

# モダニズム運動の原動力となったフェミニズム雑誌 *The Freewoman*

## A Midwife to Modernism :Feminist Journal *The Freewoman*

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### はじめに

モダニズムをフェミニズムの視点から見直す批評は1990年代から始まり、キム・スコット (Kim Scott) は *Gender of Modernism* で、女性モダニストと男性モダニストとの関係を線で結び巨大な蜘蛛の巣状の網の目 (図1) を構築して見せた (p.10)。スコットは、*Refiguring Modernism, Vol.I* の “Midwives of Modernism” で女性作家がモダニズム形成に貢献したことを論じている。またJ.E.ミラー (J.E.Miller) は、*Rebel Women-Feminism, Modernism and the Edwardian Novel* で、1901年～14年に第1作を出版している作家たちの小説はモダニズムへの第一歩を示したと述べ、モダニズムの源流をエドワード朝の自立した女性を描いた小説からさらに遡って、1890年代のニューウーマン小説にまでたどり、モダニズムの系譜の中にフェミニズムとエドワード朝小説を加えるべきであると主張している (pp.8-9参照)。

フェミニズムとモダニズムとの関わりを考えると、20世紀初頭のフェミニズム雑誌メディアの果たした役割りの大きさも、最近まで空白であった女性の文化史が研究されるようになって、初めて明らかになってきた。2005年6月出版予定の『英米20世紀初頭のフェミニズムと雑誌ジャーナリズム 全3巻』(Lucy Delap <ed.>, *Edwardian Feminists and the Periodical Press*) においても雑誌 *The Freewoman* が議論の対象となっているとのことである。スコットは “Stretching the Scope of Suffrage” で *The Freewoman*, *The New Freewoman*, *The Egoist* の変遷について解説し、「反女性参政権運動家のハンフリー・ウォード (Mary Hunphry Ward) やエドワード朝の助言者ウェルズ (H.G.Wells) とショー

(Bernard Shaw)、過渡期のモダニストであるフォード・マドックス・フォード (Ford Madox Ford)、さらにモダニストのD. H. ロレンス (D.H.Lawrence) とヴァージニア・ウルフ (Virginia Woolf) が *The Freewoman* に関心を寄せた」(1995、p.43) と述べている。ヘレン・マクニール (Helen McNeil) は、“Vortex Marsden: A Little Magazine and the Making of Modernity” で、ジャーナリズムの重要性を、現代性とモダニズムの受容や文学、文化史において指摘し、*The Freewoman*, *The New Freewoman*, *The Egoist* と名前を変えて行った一続きの雑誌が「英語圏におけるモダニズムの苗床になった」(“an originary site for much of Anglophone modernism”) (Campbell,p.142) と述べている。

フェミニスト雑誌 *The Freewoman* は、上述した文献の他にも、リチャードソン (A.Richardson) 編集の *The New Woman in Fiction and in Fact: Fin-de-Siècle Feminism* など、多くの文献でその重要性が指摘されているにもかかわらず、日本には現物が無いこともあって、ほとんど知られていない。筆者がこの雑誌の存在を知ったのはケンブリッジ大学英文学部のジェンダー論の講義においてである。アン・ファーニハフ教授 (Anne Fernihough) は *The Freewoman* が *The New Freewoman*, *The Egoist* へと名称変更されていくことを見てもモダニズム運動と関わりのある雑誌であると指摘された。セクシュアリティ、ジェンダー論を講じたヘネガン教授 (Alison Hennegan) は、講義資料として *The Freewoman* の一部コピーを配布された。『セクシュアリティ—性のテロリズム』(*The Sexual Fix*) の著書で有名なヒース教授 (Stephen Heath) からは、*The Freewoman*, *The New Freewoman*, *The Egoist* がケンブリッジ大学図書館にそろっていることを教えていただいた。

当時筆者はD. H. ロレンスの『チャタレー卿夫人の恋人』(*Lady Chatterley's Lover*) 論執筆にとりかかっていたので、すぐに図書館で閲覧させていただいた。帰国してから「世紀末から20世紀への性意識の変遷—『チャタレー卿夫人の恋人』の時代背景」という論文をD. H. ロレンス研究会編『ロレンス研究「チャタレー卿夫人の恋人」』(出水、1998年)に掲載した。19世紀末に登場した進歩的で教養ある「新しい女」たちのアンビバレントな性意識と母性に関する議論も、*The Freewoman* の読者欄を基にして『白孔雀』論(出水、2003年3月)にまとめた。1960年に英国で起こったチャタレイ裁判でロレンス文学の擁護側に立って証言したレベッカ・ウエスト (Rebecca West) という小説家・批評家は、*The Freewoman* 創刊当初から文芸欄を担当しており、ロレンスの『越境者』(*The Trespasser*) が出版された1912年にいち早く『越境者』論を発表し、その芸術性の高さを評価している。この書評も『越境者』論(出水、2003年12月)で引用させてもらった。

今回あらためて全928ページにわたるこの雑誌を概観して見ると、ヴィクトリア朝後期か

ら始まった女性参政権運動がエドワード朝に入ってどのように変化していったかという問題だけではなく、エドワード朝の人々が抱えていた様々な問題が浮かび上がって来た。女性参政権運動、性の議論、人口問題、優生学、帝国と母性、独身女性問題、文学、芸術の分野において、フェミニストの運営する雑誌がジャーナリズムと言うメディアを通してどのように人々を動かしていったか、フェミニズムがどのようにモダニズム運動に関わっていたかを知ることが出来た。パンクハースト (Pankhurst)、ジョゼフィン・バトラー (Josephine Butler)、レベッカ・ウェスト、H. G. ウェルズ、ハヴロック・エリス (Havelock Ellis)、エドワード・カーペンター (Edward Carpenter)、ステラ・ブラウン (Stella Browne)、オリヴ・シュライナー (Olive Schreiner)、ドライズデイル夫妻 (Drysdale)、オスカー・ワイルド (Oscar Wilde)、D. H. ロレンス等など、*The Freewoman* に関わった人々や誌上で言及された人々の名前を挙げてみてもこの雑誌の重要性が理解できるであろう。全47号すべての内容について考察することは限られた紙面で不可能なので、「議論されたトピック」、「購読者サークルの活動記事」、さらに読者層を知る上で貴重な材料を提供してくれる「広告欄」を取り上げることにする。

