sterilitat des Weibes*, p. 107) that in some cases it is only possible for the woman to experience sexual excitement when coitus takes place in the lateral position, or in the *a posteriori* position, or when the usual position is reversed; and in his *Sexual Life of Woman*, also, Kisch recommends several variations of position for coitus. Adler points out (*op. cit.*, pp. 151, 186) the value of the same positions in some cases, and remarks that such variations often call forth latent sexual feelings as by a charm. Such cases are indeed, by no means infrequent, the advantage of the unusual position being due either to physical or psychic causes, and the discovery of the right variation is sometimes found in a merely playful attempt. It has occasionally happened, also, that when intercourse has habitually taken place in an abnormal position, no satisfaction is experienced by the woman until the normal position is

adopted. The only fairly common variation of coitus which meets with unqualified disapproval is that in the erect posture. (See *e.g.*, Hammond, *op. cit.* pp. 257 *et seq.*)

Lucretius specially recommended the quadrupedal variation of coitus (Bk. iv, 1258), and Ovid describes (end of Bk. iii of the *Ars Amatoria*) what he regards as agreeable variations, giving the preference, as the easiest and simplest method, to that in which the woman lies half supine on her side. Perhaps, however, the variation which is nearest to the normal attitude and which has most often and most completely commended itself is that apparently known to Arabic erotic writers as *dok el arz*, in which the man is seated and his partner is astride his thighs, embracing his body with her legs and his neck with her arms, while he embraces her waist; this is stated in the Arabic *Perfumed Garden* to be the method preferred by most women.

The other most usual variation is the inverse normal position in which the man is supine, and the woman adapts herself to this position, which permits of several modifications obviously advantageous, especially when the man is much larger than his partner. The Christian as well as the Mahommedan theologians appear, indeed, to have been generally opposed to this superior position of the female, apparently, it would seem, because they regarded the literal subjection of the male which it involves as symbolic of a moral subjection. The testimony of many people to-day, however, is decidedly in favor of this position, more especially as regards the woman, since it enables her to obtain a better adjustment and greater control of the process, and so frequently to secure sexual satisfaction which she may find difficult or impossible in the normal position.

The theologians seem to have been less unfavorably disposed to the position normal among quadrupeds, *a posteriori*, though the old Penitentials were inclined to treat it severely, the Penitential of Angers prescribing forty days penance, and Egbert's three years, if practiced habitually. (It is discussed by J. Petermann, "Venus Aversa," *Sexual-Probleme*, Feb., 1909). There are good reasons why in many cases this position should be desirable, more especially from the point of view of women, who indeed not infrequently prefer it. It must be always remembered, as has already been pointed out, that in the progress from anthropoid to man it is the female, not the male, whose method of coitus has been revolutionized. While, however, the obverse human position represents a psychic advance, there has never been a complete physical readjustment of the female organs to the obverse method. More especially, in Adler's opinion (*op. cit.*, pp. 117-119), the position of the clitoris is such that, as a rule, it is more easily excited by coitus from behind than from in front. A more recent writer, Klotz, in his book, *Der Mensch ein Vierfüssler* (1908), even takes the too extreme position that the quadrupedal

method of coitus, being the only method that insures due contact with the clitoris, is the natural human method. It must, however, be admitted that the posterior mode of coitus is not only a widespread, but a very important variation, in either of its two most important forms: the Pompeiian method, in which the woman bends forwards and the man approaches behind, or the method described by Boccaccio, in which the man is supine and the woman astride.

Fellatio and *cunnilinctus*, while they are not strictly methods of coitus, in so far as they do not involve the penetration of the penis into the vagina, are very widespread as preliminaries, or as vicarious forms of coitus, alike among civilized and uncivilized peoples. Thus, in India, I am told that *fellatio* is almost universal in households, and regarded as a natural duty towards the paterfamilias. As regards *cunnilinctus* Max Dessoir has stated (*Allgemeine Zeitschrift fur Psychiatrie*, 1894, Heft 5) that the superior Berlin prostitutes say that about a quarter of their clients desire to exercise this, and that in France and Italy the proportion is higher; the number of women who find *cunnilinctus* agreeable is without doubt much greater. Intercourse *per anum* must also be regarded as a vicarious form of coitus. It appears to be not uncommon, especially among the lower social classes, and while most often due to the wish to avoid conception, it is also sometimes practiced as a sexual aberration, at the wish either of the man or the woman, the anus being to some extent an erogenous zone.

The ethnic variations in method of coitus were briefly discussed in volume v of these *Studies*, "The Mechanism of Detumescence," Section II. In all civilized countries, from the earliest times, writers on the erotic art have formally and systematically set forth the different positions for coitus. The earliest writing of this kind now extant seems to be an Egyptian papyrus preserved at Turin of the date B. C. 1300· in this, fourteen different positions are represented. The Indians according to Iwan Bloch, recognize altogether forty-eight different positions; the *Ananga Ranga* describes thirty-two main forms. The Mohammedan *Perfumed Garden* describes forty forms, as well as six different kinds of movement during coitus. The Eastern books of this kind are, on the whole, superior to those that have been produced by the Western world, not only by their greater thoroughness, but by the higher spirit by which they have often been inspired.

The ancient Greek erotic writings, now all lost, in which the modes of coitus were described, were nearly all attributed to women According to a legend recorded by Suidas, the earliest writer of this kind was Astyanassa. the maid of Helen of Troy Elephantis, the poetess, is supposed to have enumerated nine different postures. Numerous women of later date wrote on these subjects, and one book is attributed to Polycrates, the sophist.

Aretino—who wrote after the influence of Christianity had degraded erotic matters perilously near to that region of pornography from which they are only to-day beginning to be rescued—in his *Sonnetti Lussuriosi* described twenty-six different methods of coitus, each one accompanied by an illustrative design by Giulio Romano, the chief among Raphael's pupils. Veniero, in his *Puttana Errante*, described thirty-two positions. More recently Forberg, the chief modern authority, has enumerated ninety positions, but, it is said, only forty-eight can, even on the most liberal estimate, be regarded as coming within the range of normal variation.

The disgrace which has overtaken the sexual act, and rendered it a deed of darkness, is doubtless largely responsible for the fact that the chief time for its consummation among modern civilized peoples is the darkness of the early night in stuffy bedrooms when the fatigue of the day's labors is struggling with the artificial stimulation produced by heavy meals and alcoholic drinks. This habit is partly responsible for the indifference or even disgust with which women sometimes view coitus.

Many more primitive peoples are wiser. The New Guinea Papuans of Astrolabe Bay, according to Vahness (*Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie*, 1900, Heft 5, p 414), though it must be remembered that the association of the sexual act with darkness is much older than Christianity, and connected with early religious notions (*cf.* Hesiod, *Works and Days*, Bk. II), always have sexual intercourse in the open air. The hard-working women of the Gebvuka and Buru Islands, again, are too tired for coitus at night; it is carried out in the day time under the trees, and the Serang Islanders also have coitus in the woods (Ploss and Bartels. *Das Weib*, Bk. i, Ch. XVII).

It is obviously impracticable to follow these examples in modern cities, even if avocation and climate permitted. It is also agreed that sexual intercourse should be followed by repose. There seems to be little doubt, however, that the early morning and the daylight are a more favorable time than the early night. Conception should take place in the light, said Michelet (*L'Amour*, p. 153); sexual intercourse in the darkness of night is an act committed with a mere female animal; in the day-time it is union with a loving and beloved individual person.

This has been widely recognized. The Greeks, as we gather from Aristophanes in the *Archarnians*, regarded sunrise as the appropriate time for coitus. The South Slavs also say that dawn is the time for coitus. Many modern authorities have urged the advantages of early morning coitus. Morning, said Roubaud (*Traité de l'Impuissance*, pp. 151-3) is the time for coitus, and even if desire is greater in the evening, pleasure is greater in the morning. Osiander also advised early morning coitus, and Venette, in an earlier century, discussing "at what hour

a man should amorously embrace his wife" (*La Génération de l'Homme*, Part II, Ch. V), while thinking it is best to follow inclination, remarks that "a beautiful woman looks better by sunlight than by candlelight." A few authorities, like Burdach, have been content to accept the custom of night coitus, and Busch (*Das Geschlechtsleben des Weibes*, vol i. p 214) was inclined to think the darkness of night the most "natural" time, while Fürbringer (Senator and Kaminer, *Health and Disease in Relation to Marriage*, vol. i, p. 217) thinks that early morning is "occasionally" the best time.

To some, on the other hand, the exercise of sexual intercourse in the sunlight and the open air seems so important that they are inclined to elevate it to the rank of a religious exercise. I quote from a communication on this point received from Australia: "This shameful thing that must not be spoken of or done (except in the dark) will some day, I believe, become the one religious ceremony of the human race, in the spring. (Oh, what springs!) People will have become very sane, well-bred, aristocratic (all of them aristocrats), and on the whole opposed to rites and superstitions, for they will have a perfect knowledge of the past. The coition of lovers in the springtime will be the one religious ceremony they will allow themselves. I have a vision sometimes of the holy scene, but I am afraid it is too beautiful to describe. 'The intercourse of the sexes, I have dreamed, is ineffably beautiful, too fair to be remembered,' wrote the chaste Thoreau Verily human beauty, joy, and love will reach their divinest height during those inaugural days of springtide coupling When the world is one Paradise, the consummation of the lovers, the youngest and most beautiful, will take place in certain sacred valleys in sight of thousands assembled to witness it. For days it will take place in these valleys where the sun will rise on a dream of passionate voices, of clinging human forms, of flowers and waters, and the purple and gold of the sunrise are reflected on hills illumined with pansies [I know not if the writer recalled George Chapman's "Enamelled pansies used at nuptials still"], and repeated on golden human flesh and human hair. In these sacred valleys the subtle perfume of the pansies will mingle with the divine fragrance of healthy naked young women and men in the spring coupling You and I shall not see that, but we may help to make it possible." This rhapsody (an unconscious repetition of Saint-Lambert's at Mlle. Quinault's table in the eighteenth century) serves to illustrate the revolt which tends to take place against the unnatural and artificial degradation of the sexual act.

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couple should pray before coitus, and after the act they should say together: "O, Sapondomad, I trust this seed to thee, preserve it for me, for it is a man." In the Gorong Archipelago it is customary also for husband and wife to pray together before the sexual act (Ploss and Bartels, *Das Weib*, Bd. i, Ch. XVII). The civilized man, however, has come to regard his stomach as the most important of his organs, and he utters his conventional grace, not before love, but only before food. Even the degraded ritual vestiges of the religious recognition of coitus are difficult to find in Europe. We may perhaps detect it among the Spaniards, with their tenacious instinct for ritual, in the solemn etiquette with which, in the seventeenth century, it was customary, according to Madame d'Aulnay, for the King to enter the bedchamber of the Queen: "He has on his slippers, his black mantle over his shoulder, his shield on one arm, a bottle hanging by a cord over the other arm (this bottle is not to drink from, but for a quite opposite purpose, which you will guess). With all this the King must also have his great sword in one hand and a dark lantern in the other. In this way he must enter, alone, the Queen's chamber" (Madame d'Aulnay, *Relation du Voyage d'Espagne*, 1692, vol. iii, p. 221).

In discussing the art of love it is necessary to give a primary place to the central fact of coitus, on account of the ignorance that widely prevails concerning it, and the unfortunate prejudices which in their fungous broods flourish in the noisome obscurity around it. The traditions of the Christian Church, which overspread the whole of Europe, and set up for worship a Divine Virgin and her Divine Son, both of whom it elaborately disengaged from personal contact with sexuality, effectually crushed any attempt to find a sacred and avowable ideal in married love. Even the Church's own efforts to elevate matrimony were negatived by its own ideals. That influence depresses our civilization even to-day. When Walt Whitman wrote his "Children of Adam" he was giving imperfect expression to conceptions of the religious nature of sexual love which have existed wholesomely and naturally in all parts of the world, but had not yet penetrated the darkness of Christendom where they still seemed strange and new, if not terrible. And the refusal to recognize the solemnity of sex had involved the placing of a pall of blackness and disrepute on the supreme sexual act itself. It was shut out from the sunshine and excluded from the sphere of worship.

The sexual act is important from the point of view of erotic art, not only from the ignorance and prejudices which surround it, but also because it has a real value even in regard to the psychic side of married life. "These organs," according to the oft-quoted saying of the old French physician, Ambrose Paré, "make peace in the household." How this comes about we see illustrated from time to time in Pepys's Diary. At the same time, it is scarcely necessary to say, after all that has gone before, that this ancient source of domestic peace tends to be indefinitely complicated by the infinite variety in erotic needs, which become ever more pronounced with the growth of civilization.[1]

The art of love is, indeed, only beginning with the establishment of sexual intercourse. In the adjustment of that relationship all the forces of nature are so strongly engaged that under completely favorable conditions—which indeed very rarely occur in our civilization—the knowledge of the art and a possible skill in its exercise come almost of themselves. The real test of the artist in love is in the skill to carry it beyond the period when the interests of nature, having been really or seemingly secured, begin to slacken. The whole art of love, it has been well said, lies in forever finding something new in the same person. The art of love is even more the art of retaining love than of arousing it. Otherwise it tends to degenerate towards the Shakespearian lust,

> "Past reason hunted, and no sooner had,
> Past reason hated,"

though it must be remembered that even from the most strictly natural point of view the transitions of passion are not normally towards repulsion but towards affection.[2]

The young man and woman who are brought into the complete unrestraint of marriage after a prolonged and unnatural separation, during which desire and the satisfactions of desire

[1] This has been pointed out, for instance, by Rutgers, "Sexuelle Differenzierung," *Die Neue Generation*, Dec., 1908.

[2] Thus, among the Eskimo, who practice temporary wife-exchange, Rasmussen states that "a man generally discovers that his own wife is, in spite of all, the best."

have been artificially disconnected, are certainly not under the best conditions for learning the art of love. They are tempted by reckless and promiscuous indulgence in the intimacies of marriage to fling carelessly aside all the reasons that make that art worth learning. "There are married people," as Ellen Key remarks, "who might have loved each other all their lives if they had not been compelled, every day and all the year, to direct their habits, wills, and inclinations towards each other."

All the tendencies of our civilized life are, in personal matters, towards individualism; they involve the specialization, and they ensure the sacredness, of personal habits and even peculiarities. This individualism cannot be broken down suddenly at the arbitrary dictation of a tradition, or even by the force of passion from which the restraints have been removed. Out of deference to the conventions and prejudices of their friends, or out of the reckless abandonment of young love, or merely out of a fear of hurting each other's feelings, young couples have often plunged prematurely into an unbroken intimacy which is even more disastrous to the permanency of marriage than the failure ever to reach a complete intimacy at all. That is one of the chief reasons why most writers on the moral hygiene of marriage nowadays recommend separate beds for the married couple, if possible separate bedrooms, and even sometimes, with Ellen Key, see no objection to their living in separate houses. Certainly the happiest marriages have often involved the closest and most unbroken intimacy, in persons peculiarly fitted for such intimacy. It is far from true that, as Bloch has affirmed, familiarity is fatal to love. It is deadly to a love that has no roots, but it is the nourishment of the deeply-rooted love. Yet it remains true that absence is needed to maintain the keen freshness and fine idealism of love. "Absence," as Landor said, "is the invisible and incorporeal mother of ideal beauty." The married lovers who are only able to meet for comparatively brief periods between long absences have often experienced in these meetings a life-long succession of honeymoons.[1]

[1] "I have always held with the late Professor Laycock," remarks Clouston (*Hygiene of Mind*, p. 214), "who was a very subtle student of

There can be no question that as presence has its risks for love, so also has absence. Absence like presence, in the end, if too prolonged, effaces the memory of love, and absence, further, by the multiplied points of contact with the world which it frequently involves, introduces the problem of jealousy, although, it must be added, it is difficult indeed to secure a degree of association which excludes jealousy or even the opportunities for motives of jealousy. The problem of jealousy is so fundamental in the art of love that it is necessary at this point to devote to it a brief discussion.

Jealousy is based on fundamental instincts which are visible at the beginning of animal life. Descartes defined jealousy as "a kind of fear related to a desire to preserve a possession." Every impulse of acquisition in the animal world is stimulated into greater activity by the presence of a rival who may snatch beforehand the coveted object. This seems to be a fundamental fact in the animal world; it has been a life-conserving tendency, for, it has been said, an animal that stood aside while its fellows were gorging themselves with food, and experienced nothing but pure satisfaction in the spectacle, would speedily perish. But in this fact we have the natural basis of jealousy.[1]

It is in reference to food that this impulse appears first and most conspicuously among animals. It is a well-known fact that

human nature, that a married couple need not be always together to be happy, and that in fact reasonable absences and partings tend towards ultimate and closer union." That the prolongation of passion is only compatible with absence scarcely needs pointing out; as Mary Wollstonecraft long since said (*Rights of Woman*, original ed., p. 61), it is only in absence or in misfortune that passion is durable. It may be added, however, that in her love-letters to Imlay she wrote: "I have ever declared that two people who mean to live together ought not to be long separated."

[1] "Viewed broadly," says Arnold L. Gesell, in his interesting study of "Jealousy" (*American Journal of Psychology*, Oct., 1906), "jealousy seems such a necessary psychological accompaniment to biological behavior, amidst competitive struggle, that one is tempted to consider it genetically among the oldest of the emotions, synoymous almost with the will to live, and to make it scarcely less fundamental than fear or anger. In fact, jealousy readily passes into anger, and is itself a brand of fear. . . . . In sociability and mutual aid we see the other side of the shield: but jealousy, however anti-social it may be, retains a function in zoological economy: viz., to conserve the individual as against the group. It is Nature's great corrective for the purely social emotions."

association with other animals induces an animal to eat much more than when kept by himself. He ceases to eat from hunger but eats, as it has been put, in order to preserve his food from rivals in the only strong box he knows. The same feeling is transferred among animals to the field of sex. And further in the relations of dogs and other domesticated animals to their masters the emotion of jealousy is often very keenly marked.[1]

Jealousy is an emotion which is at its maximum among animals, among savages,[2] among children,[3] in the senile, in the degenerate, and very specially in chronic alcoholics.[4] It is worthy of note that the supreme artists and masters of the human heart who have most consummately represented the tragedy of jealousy clearly recognized that it is either atavistic or pathological; Shakespeare made his Othello a barbarian, and Tolstoy made the Pozdnischeff of his *Kreutzer Sonata* a lunatic. It is an anti-social emotion, though it has been maintained by some that it has been the cause of chastity and fidelity. Gesell, for instance, while admitting its anti-social character and accumulating quotations in evidence of the torture and disaster it occasions, seems to think that it still ought to be encouraged in order to foster sexual virtues. Very decided opinions have been expressed in the opposite sense. Jealousy, like other shadows, says Ellen Key, belongs only to the dawn and the setting of love,

[1] Many illustrations are brought together in Gesell's study of "Jealousy."

[2] Jealousy among lower races may be disguised or modified by tribal customs. Thus Rasmussen (*People of the Polar North*, p. 65) says in reference to the Eskimo custom of wife-exchange: "A man once told me that he only beat his wife when she would not receive other men. She would have nothing to do with anyone but him—and that was her only failing!" Rasmussen elsewhere shows that the Eskimo are capable of extreme jealousy.

[3] See, *e.g.*, Moll, *Sexualleben des Kindes*, p. 158; *cf.*, Gesell's "Study of Jealousy."

[4] Jealousy is notoriously common among drunkards. As K. Birnbaum points out ("Das Sexualleben der Alkokolisten," *Sexual-Probleme*, Jan., 1909), this jealousy is, in most cases, more or less well-founded, for the wife, disgusted with her husband, naturally seeks sympathy and companionship elsewhere. Alcoholic jealousy, however, goes far beyond its basis of support in fact, and is entangled with delusions and hallucinations. (See *e.g.* G. Dumas, "La Logique d'un Dément," *Revue Philosophique* Feb., 1908: also Stefanowski, "Morbid Jealousy," *Alienist and Neurologist*, July, 1893.)

and a man should feel that it is a miracle, and not his right, if the sun stands still at the zenith.[1]

Even therefore if jealousy has been a beneficial influence at the beginning of civilization, as well as among animals,—as may probably be admitted, though on the whole it seems rather to be the by-product of a beneficial influence than such an influence itself,—it is still by no means clear that it therefore becomes a desirable emotion in more advanced stages of civilization. There are many primitive emotions, like anger and fear, which we do not think it desirable to encourage in complex civilized societies but rather seek to restrain and control, and even if we are inclined to attribute an original value to jealousy, it seems to be among these emotions that it ought to be placed.

Miss Clapperton, in discussing this problem (*Scientific Meliorism*, pp. 129-137), follows Darwin (*Descent of Man*, Part I, Ch. IV) in thinking that jealousy led to "the inculcation of female virtue," but she adds *that it has also been a cause of woman's subjection, and now needs to* be eliminated. "To rid ourselves as rapidly as may be of jealousy is essential; otherwise the great movement in favor of equality of sex will necessarily meet with checks and grave obstruction."

Ribot (*La Logique des Sentiments*, pp. 75 *et seq.*; *Essai sur les Passions*, pp. 91, 175), while stating that subjectively the estimate of jealousy must differ in accordance with the ideal of life held, considers that objectively we must incline to an unfavorable estimate "Even a brief passion is a rupture in the normal life; it is an abnormal, if not a pathological state, an excrescence, a parasitism."