本論ではまず *The Freewoman* の概要について述べ、時代背景を知るために歴史上の重要な出来事を年譜の形で提示しておきたい。

## I. *The Freewoman* について

*The Freewoman* は20世紀初頭のフェミニストが「性」を論じる雑誌として出発した。パンクハーストたちと女性参政権運動に参加していたドーラ・マーズデン (Dora Marsden) が、女性の解放は参政権を得ることだけではないとして、パンクハーストと別れて1911年に創刊した雑誌である。マーズデンは、人間の「生命」の根源に「性」を見出し、性の問題を生き方の問題として捉えたのである。ウィークス (J. Weeks) は、*Sex, Politics & Society* の中で、「*The Freewoman* は女性のセクシュアリティへの関心を生々しく示し、議論への道を開いた」(p.166) と述べている。

フェミニズム文学批評家である、ショウォールター (Elaine Showalter) は『性のアナキー』(*Sexual Anarchy - Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle*) の中で、ヴィクトリア朝末期に登場した「新しい女」たちの中には、「女性のセクシュアリティについての真実と、その重要性について積極的に語り始める者も現われた」(p.82) とし、「『フリーウーマン』に寄稿しているフェミニストたちは、女性の法律上の解放に加えて、性的な解放を求める論争を繰り広げた」と説明している。このことの裏付けとして、寄稿者の一人であるステラ・ブラウンの「我々女性も、性のもつ美と喜びを享受していることを認めよう」という言葉を引用している。ショウォールターはまた、『女性自身の文学』(*A Literature of*

*Their Own*) で *The Freewoman* について次のように説明している。

第1期の『フリーウーマン』(1911-1913)は、合法的参政権論者たちが女性を解放する手段として選挙権に固執することを攻撃し、自由恋愛と個人主義という独自の哲学を推進した。ドーラ・マーズデンは、長たらしいが次第に論理的になっていく論説を書き、男にも女にも等しく応用できる人文主義的な哲学と美学的な信条を定義した。男性作家も、初めからこの定期刊行物にかかわっていた。(p.210)

以上述べてきたように *The Freewoman* は、創刊当初から編集に加わったレベッカ・ウェストの言葉を借りれば「その時代にはかり知れない影響を与えた」(West,p.573) 雑誌である。雑誌の変遷を箇条書きにすると次のようになる。

1911年11月3日 *The Freewoman- A Weekly Feminist Review* 創刊。

1913年6月15日 *The New Freewoman- An Individualist Review* (毎月1日、15日刊行) と改名される。

1914年1月1日 *The Egoist- An Individualist Review* (月刊) と改名される。

1919年12月 廃刊。

*The Freewoman* が *The New Freewoman* に変わったのは、財政的に行き詰ったため、ハリエット・ウィーヴァー (Harriet Weaver) が資金を提供し、自ら編集長に就任した。ウィーヴァーは出版の仕事は初めてで、最初は編集長になることを辞退したが、1913年2月にマーズデンに出会った時から意気投合し、「友情の絆が確立された」(Lidderdale, p.57)。事務所も John Street, Adelphi から、ヴァージニア・ウルフの周辺に集まった進歩的な芸術家や思想家からなる「ブルームズベリー・グループ」という知的サロンのあるブルームズベリー地区の Oakley House, Bloomsbury Street に移転している。エズラ・パウンド (Ezra Pound) やH.D.、リチャード・オールディントン (Richard Aldington) らが寄稿して、徐々にモダニズム雑誌の色彩を強めていった。ウィーヴァーがジェイムズ・ジョイズ (James Joyce) 一家に経済的支援をしていたことはよく知られているが、彼のモダニズム小説『若き日の芸術家の肖像』(*A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*) を *The Egoist* に掲載したり、『ユリシース』(*Ulysses*) 出版の支援をしたりしている。このエピソードについては “Miss Weaver’s *Ulysses*” (Lidderdale, pp.191-220) や、ウェストの “Spinster to the Rescue” (pp.577-580) に詳しい。

雑誌のサイズはA4よりやや大きい程度で、各号のページ数は20ページである。ただし資

金繰りで行き詰まった最終号は 8 ページで終わっており、'our last issue' という記事が掲載されている。週刊誌で発刊日は木曜日。価格は 3 シリングで当時の物価からするとかなり高価である。ちなみに女性家庭教師の賃金は週 7 シリングであった。

全体の構成は Vol.I と Vol.II に分れており、副題も 'A Weekly Feminist Review' から 'A Weekly Humanist Review' と変更されて、編集者についても、No.16 からは Dora Marsden 単独になっている。

Vol.I Nos. 1-16 *The Freewoman : A Weekly Feminist Review* (図 2)  
Joint Editors: Dora Marsden, B.A., Mary Gawthorpe

Vol.I Nos.17-26 *The Freewoman: A Weekly Feminist Review*  
Editor: Dora Marsden, B.A

Vol.II Nos.27-47 *The Freewoman: A Weekly Humanist Review* (図 3)  
Editor: Dora Marsden, B.A.

各号の発刊年月日、ページ数は以下の通りである。

Vol.I	No. 1	Thursday	1911	11/23	1-20
	2			30	20-40
	3			12/07	41-60
	4			14	61-80
	5			21	81-100
	6			28	101-120
	7		1912	01/04	121-140
	8			11	141-160
	9			18	161-180
	10			23	181-200
	11			02/01	201-220
	12			08	221-230
	13			15	241-260
	14			22	261-280
	15			29	281-300
	16			03/07	301-320
	17			14	321-340
	18			21	341-360
	19			28	361-380

	20	04/04	381-400
	21	11	401-420
	22	18	421-440
	23	25	441-460
	24	05/02	461-480
	25	09	481-500
	26	16	501-520
Vol.II	27	23	1-20
	28	30	21-40
	29	06/06	41-60
	30	13	61-80
	31	20	81-100
	32	27	101-120
	33	07/04	121-140
	34	11	141-160
	35	18	161-180
	36	25	181-200
	37	08/01	201-220
	38	08	221-240
	39	15	241-260
	40	22	261-280
	41	29	281-300
	42	09/05	301-320
	43	12	321-340
	44	19	341-360
	45	26	361-380
	46	10/03	381-400
	47	10	401-408

## II. 時代背景

*The Freewoman* で議論された事項を理解するために、女性参政権運動、セクシュアリティ、ジェンダーに関する法律、事件、出版物を年譜でまとめた。

- 1857 離婚・婚姻訴訟法（裁判による離婚を認める法）  
猥褻物出版取締法（俗称 キャンベル脚法）
- 1861 人身に対する犯罪法（ソドミーには終身禁固刑—1956年に廃止された）
- 1864—67 伝染病法（売春婦に対する性病検診を強制するこの法律はジョゼフィン・バトラーを中心とするフェミニストの運動で1886年に廃止された）
- 【1866—67 米国で奴隷の解放】
- 1869 ジョゼフィン・バトラー「売春法撤廃のための女性連盟」設立  
ジョン・スチュアート・ミル『隷属状態の女性』
- 1870 既婚女性の財産権法（既婚女性が婚姻後に得た所得の所有権を認める法）
- 1877 チャールズ・ブラドロー、アニー・ペザント裁判（ノールトン著『哲学の果実』〈新マルサス主義に基づく避妊法〉を出版したために訴えられ有罪となる）
- 1882 既婚女性の財産権法（既婚女性が婚姻の前後を問わず取得した財産の所有権を認める法）
- 1884 社会主義者連盟結成（ウィリアム・モリス）  
フェビアン協会結成（バーナード・ショー）
- 1885 刑法改正法（ホモセクシュアル取締）  
国民の番人連盟結成（英国のモラルの番人—非公式の検閲機関）  
カール・ピアソン「女の問題」（論文）発表、及び「男と女のクラブ」ロンドンに創設（1889年解散）
- 1886 エリナー・マルクス、エドワード・アヴェリング『女の問題』
- 1889 H. A. オールバット『妻の手引書』（新マスサス主義による医学書）  
女性の参政権運動連盟結成
- 1890 ウィリアム・モリス『ユートピア便り』（女性が嬉々として子育てに励む社会を描く）
- 1893 独立労働党結成
- 1895 オスカー・ワイルド裁判（ホモセクシュアル行為の罪で2年間投獄される）  
グラント・アレン『やり遂げた女』（「ニューウーマン小説」のベストセラー）
- 1896 エドワード・カーペンター『愛の成熟』
- 1897 ハヴロック・エリス『性の心理学研究』（1927年に全7巻完結）第1巻『性的倒錯論』販売の罪でジョージ・ベッドバラ捕まる  
ブラム・ストーカー『ドラキュラ』（同性愛や女性のセクシュアリティ問題が示唆されている）
- 1899—1902 ボーア戦争（南アフリカ戦争）

- 1900 労働者代表委員会（1906年選挙から労働党となる）
- 1903 女性の社会・政治連盟（WSPU）結成（エミリーン及びクリスタベル・パンクハースト親子）  
オットー・ヴァイニンガー『性と性格』（1906年ハイネマン社英語版出版、1912年 *The Freewoman* に掲載される）
- 1905 パンクハースト参政権運動開始
- 1907 国立優生学研究所設立（初代所長カール・ピアソン）  
優性教育学協会創立（EES）
- 1910 フランス後期印象派絵画展ロンドンで開催
- 1911 *The Freewoman* 創刊  
H. G. ウェルズ「母性への国家基金」
- 1912 タイタニック号沈没（4月14日）
- 1914 英国性心理学研究会創設（初代会長エドワード・カーペンター）
- 1914-18 第1次世界大戦
- 1914 米国からマーガレット・サンガー-英国訪問、チャールズ・ヴィケリー・ドライズデイル（マルサス同盟の代表者）をはじめ、オリーヴ・シュライナー、ステラ・ブラウンなどのフェミニストやハヴロック・エリスに会う
- 1918 女性の参政権30歳以上（男性は21歳に変更された）  
マリー・ストープス『夫婦の愛』

*The Freewoman* が創刊された1911年は人間の考え方が変化し始めた重要な年であった。ヴァージニア・ウルフの言葉を借りれば、1910年の12月頃に人間の性格が変化し、それに伴って宗教や政治、行動様式、価値観、文学が変化した。その契機となったのが、ウルフの友人であるロジャー・フライ（Roger Fry）が1910年11月にロンドンで開催したフランス後期印象派の絵画展（“Monet and the Post-Impressionists”）であったとウルフは言う。ゴッホやセザンヌ、ピカソ、マチスなどのモダニズム芸術作品は人々の物の見方を変え、性格を変えるほど大きな衝撃を与えたのである。

「性」について一斉に人々が語りはじめたのもこの頃である。ヴィクトリア朝道徳の下では、「性」を話題にするのはタブーとされ、青ざめて性欲を持たない女性が良き妻「家庭の天使」であるとみなされていた。19世紀末になって道徳に縛られない進歩的な「新しい女」が登場し、文学においては「ニューウーマン」小説の流行をみた。政治においては女性参政権運動をするフェミニストの活動が過激になり、投獄されてハンガーストライキをする女性も出て社会問題となった。獄中で、のどにチューブを入れて強制的に食べ物を摂取させられ

た女性の問題は *The Freewoman* でしばしば議論の対象となった。

1907年の国立優生学研究所設立や、1911年の「母性への国家基金」の問題の背景にはボーア戦争（1889-1902）があった。戦争に従軍した兵士の健康状態の悪さが、1904年7月30日に婦人科医学学会の基調講演で発表されたことが契機となって、「母性の国家基金」が考案された。妊娠した女性を対象に、国家が基金を提供してまでも健康で優秀な男児を育てて帝国を立て直そうとするこの政策は、国家の母性への干渉であるとしてフェミニストの反発をかった。「母性への国家基金」を推進するフェビアン協会会員であり、また *The Freewoman* の購読者でもあったH. G. ウェルズは、*The Freewoman* 1912年3月7日号で「母性への国家基金」について解説し、フェミニストたちの理解を求めている（図4）。国家によって保護された母性は一方で「母性というイデオロギー」（The ideology of maternity）（Miller, p.107）を生み出した。女性の中には自らの地位を正当化するために、女性の権利としての「母性のイデオロギー」をふりかざすものもあり、男性性を脅かす危険性をもはらんでいた。この問題は「性の闘いを考える」“Speculations on Sex War”（No.4, Vol.I）で議論されている。

米国における奴隷の解放は英国での女性解放運動にも影響を与えた。J. S. ミル（J.S. Mill）の『隷属状態の女性』（*Subjection of Women*）はフェミニストのバイブルとも称された。米国の黒人奴隷解放の気運を大きく促進したストウ夫人（Mrs. Beecher Stowe）の小説『アンクルトムの小屋』（*The Uncle Tom's Cabin*）の広告が女性参政権運動を支持する Stephen Swift 書店の広告にも見られる（図5）。また移住や移民といった名目で、英国人女性を国際的な奴隷貿易ルートを通じて、海外の売春宿に売りつける「白い奴隷売買」（The White Slave Traffic）反対を訴える記事が1912年5月23日号購読者欄の最後に見られる（図3）。