Forel (*Die Sexuelle Frage*, Ch. V) speaks very strongly in the same sense, and considers that it is necessary to eliminate jealousy by non-procreation of the jealous. Jealousy is, he declares, "the worst and unfortunately the most deeply-rooted of the 'irradiations,' or, better, the 'contrast-reactions,' of sexual love inherited from our animal ancestors. An old German saying, 'Eifersucht ist eine Leidenschaft die mit Eifer sucht was Leider schafft,' says by no means too much. . . . . Jealousy is a heritage of animality and barbarism; I would recall this to those who, under the name of 'injured honor,' attempt to justify it and place it on a high pedestal. An unfaithful husband is ten times more to be wished for a woman than a jealous husband. . . . We often hear of 'justifiable jealousy.' I believe, however, that there is no justifiable jealousy; it is always atavistic or else pathological; at the

[1] Ellen Key, *Ueber Liebe und Ehe*, p. 335.

best it is nothing more than a brutal animal stupidity. A man who, by nature, that is by his hereditary constitution, is jealous is certain to poison his own life and that of his wife. Such men ought on no account to marry. Both education and selection should work together to eliminate jealousy as far as possible from the human brain."

Eric Gillard in an article on "Jealousy" (*Free Review*, Sept., 1896), in opposition to those who believe that jealousy "makes the home," declares that, on the contrary, it is the chief force that unmakes the home. "So long as egotism waters it with the tears of sentiment and shields it from the cold blasts of scientific inquiry, so long will it thrive. But the time will come when it will be burned in the Garden of Love as a noxious weed. Its mephitic influence in society is too palpable to be overlooked. It turns homes that might be sanctuaries of love into hells of discord and hate; it causes suicides, and it drives thousands to drink, reckless excesses, and madness. Makes the home! One of your married men friends sees a probable seducer in every man who smiles at his wife; another is jealous of his wife's women acquaintances; a third is wounded because his wife shows so much attention to the children. Some of the women you know display jealousy of every other woman, of their husband's acquaintances, and some, of his very dog. You must be completely monopolized or you do not thoroughly love. You must admire no one but the person with whom you have immured yourself for life. Old friendships must be dissolved, new friendships must not be formed, for fear of invoking the beautiful emotion that 'makes the home.'"

Even if jealousy in matters of sex could be admitted to be an emotion working on the side of civilized progress, it must still be pointed out that it merely acts externally; it can have little or no real influence; the jealous person seldom makes himself more lovable by his jealousy and frequently much less lovable. The main effect of his jealousy is to increase, and not seldom to excite, the causes for jealousy, and at the same time to encourage hypocrisy.

All the circumstances, accompaniments, and results of domestic jealousy in their completely typical form, are well illustrated by a very serious episode in the history of the Pepys household, and have been fully and faithfully set down by the great diarist. The offence—an embrace of his wife's lady-help, as she might now be termed—was a slight one, but, as Pepys himself admits, quite inexcusable. He is writing, being in his thirty-sixth year, on the 25th of Oct., 1668 (Lord's Day). "After supper, to have my hair combed by Deb, which occasioned

the greatest sorrow to me that ever I knew in this world, for my wife, coming up suddenly, did find me embracing the girl. . . . . I was at a wonderful loss upon it, and the girl also, and I endeavored to put it off, but my wife was struck mute and grew angry. . . . . Heartily afflicted for this folly of mine. . . . . So ends this month," he writes a few days later, "with some quiet to my mind, though not perfect, after the greatest falling out with my poor wife, and through my folly with the girl, that ever I had, and I have reason to be sorry and ashamed of it, and more to be troubled for the poor girl's sake. Sixth November. Up, and presently my wife up with me, which she professedly now do every day to dress me, that I may not see Willet [Deb], and do eye me, whether I cast my eye upon her, or no, and do keep me from going into the room where she is. Ninth November. Up, and I did, by a little note which I flung to Deb, advise her that I did continue to deny that ever I kissed her, and so she might govern herself. The truth is that I did adventure upon God's pardoning me this lie, knowing how heavy a thing it would be for me, to the ruin of the poor girl, and next knowing that if my wife should know all it would be impossible for her ever to be at peace with me again, and so our whole lives would be uncomfortable. The girl read, and as I bid her returned me the note, flinging it to me in passing by." Next day, however, he is "mightily troubled," for his wife has obtained a confession from the girl of the kissing. For some nights Mr. and Mrs. Pepys are both sleepless, with much weeping on either side. Deb gets another place, leaving on the 14th of November, and Pepys is never able to see her before she leaves the house, his wife keeping him always under her eye. It is evident that Pepys now feels strongly attracted to Deb, though there is no evidence of this before she became the subject of the quarrel. On the 13th of November, hearing she was to leave next day, he writes: "The truth is I have a good mind to have the maidenhead of this girl" He was, however, the "more troubled to see how my wife is by this means likely forever to have her hand over me, and that I shall forever be a slave to her—that is to say, only in matters of pleasure." At the same time his love for his wife was by no means diminished, nor hers for him. "I must here remark," he says, "that I have lain with my moher [*i.e.*, *muger*, wife] as a husband more times since this falling out than in, I believe, twelve months before. And with more pleasure to her than in all the time of our marriage before." The next day was Sunday. On Monday Pepys at once begins to make inquiries which will put him on the track of Deb. On the 18th he finds her. She gets up into the coach with him, and he kisses her and takes liberties with her, at the same time advising her "to have a care of her honor and to fear God," allowing no one else to do what he has done; he also tells her how she can find him if she desires. Pepys now feels that everything

is settled satisfactorily, and his heart is full of joy. But his joy is short-lived, for Mrs. Pepys discovers this interview with Deb on the following day. Pepys denies it at first, then confesses, and there is a more furious scene than ever. Pepys is now really alarmed, for his wife threatens to leave him; he definitely abandons Deb, and with prayers to God resolves never to do the like again. Mrs. Pepys is not satisfied, however, till she makes her husband write a letter to Deb, telling her that she is little better than a whore, and that he hates her, though Deb is spared this, not by any stratagem of Pepys, but by the considerateness of the friend to whom the letter was entrusted for delivery. Moreover, Mrs. Pepys arranges with her husband that, in future, whenever he goes abroad he shall be accompanied everywhere by his clerk. We see that Mrs. Pepys plays with what appears to be triumphant skill and success the part of the jealous and avenging wife, and digs her little French heels remorselessly into her prostrate husband and her rival. Unfortunately, we do not know what the final outcome was, for a little later, owing to trouble with his eyesight, Pepys was compelled to bring his Diary to an end. It is evident, however, when we survey the whole of this perhaps typical episode, that neither husband nor wife were in the slightest degree prepared for the commonplace position into which they were thrown; that each of them appears in a painful, undignified, and humiliating light; that as a result of it the husband acquires almost a genuine and strong affection for the girl who is the cause of the quarrel; and finally that, even though he is compelled, for the time at all events, to yield to his wife, he remains at the end exactly what he was at the beginning. Nor had husband or wife the very slightest wish to leave each other; the bond of marriage remained firm, but it had been degraded by insincerity on one side and the jealous endeavor on the other to secure fidelity by compulsion.

Apart altogether, however, from the question of its effectiveness, or even of the misery that it causes to all concerned, it is evident that jealousy is incompatible with all the tendencies of civilization. We have seen that a certain degree of variation is involved in the sexual relationship, as in all other relationships, and unless we are to continue to perpetuate many evils and injustices, that fact has to be faced and recognized. We have also seen that the line of our advance involves a constant increase in moral responsibility and self-government, and that, in its turn, implies not only a high degree of sincerity but also the recognition that no person has any right, or indeed any power, to control the emotions and actions of another person. If our sun of

love stands still at midday, according to Ellen Key's phrase, that is a miracle to be greeted with awe and gratitude, and by no means a right to be demanded. The claim of jealousy falls with the claim of conjugal rights. .

It is quite possible, Bloch remarks (*The Sexual Life of Our Time*, Ch. X), to love more than one person at the same time, with nearly equal tenderness, and to be honestly able to assure each of the passion felt for her or him. Bloch adds that the vast psychic differentiation involved by modern civilization increases the possibility of this double love, for it is difficult for anyone to find his complement in a single person, and that this applies to women as well as to men.

Georg Hirth likewise points out (*Wege zur Heimat*, pp. 543-552) that it is important to remember that women, as well as men, can love two persons at the same time. Men flatter themselves, he remarks, with the prejudice that the female heart, or rather brain, can only hold one man at a time, and that if there is a second man it is by a kind of prostitution. Nearly all erotic writers, poets, and novelists, even physicians and psychologists, belong to this class, he says; they look on a woman as property, and of course two men cannot "possess" a woman. (Regarding novelists, however, the remark may be interpolated that there are many exceptions, and Thomas Hardy, for instance, frequently represents a woman as more or less in love with two men at the same time.) As against this desire to depreciate women's psychic capacity, Hirth maintains that a woman is not necessarily obliged to be untrue to one man because she has conceived a passion for another man. "Today," Hirth truly declares, "only love and justice can count as honorable motives in marriage. The modern man accords to the beloved wife and life-companion the same freedom which he himself took before marriage, and perhaps still takes in marriage. If she makes no use of it, as is to be hoped—so much the better! But let there be no lies, no deception; the indispensable foundation of modern marriage is boundless sincerity and friendship, the deepest trust, affectionate devotion and consideration. This is the best safeguard against adultery. . . . Let him, however, who is, nevertheless, overtaken by the outbreak of it console himself with the undoubted fact that of two real lovers the most noble-minded and deep-seeing *friend* will always have the preference." These wise words cannot be too deeply meditated. The policy of jealousy is only successful—when it is successful—in the hands of the man who counts the external husk of love more precious than the kernel.

It seems to some that the recognition of variations in sexual relationships, of the tendency of the monogamic to overpass its

self-imposed bounds, is at best a sad necessity, and a lamentable fall from a high ideal. That, however, is the reverse of the truth. The great evil of monogamy, and its most seriously weak point, is its tendency to self-concentration at the expense of the outer world. The devil always comes to a man in the shape of his wife and children, said Hinton. The family is a great social influence in so far as it is the best instrument for creating children who will make the future citizens; but in a certain sense the family is an anti-social influence, for it tends to absorb unduly the energy that is needed for the invigoration of society. It is possible, indeed, that that fact led to the modification of the monogamic system in early developing periods of human history, when social expansion and cohesion were the primary necessities. The family too often tends to resemble, as someone has said, the secluded collection of grubs sometimes revealed in their narrow home when we casually raise a flat stone in our gardens. Great as are the problems of love, and great as should be our attention to them, it must always be remembered that love is not a little circle that is complete in itself. It is the nature of love to irradiate. Just as family life exists mainly for the social end of breeding the future race, so family love has its social ends in the extension of sympathy and affection to those outside it, and even in ends that go beyond love altogether.[1]

The question is debated from time to time as to how far it is possible for men and women to have intimate friendships with each other outside the erotic sphere.[2] There can be no doubt whatever that it is perfectly possible for a man and a woman to experience for each other a friendship which never intrudes into the sexual sphere. As a rule, however, this only happens under special conditions, and those are generally conditions which

[1] Schrempf points out ("Von Stella zu Klarchen," *Mutterschutz*, 1906, Heft 7, p. 264) that Goethe strove to show in *Egmont* that a woman is repelled by the love of a man who knows nothing beyond his love to her, and that it is easy for her to devote herself to the man whose aims lie in the larger world beyond herself. There is profound truth in this view.

[2] A discussion on "Platonic friendship" of this kind by several writers, mostly women, whose opinions were nearly equally divided, may be found, for instance, in the *Lady's Realm*, March, 1900.

exclude the closest and most intimate friendship. If, as we have seen, love may be defined as a synthesis of lust and friendship, friendship inevitably enters into the erotic sphere. Just as sexual emotion tends to merge into friendship, so friendship between persons of opposite sex, if young, healthy, and attractive, tends to involve sexual emotion. The two feelings are too closely allied for an artificial barrier to be permanently placed between them without protest. Men who offer a woman friendship usually find that it is not received with much satisfaction except as the first installment of a warmer emotion, and women who offer friendship to a man usually find that he responds with an offer of love; very often the "friendship" is from the first simply love or flirtation masquerading under another name.

"In the long run," a woman writes (in a letter published in *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, Bd. i, Heft 7), "the senses become discontented at their complete exclusion. And I believe that a man can only come into the closest mutual association with a woman by whom, consciously or unconsciously, he is physically attracted. He cannot enter into the closest psychic intercourse with a woman with whom he could not imagine himself in physical intercourse His prevailing wish is for the possession of a woman, of the whole woman, her soul as well as her body. And a woman also cannot imagine an intimate relation to a man in which the heart and the body, as well as the mind, are not involved (Naturally I am thinking of people with sound nerves and healthy blood.) Can a woman carry on a Platonic relation with a man from year to year without the thought sometimes coming to her: 'Why does he never kiss me? Have I no charm for him?' And in the most concealed corner of her heart will it not happen that she uses that word 'kiss' in the more comprehensive sense in which the French sometimes employ it?" There is undoubtedly an element of truth in this statement. The frontier between erotic love and friendship is vague, and an intimate psychic intercourse that is sternly debarred from ever manifesting itself in a caress, or other physical manifestation of tender intimacy, tends to be constrained, and arouses unspoken and unspeakable thoughts and desires which are fatal to any complete friendship.

Undoubtedly the only perfect "Platonic friendships" are those which have been reached through the portal of a preliminary erotic intimacy. In such a case bad lovers, when they have resolutely traversed the erotic stage, may become exceedingly

good friends. A satisfactory friendship is possible between brother and sister because they have been physically intimate in childhood, and all erotic curiosities are absent. The most admirable "Platonic friendship" may often be attained by husband and wife in whom sympathy and affection and common interests have outlived passion. In nearly all the most famous friendships of distinguished men and women—as we know in some cases and divine in others—an hour's passion, in Sainte-Beuve's words, has served as the golden key to unlock the most precious and intimate secrets of friendship.[1]

The friendships that have been entered through the erotic portal possess an intimacy and retain a spiritually erotic character which could not be attained on the basis of a normal friendship between persons of the same sex. This is true in a far higher degree of the ultimate relationship, under fortunate circumstances, of husband and wife in the years after passion has become impossible. They have ceased to be passionate lovers but they have not become mere friends and comrades. More especially their relationship takes on elements borrowed from the attitude of child to parent, of parent to child. Everyone from his first years retains something of the child which cannot be revealed to all the world; everyone acquires something of the guardian paternal or maternal spirit. Husband and wife are each child to the other, and are indeed parent and child by turn. And here still the woman retains a certain erotic supremacy, for she is to the last more of a child than it is ever easy for the man to be, and much more essentially a mother than he is a father.

Groos (*Der Æsthetische Genuss*, p. 249) has pointed out that "love" is really made up of both sexual instinct and parental instinct.

"So-called happy marriages," says Professor W. Thomas (*Sex and Society*, p. 246), "represent an equilibrium reached through an extension of the maternal interest of the woman to the man, whereby she looks after his personal needs as she does after those of the children—

[1] There are no doubt important exceptions. Thus Mérimée's famous friendship with Mlle. Jenny Dacquin, enshrined in the *Lettres à une Inconnue*, was perhaps Platonic throughout on Mérimée's side, Mlle. Dacquin adapting herself to his attitude. *Cf.* A. Lefebvre. *La Célèbre Inconnue de Mérimée*, 1908.

cherishing him, in fact, as a child—or in an extension to woman on the part of man of the nurture and affection which is in his nature to give to pets and all helpless (and preferably dumb) creatures."

"When the devotion in the tie between mother and son," a woman writes, "is added to the relation of husband and wife, the union of marriage is raised to the high and beautiful dignity it deserves, and can attain in this world. It comprehends sympathy, love, and perfect understanding, even of the faults and weaknesses of both sides." "The foundation of every true woman's love," another woman writes, "is a mother's tenderness. He whom she loves is a child of larger growth, although she may at the same time have a deep respect for him." (See also, for similar opinion of another woman of distinguished intellectual ability, footnote at beginning of "The Psychic State in Pregnancy" in volume v of these *Studies*.)

It is on the basis of these elemental human facts that the permanently seductive and inspiring relationships of sex are developed, and not by the emergence of personalities who combine impossibly exalted characteristics. "The task is extremely difficult," says Kisch in his *Sexual Life of Woman*, "but a clever and virtuous modern wife must endeavor to combine in her single personality the sensuous attractiveness of an Aspasia, the chastity of a Lucrece, and the intellectual greatness of a Cornelia." And in an earlier century we are told in the novel of *La Tia Fingida*, which has sometimes been attributed to Cervantes, that "a woman should be an angel in the street, a saint in church, beautiful at the window, honest in the house, and a demon in bed." The demands made of men by women, on the other hand, have been almost too lofty to bear definite formulation at all. "Ninety-nine out of a hundred loving women," says Helene Stöcker, "certainly believe that if a thousand other men have behaved ignobly, and forsaken, ill-used, and deceived the woman they love, the man they love is an exception, marked out from all other men; that is the reason they love him." It may be doubted, however, if the great lovers have ever stood very far above the ordinary level of humanity by their possession of perfection. They have been human, and their art of love has not always excluded the possession of human frailties; perfection, indeed, even if it could be found, would furnish a bad soil for love to strike deep roots in.

It is only when we realize the highly complex nature of the elements which make up erotic love that we can understand how it is that that love can constitute so tremendous a revelation and exert so profound an influence even in men of the greatest genius and intellect and in the sphere of their most spiritual activity. It is not merely passion, nor any conscious skill in the erotic art,—

important as these may be,—that would serve to account for Goethe's relationship to Frau von Stein, or Wagner's to Mathilde Wesendonck, or that of Robert and Elizabeth Browning to each other.[1]

It may now be clear to the reader why it has been necessary in a discussion of the sexual impulse in its relationship to society to deal with the art of love. It is true that there is nothing so intimately private and personal as the erotic affairs of the individual. Yet it is equally true that these affairs lie at the basis of the social life, and furnish the conditions—good or bad as the case may be—of that procreative act which is a supreme concern of the State. It is because the question of love is of such purely private interest that it tends to be submerged in the question of breed. We have to realize, not only that the question of love subserves the question of breed, but also that love has a proper, a necessary, even a socially wholesome claim, to stand by itself and to be regarded for its own worth.

In the profoundly suggestive study of love which the distinguished sociologist Tarde left behind at his death (*Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle, loc cit.*), there are some interesting remarks on this point "Society," he says, "has been far more, and more intelligently, preoccupied with the problem of answering the 'question of breed' than the 'question of love.' The first problem fills all our civil and commercial codes. The second problem has never been clearly stated, or looked in the face, not even in antiquity, still less since the coming of Christianity, for merely to offer the solutions of marriage and prostitution is manifestly inadequate. Statesmen have only seen the side on which it

[1] The love-letters of all these distinguished persons have been published. Rosa Mayreder (*Zur Kritik der Weiblichkeit*, pp. 229 *et seq*) discusses the question of the humble and absolute manner in which even men of the most masculine and impetuous genius abandon themselves to the inspiration of the beloved woman. The case of the Brownings, who have been termed "the hero and heroine of the most wonderful love-story that the world knows of," is specially notable; Ellen Key has written of the Brownings from this point of view in *Menschen*, and reference may be made to an article on the Brownings' love-letters in the *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1899). It is scarcely necessary to add that an erotic relationship may mean very much to persons of high intellectual ability, even when its issue is not happy; of Mary Wollstonecraft, one of the most intellectually distinguished of women, it may be said that the letters which enshrine her love to the worthless Imlay are among the most passionate and pathetic love-letters in English.

touches population. Hence the marriage laws. Sterile love they profess to disdain. Yet it is evident that, though born as the serf of generation, love tends by civilization to be freed from it. In place of a simple method of procreation it has become an end, it has created itself a title, a royal title. Our gardens cultivate flowers that are all the more charming because they are sterile; why is the double corolla of love held more infamous than the sterilized flowers of our gardens?' Tarde replies that the reason is that our politicians are merely ambitious persons thirsting for power and wealth, and even when they are lovers they are Don Juans rather than Virgils. "The future," he continues, "is to the Virgilians, because if the ambition of power, the regal wealth of American or European millionarism, once seemed nobler, love now more and more attracts to itself the best and highest parts of the soul, where lies the hidden ferment of all that is greatest in science and art, and more and more those studious and artist souls multiply who, intent on their peaceful activities, hold in horror the business men and the politicians, and will one day succeed in driving them back. That assuredly will be the great and capital revolution of humanity, an active psychological revolution: the recognized preponderance of the meditative and contemplative, the lover's side of the human soul, over the feverish, expansive, rapacious, and ambitious side. And then it will be understood that one of the greatest of social problems, perhaps the most arduous of all, has been the problem of love."

CHAPTER XII.

THE SCIENCE OF PROCREATION.

The Relationship of the Science of Procreation to the Art of Love—Sexual Desire and Sexual Pleasure as the Conditions of Conception—Reproduction Formerly Left to Caprice and Lust—The Question of Procreation as a Religious Question—The Creed of Eugenics—Ellen Key and Sir Francis Galton—Our Debt to Posterity—The Problem of Replacing Natural Selection—The Origin and Development of Eugenics—The General Acceptance of Eugenical Principles To-day—The Two Channels by Which Eugenical Principles are Becoming Embodied in Practice—The Sense of Sexual Responsibility in Women—The Rejection of Compulsory Motherhood—The Privilege of Voluntary Motherhood—Causes of the Degradation of Motherhood—The Control of Conception—Now Practiced by the Majority of the Population in Civilized Countries—The Fallacy of "Racial Suicide"—Are Large Families a Stigma of Degeneration?—Procreative Control the Outcome of Natural and Civilized Progress—The Growth of Neo-Malthusian Beliefs and Practices—Facultative Sterility as Distinct from Neo-Malthusianism—The Medical and Hygienic Necessity of Control of Conception—Preventive Methods—Abortion—The New Doctrine of the Duty to Practice Abortion—How Far is this Justifiable?—Castration as a Method of Controlling Procreation—Negative Eugenics and Positive Eugenics—The Question of Certificates for Marriage—The Inadequacy of Eugenics by Act of Parliament—The Quickening of the Social Conscience in Regard to Heredity—Limitations to the Endowment of Motherhood—The Conditions Favorable to Procreation—Sterility—The Question of Artificial Fecundation—The Best Age of Procreation—The Question of Early Motherhood—The Best Time for Procreation—The Completion of the Divine Cycle of Life.