フェミニズムとは直接関係がないと思われる、1912年4月14日に起きたタイタニック号沈没の大惨事が、No.24.Vol.I（1912年4月25日号）のトップ記事として3ページにわたって「騎士道精神」（‘Chivalry’）というタイトルで報じられている。犠牲者に哀悼の意を示しながらも「騎士道精神」の背後には男性優位の考え方があるとするフェミニストの見解が述べられている。この記事の反響は大きく、続くNo.25, No.26, No.27（図3）の購読者欄においても‘The Titanic and the Miners’、‘The New Chivalry’、‘Titanic Morality’、‘Chivalry’ というタイトルで意見が寄せられている。

上記の社会背景からみて分るように、エドワード朝はヴィクトリア朝世紀末から20世紀にかけて人々の精神風土が大きく変わった時代であった。人間を動かすダイナミックなエネルギーの発露を *The Freewoman* に読み取る事が出来ると言っても過言ではないだろう。

### III. 論じられたトピック

*The Freewoman* の副題が途中で *The Weekly Feminist Review* から *The Weekly Humanist Review* に変わったように、女性の問題から男性をも含めた人間全体の有り方が論じられているため、トピックは多岐にわたっている。それらの中から繰り返し議論されていたトピックを9つの項目に分けてみた。すべての記事を記載することはできないので、主だった記事の題目・寄稿者・号数を挙げておきたい。

#### 1. フェミニズムについての議論

Feminism under the Republic and the Early Empire by Amy Haughton  
(Nos.1-3,5-8,Vol.I)

Idealism and Feminism by C.M.H. Edwards (No.9,Vol.I)

Feminism and the Destiny of Humanity by Alfred E. Bing (No.12,Vol.I)

Feminism and Shipwrecks by A.B. (No.23,Vol.I)

French Feminism by Dr. Madeleine Pelletier (No.23,Vol.I)

#### 2. 女性参政権運動に関するもの

To the Women's Social and Political Union by Mary Gawthorpe (No.3,Vol.I)

The Unimportance of the Woman's Movement by Arthur D. Lewis  
(No.8,Vol.I)

The Suffrage Barometer by Dora Marsden (No.15,Vol.I)

The Present State of The Suffrage Question. Male Reflection by Francis  
Bickley (No.21,Vol.I)

Hunger Strikes by Dora Marsden (No.23,Vol.I)

Impressions of English Suffragism by Upton Sinclair (No.33,Vol.II)

〈米国の社会主義作家アプトン・シンクレアは1912年にロンドンを訪れ女性参政権運動家に会っている。投石など過激な行動には批判的な意見を述べている。〉

Ulster and the W.S.P.U. by Dora Marsden (No.40,Vol.II)

The Forcible Feeding by Mary Gawthorpe (No.42,Vol.II)

Mr. MacKenna and Forcible Feeding by the editor of *The Christian Commonwealth* (No.34,Vol.II)

#### 3. 性の問題

Speculations on Sex War by VIR (No.4,Vol.I)

"Uranians" by Harry J. Birnstingl (Nos.7,10,Vol.I)

〈「ウラニアン」という言葉はエドワード・カーペンターの造語で、同性愛者を意味する。〉

The Chastity of Continnence? by A New Subscriber (No.14,Vol.I)

〈「禁欲は貞節であるか？」という題目で購読者欄に「新購読者」という匿名で投稿したのはステラ・ブラウンであることが後になって判明した。「上品に育てられた女性には自分の性を語る語彙がない」(Richardson,p.229) と考えるブラウンは、ハヴロック・エリスの“auto-erotism” という性科学の専門用語を使って女性の性について意見を述べている。〉

Interpretation of Sex by Dora Marsden (Nos.24-26,Vol.I/No.27,Vol.II) (図3)  
Woman and Mankind. Chap.XIV. of Weininger's "Sex and Character" (Nos.23-24,Vol.I)

#### 4. 女子の高等教育

A University Degree for Housewives? by Educationist (No.1,Vol.I)

A College for Working Women by Bridges Adams (No.26,Vol.I)

The Working Women's College by B.L. (No.44,Vol.II)

#### 5. 独身女性問題

The Spinster by One (No.1,Vol.I)

〈独身女性問題を論じた匿名者によるこのエッセイは (Women's Source Library) に収録されている (Jefferys,pp.602-5)。〉

Spinsters in the Making Types I ? The College Woman by Helen Hamiton (No.4,Vol.I)

Another Way of Spinsterhood by Elizabeth Barry (No.6,Vol.I)

#### 6. 母性、人口論、優生学

Freewoman and the Birth-rate by Dr.Drysdale (Nos.2,5,7,10,Vol.I)

A Freewoman's Attitude to Motherhood by Edith A. Browne (No.8,Vol.I)

Population and the Food Supply by C.V. Drysdale (Nos.13-14,Vol.I)

〈チャールズ・ヴィケリー・ドライズデイルはマスサス同盟の代表者〉

Woman: Endowed or Free? By Dora Marsden (No.15,Vol.I)

Mr. Wells to the Attack; Freewomen and Endowment by H.G.Wells (No.16,Vol.I) (図4)

Women Endowed by Dora Marsden (No.17,Vol.I)

Women Endowed by H.G.Wells (No.18,Vol.I)

Those Eugenists Again! By Dora Marsden (No.23,Vol.II)

Modernism in Morality. The Ethics of Sexual Relationship by Julian Warde (Nos.31-33,Vol.II)

More Questions (on Eugenics) by Stella Browne (No.39,Vol.II)

Eugenics in America by R.B.Kerr (No.44,Vol.II)

#### 7. 売春問題

The Prevention of Venereal Diseases by E.S.P.Haynes (No.10,Vol.I)

The New Prostitution by C.H.Norman (No.21,Vol.I)

Shall the Yoshiwara Be Rebuilt? By E.O.Wrench, M.D. (No.28,Vol.II)

〈日本の遊郭、吉原における売春婦の問題は、32,33,34各号の読者欄でも議論されている。〉

#### 8. 文学・芸術

Free Art by Edith A. Browne (No.17,Vol.I)