WE have seen that the art of love has an independent and amply justifiable right to existence apart, altogether, from procreation. Even if we still believed—as all men must once have believed and some Central Australians yet believe[1]—that sexual intercourse has no essential connection with the propagation of the race it would have full right to existence. In its finer manifestations as an art it is required in civilization for the full

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 330.

development of the individual, and it is equally required for that stability of relationships which is nearly everywhere regarded as a demand of social morality.

When we now turn to the second great constitutional factor of marriage, procreation, the first point we encounter is that the art of love here also has its place. In ancient times the sexual congruence of any man with any woman was supposed to be so much a matter of course that all questions of love and of the art of love could be left out of consideration. The propagative act might, it was thought, be performed as impersonally, as perfunctorily, as the early Christian Fathers imagined it had been performed in Paradise. That view is no longer acceptable. It fails to commend itself to men, and still less to women. We know that in civilization at all events—and it is often indeed the same among savages—erethism is not always easy between two persons selected at random, nor even when they are more specially selected. And we also know, on the authority of very distinguished gynæcologists, that it is not in very many cases sufficient even to effect coitus, it is also necessary to excite orgasm, if conception is to be achieved.

Many primitive peoples, as well as the theologians of the Middle Ages, have believed that sexual excitement on the woman's part is necessary to conception, though they have sometimes mixed up that belief with false science and mere superstition. The belief itself is supported by some of the most cautious and experienced modern gynæcologists. Thus, Matthews Duncan (in his lectures on *Sterility in Women*) argued that the absence of sexual desire in women, and the absence of pleasure in the sexual act, are powerful influences making for sterility. He brought forward a table based on his case-books, showing that of nearly four hundred sterile women, only about one-fourth experienced sexual desire, while less than half experienced pleasure in the sexual act. In the absence, however, of a corresponding table concerning fertile women, nothing is hereby absolutely proved, and, at most, only a probability established.

Kisch, more recently (in his *Sexual Life of Woman*), has dealt fully with this question, and reaches the conclusion that it is "extremely probable" that the active erotic participation of the woman in coitus is an important link in the chain of conditions producing conception. It acts, he remarks, in either or both of two ways, by causing reflex

changes in the cervical secretions, and so facilitating the passage of the spermatozoa, and by causing reflex erectile changes in the cervix itself, with slight descent of the uterus, so rendering the entrance of the semen easier. Kisch refers to the analogous fact that the first occurrence of menstruation is favored by sexual excitement.

Some authorities go so far as to assert that, until voluptuous excitement occurs in women, no impregnation is possible. This statement seems too extreme. It is true that the occurrence of impregnation during sleep, or in anæsthesia, cannot be opposed to it, for we know that the unconsciousness of these states by no means prevents the occurrence of complete sexual excitement. We cannot fail, however, to connect the fact that impregnation frequently fails to occur for months and even years after marriage, with the fact that sexual pleasure in coitus on the wife's part also frequently fails to occur for a similar period.

"Of all human instincts," Pinard has said,[1] "that of reproduction is the only one which remains in the primitive condition and has received no education. We procreate to-day as they procreated in the Stone Age. The most important act in the life of man, the sublimest of all acts since it is that of his reproduction, man accomplishes to-day with as much carelessness as in the age of the cave-man." And though Pinard himself, as the founder of puericulture, has greatly contributed to call attention to the vast destinies that hang on the act of procreation, there still remains a lamentable amount of truth in this statement. "Future generations," writes Westermarck in his great history of moral ideas,[2] "will probably with a kind of horror look back at a period when the most important, and in its consequences the most far-reaching, function which has fallen to the lot of man was entirely left to individual caprice and lust."

We are told in his *Table Talk*, that the great Luther was accustomed to say that God's way of making man was very foolish ("sehr närrisch"), and that if God had deigned to take him into His counsel he would have strongly advised Him to make the whole human race, as He made Adam, "out of earth." And certainly if applied to the careless and reckless manner in which procreation in Luther's day, as still for the most part in our

[1] Academy of Medicine of Paris, March 31, 1908.
[2] *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, vol. ii, p. 405.

own, was usually carried out there was sound common sense in the Reformer's remarks. If that is the way procreation is to be carried on, it would be better to create and mould every human being afresh out of the earth; in that way we could at all events eliminate evil heredity. It was, however, unjust to place the responsibility on God. It is men and women who breed the people that make the world good or bad. They seek to put the evils of society on to something outside themselves. They see how large a proportion of human beings are defective, ill-conditioned, anti-social, incapable of leading a whole and beautiful human life. In old theological language it was often said that such were "children of the Devil," and Luther himself was often ready enough to attribute the evil of the world to the direct interposition of the Devil. Yet these ill-conditioned people who clog the wheels of society are, after all, in reality the children of Man. The only Devil whom we can justly invoke in this matter is Man.

The command "Be fruitful and multiply," which the ancient Hebrews put into the mouth of their tribal God, was, as Crackanthorpe points out,[1] a command supposed to have been uttered when there were only eight persons in the world. If the time should ever again occur when the inhabitants of the world could be counted on one's fingers, such an injunction, as Crackanthorpe truly observes, would again be reasonable. But we have to remember that to-day humanity has spawned itself over the world in hundreds and even thousands of millions of creatures, a large proportion of whom, as is but too obvious, ought never to have been born at all, and the voice of Jehovah is now making itself heard through the leaders of mankind in a very different sense.

It is not surprising that as this fact tends to become generally recognized, the question of the procreation of the race should gain a new significance, and even tend to take on the character of a new religious movement. Mere morality can never lead us to concern ourselves with the future of the race, and in

[1] *Population and Progress*, p. 41.

the days of old, men used to protest against the tendency to subordinate the interests of religion to the claims of "mere morality." There was a sound natural instinct underlying that protest, so often and so vigorously made by Christianity, and again revived to-day in a more intelligent form. The claim of the race is the claim of religion. We have to beware lest we subordinate that claim to our moralities. Moralities are, indeed, an inevitable part of our social order from which we cannot escape; every community must have its *mores*. But we are not entitled to make a fetich of our morality, sacrificing to it the highest interests entrusted to us. The nations which have done so have already signed their own death-warrant.[1] From this point of view, the whole of Christianity, rightly considered, with its profound conviction of the necessity for forethought and preparation for the life hereafter, has been a preparation for eugenics, a schoolmaster to discipline within us a higher ideal than itself taught, and we cannot therefore be surprised at the solidity of the basis on which eugenical conceptions of life are developing.

The most distinguished pioneers of the new movement of devotion to the creation of the race seem independently to have realized its religious character. This attitude is equally marked in Ellen Key and Francis Galton. In her *Century of the Child* (English translation, 1909), Ellen Key entirely identifies herself with the eugenic movement. "It is only a question of time," she elsewhere writes (*Ueber Liebe und Ehe*, p. 445), "when the attitude of society towards a sexual union will depend not on the form of the union, but on the value of the children created. Men and women will then devote the same religious earnestness to the psychic and physical perfectioning of this sexual task as Christians have devoted to the salvation of their souls."

Sir Francis Galton, writing a few years later, but without doubt independently, in 1905, on "Restrictions in Marriage," and "Eugenics as a Factor in Religion" (*Sociological Papers* of the Sociological Society, vol. ii, pp. 13, 53). remarks: "Religious precepts, founded on the ethics and practice of older days, require to be reinterpreted, to make them conform to the needs of progressive nations. Ours are already so far behind modern requirements that much of our practice and our profession cannot be reconciled without illegitimate casuistry. It seems

[1] *Cf.* Reibmayr, *Entwicklungsgeschichte des Talentes und Genies*, Bd. II, p. 31.

to me that few things are more needed by us in England than a revision of our religion, to adapt it to the intelligence and needs of this present time. . . . Evolution is a grand phantasmagoria, but it assumes an infinitely more interesting aspect under the knowledge that the intelligent action of the human will is, in some small measure, capable of guiding its course. Man has the power of doing this largely, so far as the evolution of humanity is concerned; he has already affected the quality and distribution of organic life so widely that the changes on the surface of the earth, merely through his disforestings and agriculture, would be recognizable from a distance as great as that of the moon. Eugenics is a virile creed, full of hopefulness, and appealing to many of the noblest feelings of our nature."

As will always happen in every great movement, a few fanatics have carried into absurdity the belief in the supreme religious importance of procreation. Love, apart from procreation, writes one of these fanatics, Vacher de Lapouge, in the spirit of some of the early Christian Fathers (see *ante* p.509), is an aberration comparable to sadism and sodomy. Procreation is the only thing that matters, and it must become "a legally prescribed social duty" only to be exercised by carefully selected persons, and forbidden to others, who must, by necessity, be deprived of the power of procreation, while abortion and infanticide must, under some circumstances, become compulsory. Romantic love will disappear by a process of selection, as also will all religion except a new form of phallic worship (G. Vacher de Lapouge, "Die Crisis der Sexuellen Moral," *Politisch Anthropologische Revue*, No. 8, 1908). It is sufficient to point out that love is, and always must be, the natural portal to generation. Such excesses of procreative fanaticism cannot fail to occur, and they render the more necessary the emphasis which has here been placed on the art of love.

"What has posterity done for me that I should do anything for posterity?" a cynic is said to have asked. The answer is very simple. The human race has done everything for him. All that he is, and can be, is its creation; all that he can do is the result of its laboriously accumulated traditions. It is only by working towards the creation of a still better posterity, that he can repay the good gifts which the human race has brought him.[1] Just as, within the limits of this present life, many who have received benefits and kindnesses they can never repay to the

[1] "The debt that we owe to those who have gone before us," says Haycraft (*Darwinism and Race Progress*, p. 160), "we can only repay to those who come after us."

actual givers, find a pleasure in vicariously repaying the like to others, so the heritage we have received from our ascendents we can never repay, save by handing it on in a better form to our descendants.

It is undoubtedly true that the growth of eugenical ideals has not been, for the most part, due to religious feeling. It has been chiefly the outcome of a very gradual, but very comprehensive, movement towards social amelioration, which has been going on for more than a century, and which has involved a progressive effort towards the betterment of all the conditions of life. The ideals of this movement were proclaimed in the eighteenth century, they began to find expression early in the nineteenth century, in the initiation of the modern system of sanitation, in the growth of factory legislation, in all the movements which have been borne onwards by socialism hand in hand with individualism. The inevitable tendency has been slowly towards the root of the matter; it began to be seen that comparatively little can be effected by improving the conditions of life of adults; attention began to be concentrated on the child, on the infant, on the embryo in its mother's womb, and this resulted in the fruitful movement of puericulture inspired by Pinard, and finally the problem is brought to its source at the point of procreation, and the regulation of sexual selection between stocks and between individuals as the prime condition of life. Here we have the science of eugenics which Sir Francis Galton has done so much to make a definite, vital, and practical study, and which in its wider bearings he defines as "the science which deals with those social eugenics that influence, mentally or physically, the racial qualities of future generations." In its largest aspect, eugenics is, as Galton has elsewhere said, man's attempt "to replace Natural Selection by other processes that are more merciful and not less effective."

In the last chapter of his *Memories of My Life* (1908), on "Race Improvement," Sir Francis Galton sets forth the origin and development of his conception of the science of eugenics. The term, "eugenics," he first used in 1884, in his *Human Faculty*, but the conception dates from 1865, and even earlier. Galton has more recently discussed the

problems of eugenics in papers read before the Sociological Society (*Sociological Papers*, vols. i and ii, 1905), in the Herbert Spencer Lecture on "Probability the Foundation of Eugenics," (1907), and elsewhere. Galton's numerous memoirs on this subject have now been published in a collected form by the Eugenics Education Society, which was established in 1907, to further and to popularize the eugenical attitude towards social questions; *The Eugenics Review* is published by this Society. On the more strictly scientific side, eugenic studies are carried on in the Eugenics Laboratory of the University of London, established by Sir Francis Galton, and now working in connection with Professor Karl Pearson's biometric laboratory, in University College. Much of Professor Pearson's statistical work in this and allied directions, is the elaboration of ideas and suggestions thrown out by Galton. See, *e.g.*, Karl Pearson's Robert Boyle Lecture, "The Scope and Importance to the State of the Science of National Eugenics" (1907). *Biometrika*, edited by Karl Pearson in association with other workers, contains numerous statistical memoirs on eugenics. In Germany, the *Archiv für Rassen und Gesellschafts-biologie*, and the *Politisch-Anthropologische Revue*, are largely occupied with various aspects of such subjects, and in America, *The Popular Science Monthly* from time to time. publishes articles which have a bearing on eugenics.

At one time there was a tendency to scoff, or to laugh, at the eugenic movement. It was regarded as an attempt to breed men as men breed animals, and it was thought a sufficiently easy task to sweep away this new movement with the remark that love laughs at bolts and bars. It is now beginning to be better understood. None but fanatics dream of abolishing love in order to effect pairing by rule. It is merely a question of limiting the possible number of mates from whom each may select a partner, and that, we must remember, has always been done even by savages, for, as it has been said, "eugenics is the oldest of the sciences." The question has merely been transformed. Instead of being limited mechanically by caste, we begin to see that the choice of sexual mates must be limited intelligently by actual fitness. Promiscuous marriages have never been the rule; the possibility of choice has always been narrow, and the most primitive peoples have exerted the most marked self-restraint. It is not so merely among remote races but among our own European ancestors. Throughout the whole period of Catholic supremacy

the Canon law multiplied the impediments to matrimony, as by ordaining that consanguinity to the fourth degree (third cousins), as well as spiritual relationship, is an impediment, and by such arbitrary prohibitions limited the range of possible mates at least as much as it would be limited by the more reasonable dictates of eugenic considerations.

At the present day it may be said that the principle of the voluntary control of procreation, not for the selfish ends of the individual, but in order to extinguish disease, to limit human misery, and to raise the general level of humanity by substituting the ideal of quality for the vulgar ideal of mere quantity, is now generally accepted, alike by medical pathologists, embryologists and neurologists, and by sociologists and moralists.

It would be easy to multiply quotations from distinguished authorities on this point. Thus, Metchnikoff points out (*Essais Optimistes*, p. 419) that orthobiosis seems to involve the limitation of offspring in the fight against disease. Ballantyne concludes his great treatise on *Antenanal Pathology* with the statement that "Eugenics" or well-begetting, is one of the world's most pressing problems." Dr. Louise Robinovitch, the editor of the *Journal of Mental Pathology*, in a brilliant and thoughtful paper, read before the Rome Congress of Psychology in 1905, well spoke in the same sense: "Nations have not yet elevated the energy of genesic function to the dignity of an energy. Other energies known to us, even of the meanest grade, have long since been wisely utilized, and their activities based on the principle of the strictest possible economy. This economic utilization has been brought about, not through any enforcement of legislative restrictions, but through steadily progressive human intelligence. Economic handling of genesic function will, like the economic function of other energies, come about through a steady and progressive intellectual development of nations." "There are circumstances," says C. H. Hughes, ("Restricted Procreation," *Alienist and Neurologist*, May, 1908), "under which the propagation of a human life may be as gravely criminal as the taking of a life already begun."

From the general biological, as well as from the sociological side, the acceptance of the same standpoint is constantly becoming more general, for it is recognized as the inevitable outcome of movements which have long been in progress.

"Already," wrote Haycraft (*Darwinism and Race Progress*, p. 160), referring to the law for the prevention of cruelty to children, "public

opinion has expressed itself in the public rule that a man and woman, in begetting a child, must take upon themselves the obligation and responsibility of seeing that that child is not subjected to cruelty and hardship. It is but one step more to say that a man and a woman shall be under obligation not to produce children, when it is certain that, from their want of physique, they will have to undergo suffering, and will keep up but an unequal struggle with their fellows." Professor J. Arthur Thomson, in his volume on *Heredity* (1908), vigorously and temperately pleads (p. 528) for rational methods of eugenics, as specially demanded in an age like our own, when the unfit have been given a better chance of reproduction than they have ever been given in any other age. Bateson, again, referring to the growing knowledge of heredity, remarks (*Mendel's Principles of Heredity*, 1909, p. 305): "Genetic knowledge must certainly lead to new conceptions of justice, and it is by no means impossible that, in the light of such knowledge, public opinion will welcome measures likely to do more for the extinction of the criminal and the degenerate than has been accomplished by ages of penal enactment." Adolescent youths and girls, said Anton von Menger, in his last book, the pregnant *Neue Sittenlehre* (1905), must be taught that the production of children, under certain circumstances, is a crime; they must also be taught the voluntary restraint of conception, even in health; such teaching, Menger rightly added, is a necessary preliminary to any legislation in this direction.

Of recent years, many books and articles have been devoted to the advocacy of eugenic methods. Mention may be made, for instance, of *Population and Progress* (1907), by Montague Crackanthorpe, President of the Eugenics Education Society. See also, Havelock Ellis, "Eugenics and St. Valentine." *Nineteenth Century and After*, May, 1906. It may be mentioned that nearly thirty years ago, Miss J. H. Clapperton, in her *Scientific Meliorism* (1885, Ch. XVII), pointed out that the voluntary restraint of procreation by Neo-Malthusian methods, apart from merely prudential motives, there clearly recognized, is "a new key to the social position," and a necessary condition for "national regeneration." Professor Karl Pearson's *Groundwork of Eugenics*, (1909) is, perhaps, the best brief introduction to the subject. Mention may also be made of Dr. Saleeby's *Parenthood and Race Culture* (1909), written in a popular and enthusiastic manner.

How widely the general principles of eugenics are now accepted as the sound method of raising the level of the human race, was well shown at a meeting of the Sociological Society, in 1905, when, after Sir Francis Galton had read papers on the question, the meeting heard the opinions of numerous sociologists, economists, biologists, and well-known thinkers in various lands, who were present, or who had sent communications. Some twenty-one expressed more or less unquali-

fied approval, and only three or four had objections to offer, mostly on matters of detail (*Sociological Papers*, published by the Sociological Society, vol. ii, 1905).

If we ask by what channels this impulse towards the control of procreation for the elevation of the race is expressing itself in practical life, we shall scarcely fail to find that there are at least two such channels: (1) the growing sense of sexual responsibility among women as well as men, and (2) the conquest of procreative control which has been achieved in recent years, by the general adoption of methods for the prevention of conception.

It has already been necessary in a previous chapter to discuss the far-reaching significance of woman's personal responsibility as an element in the modification of the sexual life of modern communities. Here it need only be pointed out that the autonomous authority of a woman over her own person, in the sexual sphere, involves on her part a consent to the act of procreation which must be deliberate. We are apt to think that this is a new and almost revolutionary demand; it is, however, undoubtedly a natural, ancient, and recognized privilege of women that they should not be mothers without their own consent. Even in the Islamic world of the *Arabian Nights*, we find that high praise is accorded to the "virtue and courage" of the woman who, having been ravished in her sleep, exposed, and abandoned on the highway, the infant that was the fruit of this involuntary union, "not wishing," she said, "to take the responsibility before Allah of a child that had been born without my consent."[1] The approval with which this story is narrated clearly shows that to the public of Islam it seemed entirely just and humane that a woman should not have a child, except by her own deliberate will. We have been accustomed to say in later days that the State needs children, and that it is the business and the duty of women to supply them. But the State has no more right than the individual to ravish a woman against her will. We are beginning to realize that if the State wants children it

[1] Mardrus, *Les Mille Nuits*, vol. xvi, p. 158.

must make it agreeable to women to produce them, as under natural and equitable conditions it cannot fail to be. "The women will solve the question of mankind," said Ibsen in one of his rare and pregnant private utterances, "and they will do it as mothers." But it is unthinkable that any question should ever be solved by a helpless, unwilling, and involuntary act which has not even attained to the dignity of animal joy.

It is sometimes supposed, and even assumed, that the demand of women that motherhood must never be compulsory, means that they are unwilling to be mothers on any terms. In a few cases that may be so, but it is certainly not the case as regards the majority of sane and healthy women in any country. On the contrary, this demand is usually associated with the desire to glorify motherhood, if not, indeed, even with the thought of extending motherhood to many who are to-day shut out from it. "It seems to me," wrote Lady Henry Somerset, some years ago ("The Welcome Child, *Arena*, April, 1895), "that life will be dearer and nobler the more we recognize that there is no indelicacy in the climax and crown of creative power, but, rather, that it is the highest glory of the race. But if voluntary motherhood is the crown of the race, involuntary compulsory motherhood is the very opposite. . . . Only when both man and woman have learned that the most sacred of all functions given to women must be exercised by the free will alone, can children be born into the world who have in them the joyous desire to live, who claim that sweetest privilege of childhood, the certainty that they can expand in the sunshine of the love which is their due." Ellen Key, similarly, while pointing out (*Ueber Liebe und Ehe*, pp. 14, 265) that the tyranny of the old Protestant religious spirit which enjoined on women unlimited submission to joyless motherhood within "the whited sepulchre of marriage" is now being broken, exalts the privileges of voluntary motherhood, while admitting that there may be a few exceptional cases in which women may withdraw themselves from motherhood for the sake of the other demands of their personality, though, "as a general rule, the woman who refuses motherhood in order to serve humanity, is like a soldier who prepares himself on the eve of battle for the forthcoming struggle by opening his veins." Helene Stöcker, likewise, reckons motherhood as one of the demands, one of the growing demands indeed, which women now make. "If, to-day," she says (in the Preface to *Liebe und die Frauen*, 1906), "all the good things of life are claimed even for women—intellectual training, pecuniary independence, a happy vocation in life, a respected social position—and at the same time, as equally matter-of-

course, and equally necessary, marriage and child, that demand no longer sounds, as it sounded a few years ago, the voice of a preacher in the wilderness."