“Futurism” by Harry J. Birnstingl (No.22,Vol.I)

Spinster and Art by Rebecca West (No.34,Vol.II)

〈D.H.ロレンスの『越境者』を、当時流行したスピンスター小説と比べて論じ、その芸術性の高さを評価するとともに、社会問題となっていたスピンスター批判もしている。〉

J.M.Kennedy, *English Literature 1880-1905* by Rebecca West (No.36,Vol.II)

#### 9. その他

The New Morality by Dora Marsden (Nos.4,6-9,Vol.I)

Divorce Law Reform by E.S.P.Haynes (N.7,Vol.I)

Milton's "Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce" by E.H.Visiak (No.12,Vol.I)

Interpretations of Life by Harry J. Birnstingl (Nos. 29-30,Vol.II)

The Oscar Wilde Monument by Gladys Jones (No.31,Vol.II)

The Cause of Financial Panics by Arthur Kitson (No.38,Vol.I)

The New Hygiene: Natural Health *versus* Economic Wealth by Helen Meredith Macdonald (No.41,Vol.II)

Currency and Co-operations by Arthur Kitson (No.42,Vol.II)

Foreign Affairs by G.L.Harding (No.16,Vol.I)

「海外事情」と題されたこのコラム（図4）で日本女性のおかれた過酷な労働状況が次のように紹介されている。

有名な日本の政治家 Dr. Kuwado の報告によると、日本には100万人以上の労働者がいて、そのうちの70万人以上が女性で、さらに7万人が14歳以下の少女である。マッチ製造工場では全労働者の5分の1が10歳以下の少女である。誘拐同然の方法で集められた少女たちは無理やり工場の敷地内に住まわされ、事実上は奴隷のような扱いを受けている。

また綿糸産業では長時間労働を強いられている。

まるで細井和喜蔵の『女工哀史』(1925年)に描かれているような日本の状況を早くも1912年に取り上げている点に、女性の権利に留まらず、人間性の問題を扱う雑誌 *The Freewoman: The Humanist Review* の姿勢が窺える。)

#### IV. 広告欄から見る購読者層と社会

広告主は *The Freewoman* を、女性参政権運動の雑誌だとみなし、他の女性参政権運動の雑誌と同様に、購読者は中産階級の女性で、見込みのあるマーケットだと考えていたようである。このことは、女性のための銀行の広告(図6)やロンドンの大手デパート Debenhams & Freebody の広告(図7)、高級下着店の広告(図8)、ハサミやナイフの研ぎ店の広告(図9)、また高級婦人服店 A L' Ideal Cie が最新のファッション広告(図10)を掲載していたことから分る(Morrison, p.91参照)。購読者の男女比はおよそ1対4で、しかもロンドンに住む独身女性が既婚女性の購読者数を上まわっていた。進歩的な女性が購読者だと見なされていたことは、'ju-justsu' クラスの広告(図11)や女性発明家のための特許広告(図12)、避妊薬等の広告(図13)などから察せられる。頻繁に掲載されている、既婚女性を対象として医師(Dr. Allison)によって書かれた本 *A Book for Married Women* の広告(図14)の目次に目を向ければ、初潮から妊娠、安産、更年期といった項目が並んでいて、当時の女性がいかに性に対する正しい知識を求めていたかが分る。

*The Freewoman* は、中産階級の進歩的な女性(new liberated woman)を対象とする一方で、反体制的(counterpublic)側面も持っていた。このことは、「反自由党、反ブルジョア主義の新聞(antiliberal and antibourgeois paper)」(Morrison, p.101) *The Daily Herald* の広告(図18)が掲載されていることから分る。*The Freewoman* の文芸欄を担当していたレベッカ・ウェストは同新聞の女性のページ編集にも関わっていた(Campbell, p.173参照)。International Suffrage Shop の広告(図15)や各号の最終ページに掲載されている、過激で進歩的な書店 Stephen Swift の全面広告(図5)も反体制的側面を表している。Stephen Swift は、発禁本(banned book)となっていた *Daughter of Ishmael* や *A Night in the Luxembourg* をあえて宣伝していた。また、同書店が進歩的であったことは、近年になってモダニスト作家として再評価されているキャサリン・マンズフィールド(Katherine Mansfield)の最初の短編小説集『ドイツの宿にて』(*In A German Pension*, 1911)を重要な本として紹介していることや、「モダニストへ(To Modernists)」という呼びかけで *The Oxford & Cambridge Review* の広告(図17)を掲載していることから分かる。Stephen Swift 社は雑誌 *The Freewoman* 購読の手続

きも引き受けていた（図16）。

編集長のドーラ・マーズデンはWSPUを誌上で激しく攻撃したにもかかわらず、*The Freewoman* は Women's Freedom League, The International Women's Franchise Club, National American Suffrage Association of New York など流通していて、女性参政権運動の雑誌だと一般的には見なされていた。ただ先の項で述べたように、*The Freewoman* が他の女性参政権運動の雑誌と違う点は、ブルジョア階級が「不適正」だと考えるトピック、つまりホモセクシュアリティや過激な通貨改革、実験的または過激な芸術や文学を取り上げていたことである（Morrison,p.92参照）。

## V. 購読者サークルの活動（The Discussion Circle）

*The Freewoman* には購読者欄（Correspondance）が設けられており、誌上で議論がなされていた。購読者欄のページは号を重ねる毎に増大して行き、ついに投稿内容にタイトルが付けられて目次にのせられるまでになった（図4）。誌上での議論にあきたらず、購読者と執筆者との集会も定期的に開かれるようになった。このことはこの雑誌が社会に大きな影響力を持っていたことを物語っている。1912年6月13日号には集会の案内が詳細に掲載されている（図19）。性科学者ハヴロック・エリスの優生学（Eugenics）についての講演や、新マルサス主義、離婚法など雑誌でとりあげられたトピックが演題になっている。ステラ・ブラウンが、途中から購読者クラブの財務係を務めた。ブラウンは、*The Freewoman* の購読者、寄稿者で、ドーラ・マーズデンと同様に、女性の性の解放を男性中心の文化へのチャレンジであるとした点で、女性参政権運動をするフェミニストとは別の新しいフェミニズムの立場にいた（Rawbotham,p.70参照）。後に英国性心理学研究会のメンバーとなり、「性の多様性と女性間の可変性」（Sexual Variety and Variability Among Women）を発表している（荻野、p.219参照）。

## おわりに

モダニズム文学雑誌 *The Egoist* の原点となった *The Freewoman* は、英国文学・文化を研究する者にとって、フェミニズムとモダニズムとの関わりを考える上で貴重な資料であるばかりか、女性史や社会史の分野においても貴重な研究資料である。エドワード朝という時代を映し出したこの雑誌は、様々な階級の様々な職種の、有名無名の人々の生の声を伝える興味深い資料を提供してくれる。この雑誌の持つ意義を知るには、女性参政権運動や新マルサス主義、社会主義をはじめ、英国の歴史や政治、経済、文化のことなど広範囲の知識が必要であることを痛感させられた。

寄稿者の履歴や業績を調べていけば、スコットがフェミニスト作家とモダニスト作家との

関係性を表した下図の巨大な網の目を作ったように、ヴィクトリア朝後期から始まった女性参政権運動を契機として、20世紀初頭に新しい「生」と「性」の有り方を追究し、「英語圏におけるモダニズムの苗床になった」雑誌 *The Freewoman* に関わった人々の巨大な蜘蛛の巣状のネットワークが出来あがるかもしれないと期待している。

時代は豊かになり、自然科学も社会科学もめざましく進歩した21世紀の現代においてもまだ、性同一性障害の問題、政府の少子化対策、女性の性と生殖の自由（リプロダクティブ・ライツ）の問題、性別役割問題などが議論されている。人間性の問題を考えるとき、ほぼ1世紀前に刊行された *The Freewoman* でなされた議論を読み直してみる価値は多いにある。

今回は、編集者が交代してよりモダニズムへと近づいた雑誌 *The New Freewoman* について考察したい。

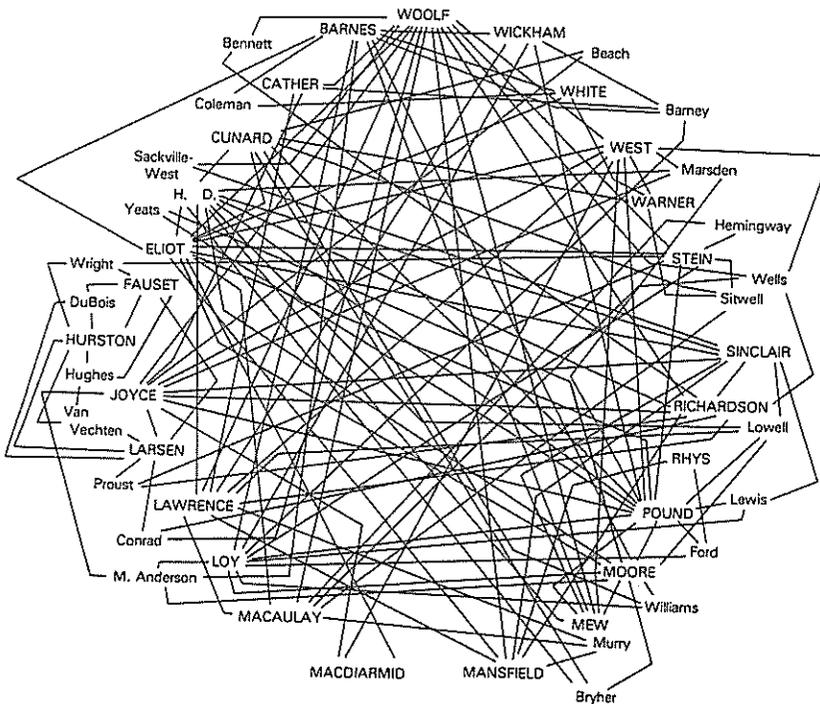


図1 モダニスト達の絡まり合った網の目

# THE FREEWOMAN

A WEEKLY FEMINIST REVIEW

NO. 1. VOL. I.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1911

THREEPENCE

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

*Joint Editors:*

DORA MARSDEN, B.A.  
MARY GAWTHORPE

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## BONDWOMEN.

IT is a wholly pertinent matter that the temerarious persons who launch THE FREEWOMAN should be asked, "Who are the Freewomen?" Where are the women of whom and for whom you write who are free? Can they be pointed out, or named by name? There must be, say, ten in the British Isles. The question is pertinent enough, but it is difficult to answer, because its answer must of necessity become personal. We might, perhaps, hazard the name of one Freewoman who has become a sufficiently national figure to make her mention impersonal—Ellen Terry. There at least is one, and for the rest the inquisitors must be content with being enabled to arrive at the conception of Freewomen by way of a description of Bondwomen.

Bondwomen are distinguished from Freewomen by a spiritual distinction. Bondwomen are the women who are not separate spiritual entities—who are not individuals. They are complements merely. By habit of thought, by form of activity, and largely by preference, they round off the personality of some other individual, rather than create or cultivate their own. Most women, as far back as we have any record, have fitted into this conception, and it has borne itself out in instinctive working practice.

And in the midst of all this there comes a cry that woman is an individual, and that because she is an individual she must be set free. It would be nearer the truth to say that if she is an individual she *is* free, and will act like those who are free. The doubtful aspect in the situation is as to whether women are or can be individuals—that is, free—and whether there is not danger, under the circumstances, in labelling them free, thus giving them the liberty of action which is allowed to the free. It is this doubt and fear which is behind the opposition which is being offered the vanguard of those who are "asking for" freedom. It is the kind of fear which an engineer would have in

guaranteeing an arch equal to a strain above its strength. The opponents of the Freewomen are not actuated by spleen or by stupidity, but by dread. This dread is founded upon ages of experience with a being who, however well loved, has been known to be an inferior, and who has accepted all the conditions of inferiors. Women, women's intelligence, and women's judgments have always been regarded with more or less secret contempt, and when woman now speaks of "equality" all the natural contempt which a higher order feels for a lower when it presumes bursts out into the open. This contempt rests upon quite honest and sound instinct, so honest, indeed, that it must provide all the charm of an unaccustomed sensation for fine gentlemen like the Curzons and Cromers and Asquiths to feel anything quite so instinctive and primitive. With the women opponents it is another matter. These latter apart, however, it is for world-be Freewomen to realise that for them this contempt is the healthiest thing in the world, and that those who express it honestly feel it; that these opponents have argued quite soundly that women have allowed themselves to be used, ever since there has been any record of them; and that if women had had higher uses of their own they would not have foregone them. They have never known women formulate imperious wants, this in itself implying lack of wants, and this in turn implying lack of ideals. Women as a whole have shown nothing save "servant" attributes. All those activities which presuppose the master qualities, the standard-making, the law-giving, the moral-framing, belong to men. Religions, philosophies, legal codes, standards in morals, canons in art have all issued from men, while women have been the "followers," "believers," the "law-abiding," the "moral," the conventionally admiring. They have been the administrators, the servants, living by borrowed precept, receiving orders, doing hodmen's work. For note, though some men must be

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INTERPRETATIONS OF SEX.