The degradation to which motherhood has, in the eyes of many, fallen, is due partly to the tendency to deprive women of any voice in the question, and partly to what H. G. Wells calls (*Socialism and the Family*, 1906) "the monstrous absurdity of women discharging their supreme social function, bearing and rearing children, in their spare time, as it were, while they 'earn their living' by contributing some half mechanical element to some trivial industrial product." It would be impracticable, and even undesirable, to insist that married women should not be allowed to work, for a work in the world is good for all. It is estimated that over thirty per cent. of the women workers in England are married or widows (James Haslam, *Englishwoman*, June, 1909), and in Lancashire factories alone, in 1901, there were 120,000 married women employed. But it would be easily possible for the State to arrange, in its own interests, that a woman's work at a trade should always give way to her work as a mother. It is the more undesirable that married women should be prohibited from working at a profession, since there are some professions for which a married woman, or, rather, a mother, is better equipped than an unmarried woman. This is notably the case as regards teaching, and it would be a good policy to allow married women teachers special privileges in the shape of increased free time and leave of absence. While in many fields of knowledge an unmarried woman may be a most excellent teacher, it is highly undesirable that children, and especially girls, should be brought exclusively under the educational influence of unmarried teachers.

The second great channel through which the impulse towards the control of procreation for the elevation of the race is entering into practical life is by the general adoption, by the educated classes of all countries—and it must be remembered that, in this matter at all events, all classes are gradually beginning to become educated—of methods for the prevention of conception except when conception is deliberately desired. It is no longer permissible to discuss the validity of this control, for it is an accomplished fact and has become a part of our modern morality. "If a course of conduct is habitually and deliberately pursued by vast multitudes of otherwise well-conducted people, forming probably a majority of the whole educated class of the nation,"

as Sidney Webb rightly puts it, "we must assume that it does not conflict with their actual code of morality."[1]

There cannot be any doubt that, so far as England is concerned, the prevention of conception is practiced, from prudential or other motives, by the vast majority of the educated classes. This fact is well within the knowledge of all who are intimately acquainted with the facts of English family life. Thus, Dr. A. W. Thomas writes (*British Medical Journal*, Oct. 20, 1906, p. 1066): "From my experience as a general practitioner, I have no hesitation in saying that ninety per cent. of young married couples of the comfortably-off classes use preventives." As a matter of fact, this rough estimate appears to be rather under than over the mark. In the very able paper already quoted, in which Sidney Webb shows that "the decline in the birthrate appears to be much greater in those sections of the population which give proofs of thrift and foresight," that this decline is "principally, if not entirely, the result of deliberate volition," and that "a volitional regulation of the marriage state is now ubiquitous throughout England and Wales, among, apparently, a large majority of the population." the results are brought forward of a detailed inquiry carried out by the Fabian Society. This inquiry covered 316 families, selected at random from all parts of Great Britain, and belonging to all sections of the middle class. The results are carefully analyzed, and it is found that seventy-four families were unlimited, and two hundred and forty-two voluntarily limited. When, however, the decade 1890 99 is taken by itself as the typical period, it is found that of 120 marriages, 107 were limited, and only thirteen unlimited, while of these thirteen, five were childless at the date of the return. In this decade, therefore, only seven unlimited fertile marriages are reported, out of a total of 120.

What is true of Great Britain is true of all other civilized countries, in the highest degree true of the most civilized countries, and it finds expression in the well-known phenomenon of the decline of the birthrate. In modern times, this movement of decline began in France, producing a slow but steady diminution in the annual number of births, and in France the movement seems now to be almost, or quite, arrested. But it has since taken place in all other progressive countries, notably in the United States, in Canada, in Australia, and in New Zealand, as well as in Germany, Austro Hungary, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. In England, it has been continuous since 1877. Of the great countries.

[1] Sidney Webb, *Popular Science Monthly*, 1906, p. 526 (previously published in the *London Times*, Oct. 11, 16, 1906). In Ch. IX of the present volume it has already been necessary to discuss the meaning of the term, "morality."

Russia is the only one in which it has not yet taken place, and among the masses of the Russian population we find less education, more poverty, a higher deathrate, and a greater amount of disease, than in any other great, or even small, civilized country.

It is sometimes said, indeed, that the decline of the birthrate is not entirely due to the voluntary control of procreation. It is undoubtedly true that certain other elements, common under civilized conditions, such as the postponement of marriage in women to a comparatively late age, tend to diminish the size of the family. But when all such allowances have been made, the decline is still found to be real and large. This has been shown, for instance, by the statistical analyses made by Arthur Newsholme and T. H. C. Stevenson, and by G. Yule, both published in *Journal Royal Statistical Society*, April, 1906.

Some have supposed that, since the Catholic Church forbids incomplete sexual intercourse, this movement for the control of procreation will involve a relatively much greater increase among Catholic than among non-Catholic populations. This, however, is only correct under certain conditions. It is quite true that in Ireland there has been no fall in the birthrate, and that the fall is but little marked in those Lancashire towns which possess a large Irish element. But in Belgium, Italy, Spain, and other mainly Catholic countries, the decline in the birthrate is duly taking place. What has happened is that the Church —always alive to sexual questions—has realized the importance of the modern movement, and has adapted herself to it, by proclaiming to her more ignorant and uneducated children that incomplete intercourse is a deadly sin, while at the same time refraining from making inquiries into this matter among her more educated members. The question was definitely brought up for Papal judgment, in 1842, by Bishop Bouvier of Le Mans, who stated the matter very clearly, representing to the Pope (Gregory XVI) that the prevention of conception was becoming very common, and that to treat it as a deadly sin merely resulted in driving the penitent away from confession. After mature consideration, the Curia Sacra Poenitentiaria replied by pointing out, as regards the common method of withdrawal before emission, that since it was due to the wrong act of the man, the woman who has been forced by her husband to consent to it, has committed no sin. Further, the Bishop was reminded of the wise dictum of Liguori, "the most learned and experienced man in these matters," that the confessor is not usually called upon to make inquiry upon so delicate a matter as the *debitum conjugale*, and, if his opinion is not asked, he should be silent (Bouvier, *Dissertatio in sextum Decalogi præceptum; supplementum ad Tractatum de Matrimonio*. 1849, pp. 179-182; quoted by Hans Ferdy, *Sexual-Probleme*, Aug., 1908, p. 498). We see, therefore, that, among Catholic as well as among non-Catholic populations, the adoption of pre-

ventive methods of conception follows progress and civilization, and that the general practice of such methods by Catholics (with the tacit consent of the Church) is merely a matter of time.

From time to time many energetic persons have noisily demanded that a stop should be put to the decline of the birth-rate, for, they argue, it means "race suicide." It is now beginning to be realized, however, that this outcry was a foolish and mischievous mistake. It is impossible to walk through the streets of any great city, full of vast numbers of persons who, obviously, ought never to have been born, without recognizing that the birthrate is as yet very far above its normal and healthy limit. The greatest States have often been the smallest so far as mere number of citizens is concerned, for it is quality not quantity that counts. And while it is true that the increase of the best types of citizens can only enrich a State, it is now becoming intolerable that a nation should increase by the mere dumping down of procreative refuse in its midst. It is beginning to be realized that this process not only depreciates the quality of a people but imposes on a State an inordinate financial burden.

It is now well recognized that large families are associated with degeneracy, and, in the widest sense, with abnormality of every kind. Thus, it is undoubtedly true that men of genius tend to belong to very large families, though it may be pointed out to those who fear an alarming decrease of genius from the tendency to the limitation of the family, that the position in the family most often occupied by the child of genius is the firstborn. (See Havelock Ellis, *A Study of British Genius*, pp. 115-120). The insane, the idiotic, imbecile, and weak-minded, the criminal, the epileptic, the hysterical, the neurasthenic, the tubercular, all, it would appear, tend to belong to large families (see *e.g.*, Havelock Ellis, *op cit.*, p. 110; Toulouse, *Les Causes de la Folie*, p. 91; Harriet Alexander, "Malthusianism and Degeneracy," *Alienist and Neurologist*, Jan., 1901). It has, indeed, been shown by Heron, Pearson, and Goring, that not only the eldest-born, but also the second-born, are specially liable to suffer from pathological defect (insanity, criminality, tuberculosis). There is, however, it would seem, a fallacy in the common interpretation of this fact. According to Van den Velden (as quoted in *Sexual-Probleme*, May, 1909. p. 381), this tendency is fully counterbalanced by the rising mortality of children from the firstborn onward. The greater pathological ten

dency of the earlier children is thus simply the result of a less stringent selection by death. So far as they show any really greater pathological tendency, apart from this fallacy, it is perhaps due to premature marriage. There is another fallacy in the frequent statement that the children in small families are more feeble than those in large families. We have to distinguish between a naturally small family, and an artificially small family. A family which is small merely as the result of the feeble procreative energy of the parents, is likely to be a feeble family; a family which is small as the result of the deliberate control of the parents, shows, of course, no such tendency.

These considerations, it will be seen, do not modify the tendency of the large family to be degenerate. We may connect this phenomenon with the disposition, often shown by nervously unsound and abnormal persons, to believe that they have a special aptitude to procreate fine children. "I believe that everyone has a special vocation," said a man to Marro (*La Pubertà*, p. 459); "I find that it is my vocation to beget superior children." He begat four,—an epileptic, a lunatic, a dipsomaniac, and a valetudinarian,—and himself died insane. Most people have come across somewhat similar, though perhaps less marked, cases of this delusion. In a matter of such fateful gravity to other human beings, no one can safely rely on his own unsupported impressions.

The demand of national efficiency thus corresponds with the demand of developing humanitarianism, which, having begun by attempting to ameliorate the conditions of life, has gradually begun to realize that it is necessary to go deeper and to ameliorate life itself. For while it is undoubtedly true that much may be done by acting systematically on the conditions of life, the more searching analysis of evil environmental conditions only serves to show that in large parts they are based in the human organism itself and were not only pre-natal, but pre-conceptional, being involved in the quality of the parental or ancestral organisms.

Putting aside, however, all humanitarian considerations, the serious error of attempting to stem the progress of civilization in the direction of procreative control could never have occurred if the general tendencies of zoölogical evolution had been understood, even in their elements. All zoölogical progress is from the more prolific to the less prolific; the higher the species the less fruitful are its individual members. The same tendency is found within the limits of the human species, though not in an

invariable straight line; the growth of civilization involves a diminution in fertility. This is by no means a new phenomenon; ancient Rome and later Geneva, "the Protestant Rome," bear witness to it; no doubt it has occurred in every high centre of moral and intellectual culture, although the data for measuring the tendency no longer exist. When we take a sufficiently wide and intelligent survey, we realize that the tendency of a community to slacken its natural rate of increase is an essential phenomenon of all advanced civilization. The more intelligent nations have manifested the tendency first, and in each nation the more educated classes have taken the lead, but it is only a matter of time to bring all civilized nations, and all social classes in each nation, into line.[1] This movement, we have to remember—in opposition to the ignorant outcry of certain would-be moralists and politicians—is a beneficent movement. It means a *greater regard to the quality than to the quantity of the* increase; it involves the possibility of combating successfully the evils of high mortality, disease, overcrowding, and all the manifold misfortunes which inevitably accompany a too exuberant birthrate. For it is only in a community which increases slowly that it is possible to secure the adequate economic adjustment and environmental modifications necessary for a sane and wholesome civic and personal life.[2] If those persons who raise the cry of "race suicide" in face of the decline of the birthrate really had the knowledge and intelligence to realize the manifold evils which they are invoking they would deserve to be treated as criminals.

[1] Thus, in Paris, in 1906, in the rich quarters, the birthrate per 1,000 inhabitants was 19.09; in well-to-do quarters, 22.51; and in poor quarters, 29.70. Here we see that, while the birthrate falls and rises with social class, even among the poor and least restrained class the birthrate is still but little above the general average for England, where prevention is widespread, and very considerably lower than the average (now rapidly falling) in Germany. It is evident that even among the poor class there is a process of leveling up to the higher classes in this matter.

[2] I have developed these points more in detail in two articles in the *Independent Review*, November, 1903, and April, 1904. See also, Bushee, "The Declining Birthrate and Its Causes," *Popular Science Monthly*, Aug., 1903.

On the practical side a knowledge of the possibility of preventing conception has, doubtless, never been quite extinct in civilization and even in lower stages of culture, though it has mostly been utilized for ends of personal convenience or practiced in obedience to conventional social rules which demanded chastity, and has only of recent times been made subservient to the larger interests of society and the elevation of the race. The theoretical basis of the control of procreation, on its social and economic, as distinct from its eugenic, aspects, may be said to date from Malthus's famous *Essay on Population,* first published in 1798, an epoch-marking book,—though its central thesis is not susceptible of actual demonstration,—since it not only served as the starting-point of the modern humanitarian movement for the control of procreation, but also furnished to Darwin (and independently to Wallace also) the fruitful idea which was finally developed into the great evolutionary theory of natural selection.

Malthus, however, was very far from suggesting that the control of procreation, which he advocated for the benefit of mankind, should be exercised by the introduction of preventive methods into sexual intercourse. He believed that civilization involved an increased power of self-control, which would make it possible to refrain altogether from sexual intercourse, when such self-restraint was demanded in the interests of humanity. Later thinkers realized, however, that, while it is undoubtedly true that civilization involves greater forethought and greater self-control, we cannot anticipate that those qualities should be developed to the extent demanded by Malthus, especially when the impulse to be controlled is of so powerful and explosive a nature.

James Mill was the pioneer in advocating Neo-Malthusian methods, though he spoke cautiously. In 1818, in the article "Colony" in the supplement to the *Encyclopædia Britannica,* after remarking that the means of checking the unrestricted increase of the population constitutes "the most important practical problem to which the wisdom of the politician and moralist can be applied," he continued: "If the superstitions of the nursery were discarded, and the principle of utility kept steadily

in view, a solution might not be very difficult to be found." Four years later, James Mill's friend, the Radical reformer, Francis Place, more distinctly expressed the thought that was evidently in Mill's mind. After enumerating the facts concerning the necessity of self-control in procreation and the evils of early marriage, which he thinks ought to be clearly taught, Place continues: "If a hundredth, perhaps a thousandth part of the pains were taken to teach these truths, that are taken to teach dogmas, a great change for the better might, in no considerable space of time, be expected to take place in the appearance and the habits of the people. If, above all, it were once clearly understood that it was not disreputable for married persons to avail themselves of such precautionary means as would, without being injurious to health, or destructive of female delicacy, prevent conception, a sufficient check might at once be given to the increase of population beyond the means of subsistence; vice and misery, to a prodigious extent, might be removed from society, and the object of Mr. Malthus, Mr. Godwin, and of every philanthropic person, be promoted, by the increase of comfort, of intelligence, and of moral conduct, in the mass of the population. The course recommended will, I am fully persuaded, at some period be pursued by the people even if left to themselves."[1]

It was not long before Place's prophetic words began to be realized, and in another half century the movement was affecting the birthrate of all civilized lands, though it can scarcely yet be said that justice has been done to the pioneers who promoted it in the face of much persecution from the ignorant and superstitious public whom they sought to benefit. In 1831, Robert Dale Owen, the son of Robert Owen, published his *Moral Physiology*, setting forth the methods of preventing conception. A little later the brothers George and Charles Drysdale (born 1825 and 1829), two ardent and unwearying philanthropists, devoted much of their energy to the propagation of Neo-Malthusian principles. George Drysdale, in 1854, published his

[1] Francis Place, *Illustrations and Proofs of the Principle of Population*, 1822, p. 165.

Elements of Social Science, which during many years had an enormous circulation all over Europe in eight different languages. It was by no means in every respect a scientific or sound work, but it certainly had great influence, and it came into the hands of many who never saw any other work on sexual topics. Although the Neo-Malthusian propagandists of those days often met with much obloquy, their cause was triumphantly vindicated in 1876, when Charles Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant, having been prosecuted for disseminating Neo-Malthusian pamphlets, the charge was dismissed, the Lord Chief Justice declaring that so ill-advised and injudicious a charge had probably never before been made in a court of justice. This trial, even by its mere publicity and apart from its issue, gave an enormous impetus to the Neo-Malthusian movement. It is well known that the steady decline in the English birthrate begun in 1877, the year following the trial. There could be no more brilliant illustration of the fact, that what used to be called "the instruments of Providence" are indeed unconscious instruments in bringing about great ends which they themselves were far from either intending or desiring.

In 1877, Dr. C. R. Drysdale founded the Malthusian League, and edited a periodical, *The Malthusian,* aided throughout by his wife, Dr. Alice Drysdale Vickery. He died in 1907. (The noble and pioneering work of the Drysdales has not yet been adequately recognized in their own country; an appreciative and well-informed article by Dr. Hermann Rohleder, "Dr. C. R. Drysdale, Der Hauptvortreter der Neumalthusianische Lehre," appeared in the *Zeitschrift fur Sexualwissenschaft,* March, 1908). There are now societies and periodicals in all civilized countries for the propagation of Neo-Malthusian principles, as they are still commonly called, though it would be desirable to avoid the use of Malthus's name in this connection. In the medical profession, the advocacy of preventive methods of sexual intercourse, not on social, but on medical and hygienic grounds, began same thirty years ago, though in France, at an earlier date, Raciborski advocated the method of avoiding the neighborhood of menstruation. In Germany, Dr. Mensinga, the gynæcologist, is the most prominent advocate, on medical and hygienic grounds, of what he terms "facultative sterility," which he first put forward about 1889. In Russia, about the same time, artificial sterility was first openly advocated by the distinguished gynæcologist, Professor

Ott, at the St. Petersburg Obstetric and Gynæcological Society. Such medical recommendations, in particular cases, are now becoming common.

There are certain cases in which a person ought not to marry at all; this is so, for instance, when there has been an attack of insanity; it can never be said with certainty that a person who has had one attack of insanity will not have another, and persons who have had such attacks ought not, as Blandford says (Lumleian Lectures on Insanity, *British Medical Journal*, April 20, 1895), "to inflict on their partner for life, the anxiety, and even danger, of another attack." There are other and numerous cases in which marriage may be permitted, or may have already taken place, under more favorable circumstances, but where it is, or has become, highly desirable that there should be no children. This is the case when a first attack of insanity occurs after marriage, the more urgently if the affected party is the wife, and especially if the disease takes the form of puerperal mania. "What can be more lamentable," asks Blandford (*loc cit.*), than to see a woman break down in childbed, recover, break down again with the next child, and so on, for six, seven, or eight children, the recovery between each being less and less, until she is almost a chronic maniac?" It has been found, moreover, by Tredgold (*Lancet*, May 17, 1902), that among children born to insane mothers, the mortality is twice as great as the ordinary infantile mortality, in even the poorest districts. In cases of unions between persons with tuberculous antecedents, also, it is held by many (*e.g.*, by Massalongo, in discussing tuberculosis and marriage at the Tuberculosis Congress, at Naples, in 1900) that every precaution should be taken to make the marriage childless. In a third class of cases, it is necessary to limit the children to one or two; this happens in some forms of heart disease, in which pregnancy has a progressively deteriorating effect on the heart (Kisch, *Therapeutische Monatsheft*, Feb., 1898, and *Sexual Life of Woman;* Vinay, *Lyon Medical*, Jan. 8, 1889); in some cases of heart disease, however, it is possible that, though there is no reason for prohibiting marriage, it is desirable for a woman not to have any children (J. F. Blacker, "Heart Disease in Relation to Pregnancy," *British Medical Journal*, May 25, 1907).

In all such cases, the recommendation of preventive methods of intercourse is obviously an indispensable aid to the physician in emphasizing the supremacy of hygienic precautions. In the absence of such methods, he can never be sure that his warnings will be heard, and even the observance of his advice would be attended with various undesirable results. It sometimes happens that a married couple agree, even before marriage, to live together without sexual relations, but, for various reasons, it is seldom found possible or convenient to maintain this resolution for a long period.

It is the recognition of these and similar considerations which has led—though only within recent years—on the one hand, as we have seen, to the embodiment of the control of procreation into the practical morality of all civilized nations, and, on the other hand, to the assertion, now perhaps without exception, by all medical authorities on matters of sex that the use of the methods of preventing conception is under certain circumstances urgently necessary and quite harmless.[1] It arouses a smile to-day when we find that less than a century ago it was possible for an able and esteemed medical author to declare that the use of "various abominable means" to prevent conception is "based upon a most presumptuous doubt in the conservative power of the Creator."[2]

The adaptation of theory to practice is not yet complete, and we could not expect that it should be so, for, as we have seen, there is always an antagonism between practical morality and traditional morality. From time to time flagrant illustrations of this antagonism occur.[3] Even in England, which played a pioneering part in the control of procreation, attempts are still made—sometimes in quarters where we have a right to expect a

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[1] See, *e.g.*, a weighty chapter in the *Sexualleben und Nervenleiden* of Löwenfeld, one of the most judicious authorities on sexual pathology. Twenty-five years ago, as many will remember, the medical student was usually taught that preventive methods of intercourse led to all sorts of serious results. At that time, however, reckless and undesirable methods of prevention seem to have been more prevalent than now.

[2] Michael Ryan, *Philosophy of Marriage* p. 9. To enable "the conservative power of the Creator" to exert itself on the myriads of germinal human beings secreted during his life-time by even one man, would require a world full of women, while the corresponding problem as regards a woman is altogether too difficult to cope with. The process by which life has been built up, far from being a process of universal conservation, has been a process of stringent selection and vast destruction; the progress effected by civilization merely lies in making this blind process intelligent.

[3] Thus, in Belgium, in 1908 (*Sexual-Probleme*, Feb., 1909, p. 136), a physician (Dr. Mascaux) who had been prominent in promoting a knowledge of preventive methods of conception, was condemned to three months imprisonment for "offense against morality!" In such a case, Dr. Helene Stöcker comments (*Die Neue Generation*, Jan., 1909, p. 7), "morality" is another name for ignorance, timidity, hypocrisy, prudery, coarseness, and lack of conscience. It must be remembered, however, in explanation of this iniquitous judgment, that for some years past the clerical party has been politically predominant in Belgium.

better knowledge—to cast discredit on a movement which, since it has conquered alike scientific approval and popular practice, it is now idle to call in question.

It would be out of place to discuss here the various methods which are used for the control of procreation, or their respective merits and defects. It is sufficient to say that the condom or protective sheath, which seems to be the most ancient of all methods of preventing conception, after withdrawal, is now regarded by nearly all authorities as, when properly used, the safest, the most convenient, and the most harmless method.[1] This is the opinion of Krafft-Ebing, of Moll, of Schrenck-Notzing, of Löwenfeld, of Forel, of Kisch, of Fürbringer, to mention only a few of the most distinguished medical authorities.[2]

There is some interest in attempting to trace the origin and history of the condom, though it seems impossible to do so with any precision. It is probable that, in a rudimentary form, such an appliance is of great antiquity. In China and Japan, it would appear, rounds of oiled silk paper are used to cover the mouth of the womb, at all events, by prostitutes. This seems the simplest and most obvious mechanical method of preventing conception, and may have suggested the application of a sheath to the penis as a more effectual method. In Europe, it is in the middle of the sixteenth century, in Italy, that we first seem to hear of such appliances, in the shape of linen sheaths, adapted to the shape of the penis; Fallopius recommended the use of such an appliance. Improvements in the manufacture were gradually devised; the cæcum of the lamb was employed, and afterwards, isinglass. It appears

[1] It has been objected that the condom cannot be used by the very poorest, on account of its cost, but Hans Ferdy, in a detailed paper (*Sexual-Probleme*, Dec., 1908), shows that the use of the condom can be brought within the means of the very poorest, if care is taken to preserve it under water when not in use. Nyström (*Sexual-Probleme*, Nov., 1908, p. 736) has issued a leaflet for the benefit of his patients and others, recommending the condom, and explaining its use.

[2] Thus, Kisch, in his *Sexual Life of Woman*, after discussing fully the various methods of prevention, decides in favor of the condom Fürbringer similarly (Senator and Kaminer, *Health and Disease in Relation to Marriage*, vol. i, pp. 232 *et seq.*) concludes that the condom is "relatively the most perfect anti-conceptual remedy." Forel (*Die Sexuelle Frage*, pp. 457 *et seq.*) also discusses the question at length; any æsthetic objection to the condom, Forel adds (p. 544), is due to the fact that we are not accustomed to it; "eye-glasses are not specially æsthetic, but the poetry of life does not suffer excessively from their use, which, in many cases, cannot be dispensed with."

that a considerable improvement in the manufacture took place in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, and this improvement was generally associated with England. The appliance thus became known as the English cape or mantle, the "capote anglaise," or the "redingote anglaise," and, under the latter name, is referred to by Casanova, in the middle of the eighteenth century (Casanova, *Mémoires*, ed. Garnier, vol. iv, p. 464); Casanova never seems, however, to have used these redingotes himself, not caring, he said, "to shut myself up in a piece of dead skin in order to prove that I am perfectly alive." These capotes—then made of gold-beaters' skin—were, also, it appears, known at an earlier period to Mme. de Sévigné, who did not regard them with favor, for, in one of her letters, she refers to them as "cuirasses contre la volupté et toiles d'arraignée contre le mal." The name, "condom," dates from the eighteenth century, first appearing in France, and is generally considered to be that of an English physician, or surgeon, who invented, or, rather, improved the appliance. Condom is not, however, an English name, but there is an English name, Condon, of which "condom" may well be a corruption. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that the word sometimes actually was written "condon." Thus, in lines quoted by Bachaumont, in his *Diary* (Dec. 15, 1773), and supposed to be addressed to a former ballet dancer who had become a prostitute, I find:—

"Du *condon* cependant, vous connaissez l'usage,

* * * *

Le *condon*, c'est la loi, ma fille, et les prophètes!"

The difficulty remains, however, of discovering any Englishman of the name of Condon, who can plausibly be associated with the condom; doubtless he took no care to put the matter on record, never suspecting the fame that would accrue to his invention, or the immortality that awaited his name. I find no mention of any Condon in the records of the College of Physicians, and at the College of Surgeons, also, where, indeed, the old lists are very imperfect, Mr. Victor Plarr, the librarian, after kindly making a search, has assured me that there is no record of the name. Other varying explanations of the name have been offered, with more or less assurance, though usually without any proofs. Thus, Hyrtl (*Handbuch der Topographischen Anatomie*, 7th ed., vol. ii, p. 212) states that the condom was originally called gondom, from the name of the English discoverer, a Cavalier of Charles II's Court, who first prepared it from the amnion of the sheep; Gondom is, however, no more an English name than Condom. There happens to be a French town, in Gascony, called Condom, and Bloch suggests, without any evidence, that this furnished the name; if so, however, it is improbable that it would have been unknown in France. Finally, Hans Ferdy

considers that it is derived from "condus"—that which preserves—and, in accordance with his theory, he terms the condom a condus.

The early history of the condom is briefly discussed by various writers, as by Proksch, *Die Vorbauung der Venerischen Krankheiten*, p. 48; Bloch, *Sexual Life of Our Time*, Chs. XV and XXVIII; Cabanès, *Indiscretions de l'Histoire*, p. 121, etc.

The control of procreation by the prevention of conception has, we have seen, become a part of the morality of civilized peoples. There is another method, not indeed for preventing conception, but for limiting offspring, which is of much more ancient appearance in the world, though it has at different times been very differently viewed and still arouses widely opposing opinions. This is the method of abortion.

While the practice of abortion has by no means, like the practice of preventing conception, become accepted in civilization, it scarcely appears to excite profound repulsion in a large proportion of the population of civilized countries. The majority of women, not excluding educated and highly moral women, who become pregnant against their wish contemplate the possibility of procuring abortion without the slightest twinge of conscience, and often are not even aware of the usual professional attitude of the Church, the law, and medicine regarding abortion. Probably all doctors have encountered this fact, and even so distinguished and correct a medico-legist as Brouardel stated[1] that he had been not infrequently solicited to procure abortion, for themselves or their wet-nurses, by ladies who looked on it as a perfectly natural thing, and had not the least suspicion that the law regarded the deed as a crime.

It is not, therefore, surprising that abortion is exceedingly common in all civilized and progressive countries. It cannot, indeed, unfortunately, be said that abortion has been conducted in accordance with eugenic considerations, nor has it often been so much as advocated from the eugenic standpoint. But in numerous classes of cases of undesired pregnancy, occurring in women of character and energy, not accustomed to submit tamely to conditions they may not have sought, and in any case

[1] *L'Avortement*, p. 43.

consider undesirable, abortion is frequently resorted to. It is usual to regard the United States as a land in which the practice especially flourishes, and certainly a land in which the ideal of chastity for unmarried women, of freedom for married women, of independence for all, is actively followed cannot fail to be favorable to the practice of abortion. But the way in which the prevalence of abortion is proclaimed in the United States is probably in large part due to the honesty of the Americans in setting forth, and endeavoring to correct, what, rightly or wrongly, they regard as social defects, and may not indicate any real pre-eminence in the practice. Comparative statistics are difficult, and it is certainly true that abortion is extremely common in England, in France, and in Germany. It is probable that any national differences may be accounted for by differences in general social habits and ideals. Thus in Germany, where considerable sexual freedom is permitted to unmarried women and married women are very domesticated, abortion may be less frequent than in France where purity is stringently demanded from the young girl, while the married woman demands freedom for work and for pleasure. But such national differences, if they exist, are tending to be levelled down, and charges of criminal abortion are constantly becoming more common in Germany; though this increase, again, may be merely due to greater zeal in pursuing the offence.

Brouardel (*op. cit.*, p. 39) quotes the opinion that, in New York, only one in every thousand abortions is discovered. Dr. J. F. Scott (*The Sexual Instinct*, Ch. VIII), who is himself strongly opposed to the practice, considers that in America, the custom of procuring abortion has to-day reached "such vast proportions as to be almost beyond belief," while "countless thousands" of cases are never reported. "It has increased so rapidly in our day and generation," Scott states, "that it has created surprise and alarm in the minds of all conscientious persons who are informed of the extent to which it is carried." (The assumption that those who approve of abortion are necessarily not "conscientious persons" is, as we shall see, mistaken.) The change has taken place since 1840. The Michigan Special Committee on Criminal Abortion reported in 1881 that, from correspondence with nearly one hundred physicians, it appeared that there came to the knowledge of

the profession seventeen abortions to every one hundred pregnancies; to these, the committee believe, may be added as many more that never came to the physician's knowledge. The committee further quoted, though without endorsement, the opinion of a physician who believed that a change is now coming over public feeling in regard to the abortionist, who is beginning to be regarded in America as a useful member of society, and even a benefactor.

In England, also, there appears to have been a marked increase of abortion during recent years, perhaps specially marked among the poor and hard-working classes. A writer in the *British Medical Journal* (April 9, 1904, p. 865) finds that abortion is "wholesale and systematic," and gives four cases occurring in his practice during four months, in which women either attempted to produce abortion, or requested him to do so; they were married women, usually with large families, and in delicate health, and were willing to endure any suffering, if they might be saved from further child-bearing. Abortion is frequently effected, or attempted, by taking "Female Pills," which contain small portions of lead, and are thus liable to produce very serious symptoms, whether or not they induce abortion. Professor Arthur Hall, of Sheffield, who has especially studied this use of lead ("The Increasing Use of Lead as an Abortifacient," *British Medical Journal*, March 18, 1905), finds that the practice has lately become very common in the English Midlands, and is gradually, it appears, widening its circle. It occurs chiefly among married women with families, belonging to the working class, and it tends to become specially prevalent during periods of trade depression (*cf.* G. Newman, *Infant Mortality*, p. 81). Women of better social class resort to professional abortionists, and sometimes go over to Paris.

In France, also, and especially in Paris, there has been a great increase during recent years in the practice of abortion. (See *e.g.*, a discussion at the Paris Société de Médecine Légale, *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, May, 1907.) Doléris has shown (*Bulletin de la Société d'Obstétrique*, Feb., 1905) that in the Paris Maternités the percentage of abortions in pregnancies doubled between 1898 and 1904, and Doléris estimates that about half of these abortions were artificially induced. In France, abortion is mainly carried on by professional abortionists. One of these, Mme. Thomas, who was condemned to penal servitude, in 1891, acknowledged performing 10,000 abortions during eight years; her charge for the operation was two francs and upwards. She was a peasant's daughter, brought up in the home of her uncle, a doctor, whose medical and obstetrical books she had devoured (A. Hamon, *La France en 1891*, pp. 629-631) French public opinion is lenient to abortion, especially to women who perform the operation on themselves; not many cases are brought into court, and of these, forty

per cent. are acquitted (Eugène Bausset, *L'Avortement Criminel*, Thèse de Paris, 1907). The professional abortionist is, however, usually sent to prison.

In Germany, also, abortion appears to have greatly increased during recent years, and the yearly number of cases of criminal abortion brought into the courts was, in 1903, more than double as many as in 1885. (See, also, Elisabeth Zanzinger, *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, Bd. II, Heft 5; and *Sexual-Probleme*, Jan., 1908, p. 23.)

In view of these facts it is not surprising that the induction of abortion has been permitted and even encouraged in many civilizations. Its unqualified condemnation is only found in Christendom, and is due to theoretical notions. In Turkey, under ordinary circumstances, there is no punishment for abortion. In the classic civilization of Greece and Rome, likewise, abortion was permitted though with certain qualifications and conditions. Plato admitted the mother's right to decide on abortion but said that the question should be settled as early as possible in pregnancy. Aristotle, who approved of abortion, was of the same opinion. Zeno and the Stoics regarded the fœtus as the fruit of the womb, the soul being acquired at birth; this was in accordance with Roman law which decreed that the fœtus only became a human being at birth.[1] Among the Romans abortion became very common, but, in accordance with the patriarchal basis of early Roman institutions, it was the father, not the mother, who had the right to exercise it. Christianity introduced a new circle of ideas based on the importance of the soul, on its immortality, and the necessity of baptism as a method of salvation from the results of inherited sin. We already see this new attitude in St. Augustine who, discussing whether embryos that died in the womb will rise at the resurrection, says "I make bold neither to affirm nor to deny, although I fail to see why, if they are not excluded from the number of the dead, they should not attain to the resurrection of the dead."[2] The criminality of abortion was, however, speedily established, and the early Chris-

[1] There are some disputed points in Roman law and practice concerning abortion; they are discussed in Balestrini's valuable book. *Aborto*, pp. 30 *et seq.*

[2] Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, Bk. XXII, Ch. XIII.

tian Emperors, in agreement with the Church, edicted many fantastic and extreme penalties against abortion. This tendency continued under ecclesiastical influence, unrestrained, until the humanitarian movement of the eighteenth century, when Beccaria, Voltaire, Rousseau and other great reformers succeeded in turning the tide of public opinion against the barbarity of the laws, and the penalty of death for abortion was finally abolished.[1]

Medical science and practice at the present day—although it can scarcely be said that it speaks with an absolutely unanimous voice—on the whole occupies a position midway between that of the classic lawyers and that of the later Christian ecclesiastics. It is, on the whole, in favor of sacrificing the fœtus whenever the interests of the mother demand such a sacrifice. General medical opinion is not, however, prepared at present to go further, and is distinctly disinclined to aid the parents in exerting an unqualified control over the fœtus in the womb, nor is it yet disposed to practice abortion on eugenic grounds. It is obvious, indeed, that medicine cannot in this matter take the initiative, for it is the primary duty of medicine to save life. Society itself must assume the responsibility of protecting the race.

Dr. S. Macvie ("Mother *versus* Child," *Transactions Edinburgh Obstetrical Society*, vol. xxiv, 1899) elaborately discusses the respective values of the fœtus and the adult on the basis of life-expectancy, and concludes that the fœtus is merely "a parasite performing no function whatever," and that "unless the life-expectancy of the child covers the years in which its potentiality is converted into actuality, the relative values of the maternal and fœtal life will be that of actual as against potential." This statement seems fairly sound. Ballantyne (*Manual of Antenatal Pathology: The Fœtus*, p. 459) endeavors to make the statement more precise by saying that "the mother's life has a value, because she is what she is, while the fœtus only has a possible value, on account of what it may become."

Durlacher, among others, has discussed, in careful and cautious detail, the various conditions in which the physician should, or should not, induce abortion in the interests of the mother ("Der Künstliche

[1] The development of opinion and law concerning abortion has been traced by Eugène Bausset, *L'Avortement Criminel*, Thèse de Paris, 1907. For a summary of the practices of different peoples regarding abortion, see W. G. Sumner, *Folkways*, Ch. VIII.

Abort," *Wiener Klinik*, Aug. and Sept., 1906); so also, Eugen Wilhelm ("Die Abtreibung und das Recht des Arztes zur Vernichtung der Leibesfrucht," *Sexual-Probleme*, May and June, 1909). Wilhelm further discusses whether it is desirable to alter the laws in order to give the physician greater freedom in deciding on abortion. He concludes that this is not necessary, and might even act injuriously, by unduly hampering medical freedom. Any change in the law should merely be, he considers, in the direction of asserting that the destruction of the fœtus is not abortion in the legal sense, provided it is indicated by the rules of medical science. With reference to the timidity of some medical men in inducing abortion, Wilhelm remarks that, even in the present state of the law, the physician who conscientiously effects abortion, in accordance with his best knowledge, even if mistakenly, may consider himself safe from all legal penalties, and that he is much more likely to come in conflict with the law if it can be proved that death followed as a result of his neglect to induce abortion.

Pinard, who has discussed the right to control the fœtal life (*Annales de Gynécologie*, vols. lii and liii, 1899 and 1900), inspired by his enthusiastic propaganda for the salvation of infant life, is led to the unwarranted conclusion that no one has the rights of life and death over the fœtus; "the infant's right to his life is an imprescriptible and sacred right, which no power can take from him." There is a mistake here, unless Pinard deliberately desires to place himself, like Tolstoy, in opposition to current civilized morality. So far from the infant having any "imprescriptible right to life," even the adult has, in human societies, no such inalienable right, and very much less the fœtus, which is not strictly a human being at all. We assume the right of terminating the lives of those individuals whose anti-social conduct makes them dangerous, and, in war, we deliberately terminate, amid general applause and enthusiasm, the lives of men who have been specially selected for this purpose on account of their physical and general efficiency. It would be absurdly inconsistent to say that we have no rights over the lives of creatures that have, as yet, no part in human society at all, and are not so much as born. We are here in presence of a vestige of ancient theological dogma, and there can be little doubt that, on the theoretical side at all events, the "imprescriptible right" of the embryo will go the same way as the "imprescriptible right" of the spermatozoon. Both rights are indeed "imprescriptible."

Of recent years a new, and, it must be admitted, somewhat unexpected, aspect of this question of abortion has been revealed. Hitherto it has been a question entirely in the hands of men, first, following the Roman traditions, in the hands of Christian

ecclesiastics, and later, in those of the professional castes. Yet the question is in reality very largely, and indeed mainly, a woman's question, and now, more especially in Germany, it has been actively taken up by women. The Gräfin Gisela Streitberg occupies the pioneering place in this movement with her book *Das Recht zur Beiseitigung Keimenden Lebens,* and was speedily followed, from 1897 onwards, by a number of distinguished women who occupy a prominent place in the German woman's movement, among others Helene Stöcker, Oda Olberg, Elisabeth Zanzinger, Camilla Jellinek. All these writers insist that the fœtus is not yet an independent human being, and that every woman, by virtue of the right over her own body, is entitled to decide whether it shall become an independent human being. At the Woman's Congress held in the autumn of 1905, a resolution was passed demanding that abortion should only be punishable when effected by another person against the wish of the pregnant women herself.[1] The acceptance of this resolution by a representative assembly is interesting proof of the interest now taken by women in the question, and of the strenuous attitude they are tending to assume.

Elisabeth Zanzinger ("Verbrechen gegen die Leibesfrucht," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft,* Bd. II, Heft 5, 1907) ably and energetically condemns the law which makes abortion a crime. "A woman herself is the only legitimate possessor of her own body and her own health. . . . Just as it is a woman's private right, and most intimate concern, to present her virginity as her best gift to the chosen of her heart, so it is certainly a pregnant woman's own private concern if, for reasons which seem good to her, she decides to destroy the results of her action." A woman who destroys the embryo which might become a burden to the community, or is likely to be an inferior member of society, this writer urges, is doing a service to the community, which ought to reward her, perhaps by granting her special privileges as regards the upbringing of her other children. Oda Olberg, in a thoughtful paper ("Ueber den Juristischen Schutz des Keimenden Lebens," *Die Neue Generation,* June, 1908), endeavors to make clear all that is in-

[1] *Die Neue Generation,* May, 1908, p. 192. It may be added that in England the attachment of any penalty at all to abortion, practiced in the early months of pregnancy (before "quickening" has taken place), is merely a modern innovation.

volved in the effort to protect the developing embryo against the organism that carries it, to protect a creature, that is, against itself and its own instincts. She considers that most of the women who terminate their pregnancies artificially would only have produced undesirables, for the normal, healthy, robust woman has no desire to effect abortion. "There are women who are psychically sterile, without being physically so, and who possess nothing of motherhood but the ability to bring forth. These, when they abort, are simply correcting a failure of Nature." Some of them, she remarks, by going on to term, become guilty of the far worse offence of infanticide. As for the women who desire abortion merely from motives of vanity, or convenience, Oda Olberg points out that the circles in which these motives rule are quite able to limit their children without having to resort to abortion. She concludes that society must protect the young life in every way, by social hygiene, by laws for the protection of the workers, by spreading a new morality on the basis of the laws of heredity. But we need no law to protect the young creature against its own mother, for a thousand natural forces are urging the mother to protect her own child, and we may be sure that she will not disobey these forces without very good reasons. Camilla Jellinek, again (*Die Strafrechtsreform*, etc., Heidelberg, 1909), in a powerful and well-informed address before the Associated German Frauenvereine, at Breslau, argues in the same sense.

The lawyers very speedily came to the assistance of the women in this matter, the more readily, no doubt, since the traditions of the greatest and most influential body of law already pointed, on one side at all events, in the same direction. It may, indeed, be claimed that it was from the side of law—and in Italy, the classic land of legal reform—that this new movement first begun. In 1888, Balestrini published, at Turin, his *Aborto, Infanticidio ed Esposizione d'Infante*, in which he argued that the penalty should be removed from abortion. It was a very able and learned book, inspired by large ideas and a humanitarian spirit, but though its importance is now recognized, it cannot be said that it attracted much attenion on publication.