IV.

THE two lines of thought which we developed in our last issue in "Interpretations of Sex," and "Freewomen and Evolution," had reached a point at which it is easy to treat them together. On the one hand, we were faced with the "mythical, mystical entity," and on the other we had arrived at a conception of life-conduct, which, if prolonged to its ultimate limits, would lead to a cessation of human life as we know it. Let us take the last consideration first. No conception of life-conduct can be pushed to its ultimate limits without bringing into question considerations of life's tendencies—that is, considerations of religion. *Where is life going?* All basic principles of conduct turn on the answer to that question. We think life is setting unmistakably in one direction. Give life chance enough, and it tends to show itself for what it is. It tends to assume individual form in the soul. This characterised, form-impregnated life with articulated differentiation is personality. A personality is no ordinary achievement. It is the biggest thing in creation. This differentiation appears to us to be cut out of the life-force itself, and unless obvious *soul*-deterioration sets in, it is not possible for this differentiated life to fall back into the undifferentiated whole. At dissolution, i.e., death, differentiated soul, personality that is, does not, as is held in common parlance, "go back to God." When the worn out sheath falls away, the articulated soul remains, to our thinking, just what it was, save with the added knowledge which comes of slipping a grosser veil, a recognisable and individual soul with expression

spatiality as our personality is great or mean, here and now. If it be objected that this is merely guess-work, we at once agree. It is guess-work for others, but it is certainty for us. And we point out that above a certain level of inquiry, all is guess-work, for all save the individual. The individual has his own inner voice, and if he is wise he follows it, though it seem a siren voice to others. The individual has no final guide, save the inner voice, and if he is deaf to that, he travels without chart or compass. That is the reason why freedom is demanded so constantly—that we may follow the voice. It is why we believe in free institutions, and why in the last resort we recognise there is no law save the law of our own being, why we are anarchists, in short.

If we now turn to that conception of ideal sexual passion, which shuns all relations in the physical, we find its real solution in this conception of continued existence of personality. A great spiritual experience such as a passion is must have a spiritual consequence, and its consequence is found in the individual spiritual entity, which is personality. Passion creates personality, and personality is the differentiated form of life which will not sink back into the undifferentiated. That is the sequence. Passion creates its own power of permanency and continuance in itself. That is why it can afford, if it desires—instinctively it shows it can afford—to let physical pledges slide. Great love-passions are often childless, and the willingness with which physical life is given up by great souls is a sign that they can afford to. The impulse to die for a person or cause be-

# THE FREEWOMAN

A WEEKLY FEMINIST REVIEW

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DORA MARSDEN, B.A.  
MARY GAWTHORPE

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## MR. WELLS TO THE ATTACK: FREEWOMEN AND ENDOWMENT.

WE have very great pleasure in bringing to the attention of our readers Mr. Wells' reply to our challenge on "Woman: Endowed or Free?" We hope that the attacks on the Freewoman's position in this matter will increase and not decline. We hope that there will be no backwardness among Endowmentists. As nothing less than the establishment or disestablishment of a serious goal of endeavour is at issue, the matter is worth strenuous backing on the part of its supporters. Next week we shall reply. We have prefaced our own questions to Mr. Wells' answers:—

To the Editors of THE FREEWOMAN.

THE FREEWOMAN is too bright and intelligent a paper to indulge in wilful misrepresentation of a position she doesn't approve of, but she is rather wickedly wrong about what she calls, begging the question to begin with, the State Endowment of Mothers. It's the State Endowment of Motherhood she's thinking of, which is a very different thing. It's not human beings we want to buy and enslave, it's a social service, a collective need, we want to sustain.

Here are the answers to her questions, from one who has staked his poor reputation for intelligence on the State Endowment of Motherhood:—

1. Does State endowment of mothers mean an adequate subsistence grant to mothers—say, £100 a year or so? or is it a dole to mothers—perhaps 5s. a week?

1. It means an adequate subsistence for the

child and for the mother so far as the child needs her. "How much" depends upon the standard of life prevailing in the community and upon the resources available.

2. Endowing the mother, does the State propose to make her subsistence grant sufficient for the child also, and, if not, on whom does the cost of maintenance of the child fall?

2. See answer to 1.

3. For what period before birth is the grant to be in operation—nine months, six months, three months, or one?

3. A matter of common sense and convenience. Six months perhaps.

4. If the child lives, how long is the grant to continue—one year, three years, or seven years, or what?

4. The payments will be made to the mother as first and principal guardian of the child so long as it needs a guardian.

5. If the child dies, is the mother to continue to be endowed, or, being deprived of her child, is she to lose her endowment as well?

5. The payments only concern the child, and cease with its life.

6. If the period during which endowment is fixed extends through a number of years, will not women be able to earn their livelihood by continuously giving birth to a small number of children?

6. I presume that the payments will be a pretty complete maintenance for both mother

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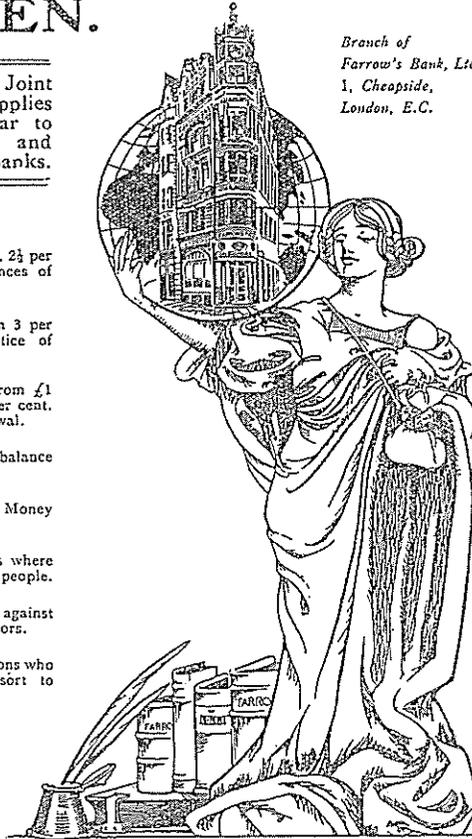
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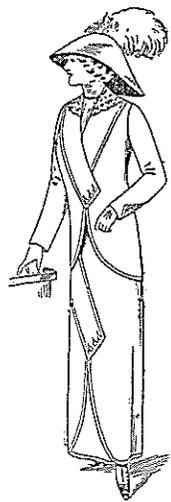
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図18 The Daily Herald 紙の広告