It is especially in Germany that, during recent years, lawyers have followed women reformers, by advocating, more or less completely, the abolition of the punishment for abortion. So distinguished an authority as Von Liszt, in a private letter to Camilla Jellinek (*op. cit.*), states that he regards the punishment of abortion as "very doubtful," though he considers its complete abolition impracticable; he thinks abortion might be permitted during the early months of pregnancy, thus bringing about a return of the old view. Hans Gross states his opinion (*Archiv für Kriminal-Anthropologie*, Bd. XII, p. 345) that the time is not far distant when abortion will no longer be punished. Radbruch and Von Lilienthal speak in the same sense. Weinberg has advocated a change

in the law (*Mutterschutz*, 1905, Heft 8), and Kurt Hiller (*Die Neue Generation*, April, 1909), also from the legal side, argues that abortion should only be punishable when effected by a married woman, without the knowledge and consent of her husband.

The medical profession, which took the first step in modern times in the authorization of abortion, has not at present taken any further step. It has been content to lay down the principle that when the interests of the mother are opposed to those of the fœtus, it is the latter which must be sacrificed. It has hesitated to take the further step of placing abortion on the eugenic basis, and of claiming the right to insist on abortion whenever the medical and hygienic interests of society demand such a step. This attitude is perfectly intelligible. Medicine has in the past been chiefly identified with the saving of lives, even of worthless and worse than worthless lives; "Keep everything alive! Keep everything alive!" nervously cried Sir James Paget. Medicine has confined itself to the humble task of attempting to cure evils, and is only to-day beginning to undertake the larger and nobler task of preventing them.

"The step from killing the child in the womb to murdering a person when out of the womb, is a dangerously narrow one," sagely remarks a recent medical author, probably speaking for many others, who somehow succeed in blinding themselves to the fact that this "dangerously narrow step" has been taken by mankind, only too freely, for thousands of years past, long before abortion was known in the world.

Here and there, however, medical authors of repute have advocated the further extension of abortion, with precautions, and under proper supervision, as an aid to eugenic progress. Thus, Professor Max Flesch (*Die Neue Generation*, April, 1909) is in favor of a change in the law permitting abortion (provided it is carried out by the physician) in special cases, as when the mother's pregnancy has been due to force, when she has been abandoned, or when, in the interests of the community, it is desirable to prevent the propagation of insane, criminal, alcoholic, or tuberculous persons.

In France, a medical man, Dr. Jean Darricarrère, has written a remarkable novel, *Le Droit d'Avortement* (1906), which advocates the thesis that a woman always possesses a complete right to abortion, and is the supreme judge as to whether she will or not undergo the pain and risks of childbirth. The question is, here, however, obviously placed not on medical, but on humanitarian and feminist grounds.

We have seen that, alike on the side of practice and of theory, a great change has taken place during recent years in the attitude towards abortion. It must, however, clearly be recognized that, unlike the control of procreation by methods for preventing conception, facultative abortion has not yet been embodied in our current social morality. If it is permissible to interpolate a personal opinion, I may say that to me it seems that our morality is here fairly reasonable.[1] I am decidedly of opinion that an unrestricted permission for women to practice abortion in their own interests, or even for communities to practice it in the interests of the race, would be to reach beyond the stage of civilization we have at present attained. As Ellen Key very forcibly argues, a civilization which permits, without protest, the barbarous slaughter of its carefully selected adults in war has not yet won the right to destroy deliberately even its most inferior vital products in the womb. A civilization guilty of so reckless a waste of life cannot safely be entrusted with this judicial function. The blind and aimless anxiety to cherish the most hopeless and degraded forms of life, even of unborn life, may well be a weakness, and since it often leads to incalculable suffering, even a crime. But as yet there is an impenetrable barrier against progress in this direction. Before we are entitled to take life deliberately for the sake of purifying life, we must learn how to preserve it by abolishing such destructive influences —war, disease, bad industrial conditions—as are easily within our social power as civilized nations.[2]

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[1] Even Balestrini, who is opposed to the punishment of abortion, is no advocate of it. "Whenever abortion becomes a social custom," he remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 191), "it is the external manifestation of a people's decadence, and far too deeply rooted to be cured by the mere attempt to suppress the external manifestation."

[2] *Cf.* Ellen Key, *Century of the Child*, Ch. I. Hirth (*Wege zum Heimat*, p. 526) is likewise opposed to the encouragement of abortion, though he would not actually punish the pregnant woman who induces abortion. I would especially call attention to an able and cogent article by Anna Pappritz ("Die Vernichtung des Keimenden Lebens," *Sexual-Probleme*, July, 1909) who argues that the woman is not the sole guardian of the embryo she bears, and that it is not in the interests of society, nor even in her own interests, that she should be free to destroy it at will. Anna Pappritz admits that the present barbarous laws in regard to abortion must be modified, but maintains

There is, further, another consideration which seems to me to carry weight. The progress of civilization is in the direction of greater foresight, of greater prevention, of a diminished need for struggling with the reckless lack of prevision. The necessity for abortion is precisely one of those results of reckless action which civilization tends to diminish. While we may admit that in a sounder state of civilization a few cases might still occur when the induction of abortion would be desirable, it seems probable that the number of such cases will decrease rather than increase. In order to do away with the need for abortion, and to counteract the propaganda in its favor, our main reliance must be placed, on the one hand, on increased foresight in the determination of conception and increased knowledge of the means for preventing conception,[1] and on the other hand, on a better provision by the State for the care of pregnant women, married and unmarried alike, and a practical recognition of the qualified mother's claim on society.[2] There can be little doubt that, in many a charge of criminal abortion, the real offence lies at the door of those who have failed to exercise their social and professional duty of making known the more natural and harmless methods for preventing conception, or else by their social attitude have made the pregnant woman's position intolerable. By active social reform in these two directions, the new movement in favor of abortion may be kept in check, and it may even be found that by stimulating such reform that movement has been beneficial

We have seen that the deliberate restraint of conception has become a part of our civilized morality, and that the practice and theory of facultative abortion has gained a footing among us. There remains a third and yet more radical method of con-

that they should not be abolished. She proposes (1) a greatly reduced punishment for abortion; (2) this punishment to be extended to the father, whether married or unmarried (a provision already carried out in Norway, both for abortion and infanticide); (3) permission to the physician to effect abortion when there is good reason to suspect hereditary degeneration, as well as when the woman has been impregnated by force.

[1] *Cf.* Dr. Max Hirsch, *Sexual-Probleme*, Jan., 1908, p. 23.

[2] Bausset (*op. cit.*) sets forth various social measures for the care of pregnant and child-bearing women, which would tend to lessen criminal abortion.

trolling procreation, the method of preventing the possibility of procreation altogether by the performance of castration or other slighter operation having a like inhibitory effect on reproduction. The other two methods only effect a single act of union or its results, but castration affects all subsequent acts of sexual union and usually destroys the procreative power permanently.

Castration for various social and other purposes is an ancient and wide-spread practice, carried out on men and on animals. There has, however, been on the whole a certain prejudice against it when applied to men. Many peoples have attached a very sacred value to the integrity of the sexual organs. Among some primitive peoples the removal of these organs has been regarded as a peculiarly ferocious insult, only to be carried out in moments of great excitement, as after a battle. Medicine has been opposed to any interference with the sexual organs. The oath taken by the Greek physicians appears to prohibit castration: "I will not cut."[1] In modern times a great change has taken place, the castration of both men and women is commonly performed in diseased conditions; the same operation is sometimes advocated and occasionally performed in the hope that it may remove strong and abnormal sexual impulses. And during recent years castration has been invoked in the cause of negative eugenics, to a greater extent, indeed, on account of its more radical character, than either the prevention of conception or abortion.

The movement in favor of castration appears to have begun in the United States, where various experiments have been made in embodying it in law. It was first advocated merely as a punishment for criminals, and especially sexual offenders, by Hammond, Everts, Lydston and others. From this point of view, however, it seems to be unsatisfactory and perhaps illegitimate. In many cases castration is no punishment at all, and indeed a positive benefit. In other cases, when inflicted against the subject's will, it may produce very disturbing mental effects, leading in already degenerate or unbalanced persons to insanity, criminality, and anti-social tendencies generally, much more

[1] Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*, vol. i, p. 564.

dangerous than the original state. Eugenic considerations, which were later brought forward, constitute a much sounder argument for castration; in this case the castration is carried out, by no means in order to inflict a barbarous and degrading punishment, but, with the subject's consent, in order to protect the community from the risk of useless or mischievous members.

The fact that castration can no longer be properly considered a punishment, is shown by the possibility of deliberately seeking the operation simply for the sake of convenience, as a preferable and most effective substitute for the adoption of preventive methods in sexual intercourse. I am only at present acquainted with one case in which this course has been adopted. This subject is a medical man (of Puritan New England ancestry) with whose sexual history, which is quite normal, I have been acquainted for a long time past. His present age is thirty-nine. A few years since, having a sufficiently large family, he adopted preventive methods of intercourse. The subsequent events I narrate in his own words: "The trouble, forethought, etc., rendered necessary by preventive measures, grew more and more irksome to me as the years passed by, and finally, I laid the matter before another physician, and on his assurances, and after mature deliberation with my wife, was operated on some time since, and rendered sterile by having the vas deferens on each side exposed through a slit in the scrotum, then tied in two places with silk and severed between the ligatures. This was done under cocaine infiltrative anæsthesia, and was not so extremely painful, though what pain there was (dragging the cord out through the slit, etc.) seemed very hard to endure. I was not out of my office a single day, nor seriously disturbed in any way. In six days all stitches in the scrotum were removed, and in three weeks I abandoned the suspensory bandage that had been rendered necessary by the extreme sensitiveness of the testicles and cord.

"The operation has proved a most complete success in every way. Sexual functions are *absolutely unaffected in any way whatsoever.* There is no sense of discomfort or uneasiness in the sexual tract, and what seems strangest of all to me, is the fact that the semen, so far as one can judge by ordinary means of observation, is undiminished in quantity and unchanged in character. (Of course, the microscope would reveal its fatal lack.)

"My wife is delighted at having fear banished from our love, and, taken all in all, it certainly seems as if life would mean more to us both. Incidentally, the health of both of us seems better than usual, particularly so in my wife's case, and this she attributes to a soothing influence that is attained by allowing the seminal fluid to be de-

posited in a perfectly normal manner, and remain in contact with the vaginal secretions until it naturally passes off.

"This operation being comparatively new, and, as yet, not often done on others than the insane, criminal, etc., I thought it might be of interest to you. If I shed even the faintest ray of light on this great est of all human problems . . . I shall be glad indeed."

Such a case, with its so far satisfactory issue, certainly deserves to be placed on record, though it may well be that at present it will not be widely imitated.

The earliest advocacy of castration, which I have met with as a part of negative eugenics, for the specific "purpose of prophylaxis as applied to race improvement and the protection of society," is by Dr. F. E. Daniel, of Texas, and dates from 1893.[1] Daniel mixed up, however, somewhat inextricably, castration as a method of purifying the race, a method which can be carried out with the concurrence of the individual operated on, with castration as a punishment, to be inflicted for rape, sodomy, bestiality, pederasty and even habitual masturbation, the method of its performance, moreover, to be the extremely barbarous and primitive method of total ablation of the sexual organs. In more recent years somewhat more equitable, practical, and scientific methods of castration have been advocated, not involving the removal of the sexual glands or organs, and not as a punishment, but simply for the sake of protecting the community and the race from the burden of probably unproductive and possibly dangerous members. Näcke has, from 1899 onwards, repeatedly urged the social advantages of this measure.[2] The propagation of the inferior elements of society, Nacke insists, brings unhappiness into the family and is a source of great expense to the State. He regards castration as the only effective method of prevention, and concludes that it is, therefore, our duty to adopt it, just as

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[1] F. E. Daniel, President of the State Medical Association of Texas, "Should Insane Criminals or Sexual Perverts be Allowed to Procreate?" *Medico-legal Journal*, Dec., 1893; *id.*, "The Cause and Prevention of Rape," *Texas Medical Journal*, May, 1904.

[2] P. Näcke, "Die Kastration bei gewissen Klassen von Degenerirten als ein Wirksamer Socialer Schutz." *Archiv für Kriminalanthropologie*, Bd. III, 1899 p 58; *id* "Kastration in Gewissen Fällen von Geisteskrankheit," *Psychistrisch-Neurologische Wochenschrift*, 1905, No. 29.

we have adopted vaccination, taking care to secure the consent of the subject himself or his guardian, of the civil authorities, and, if necessary, of a committee of experts. Professor Angelo Zuccarelli of Naples has also, from 1899 onwards, emphasized the importance of castration in the sterilization of the epileptic, the insane of various classes, the alcoholic, the tuberculous, and instinctive criminals, the choice of cases for operation to be made by a commission of experts who would examine school-children, candidates for public employments, or persons about to marry.[1] This movement rapidly gained ground, and in 1905 at the annual meeting of Swiss alienists it was unanimously agreed that the sterilization of the insane is desirable, and that it is necessary that the question should be legally regulated. It is in Switzerland, indeed, that the first steps have been taken in Europe to carry out castration as a measure of social prophylaxis. The sixteenth yearly report (1907) of the Cantonal asylum at Wil describes four cases of castration, two in men and two in women, performed—with the permission of the patients and the civil authorities—for social reasons; both women had previously had illegitimate children who were a burden on the community, and all four patients were sexually abnormal; the operation enabled the patients to be liberated and to work, and the results were considered in every respect satisfactory to all concerned.[2]

The introduction of castration as a method of negative eugenics has been facilitated by the use of new methods of performing it without risk, and without actual removal of the testes or ovaries. For men, there is the simple method of vasectomy, as recommended by Näcke and many others. For women, there is the corresponding, and almost equally simple and harmless method of Kehrer, by section and ligation of the Fallopian tubes through the vagina, as recommended by

1 Angelo Zuccarelli, "Asessualizzazione o sterilizzazione dei Degenerati," *L'Anomalo*, 1898-99, No. 6; *id.*, "Sur la nécessité et sur les Moyens d'empêcher la Réproduction des Hommes les plus Dégénérés," International Congress Criminal Anthropology, Amsterdam, 1901.

2 Näcke, *Neurologisches Centralblatt*, March 1, 1909. The original account of these operations is reproduced in the *Psychiatrisch-Neurologische Wochenschrift*, No. 2. 1909, with an approving comment by the editor, Dr. Bresler. As regards castration in America, see Flood, "Castration of Idiot Children," *American Journal Psychology*, Jan., 1899; also, *Alienist and Neurologist*, Aug., 1909, p. 348.

Kisch, or Rose's very similar procedure, easily carried out in a few minutes by an experienced hand, as recommended by Zuccarelli.

It has been found that repeated exposure to the X-rays produces sterility in both sexes, alike in animals and men, and X-ray workers have to adopt various precautions to avoid suffering from this effect. It has been suggested that the application of the X-rays would be a good substitute for castration; it appears that the effects of the application are only likely to last a few years, which, in some doubtful cases, might be an advantage. (See *British Medical Journal*, Aug. 13, 1904; *ib.*, March 11, 1905; *ib.*, July 6, 1907.)

It is scarcely possible, it seems to me, to view castration as a method of negative eugenics with great enthusiasm. The recklessness, moreover, with which it is sometimes proposed to apply it by law—owing no doubt to the fact that it is not so obviously repulsive as the less radical procedure of abortion—ought to render us very cautious. We must, too, dismiss the idea of castration as a punishment; as such it is not merely barbarous but degrading and is unlikely to have a beneficial effect. As a method of negative eugenics it should never be carried out except with the subject's consent. The fact that in some cases it might be necessary to enforce seclusion in the absence of castration would doubtless be a fact exerting influence in favor of such consent; but the consent is essential if the subject of the operation is to be safe-guarded from degradation. A man who has been degraded and embittered by an enforced castration might not be dangerous to posterity, but might very easily become a dangerous member of the society in which he actually lived. With due precautions and safeguards, castration may doubtless play a certain part in the elevation and improvement of the race.[1]

The methods we have been considering, in so far as they

[1] It is probable that castration may prove especially advantageous in the case of the feeble-minded. "In Somersetshire," says Tredgold ("The Feeble-Mind as a Social Danger," *Eugenics Review*, July, 1909), "I found that out of a total number of 167 feeble-minded women, nearly two-fifths (61) had given birth to children, for the most part illegitimate. Moreover, it is not uncommon, but, rather the rule, for these poor girls to be admitted into the workhouse maternity wards again and again, and the average number of offspring to each one of them is probably three or four, although even six is not uncommon." In his work on *Mental Deficiency* (pp. 288-292) the same author shows that propagation by the mentally deficient is, in England, "both a terrible and extensive evil."

limit the procreative powers of the less healthy and efficient stocks in a community, are methods of eugenics. It must not, however, be supposed that they are the whole of eugenics, or indeed that they are in any way essential to a eugenic scheme. Eugenics is concerned with the whole of the agencies which elevate and improve the human breed; abortion and castration are methods which may be used to this end, but they are not methods of which everyone approves, nor is it always clear that the ends they effect would not better be attained by other methods; in any case they are methods of negative eugenics. There remains the field of positive eugenics, which is concerned, not with the elimination of the inferior stocks but with ascertaining which are the superior stocks and with furthering their procreative power.

While the necessity of refraining from procreation is no longer a bar to marriage, the question of whether two persons ought to marry each other still remains in the majority of cases a serious question from the standpoint of positive as well as of negative eugenics, for the normal marriage cannot fail to involve children, as, indeed, its chief and most desirable end. We have to consider not merely what are the stocks or the individuals that are unfit to breed, but also what are these stocks or individuals that are most fit to breed, and under what conditions procreation may best be effected. The present imperfection of our knowledge on these questions emphasizes the need for care and caution in approaching their consideration.

It may be fitting, at this point, to refer to the experiment of the Oneida Community in establishing a system of scientific propagation, under the guidance of a man whose ability and distinction as a pioneer are only to-day beginning to be adequately recognized. John Humphrey Noyes was too far ahead of his own day to be recognized at his true worth; at the most, he was regarded as the sagacious and successful founder of a sect, and his attempts to apply eugenics to life only aroused ridicule and persecution, so that he was, unfortunately, compelled by outside pressure to bring a most instructive experiment to a premature end. His aim and principle are set forth in an *Essay on Scientific Propagation*, printed some forty years ago, which discusses problems that are only now beginning to attract the attention of the practical man, as

within the range of social politics. When Noyes turned his vigorous and practical mind to the question of eugenics, that question was exclusively in the hands of scientific men, who felt all the natural timidity of the scientific man towards the realization of his proposals, and who were not prepared to depart a hair's breadth from the conventional customs of their time. The experiment of Noyes, at Oneida, marked a new stage in the history of eugenics; whatever might be the value of the experiment—and a first experiment cannot well be final—with Noyes the questions of eugenics passed beyond the purely academic stage in which, from the time of Plato, they had peacefully reposed. "It is becoming clear," Noyes states at the outset, "that the foundations of scientific society are to be laid in the scientific propagation of human beings." In doing this, we must attend to two things: blood (or heredity) and training; and he puts blood first. In that, he was at one with the most recent biometrical eugenists of to-day ("the nation has for years been putting its money on 'Environment,' when 'Heredity' wins in a canter," as Karl Pearson prefers to put it), and at the same time revealed the breadth of his vision in comparison with the ordinary social reformer, who, in that day, was usually a fanatical believer in the influence of training and surroundings. Noyes sets forth the position of Darwin on the principles of breeding, and the step beyond Darwin, which had been taken by Galton. He then remarks that, when Galton comes to the point where it is necessary to advance from theory to the duties the theory suggests, he "subsides into the meekest conservatism." (It must be remembered that this was written at an early stage in Galton's work.) This conclusion was entirely opposed to Noyes' practical and religious temperament. "Duty is plain; we say we ought to do it—we want to do it; but we cannot. The law of God urges us on; but the law of society holds us back. The boldest course is the safest. Let us take an honest and steady look at the law. It is only in the timidity of ignorance that the duty seems impracticable." Noyes anticipated Galton in regarding eugenics as a matter of religion.

Noyes proposed to term the work of modern science in propagation "Stirpiculture," in which he has sometimes been followed by others. He considered that it is the business of the stirpiculturist to keep in view both quantity and quality of stocks, and he held that, without diminishing quantity, it was possible to raise the quality by exercising a very stringent discrimination in selecting males. At this point, Noyes has been supported in recent years by Karl Pearson and others, who have shown that only a relatively small portion of a population is needed to produce the next generation, and that, in fact, twelve per cent. of one generation in man produces fifty per cent. of the next generation. What we need to ensure is that this small reproducing section of the population shall be the best adapted for the purpose. "The *quantity*

of production will be in direct proportion to the number of fertile females," as Noyes saw the question, "and the *value* produced, so far as it depends on selection, will be nearly in inverse proportion to the number of fertilizing males." In this matter, Noyes anticipated Ehrenfels. The two principles to be held in mind were, "Breed from the best," and "Breed in-and-in," with a cautious and occasional introduction of new strains. (It may be noted that Reibmayr, in his recent *Entwicklungsgesohichte des Genies und Talentes*, argues that the superior races, and superior individuals, in the human species, have been produced by an unconscious adherence to exactly these principles.) "By segregating superior families, and by breeding these in-and-in, superior varieties of human beings might be produced, which would be comparable to the thoroughbreds in all the domestic races." He illustrates this by the early history of the Jews.