Middle Ages, when one might expect to find a couple of dog fights in the transepts and a merry mob in the nave. To-day that is impossible. Everything in Canterbury—even the dogs—is afflicted with a clerical lowliness of spirit. There remains the other way—to recognise the Cathedral as a work of art, the indestructible flower of a dead plant. But the midway, which pretends that the Church is alive when it is not, is quite intolerable. Every now and then an undistinguished person with a feeble voice came and mocked the frozen music of the nave with words with which the world is familiar but does not believe. Surely the authorities must see that if the service is conducted at all it ought to be by surpassingly beautiful people with surpassingly beautiful voices. The Very Rev. the Dean of Canterbury ought to be some young Antinous. Of course he may be, for all I know to the contrary. I have never seen him. I went out to look for him, feeling that he might be the key to the soul of modern Canterbury. He was billed to appear at an anti-suffrage meeting with Miss Gladys Pott, and I thought I had tracked him to a performance of "A Kiss in the Dark," given in the aid of some Church fund; but the one was on May 12th and the other on June 30th, so I missed the opportunity of seeing the Dean with either Melpomene or Thalia.

I made one other attempt to study the soul of modern Canterbury by trying to buy a copy of the local paper, the posters of which bore the legend, "The Archbishop and the Mothers' Union." As I remembered the Mothers' Union to be an implacable body which came up to London two years ago and emphatically declared its disinclination to be divorced before the Divorce Commission, I hoped the Archbishop had not come off worst. But the paper was sold out. "The poster's sold it like hot cakes," said the shopman.

I wonder what happened to "Elsie Lindtner." As my train steamed out of Canterbury I saw a cow standing in a field which I well knew, toying with something underfoot. With a waggish lift to her tail, she bent her head and munched. I wonder.

REBECCA WEST.

## The Discussion Circle.

THE fourth meeting of the Circle was held on Wednesday, June 5th, at Chandos Hall, and was attended by a very large audience.

The programme for the next session was submitted, and duly accepted. A detailed syllabus of subjects and speakers is given below.

After the business was concluded, Mr. Charles Granville delivered his paper on "Thought-Mists: Some Earthly Suggestions," Mr. E. S. P. Haynes being in the chair.

The paper was full of very interesting suggestions, and gave rise to much warm discussion. The main point emphasised by the lecturer was the immense need for clearness of language. Most of us human beings, he declared, are "tricksters in speech." We are using language to cover our lack of clear thinking and our inadequate conceptions. Often a word has no real significance for us, yet we continue to make use of it, thereby further confounding ourselves and our hearers. Much of our language has reference to a dead past, and is meaningless for present experience, hence it should be abandoned. Here the lecturer gave as examples such terms as "Soul," "Spirit," "Salvation," which, he maintained, have lost all their original theological significance for the majority of modern people who employ them, and yet have not been endowed with fresh significance—at least of any definite nature—so that the employment of them leads us into fog

and bog. Again, the emotional figures, which form so large a part of literature, are only of value if they have the connotation of their own age. We cannot, in language any more than in life, continue to exist on the survivals of a dead past. Therefore our duty is either to create new words to fit our ideas, or to discard the old word and do without any until a fitting new one is born.

A very strenuous discussion followed.

### PROGRAMME OF SESSION, JUNE 19—OCT. 16.

*N.B.—No meetings will be held during the month of August.*

SUBJECT.	SPEAKER.	DATE.
Ideas of Freedom . . . .	Mr. Selwyn Weston	June 19.
Sex Oppression and the Way Out	Mr. Guy Aldred . .	July 5.
Some Problems of Eugenics	Mrs. Havelock Ellis	July 17.
The Problems of Celibacy . .	Mrs. Gallichan . .	July 31.
Neo-Malthusianism . . . .	Dr. Drysdale . .	Sept. 4.
Prostitution . . . . .	—	Sept. 18.
The Abolition of Domestic Drudgery	Mrs. Melvin and Miss Rona Robinson, M.Sc.	Oct. 2.
The Reform of the Divorce Laws	Mr. E. S. P. Haynes	Oct. 16.

NOTE.—These dates are subject to some revision, to suit the convenience of speakers. Each Subject, Speaker, and Date will be re-announced in THE FREEWOMAN before the meeting takes place.

In reference to the above programme, the Committee desire to point out that numerous interesting suggestions sent in by members, not yet utilised, are held in reserve for a following session. It has been thought well to begin with those topics which are fairly certain to make a wide appeal to members of the Circle, and, further, to begin by conducting the Circle meetings on more or less traditional lines (i.e., with a speaker to open the debates). If, by the end of this session, we find that we desire other modes of procedure, it will be easy to adapt ourselves. The subjects of the programme are, in most cases, of so wide a nature that it will be impossible to do more than touch the fringe of each on any one evening. The Committee, therefore, desires to make the following suggestion. If any number of persons of the audience, at the close of a discussion, desire to continue further that discussion, they shall communicate with the secretary, who will endeavour to make arrangements for carrying on the discussion, apart from the general Circle meetings, in some smaller room.

Anyone who can offer a room, or rooms, fairly central in situation, for this purpose, is asked to inform the secretary.

The Committee feels that such discussions, carried out by smaller groups, and endeavouring to go further than the general discussion, may be of the very greatest value. Ultimately, we hope "THE FREEWOMAN Discussion Circle" may achieve its own club-house, in which discussion will be possible in a place and at times easily available.

Members are asked to consider the question of chairman for the Circle discussions, a matter which is to be brought up in business time at next meeting. Several members have advocated the appointment of a permanent chairman (and vice-chairman) for this first session, who might get opportunity to know something of the speakers, the views of members, and the general "trend" of the Circle—things which cannot be known to each new chairman.

The next meeting will take place on June 19th, 8 p.m., at Chandos Hall, Maiden Lane, W.C. (close to Charing Cross).

Mr. Selwyn Weston will open a discussion on "Ideas of Freedom."

B. LOW, Acting Secretary.

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