Noyes finally criticises the present method, or lack of method, in matters of propagation. Our marriage system, he states, "leaves mating to be determined by a general scramble." By ignoring, also, the great difference between the sexes in reproductive power, it "restricts each man, whatever may be his potency and his value, to the amount of production of which one woman, chosen blindly, may be capable." Moreover, he continues, "practically it discriminates against the best, and in favor of the worst; for, while the good man will be limited by his conscience to what the law allows, the bad man, free from moral check, will distribute his seed beyond the legal limits, as widely as he dares." "We are safe every way in saying that there is no possibility of carrying the two precepts of scientific propagation into an institution which pretends to no discrimination, allows no suppression, gives no more liberty to the best than to the worst, and which, in fact, must inevitably discriminate the wrong way, so long as the inferior classes are most prolific and least amenable to the admonitions of science and morality." In modifying our sexual institutions, Noyes insists there are two essential points to remember: the preservation of liberty, and the preservation of the home. There must be no compulsion about human scientific propagation; it must be autonomous, directed by self-government, "by the free choice of those who love science well enough to 'make themselves eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake.'" The home, also, must be preserved, since "marriage is the best thing for man as he is;" but it is necessary to enlarge the home, for, "if all could learn to love other children than their own, there would be nothing to hinder scientific propagation in the midst of homes far better than any that now exist."

This memorable pamphlet contains no exposition of the precise measures adopted by the Oneida Community to carry out these principles. The two essential points were, as we know, "male continence"

(see *ante* p. 553), and the enlarged family, in which all the men were the actual or potential mates of all the women, but no union for propagation took place, except as the result of reason and deliberate resolve. "The community," says H. J. Seymour, one of the original members (*The Oneida Community*, 1894, p. 5), "was a *family*, as distinctly separated from surrounding society as ordinary households. The tie that bound it together was as permanent, and at least as sacred, as that of marriage. Every man's care, and the whole of the common property, was pledged for the maintenance and protection of the women, and the support and education of the children." It is not probable that the Oneida Community presented in detail the model to which human society generally will conform. But even at the lowest estimate, its success showed, as Lord Morley has pointed out (*Diderot*, vol. ii, p. 19), "how modifiable are some of these facts of existing human character which are vulgarly deemed to be ultimate and ineradicable," and that "the discipline of the appetites and affections of sex," on which the future of civilization largely rests, is very far from an impossibility.

In many respects, the Oneida Community was ahead of its time,—and even of ours,—but it is interesting to note that, in the matter of the control of conception, our marriage system has come into line with the theory and practice of Oneida; it cannot, indeed, be said that we always control conception in accordance with eugenic principles, but the fact that such control has now become a generally accepted habit of civilization, to some extent deprives Noyes' criticism of our marriage system of the force it possessed half a century ago. Another change in our customs—the advocacy, and even the practice, of abortion and castration—would not have met with his approval; he was strongly opposed to both, and with the high moral level that ruled his community neither was necessary to the maintenance of the stirpiculture that prevailed.

The Oneida Community endured for the space of one generation, and came to an end in 1879, by no means through a recognition of failure, but by a wise deference to external pressure. Its members, many of them highly educated, continued to cherish the memory of the practices and ideals of the Community. Noyes Miller (the author of *The Strike of a Sex*, and *Zugassant's Discovery*) to the last, looked with quiet confidence to the time when, as he anticipated, the great discovery of Noyes would be accepted and adopted by the world at large. Another member of the Community (Henry J. Seymour) wrote of the Community long afterwards that "It was an anticipation and imperfect miniature of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth."

Perhaps the commonest type of proposal or attempt to improve the biological level of the race is by the exclusion of

certain classes of degenerates from marriage, or by the encouragement of better classes of the community to marry. This seems to be, at present, the most popular form of eugenics, and in so far as it is not effected by compulsion but is the outcome of a voluntary resolve to treat the question of the creation of the race with the jealous care and guardianship which so tremendously serious, so godlike, a task involves, it has much to be said in its favor and nothing against it.

But it is quite another matter when the attempt is made to regulate such an institution as marriage by law. In the first place we do not yet know enough about the principles of heredity and the transmissibility of pathological states to enable us to formulate sound legislative proposals on this basis. Even so comparatively simple a matter as the relationship of tuberculosis to heredity can scarcely be said to be a matter of common agreement, even if it can yet be claimed that we possess adequate material on which to attain a common agreement. Supposing, moreover, that our knowledge on all these questions were far more advanced than it is, we still should not have attained a position in which we could lay down general propositions regarding the desirability or the undesirability of certain classes of persons procreating. The question is necessarily an individual question, and it can only be decided when all the circumstances of the individual case have been fairly passed in review.

The objection to any legislative and compulsory regulation of the right to marry is, however, much more fundamental than the consideration that our knowledge is at present inadequate. It lies in the extraordinary confusion, in the minds of those who advocate such legislation, between legal marriage and procreation. The persons who fall into such confusion have not yet learnt the alphabet of the subject they presume to dictate about, and are no more competent to legislate than a child who cannot tell A from B is competent to read.

Marriage, in so far as it is the partnership for mutual help and consolation of two people who in such partnership are free, if they please, to exercise sexual union, is an elementary right of every person who is able to reason, who is guilty of no fraud

or concealment, and who is not likely to injure the partner selected, for in that case society is entitled to interfere by virtue of its duty to protect its members. But the right to marry, thus understood, in no way involves the right to procreate. For while marriage *per se* only affects the two individuals concerned, and in no way affects the State, procreation, on the other hand, primarily affects the community which is ultimately made up of procreated persons, and only secondarily affects the two individuals who are the instruments of procreation. So that just as the individual couple has the first right in the question of marriage, the State has the first right in the question of procreation. The State is just as incompetent to lay down the law about marriage as the individual is to lay down the law about procreation.

That, however, is only one-half of the folly committed by those who would select the candidates for matrimony by statute. Let us suppose—as is not indeed easy to suppose—that a community will meekly accept the abstract prohibitions of the statute book and quietly go home again when the registrar of marriages informs them that they are shut out from legal matrimony by the new table of prohibited degrees. An explicit prohibition to procreate within marriage is an implicit permission to procreate outside marriage. Thus the undesirable procreation, instead of being carried out under the least dangerous conditions, is carried out under the most dangerous conditions, and the net result to the community is not a gain but a loss.

What seems usually to happen, in the presence of a formal legislative prohibition against the marriage of a particular class, is a combination of various evils. In part the law becomes a dead letter, in part it is evaded by skill and fraud, in part it is obeyed to give rise to worse evils. This happened, for instance, in the Terek district of the Caucasus where, on the demand of a medical committee, priests were prohibited from marrying persons among whose relatives or ancestry any cases of leprosy had occurred. So much and such various mischief was caused by this order that it was speedily withdrawn.[1]

[1] This example is brought forward by Ledermann, "Skin Diseases and Marriage," in Senator and Kaminer, *Health and Disease in Relation to Marriage.*

If we remember that the Catholic Church was occupied for more than a thousand years in the attempt to impose the prohibition of marriage on its priesthood,—an educated and trained body of men, who had every spiritual and worldly motive to accept the prohibition, and were, moreover, brought up to regard asceticism as the best ideal in life,[1]—we may realize how absurd it is to attempt to gain the same end by mere casual prohibitions issued to untrained people with no motives to obey such prohibitions, and no ideals of celibacy.

The hopelessness and even absurdity of effecting the eugenic improvement of the race by merely placing on the statute book prohibitions to certain classes of people to enter the legal bonds of matrimony as at present constituted, reveals the weakness of those who undervalue the eugenic importance of environment. Those who affirm that heredity is everything and environment nothing seem strangely to forget that it is precisely the lower classes—those who are most subjected to the influence of bad environment—who procreate most copiously, most recklessly, and most disastrously. The restraint of procreation, and a concomitant regard for heredity, increase *pari passu* with improvement of the environment and rise in social well-being. If even already it can be said that probably fifty per cent. of sexual intercourse—perhaps the most procreatively productive moiety—takes place outside legal marriage, it becomes obvious that statutory prohibition to the unfit classes to refrain from legal marriage merely involves their joining the procreating classes outside legal matrimony. It is also clear that if we are to neglect the factor of environment, and leave the lower social classes to the ignorance and recklessness which are the result of such environment, the only practical method of eugenics left open is that by castration and abortion. But this method—if applied on a wholesale scale as it would need to be[2] and without reference to

[1] I may here again refer to Lea's instructive *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy*.

[2] In England, 35,000 applicants for admission to the navy are annually rejected, and although the physical requirements for enlistment in the army are nowadays extremely moderate, it is estimated by General Maurice that at least sixty per cent. of recruits and would-be

the consent of the individual—is entirely opposed to modern democratic feeling. Thus those short-sighted eugenists who overlook the importance of environment are overlooking the only practical channel through which their aims can be realized. Attention to procreation and attention to environment are not, as some have supposed, antagonistic, but they play harmoniously into each other's hands. The care for environment leads to a restraint on reckless procreation, and the restraint of procreation leads to improved environment.

Legislation on marriage, to be effectual, must be enacted in the home, in the school, in the doctor's consulting room. Force is helpless here; it is education that is needed, not merely instruction, but the education of the conscience and will, and the training of the emotions.

Legal action may come in to further this process of education, though it cannot replace it. Thus it is very desirable that when there has been a concealment of serious disease by a party to a marriage such concealment should be a ground for divorce. Epilepsy may be taken as typical of the diseases which should be a bar to procreation, and their concealment equivalent to an annulment of marriage.[1] In the United States the Supreme Court of Errors of Connecticut laid it down in 1906 that the Superior Court has the power to pass a decree of divorce when one of the parties has concealed the existence of epilepsy. This weighty deliverence, it has been well said,[2] marks a forward step in human progress. There are many other seriously pathological conditions in which divorce should be pronounced, or indeed, occur automatically, except when procreation has been

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recruits are dismissed as unfit. (See *e.g.*, William Coates, "The Duty of the Medical Profession in the Prevention of National Deterioration," *British Medical Journal*, May 1, 1909.) It can scarcely be claimed that men who are not good enough for the army are good enough for the great task of creating the future race.

[1] The recognition of epilepsy as a bar to procreation is not recent. There is said to be a record in the archives of the town of Luçon in which epilepsy was adjudged to be a valid reason for the cancellation of a betrothal (*British Medical Journal*, Feb. 14, 1903, p. 383).

[2] *British Medical Journal*, April 14, 1906. In California and some other States, it appears that deceit regarding health is a ground for the annulment of marriage.

renounced, for in that case the State is no longer concerned in the relationship, except to punish any fraud committed by concealment.

The demand that a medical certificate of health should be compulsory on marriage, has been especially made in France. In 1853 Diday, of Lyons, proposed, indeed, that all persons, without exception should be compelled to possess a certificate of health and disease, a kind of sanitary passport. In 1872, Bertillon (Art. "Demographie," *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique des Sciences Médicales*) advocated the registration at marriage, of the chief anthropological and pathological traits of the contracting parties (height, weight, color of hair and eyes, muscular force, size of head, condition of vision, hearing, etc., deformities and defects, etc.), not so much, however, for the end of preventing undesirable marriages, as to facilitate the study and comparison of human groups at particular periods. Subsequent demands, of a more limited and partial character, for legal medical certificates as a condition of marriage, have been made by Fournier (*Syphilis et Mariage*, 1890), Cazalis (*Le Science et le Mariage*, 1890), and Jullien (*Blenorrhagie et Mariage*, 1898). In Austria, Haskovec, of Prague ("Contrat Matrimonial et L'Hygiène Publique," *Comptes-rendus Congrès International de Médecine*, Lisbon, 1906, Section VII, p. 600), argues that, on marriage, a medical certificate should be presented, showing that the subject is exempt from tuberculosis, alcoholism, syphilis, gonorrhœa, severe mental, or nervous, or other degenerative state, likely to be injurious to the other partner, or to the offspring. In America, Rosenberg and Aronstam argue that every candidate for marriage, male or female, should undergo a strict examination by a competent board of medical examiners, concerning (1) Family and Past History (syphilis, consumption, alcoholism, nervous, and mental diseases), and (2) Status Presens (thorough examination of all the organs); if satisfactory, a certificate of matrimonial eligibility would then be granted It is pointed out that a measure of this kind would render unnecessary the acts passed by some States for the punishment by fine, or imprisonment, of the concealment of disease. Ellen Key also considers (*Liebe und Ehe*, p. 436) that each party at marriage should produce a certificate of health. "It seems to me just as necessary," she remarks, elsewhere (*Century of the Child*, Ch. I), "to demand medical testimony concerning capacity for marriage, as concerning capacity for military service. In the one case, it is a matter of giving life; in the other, of taking it, although certainly the latter occasion has hitherto been considered as much the more serious"

The certificate, as usually advocated, would be a private but necessary legitimation of the marriage in the eyes of the civil and

religious authorities. Such a step, being required for the protection alike of the conjugal partner and of posterity, would involve a new legal organization of the matrimonial contract. That such demands are so frequently made, is a significant sign of the growth of moral consciousness in the community, and it is good that the public should be made acquainted with the urgent need for them. But it is highly undesirable that they should, at present, or, perhaps, ever, be embodied in legal codes. What is needed is the cultivation of the feeling of individual responsibility, and the development of social antagonism towards those individuals who fail to recognize their responsibility. It is the reality of marriage, and not its mere legal forms, that it is necessary to act upon.

The voluntary method is the only sound way of approach in this matter. Duclaux considered that the candidate for marriage should possess a certificate of health in much the same way as the candidate for life assurance, the question of professional secrecy, as well as that of compulsion, no more coming into one question than into the other. There is no reason why such certificates, of an entirely voluntary character, should not become customary among those persons who are sufficiently enlightened to realize all the grave personal, family, and social issues involved in marriage. The system of eugenic certification, as originated and developed by Galton, will constitute a valuable instrument for raising the moral consciousness in this matter. Galton's eugenic certificates would deal mainly with the natural virtues of superior hereditary breed—"the public recognition of a natural nobility"—but they would include the question of personal health and personal aptitude.[1]

To demand compulsory certificates of health at marriage is indeed to begin at the wrong end. It would not only lead to evasions and antagonisms but would probably call forth a reaction. It is first necessary to create an enthusiasm for health, a moral conscience in matters of procreation, together with, on the scientific side, a general habit of registering the anthropological, psychological, and pathological data concerning

[1] Sir F. Galton, *Inquiries Into Human Faculty*, Everyman's Library edition, pp. 211 *et seq.*; *cf.* Galton's collected *Essays in Eugenics*, recently published by the Eugenics Education Society.

the individual, from birth onwards, altogether apart from marriage. The earlier demands of Diday and Bertillon were thus not only on a sounder but also a more practicable basis. If such records were kept from birth for every child, there would be no need for special examination at marriage, and many incidental ends would be gained. There is difficulty at present in obtaining such records from the moment of birth, and, so far as I am aware, no attempts have yet been made to establish their systematic registration. But it is quite possible to begin at the beginning of school life, and this is now done at many schools and colleges in England, America, and elsewhere, more especially as regards anthropological, physiological, and psychological data, each child being submitted to a thorough and searching anthropometric examination, and thus furnished with a systematic statement of his physical condition.[1] This examination needs to be standardized and generalized, and repeated at fixed intervals. "Every individual child," as is truly stated by Dr. Dukes, the Physician to Rugby School, "on his entrance to a public school should be as carefully and as thoroughly examined as if it were for life insurance." If this procedure were general from an early age, there would be no hardship in the production of the record at marriage, and no opportunity for fraud. The *dossier* of each person might well be registered by the State, as wills already are, and, as in the case of wills, become freely open to students when a century had elapsed. Until this has been done during several centuries our knowledge of eugenics will remain rudimentary.

There can be little doubt that the eugenic attitude towards marriage, and the responsibility of the individual for the future of the race, is becoming more recognized. It is constantly happening that persons about to marry, approach the physician in a state of serious anxiety on this point. Urquhart, indeed (*Journal of Mental Science*, April, 1907, p. 277), believes that marriages are seldom broken off on this ground; this seems, however, too pessimistic a view, and even when the marriage is not broken off the resolve is often made to avoid procreation.

[1] For some account of the methods and results of the work in schools, see Bertram C. A. Windle, "Anthropometric Work in Schools," *Medical Magazine*, Feb., 1894.

Clouston, who emphasizes (*Hygiene of the Mind*, p. 74) the importance of "inquiries by each of the parties to the life-contract, by their parents and their doctors, as to heredity, temperament, and health," is more hopeful of the results than Urquhart. "I have been very much impressed, of late years," he writes (*Journal of Mental Science*, Oct., 1907, p. 710), "with the way in which this subject is taking possession of intelligent people, by the number of times one is consulted by young men and young women, proposing to marry, or by their fathers or mothers. I used to have the feeling in the back of my mind, when I was consulted, that it did not matter what I said, it would not make any difference. But it is making a difference; and I, and others, could tell of scores of marriages which were put off in consequence of psychiatric medical advice."

Ellen Key, also, refers to the growing tendency among both men and women, to be influenced by eugenic consideration in forming partnerships for life (*Century of the Child*, Ch. I). The recognition of the eugenic attitude towards marriage, the quickening of the social and individual conscience in matters of heredity, as also the systematic introduction of certification and registration, will be furthered by the growing tendency to the socialization of medicine, and, indeed, in its absence would be impossible. (See *e.g.*, Havelock Ellis, *The Nationalization of Health.*) The growth of the State Medical Organization of Health is steady and continuous, and is constantly covering a larger field. The day of the private practitioner of medicine—who was treated, as Duclaux (*L'Hygiène Sociale*, p. 263) put it, "like a grocer, whose shop the customer may enter and leave as he pleases, and when he pleases"—will, doubtless, soon be over. It is now beginning to be felt that health is far too serious a matter, not only from the individual but also from the social point of view, to be left to private caprice. There is, indeed, a tendency, in some quarters, to fear that some day society may rush to the opposite extreme, and bow before medicine with the same unreasoning deference that it once bowed before theology. That danger is still very remote, nor is it likely, indeed, that medicine will ever claim any authority of this kind. The spirit of medicine has, notoriously, been rather towards the assertion of scepticism than of dogma, and the fanatics in this field will always be in a hopelessly small minority.

The general introduction of authentic personal records covering all essential data—hereditary, anthropometric and pathological—cannot fail to be a force on the side of positive as well as of negative eugenics, for it would tend to promote the procreation of the fit as well as restrict that of the unfit, without any legislative compulsion. With the growth of educa-

tion a regard for such records as a preliminary to marriage would become as much a matter of course as once was the regard to the restrictions imposed by Canon law, and as still is a regard to money or to caste. A woman can usually refrain from marrying a man with no money and no prospects; a man may be passionately in love with a woman of lower class than himself but he seldom marries her. It needs but a clear general perception of all that is involved in heredity and health to make eugenic considerations equally influential.

A discriminating regard to the quality of offspring will act beneficially on the side of positive eugenics by substituting the pernicious tendency to put a premium on excess of childbirth by the more rational method of putting a premium on the quality of the child. It has been one of the most unfortunate results of the mania for protesting against that decline of the birthrate which is always and everywhere the result of civilization, that there has been a tendency to offer special social or pecuniary advantages to the parents of large families. Since large families tend to be degenerate, and to become a tax on the community, since rapid pregnancies in succession are not only a serious drain on the strength of the mother but are now known to depreciate seriously the quality of the offspring, and since, moreover, it is in large families that disease and mortality chiefly prevail, all the interests of the community are against the placing of any premium on large families, even in the case of parents of good stock. The interests of the State are bound up not with the quantity but with the quality of its citizens, and the premium should be placed not on the families that reach a certain size but on the individual children that reach a certain standard; the attainment of this standard could well be based on observations made from birth to the fifth year. A premium on this basis would be as beneficial to a State as that on the merely numerical basis is pernicious.

This consideration applies with still greater force to the proposals for the "systematic endowment of motherhood" of which we hear more and more. So moderate and judicious a social reformer as Mr. Sidney Webb writes: "We shall have to

face the problem of the systematic endowment of motherhood, and place this most indispensable of all professions upon an honorable economic basis. At present it is ignored as an occupation, unremunerated, and in no way honored by the State."[1] True as this statement is, it must always be remembered that an indispensable preliminary to any proposal for the endowment of motherhood by the State is a clear conception of the kind of motherhood which the State requires. To endow the reckless and indiscriminate motherhood which we see around us, to encourage, that is, by State aid, the production of citizens a large proportion of whom the State, if it dared, would like to destroy as unfit, is too ridiculous a proposal to deserve discussion.[2] The only sound reason, indeed, for the endowment of motherhood is that it would enable the State, in its own interests, to further the natural selection of the fit.

As to the positive qualities which the State is entitled to endow in its encouragement of motherhood, it is still too early to speak with complete assurance. Negative eugenics tends to be ahead of positive eugenics; it is easier to detect bad stocks than to be quite sure of good stocks. Both on the scientific side and on the social side, however, we are beginning to attain a clearer realization of the end to be attained and a more precise knowledge of the methods of attaining it.[3]

Even when we have gained a fairly clear conception of the stocks and the individuals which we are justified in encouraging to undertake the task of producing fit citizens for the State, the problems of procreation are by no means at an end. Before we

[1] The most notable steps in this direction have been taken in Germany. For an account of the experiment at Karlsruhe, see *Die Neue Generation*, Dec., 1908.

[2] Wiethknudsen (as quoted in *Sexual-Probleme*, Dec. 1908. p. 837) speaks strongly, but not too strongly, concerning the folly of any indiscriminate endowment of procreation.

[3] On the scientific side, in addition to the fruitful methods of statistical biometrics, which have already been mentioned, much promise attaches to work along the lines initiated by Mendel; see W. Bateson, *Mendel's Principles of Heredity*, 1909; also, W. H. Lock, *Recent Progress in the Study of Variation, Heredity, and Evolution*, and R. C Punnett, *Mendelism*, 1907 (American edition, with interesting preface by Gaylord Wilshire, from the Socialistic point of view, 1909).

can so much as inquire what are the conditions under which selected individuals may best procreate, there is still the initial question to be decided whether those individuals are both fertile and potent, for this is not guaranteed by the fact that they belong to good stocks, nor is even the fact that a man and a woman are fertile with other persons any positive proof that they will be fertile with each other. Among the large masses of the population who do not seek to make their unions legal until those unions have proved fertile, this difficulty is settled in a simple and practical manner. The question is, however, a serious and hazardous one, in the present state of the marriage law in most countries, for those classes which are accustomed to bind themselves in legal marriage without any knowledge of their potency and fertility with each other. The matter is mostly left to chance, and as legal marriage cannot usually be dissolved on the ground that there are no offspring, even although procreation is commonly declared to be the chief end of marriage, the question assumes much gravity. The ordinary range of sterility is from seven to fifteen per cent. of all marriages, and in a very large proportion of these it is a source of great concern. This could be avoided, in some measure, by examination before marriage, and almost altogether by ordaining that, as it is only through offspring that a marriage has any concern for the State, a legal marriage could be dissolved, after a certain period, at the will of either of the parties, in the absence of such offspring.

It was formerly supposed that when a union proved infertile, it was the wife who was at fault. That belief is long since exploded, but, even yet, a man is generally far more concerned about his potency, that is, his ability to perform the mechanical act of coitus, than about his fertility, that is, his ability to produce living spermatozoa, though the latter condition is a much more common source of sterility. "Any man," says Arthur Cooper (*British Medical Journal*, May 11, 1907), "who has any sexual defect or malformation, or who has suffered from any disease or injury of the genito-urinary organs, even though comparatively trivial or one-sided, and although his copulative power may be unimpaired, should be looked upon as possibly sterile, until some sort of evidence to the contrary has been obtained." In case of a sterile marriage, the possible cause should first be investigated in the husband,

for it is comparatively easy to examine the semen, and to ascertain if it contains active spermatozoa. Prinzing, in a comprehensive study of sterile marriages ("Die Sterilen Ehen," *Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft*, 1904, Heft 1 and 2), states that in two-fifths of sterile marriages the man is at fault; one-third of such marriages are the result of venereal diseases in the husband himself, or transmitted to the wife. Gonorrhœa is not now considered so important a cause of sterility as it was a few years ago; Schenk makes it responsible for only about thirteen per cent. sterile marriages (*cf.* Kisch, *The Sexual Life of Woman*). Pinkus (*Archiv für Gynäkologie*, 1907) found that of nearly five hundred cases in which he examined both partners, in 24.4 per cent. cases, the sterility was directly due to the husband, and in 15.8 per cent. cases, indirectly due, because caused by gonorrhœa with which he had infected his wife.

When sterility is due to a defect in the husband's spermatozoa, and is not discovered, as it usually might be, before marriage, the question of impregnating the wife by other methods has occasionally arisen. Divorce on the ground of sterility is not possible, and, even if it were, the couple, although they wish to have a child, have not usually any wish to separate. Under these circumstances, in order to secure the desired end, without departing from widely accepted rules of morality, the attempt is occasionally made to effect artificial fecundation by injecting the semen from a healthy male. Attempts have been made to effect artificial fecundation by various distinguished men, from John Hunter to Schwalbe, but it is nearly always very difficult to effect, and often impossible. This is easy to account for, if we recall what has already been pointed out (*ante* p. 577) concerning the influence of erotic excitement in the woman in securing conception; it is obviously a serious task for even the most susceptible woman to evoke erotic enthusiasm *à propos* of a medical syringe. Schwalbe, for instance, records a case (*Deutsche Medizinisches Wochenschrift*, Aug, 1908, p. 510) in which,—in consequence of the husband's sterility and the wife's anxiety, with her husband's consent, to be impregnated by the semen of another man,—he made repeated careful attempts to effect artificial fecundation; these attempts were, however, fruitless, and the three parties concerned finally resigned themselves to the natural method of intercourse, which was successful. In another case, recorded by Schwalbe, in which the husband was impotent but not sterile, six attempts were made to effect artificial fecundation, and further efforts abandoned on account of the disgust of all concerned.

Opinion, on the whole, has been opposed to the practice of artificial fecundation, even apart from the question of the probabilities of success. Thus, in France, where there is a considerable literature on the subject, the Paris Medical Faculty, in 1885, after some hesitation, refused

Gérard's thesis on the history of artificial fecundation, afterwards published independently. In 1883, the Bordeaux legal tribunal declared that artificial fecundation was illegitimate, and a social danger. In 1897, the Holy See also pronounced that the practice is unlawful ("Artificial Fecundation before the Inquisition," *British Medical Journal*, March 5, 1898). Apart, altogether, from this attitude of medicine, law, and Church, it would certainly seem that those who desire offspring would do well, as a rule, to adopt the natural method, which is also the best, or else to abandon to others the task of procreation, for which they are not adequately equipped.

When we have ascertained that two individuals both belong to sound and healthy stocks, and, further, that they are themselves both apt for procreation, it still remains to consider the conditions under which they may best effect procreation.[1] There arises, for instance, the question, often asked, What is the best age for procreation?

The considerations which weigh in answering this question are of two different orders, physiological, and social or moral. That is to say, that it is necessary, on the one hand, that physical maturity should have been fully attained, and the sexual cells completely developed; while, on the other hand, it is necessary that the man shall have become able to support a family, and that both partners shall have received a training in life adequate to undertake the responsibilities and anxieties involved in the rearing of children. While there have been variations at different times, it scarcely appears that, on the whole, the general opinion as to the best age for procreation has greatly varied in Europe during many centuries. Hesiod indeed said that a woman should marry about fifteen and a man about thirty,[2] but obstetricians have usually concluded that, in the interests alike of the parents and their offspring, the procreative life should not

1 The study of the right conditions for procreation is very ancient In modern times we find that even the very first French medical book in the vulgar tongue, the *Régime du Corps*, written by Alebrand of Florence (who was physician to the King of France), in 1256, is largely devoted to this matter, concerning which it gives much sound advice. See J. B. Soalhat, *Les Idées de Maistre Alebrand de Florence sur la Puériculture*. Thèse de Paris, 1908.

2 Hesiod, *Works and Days*, II, 690-700.

begin in women before twenty and in men before twenty-five.[1] After thirty in women and after thirty-five or forty in men it seems probable that the best conditions for procreation begin to decline.[2] At the present time, in England and several other civilized countries, the tendency has been for the age of marriage to fall at an increasingly late age, on the average some years later than that usually fixed as the most favorable age for the commencement of the procreative life. But, on the whole, the average seldom departs widely from the accepted standard, and there seems no good reason why we should desire to modify this general tendency.

At the same time, it by no means follows that wide variations, under special circumstances, may not only be permissible, but desirable The male is capable of procreating, in some cases, from about the age of thirteen until far beyond eighty, and at this advanced age, the offspring, even if not notable for great physical robustness, may possess high intellectual qualities. (See *e.g.*, Havelock Ellis, *A Study of British Genius*, pp 120 *et seq.*) The range of the procreative age in women begins earlier (sometimes at eight), though it usually ceases by fifty, or earlier, in only rare cases continuing to sixty or beyond. Cases have been reported of pregnancy, or childbirth, at the age of fifty-nine (*e.g.*, *Lancet*, Aug. 5, 1905, p. 419). Lepage (*Comptes-rendus Société d'Obstétrique de Paris*, Oct., 1903) reports a case of a primipara of fifty-seven; the child was stillborn. Kisch (*Sexual Life of Woman*, Part II)

[1] This has long been the accepted opinion of medical authorities, as may be judged by the statements brought together two centuries ago by Schurig, *Parthenologia*, pp. 22-25.

[2] The statement that, on the average, the best age for procreation in men is before, rather than after, forty, by no means assumes the existence of any "critical" age in men analogous to the menopause in women This is sometimes asserted, but there is no agreement in regard to it. Restif de la Bretonne (*Monsieur Nicolas*, vol. x, p. 176) said that at the age of forty delicacy of sentiment begins to go. Fürbringer believes (Senator and Kaminer, *Health and Disease in Relation to Marriage* vol i, p. 222) that there is a decisive turn in a man's life in the sixth decade, or the middle of the fifth, when desire and potency diminish. J. F. Sutherland also states (*Comptes-rendus Congrès International de Médecine*, 1900, Section de Psychiatrie, p. 471) that there is, in men, about the fifty-fifth year, a change analogous to the menopause in women, but only in a certain proportion of men. It would appear that in most men the decline of sexual feeling and potency is very gradual, and at first manifests itself in increased power of control.

refers to cases of pregnancy in elderly women, and various references are given in *British Medical Journal*, Aug. 8, 1903, p. 325.

Of more importance is the question of early pregnancy. Several investigators have devoted their attention to this question. Thus, Spitta (in a Marburg Inaugural Dissertation, 1895) reviewed the clinical history of 260 labors in primiparæ of 18 and under, as observed at the Marburg Maternity. He found that the general health during pregnancy was not below the average of pregnant women, while the mortality of the child at birth and during the following weeks was not high, and the mortality of the mother was by no means high. Picard (in a Paris thesis, 1903) has studied childbirth in thirty-eight mothers below the age of sixteen. He found that, although the pelvis is certainly not yet fully developed in very young girls, the joints and bones are much more yielding than in the adult, so that parturition, far from being more difficult, is usually rapid and easy. The process of labor itself, is essentially normal in these cases, and, even when abnormalities occur (low insertion of the placenta is a common anomaly) it is remarkable that the patients do not suffer from them in the way common among older women. The average weight of the child was three kilogrammes, or about 6 pounds, 9 ounces; it sometimes required special care during the first few days after birth, perhaps because labor in these cases is sometimes slow. The recovery of the mother was, in every case, absolutely normal, and the fact that these young mothers become pregnant again more readily than primiparæ of a more mature age, further contributes to show that childbirth below the age of sixteen is in no way injurious to the mother. Gache (*Annales de Gynécologie et d'Obstétrique*, Dec., 1904) has attended ninety-one labors of mothers under seventeen, in the Rawson Hospital, Buenos Ayres; they were of so-called Latin race, mostly Spanish or Italian. Gache found that these young mothers were by no means more exposed than others to abortion or to other complications of pregnancy. Except in four cases of slightly contracted pelvis, delivery was normal, though rather longer than in older primiparæ. Damage to the soft parts was, however, rare, and, when it occurred, in every case rapidly healed. The average weight of the child was 3,039 grammes, or nearly 6¾ pounds. It may be noted that most observers find that very early pregnancies occur in women who begin to menstruate at an unusually early age, that is, some years before the early pregnancy occurs.

It is clear, however, that young mothers do remarkably well while there is no doubt whatever that they bear unusually fine infants. Kleinwächter, indeed, found that the younger the mother, the bigger the child. It is not only physically that the children of young mothers are superior. Marro has found (*Pubertà*, p. 257) that the children of mothers under 21 are superior to those of older mothers both in con-

duct and intelligence, provided the fathers are not too old or too young. The detailed records of individual cases confirm these results, both as regards mother and child. Thus, Milner (*Lancet*, June 7, 1902) records a case of pregnancy in a girl of fourteen; the labor pains were very mild, and delivery was easy. E. B. Wales, of New Jersey, has recorded the history (reproduced in *Medical Reprints*, Sept. 15, 1890) of a colored girl who became pregnant at the age of eleven. She was of medium size, rather tall and slender, but well developed, and began to menstruate at the age of ten. She was in good health and spirits during pregnancy, and able to work. Delivery was easy and natural, not notably prolonged, and apparently not unduly painful, for there were no moans or agitation. The child was a fine, healthy boy, weighing not less than eleven pounds. Mother and child both did well, and there was a great flow of milk. Whiteside Robertson (*British Medical Journal*, Jan. 18, 1902) has recorded a case of pregnancy at the age of thirteen, in a Colonial girl of British origin in Cape Colony, which is notable from other points of view. During pregnancy, she was anæmic, and appeared to be of poor development and doubtfully normal pelvi. conformation. Yet delivery took place naturally, at full term, without difficulty or injury, and the lying-in period was in every way satisfactory. The baby was well-proportioned, and weighed 7½ pounds. "I have rarely seen a primipara enjoy easier labor," concluded Robertson, "and I have never seen one look forward to the happy realization of motherhood with greater satisfaction."

The facts brought forward by obstetricians concerning the good results of early pregnancy, as regards both mother and child, have not yet received the attention they deserve. They are, however, confirmed by many general tendencies which are now fairly well recognized. The significant fact is known, for instance, that in mothers over thirty, the proportion of abortions and miscarriages is twice as great as in mothers between the ages of fifteen and twenty, who also are superior in this respect to mothers between the ages of twenty and thirty (*Statistischer Jahrbuch*, Budapest, 1905). It was, again, proved by Matthews Duncan, in his Goulstonian lecture, that the chances of sterility in a woman increase with increase of age. It has, further, been shown (Kisch, *Sexual Life of Woman*, Part II) that the older a woman at marriage, the greater the average interval before the first delivery, a tendency which seems to indicate that it is the very young woman who is in the condition most apt for procreation; Kisch is not, indeed, inclined to think that this applies to women below twenty, but the fact, observed by other obstetricians, that mothers under eighteen tend to become pregnant again at an unusually short interval, goes far to neutralize the exception made by Kisch. It may also be pointed out that, among children of very young mothers, the sexes are more nearly equal in num-

ber than is the case with older mothers. This would seem to indicate that we are here in presence of a normal equilibrium which will decrease as the age of the mother is progressively disturbed in an abnormal direction.

The facility of parturition at an early age, it may be noted, corresponds to an equal facility in physical sexual intercourse, a fact that is often overlooked. In Russia, where marriage still takes place early, it was formerly common when the woman was only twelve or thirteen, and Gutteeit (*Dreissig Jahre Praxis*, vol. i, p. 324) says that he was assured by women who married at this age that the first coitus presented no especial difficulties.

There is undoubtedly, at the present time, a considerable amount of prejudice against early motherhood. In part, this is due to a failure to realize that women are sexually much more precocious than men, physically as well as psychically (see *ante* p. 35). The difference is about five years. This difference has been virtually recognized for thousands of years, in the ancient belief that the age of election for procreation is about twenty, or less, for women, but about twenty-five for men; and it has more lately been affirmed by the discovery that, while the male is never capable of generation before thirteen, the female may, in occasional instances, become pregnant at eight. (Some of the recorded examples are quoted by Kisch.) In part, also, there is an objection to the assumption of responsibilities so serious as those of motherhood by a young girl, and there is the very reasonable feeling that the obligations of a permanent marriage tie ought not to be undertaken at an early age. On the other hand, apart from the physical advantages, as regards both mother and infant, on the side of early pregnancies, it is an advantage for the child to have a young mother, who can devote herself sympathetically and unreservedly to its interests, instead of presenting the pathetic spectacle we so often witness in the middle-aged woman who turns to motherhood when her youth and mental flexibility are gone, and her habits and tastes have settled into other grooves; it has sometimes been a great blessing even to the very greatest men, like Goethe, to have had a youthful mother. It would also, in many cases, be a great advantage for the woman herself if she could bring her procreative life to an end well before the age of twenty-five, so that she could then, unhampered by child-bearing and mature in experience, be free to enter on such wider activities in the world as she might be fitted for.

Such an arrangement of the procreative life of women would, obviously, only be a variation, and would probably be unsuited for the majority. Every case must be judged on its own merits The best age for procreation will probably continue to be regarded as being, for most women, around the age of twenty. But at a time like the present, when

there is an unfortunate tendency for motherhood to be unduly delayed, it becomes necessary to insist on the advantages, in many cases, of early motherhood.

There are other conditions favorable or unfavorable to procreation which it is now unnecessary to discuss in detail, since they have already been incidentally dealt with in previous volumes of these *Studies*. There is, for instance, the question of the time of year and the time of the menstrual cycle which may most properly be selected for procreation.[1] The best period is probably that when sexual desire is strongest, which is the period when conception would appear, as a matter of fact, most often to occur. This would be in spring or early summer,[2] and immediately after (or shortly before) the menstrual period. The Chinese have observed that the last day of menstruation and the two following days—corresponding to the period of œstrus—constitute the most favorable time for fecundation, and Bossi, of Genoa, has found that the great majority of successes in both natural and artificial fecundation occur at this period.[3] Soranus, as well as the Talmud, assigned the period about menstruation as the best for impregnation, and Susruta, the Indian physician, said that at this time pregnancy most readily occurs because then the mouth of the womb is open, like the flower of the water-lily to the sunshine.

We have now at last reached the point from which we started, the moment of conception, and the child again lies in its mother's womb. There remains no more to be said. The divine cycle of life is completed.

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[1] See, in vol. i, the study of "The Phenomena of Sexual Periodicity."

[2] Among animals, also, spring litters are often said to be the best

[3] Bossi's results are summarized in *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, Sept., 1891. Alebrand of Florence, the French King's physician in the thirteenth century, also advised intercourse a day after the end of menstruation.

POSTSCRIPT.

"THE work that I was born to do is done," a great poet wrote when at last he had completed his task. And although I am not entitled to sing any *Nunc dimittis,* I am well aware that the task that has occupied the best part of my life can have left few years and little strength for any work that comes after. It is more than thirty years ago since the first resolve to write the work now here concluded began to shape itself, still dimly though insistently; the period of study and preparation occupied over fifteen years, ending with the publication of *Man and Woman,* put forward as a prolegomenon to the main work which, in the writing and publication, has occupied the fifteen subsequent years.

It was perhaps fortunate for my peace that I failed at the outset to foresee all the perils that beset my path. I knew indeed that those who investigate severely and intimately any subject which men are accustomed to pass by on the other side lay themselves open to misunderstanding and even obloquy. But I supposed that a secluded student who approached vital social problems with precaution, making no direct appeal to the general public, but only to the public's teachers, and who wrapped up the results of his inquiries in technically written volumes open to few, I supposed that such a student was at all events secure from any gross form of attack on the part of the police or the government under whose protection he imagined that he lived. That proved to be a mistake. When only one volume of these *Studies* had been written and published in England, a prosecution,

instigated by the government, put an end to the sale of that volume in England, and led me to resolve that the subsequent volumes should not be published in my own country. I do not complain. I am grateful for the early and generous sympathy with which my work was received in Germany and the United States, and I recognize that it has had a wider circulation, both in English and the other chief languages of the world, than would have been possible by the modest method of issue which the government of my own country induced me to abandon. Nor has the effort to crush my work resulted in any change in that work by so much as a single word. With help, or without it, I have followed my own path to the end.

For it so happens that I come on both sides of my house from stocks of Englishmen who, nearly three hundred years ago, had encountered just these same difficulties and dangers before. In the seventeenth century, indeed, the battle was around the problem of religion, as to-day it is around the problem of sex. Since I have of late years realized this analogy I have often thought of certain admirable and obscure men who were driven out, robbed, and persecuted, some by the Church because the spirit of Puritanism moved within them, some by the Puritans because they clung to the ideals of the Church, yet both alike quiet and unflinching, both alike fighting for causes of freedom or of order in a field which has now for ever been won. That victory has often seemed of good augury to the perhaps degenerate child of these men who has to-day sought to maintain the causes of freedom and of order in another field.

It sometimes seems, indeed, a hopeless task to move the pressure of inert prejudices which are at no point so

obstinate as this of sex. It may help to restore the serenity of our optimism if we would more clearly realize that in a very few generations all these prejudices will have perished and be forgotten. He who follows in the steps of Nature after a law that was not made by man, and is above and beyond man, has time as well as eternity on his side, and can afford to be both patient and fearless. Men die, but the ideas they seek to kill live. Our books may be thrown to the flames, but in the next generation those flames become human souls. The transformation is effected by the doctor in his consulting room, by the teacher in the school, the preacher in the pulpit, the journalist in the press. It is a transformation that is going on, slowly but surely, around us.

I am well aware that many will not feel able to accept the estimate of the sexual situation as here set forth, more especially in the final volume. Some will consider that estimate too conservative, others too revolutionary. For there are always some who passionately seek to hold fast to the past; there are always others who passionately seek to snatch at what they imagine to be the future. But the wise man, standing midway between both parties and sympathizing with each, knows that we are ever in the stage of transition. The present is in every age merely the shifting point at which past and future meet, and we can have no quarrel with either. There can be no world without traditions; neither can there be any life without movement. As Heracleitus knew at the outset of modern philosophy, we cannot bathe twice in the same stream, though, as we know to-day, the stream still flows in an unending circle. There is never a moment when the new dawn is not breaking over the earth, and never a moment when the sunset ceases to die

It is well to greet serenely even the first glimmer of the dawn when we see it, not hastening towards it with undue speed, nor leaving the sunset without gratitude for the dying light that once was dawn.

In the moral world we are ourselves the light-bearers, and the cosmic process is in us made flesh. For a brief space it is granted to us, if we will, to enlighten the darkness that surrounds our path. As in the ancient torch-race, which seemed to Lucretius to be the symbol of all life, we press forward torch in hand along the course. Soon from behind comes the runner who will outpace us. All our skill lies in giving into his hand the living torch, bright and unflickering, as we ourselves disappear in the darkness.

HAVELOCK ELLIS.

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